STRUCTURE AND VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE LARGE SCALE

FARM DRGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS TO

NON-VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

THESIS FOR THE PEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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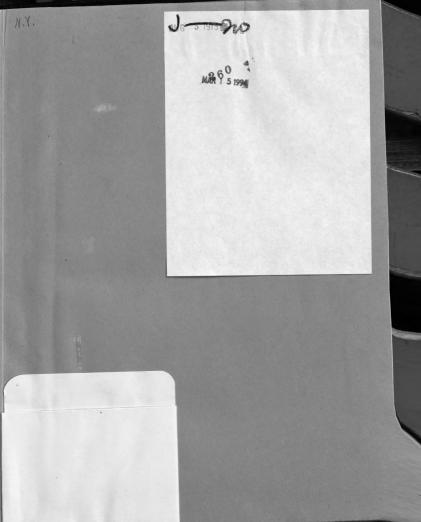
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STRUCTURE AND VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE LARGE SCALE FARM ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO NON-VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Ву

Wayne Curry Rohrer

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
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CHAPTER T

INTRODUCTION

This study concerns the structure and value orientation of the general farm organizations and their adult educational programs or activities. Three areas of adult educational effort--international understanding for peace, strengthening of democracy, and understanding and strengthening of the economy--serve as the focus.

I. THE SETTING

The interest of American farmers in education through their own organizations began during the first half of the 19th century. The early efforts directed toward education took the form of autonomous local groups where demonstrations aimed toward improving crops and livestock were presented. Later farmers organized lyceums, reading circles, and discussion groups centered around agricultural subjects. This constituted the early organization for adult education among American farmers. 1

So long as the farmer's interests were local and living was relatively self-contained in the local neighborhood large scale organization of farmers did not develop. However, after the Civil War the American farmer was cast in a new role. Industry had been encouraged to expand to meet the demands for war production. Following the Civil War

Paul H. Johnstone, "Old Ideals Versus New Ideas in Farm Life,"

1940 Yearbook of Agriculture (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1940), pp. 114-116.

industry achieved a national market protected by tariffs so that its expanded production facilities could be maintained. The farmer was thrust into a situation where he bought products whose prices were artificially controlled and sold his produce in a free world market. One writer characterizes the farmer's position in the post-Civil War days in this way:

After the Civil War, American farmers began to experience their first serious, widespread economic trouble. Instinctively feeling their way toward association with fellow farmers in common distress, they were eager to join together. Farm organizations of the time were local, social, and educational in character. . . Distressed farmers whose farms were their only sources of income were not attracted to these organizations.²

In 1867, President Johnson sent a government employee to the southern United States on a fact-gathering trip to report on possible means of ameliorating farm conditions. In line with Wing's observations on the needs of farmers, this government employee, O. H. Kelley, reported:

a remedy for the evils existent in farming . . . is . . . that they be given an opportunity for association. .; his plan embraced the union of the farmers of the entire country for social and educational purposes, as well as for the protection of their interests. 3

It was Kelley along with six other government employees who set up a unit of what was to become the first large-scale American farm organization—the Patrons of Husbandry. Local units of the Patrons of Husbandry were known as Granges, a name applied to the farm home in Britain. Through

DeWitt C. Wing, "Trends in the National Farm Organizations,"

1940 Yearbook of Agriculture (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1940), p. 944.

³Edward W. Martin, History of the Grange Movement (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1873), p. 408.

usage, this name, Grange, came in time to be applied to the total largescale organization. Following sections will devote more space to this organization.

We find a proliferation of associations in the United States.4 DeTocqueville observed that Americans chose mutual assistance and combination as a means of exercising influence in their 19th century society. 5 The Grange fulfilled DeTocqueville's observations with reference to organization of farmers. This first large-scale effort experienced great initial success by growing from one local unit to more than twenty thousand in a decade. 6 Following this rapid growth, Grange memberships declined steadily for more than a decade. After this period of decline the number of members has steadily increased to the present. However, the decline of the Grange did not equate with the decline of farm organization activity. Various Farmers' Alliances and kindred organizations developed in the decade of 1880-1890. These organizations, like the early Grange, emphasized business ventures. The lack of success in business, the lack of unity among the various Alliances, and the rise of the Populist political movement probably all contributed to the demise of the Alliances. All Alliances reported large numbers of members. For example, the Northern Alliance reported 400,000 members in 1889 and at

Robin M. Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Knopf, 1951), pp. 466-469.

⁵Alexis DeTocqueville, Democracy in America (trans. by Henry Reeve) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 322.

⁶Carl C. Taylor, et al., Rural Life in the United States (New York: Knopf, 1950), p. 513.

one time the southern branch of the movement reported nearly 250,000 dues paying members. According to Locmis and Beegle, an Alliance of Negroes included 1,200,000 members.

The origin of the American Society of Equity corresponded, in time, to that of the Farmers' Union. There were State and Region-wide Equity organizations. Schisms occurred within the Equity Societies so that ultimately several Equities were in existence. The Equity Societies emphasized business ventures. The early growth of Equity occurred in the Middle West and eventually many members and Equity units were incorporated in the Farmers' Union. One regional marketing Equity society is still in existence. At no time did memberships in these groups reach the size reported for the various Alliances.

Membership in the farm organizations is based on volunteer participation. Action taken in the name of the organization is ultimately subject to membership approval. If no other means of control is available the voluntary participant can withdraw his support of the organization by ceasing to contribute dues. The following quoted statements demonstrate the volunteer characteristics of participation. In fact,

⁷Carl C. Taylor, The Farmers' Movement 1620-1920 (New York: American Book Co., 1953), p. 262. Chapters 9 through 16 deal with post-Grange farm organizations and those of the early part of this century and with their political activities.

⁸Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 633.

There have been instances of involuntary participation by mass sign-ups of sharecroppers who were not aware that they were members of the organization. Also, some cooperatives have practiced checking-off of members' dues. These instances are not widespread or common. (Conversations with Carl C. Taylor)

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participation, in some references, verges on obligation. In the Grange:

Each member has a broad unobstructed avenue to make his or her social, economic, moral and political convictions on the perplexing problems of the day known and felt. The Grange and all its membership cannot conscientiously shirk this obligation, nor dare we neglect to do our best to use the Grange for the betterment of the present world. 10

A recent resolution of the American Farm Bureau Federation states:

The American Farm Bureau Federation is a volunteer, nongovernmental general farm organization. . .

We urge State and county organizations to develop programs that will make it possible to (1) insure that every farm family is given a personal invitation to join Farm Bureau, (2) enable Farm Bureau members to make full use of the organization for educational, social, and legislative purposes, and (3) develop sound membership maintenance programs . . . 11

A publication of a State Farmers' Union states:

Rural people should run their own organization. The most effective leaders in an organization are the voluntary leaders who are consecrated to the cause for which the organization was formed. The most effective local organization is the one in which members participate not only for what they get but also for what contribution they can make to the organization. . . Rural people must run their own organizations and build them in such a manner that they can participate in the making of policies that guide our nation. 12

And finally from the annual report of a cooperative marketing association:

As I stated before, this information /radio, newspaper, house organs/ work costs a tremendous amount of money. In fact, it is possible only because you farmers have learned to work

¹⁰J. T. Sanders, "The Roots of Strength and the Weaknesses of the National Grange," a prepared talk, 1951, p. 8.

Resolutions, 32nd Annual Convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation (Chicago: American Farm Bureau Federation, 1950), p. 35.

¹² Program, Seventh Annual Farmers Union Ladies Camp (Jamestown: North Dakota Farmers' Union, 1951), np.

together, build your own marketing institution, and use part of its funds to carry on this intensive information program. We have no intention of discontinuing this war in the farmer's behalf, unless the stockholders here assembled order us to cease these large expenditures. I hope that in your resolutions you will give resounding approval to this type of information service . . . 13

Barber writes concerning voluntary associations that practically all are democratic associations. This in the sense that members have formal authority to decide policies. He has been goes on to illustrate that the democratic aspects of voluntary associations develop by short terms of office, frequent and regular elections and involving as many members as possible in policy making. Local autonomy and democratic selection of representatives to non-local activities manifest their democratic characteristics. From Barber's characterizations and the materials cited for the farm organizations it appears that leaders of these organizations characterize them as democratic voluntary associations.

The organizations which are the subject of this study are widespread and have quite large memberships. The National Council of Farmers Cooperatives represents 2,600,000 farm members who belong to affiliated cooperative organizations located in every state in the United States. The American Farm Bureau Federation has a membership of 1,500,000 farm families located in 47 states. The National Grange has a membership of

¹³ Twelfth Annual Report (St. Paul: Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association, 1949), p. 47.

lh Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy," Alvin Gouldner (editor), Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), p. 487.

¹⁵Tbid., p. 489.

880,000 persons located in 37 states. The National Farmers' Union has a membership of 185,000 farm families located in 24 states.

A common term, general farm organization, may be applied to these four national organizations. The term, in fact, is used by spokesmen for these organizations in characterizing their organization. Also the term indicates that any farmer may affiliate with the organization regardless of his type of farming enterprise, size of operation or location of residence. 16 The National Farm Labor Union, Missouri Farmers Association, American Institute of Cooperation, Farmers Equity Union do not qualify as general farm organizations. The National Farm Labor Union represents farm laborers and not farmers. The Missouri Farmers Association qualifies as a general farm organization but restricted residence qualification applies to its membership. The American Institute of Cooperation includes non-farm groups among its members. The Farmers Equity Union does not qualify because it is "purely a business organization." By limiting the analysis to national organizations of the same kind and to those whose members come predominantly from one occupational group control obtains in selecting organizations for observation.

¹⁶This does not intend to suggest that non-farmers may not join these general farm organizations. For definitions of who may join, see sections on "membership" in Chapters III and VI.

¹⁷ Taylor, et al., op. cit., p. 515.

II. ELEMENTS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATION

The figures listed above demonstrate size but do not otherwise indicate whether the "large scale organization" name applies. There have to be inter-level relationships and some means of binding one level to the next level in order for a large scale (multi-leveled) organization to exist. The following six elements of a large scale organization, derived from sociological literature, have portrayal as their objective. By citing empirical data for the organizations under analysis we can establish if they are, in fact, large scale organizations.

Maintenance of the Large Scale Organization is an Objective, an Imperative 18

In a recent speech an official of the National Grange said:

. . . As members of an organization of outstanding worth we should take a more constant and deeper interest in its expansion both within our own states and into the states and counties where no Granges now exist. If we covered each state and county with a strong active membership of our Order, there is no telling how much our usefulness at all levels would be increased. 19

The National Farmers' Union resolution on "organization" challenges

. . . our membership to double member rolls by our Golden Jubilee convention in 1952. It can be done if all Farmers' Union officers, leaders, and members, will truly exert themselves to the utmost to do the job. 20

Philip Selznick, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization,"

American Sociological Review, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 29-30. According to Selznick, one of the "needs" of a formal organization is security of the organization as a whole in relation to the social forces in its environment.

¹⁹ Sanders, op. cit., p. 11.

Farmers' Union Program for 1950-1951 (Denver: The National Farmers' Union, 1950), p. 29.

The Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation's resolution on "Membership Acquisition" adopted by the organization's 16th Annual Convention states:

With more and more complex problems facing Arkansas farmers it behooves each county Farm Bureau to forcefully drive toward increasing the state membership to at least 50,000 members in 1951.

. . .We call on all volunteer leaders of Farm Bureau to continue their good work and to enlarge their effectiveness by recruiting a larger force of volunteer leaders thereby making it possible to contact more farmers and invite them to join Farm Bureau. 21

The report of the Councils Division of the American Institute of Cooperation states:

The undertakings and accomplishments of state councils and their possible attainments at state levels and at the National level through the National Council are challenging to us all.

. . .I hope your expressions may be heard and read by cooperative leaders throughout many states—especially those not yet having state councils of cooperatives.²²

Specific Activities in a Large Scale Organization Contribute to its Maintenance

This element brings the first element down to concrete activities. In this sense it technically has the status of a sub-element. The following citations will indicate how local and county activities operate to maintain the total organization.

The Grange Lecturer's Handbook, 1948, states:

. . .as lecturer your office is a real challenge and an everlasting test of your ability. A real Grange Lecturer is a builder

Resolutions, Adopted at the 16th Annual Convention, Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation (Little Rock: Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation, 1950), pp. 16-17.

²² The Organization, Financing and Function of State Councils of Farmer Cooperatives (Washington, D.C.: The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1951), p. 27.

and a booster for the order. As a leader and a faithful worker there is no limit to what can be accomplished. "Knowledge is Power" and so the Grange Lecture Hour becomes the powerhouse of Grange growth, membership and usefulness.23

A National Farmers' Union pamphlet states in terms of "building the Farmers' Union":

The Farmers' Union Program is based on the Triangle of EDUCA-TION, COOPERATION AND LEGISLATION, bound together with the Circle of ORGANIZATION. Each part is inseparable from the others.

We dedicate our resources to our educational work, and now take steps to expand this work, in discussion, youth programs, leadership training . . .

We urge that local, state and national educational work be on a uniform pattern, so that it shall have maximum influence in the development of Farmers' Union understanding.²⁴

The Michigan Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives states the purpose of the organization:

- C. To carry on an educational program both in the rural and urban areas such as will present to the public the viewpoints and problems of the farmer and his cooperative institutions, i.e.:
 - 1. Education--Fully inform members and patrons of any attacks on cooperatives which, if unchecked, will seriously affect all cooperatives and the best interests of farmers and consumers. These facts should be promptly presented in a simple brief uniform manner at meetings of members of farm organizations and cooperatives.²⁵

Kile's observations concerning the Farm Bureau include the following:

²³E. F. Holter, The Grange Lecturer's Handbook, 1948 (Washington, D.C.: The National Grange, 1948), p. 6.

²⁴ For These Things We Stand (Denver: National Farmers' Union, 1948), np.

The Organization, Financing and Function of State Councils of Farmer Cooperatives, op. cit., p. 17.

Nearly all the work of the AFBF could be classified as either educational or economic. The legislative work is primarily educational--first, collecting information then educating the membership and finally Congress. Membership acquisition and maintenance is definitely based on education--constantly and forever informing present members and prospective new members of the objectives and accomplishments of the organization.²⁶

The Lower Level Unit of the Large Scale Organization is the "Operative" Unit27

Again The Grange Lecturer's Handbook, 1948 states:

Yours is the opportunity to lead a community by a program of education, inspiring messages and refined entertainment to heights and achievements that will arouse and awaken a new and entirely different realization of Grange Service.

Create in your members a desire to study, to acquire new knowledge to search for truth, form opinions on current issues and to make reliable conclusions.²⁸

A National Farmers' Union pamphlet develops the relevance of local activities and suggests specific issues which may be explored.

Today, through the education departments of the state and national organizations, this program is carried on by action officials elected in each local, and constitutes one of the most important activities of Farmers' Union.

It is the responsibility of these action officials to keep members informed and up-to-date on issues which affect farm people, such as state and national legislation, economic trends, operation of farm programs, the co-operative movement, improve-

^{260.} M. Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement Through Three Decades (Baltimore: The Waverly Press, 1948), p. 345.

²⁷H. A. Simon, <u>Administrative Behavior</u> (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1947), p. 2. According to Simon, the upper levels (non-operative) of an organization make decisions which operative level workers carry out. A private operates the machine gun under orders from an officer. Executives decide on the mechanical designs which will be used in an automobile but a mechanic actually puts these designs into effect.

²⁸ Holter, op. cit., p. 6.

ment of rural schools and medical facilities.29

An annual report of the Michigan Farm Bureau specifies local action in its relationship to objectives of the over-all organization.

During the past year the worth of our Community Farm Bureaus has been tested and proved on numerous occasions. It was a year which called for action by the members on matters of legislation and citizenship. The fact that the members were organized on the local level into units that were well knit into the organization made it possible to initiate this action when the need arose.

Our Community Farm Bureaus are taking a more active part in the membership Roll Call work. They are a potent source from which come the leaders and workers. The people in the groups are Farm Bureau's best salesmen.30

The obligation of local cooperatives to perform educational activities is stated in a section on "rural youth and farmer cooperatives" from the report of the 1949 meeting of the American Institute of Cooperation. Thus:

Most rural youth are learning the fundamentals of how to produce farm crops and livestock efficiently, but in addition they should learn how to market farm products profitably. The farmer cooperatives, themselves, have a definite obligation to teach the fundamentals of agricultural cooperation to rural youth. . . Only a very few farmer cooperatives throughout the nation have what might be called youth education programs. In recent years, however, more associations are beginning to show definite interest and action in this field. 31

²⁹ Farmers' Union, Deep-Rooted in America's Past . . . Looks to the Future (Denver: National Farmers' Union, nd.), np.

³⁰³²nd Annual Report (Lansing: Michigan Farm Bureau Federation, 1951), pp. 41-42.

Farmer Cooperatives, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

Much of the Activity of a Lower-Level Unit Originates in Upper Level Units of These Organizations; the Upper Level Unit Communicates the Activity-Content to the Lower Level Unit32

Sections in The Grange Lecturer's Handbook, 1948 document the communication relationship in existence between upper and lower levels.

The Lecturer's Task

- 1. To plan and direct the "Program and Educational Work" to the best interests of the Grange and the Community.
- 8. Cooperate with other Lecturers (Juvenile, Subordinate, Pomona, State and National).

Equipment /Useful to performing the task of Lecturer/

- 1. Copy of National and State Grange Proceedings, State and National Master's Address.
- 2. Copies of Grange Literature (National Grange Publicity Bureau).
- 3. Copies of literature published by National Grange Headquarters in Washington.
- 4. Subscriptions to State Grange Magazine and National Grange Monthly.
- 5. State and National Lecturer's Handbook.33

The <u>Handbook for Farmers' Union Locals</u> describes not only how communication occurs in the structure but also how the various levels of the structure relate to one another in educational activities.

There is a department of education within the Farmers' Union. The work of this department is directed within the State by the State Director of Education. The State Union gives help to the locals and counties. The National Department of Education, under the National Director of Education, integrates the work of all

³² simon, op. cit., p. 3.

³³Holter, op. cit., p. 5.

the states, prepares materials that help maintain a uniform pattern of education, and gives help to the State Unions. Every local and county Farmers' Union should have a director of education to carry on this work in the community and county.

The educational work is carried on in various ways. It brings information and help to people in the local who have the job of maintaining activity in the Farmers' Union out in the country. A national and state paper is sent to each member every month. This contains current news important to farmers and Farmers' Union people. An Action Letter and Program Service for all local action officials, to be used in planning the meeting, goes out regularly from the national office.34

An annual report of the Michigan Farm Bureau, in the section devoted to public relations, shows great similarity to the Farmers' Union position outlined above.

Supplementing these activities /development of resolutions and their incorporation into organizational policy is the equally important matter of furnishing information to members and farm folks generally. This is done through articles in each issue of the Michigan Farm News, in the County Farm Bulletins, the Michigan Farmer, various radio reports and confidential information sent to the 1050 Farm Bureau Action Committeemen. These Action Committeemen keep themselves especially well informed on legislative developments and pass that information along to members of their Community Farm Bureau Discussion Groups and stimulate them to prompt and appropriate action.35

The Ohio Council of Farm Cooperatives seeks to integrate activities of the local farmer cooperatives and the farm organizations. The activities of this Council "which provide for the joint action of farm groups and agencies have included":

A state-wide plan for the distribution of the new publication of the Institute, "Agricultural America," has been developed

³⁴ Handbook for Farmers' Union Locals, op. cit., pp. 4-5

³⁵³²nd Annual Report, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

through the Council to co-ordinate the effort of cooperatives, county extension agents and farm organizations within the counties to provide maximum distribution. . .36

There is a Specialization of Tasks for Carrying on Activities at Every Unit Level37

The Grange Lecturer's Handbook, 1948, states:

Soon after the new officers are elected a conference including at least Master, Lecturer and Secretary, but more properly all of the officers and including Youth Chairman, Home Economics Committee Chairman, Juvenile Matron and other important committee heads, should meet at a time other than the regular meeting to discuss the year's work and the relationship of the officers to each other and the need for team work and cooperation. The responsibilities and duties of each should be brought out. . 38

On the same theme a Farmers' Union publication cites:

There are many things to do if a Farmers' Union local is to have good meetings, be active and be effective. There are many more jobs in a local than the three elected officials can perform. No one person should have so many jobs in the Farmers' Union that being an official becomes a burden. And when one person has too many things to do, he or she is unable to devote sufficient time to all the jobs waiting to be done. . . other officials in the Farmers' Union . . . are the appointed action officials. By spreading the work among more people, there will be more people active, more people attending meetings, and better work will be done by those who can specialize in one part of the Farmers' Union program. . . 39

Local organization of Women's Committees in the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation features specialization of educational roles. For example:

Each county committee and township committee to appoint

^{36&}lt;sub>The Organization</sub>, Financing and Function of State Councils of Farmer Cooperatives, op. cit., p. 7

³⁷ Simon, op. cit., p. 9. This specialization refers to the division of labor among persons who carry on an organized activity.

³⁸Holter, op. cit., p. 6.

³⁹ Handbook for Farmers' Union Locals, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

county and township Health, Library, International Relations, School, Music and Recreation chairmen to carry out the program as needed in the county and township. 40

A publication of Consumers Cooperatives Association of Kansas City cites the value of wide participation in addition to the value achieved by specialization of tasks in local affairs.

Effective educational work takes organization, time and effort. Some one ought to be made responsible to get things done. Unless or until the co-op hires someone on a full or part time basis to do it, a committee of workers is a sound alternative. A committee has the added advantage of giving more people an opportunity to participate in building the co-op . . . Local boards and managers feel they have their hands too full of other co-op duties to give proper attention to educational work. Therefore, a special committee to initiate and follow through would appear to be the best way to get the work done. 41

There is a "Vertical" Specialization of Tasks Within the Organization 42

Relationships between the Pomona and Subordinate Granges as specified in The Grange Lecturer's Handbook, 1948 follow:

The Subordinate Granges will serve as source of material for the Pomona Programs. In the Pomona program . . . much . . . material can come from Subordinate programs.

The Pomona being composed of the Subordinate members in their respective jurisdictions, has the opportunity to develop contests among the Subordinates . . . It also has the opportunity to develop programs for civic betterment on a county-wide basis. . . . The Pomona should function actively in legislative programs. 43

Federation, 1951), p. 7. Committees (Des Moines: Iowa Farm Bureau

Working Together, Bulletin for Educational Committees (Kansas City: Consumers Cooperatives Association, 1951), p. 1

⁴² simon, op. cit., p. 9.

⁴³Holter, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

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The following abstracted statements characterize the formal relationship existing between County and State Farm Bureaus in Michigan.

- 1. The "County Farm Bureau" will assume responsibility for carrying on a program designed to maintain a County Farm Bureau organization in ______ County, and will retain therefore three dollars for each paidup membership in said county. The program to be conducted by the "County Farm Bureau" to include:
 - a. The holding of an annual "County Farm Bureau" meeting.
 - b. The sending of delegates to the Michigan Farm Bureau annual meeting.
- 7. The "Bureau" Michigan Farm Bureau agrees that it will carry on an educational, legislative and business program agreeable to the general membership of the Michigan Farm Bureau. The program to be conducted by the "Bureau" to include:
 - a. Assisting the "County Farm Bureau" through a field force which will contact said "County Farm Bureau" to advise, correlate and help organize and to assist in every other way as is desired and feasible; said field force to be maintained within the limits of finances available. Further assistance will be given through pamphlets, speakers, education, projects, etc. b. The furnishing of necessary membership agreement blanks and cards.
 - g. The maintenance of a general administrative office.
 h. The distribution throughout the year of a copy of
 the 'Michigan Farm News' to each "Bureau" member in

good standing.

8. The "Bureau" further agrees that it will assume within the scope and limitations of the "County Farm Bureau" program, supervisory responsibilities over the work of the county organization and information director and that such activities as are carried on have the approval of the County Farm Bureau, all this for the purpose of better accomplishing the objectives of the county and state program and to correlate all county programs within the state to a common purpose. 44

⁴⁴ County Farm Bureau Relationships (Lansing: Michigan Farm Bureau Federation, n.d.), pp. 1-3.

Different unit levels in the Farmers' Union participate in different ways in the programs of the organization. The following quoted statements are from publications of the National Farmers' Union.

Action Officials . . . specialize in their particular program. They take the time to become informed so they can report to the Local. At the Local meeting they present ideas and suggestions for specific action. 45

Relationships between organization levels and division of labor in the Farmers' Union are further elaborated:

Fieldwork Helps State Unions. . . . no Union can endure and accomplish what it is set up to achieve without unity.

One of the ways of achieving unity is the building of a unified pattern of education, which carries through in each state and makes of the Farmers Union a truly national organization.

When a state needs help in setting up a camp, a leadership training school, handling a convention exhibit, carrying on a series of meetings in its counties, or when an instructor or speaker is needed, an Education Fieldworker from the National office is sent out to assist the state staff in the job. 46

Discussions and deliberations of Iowa cooperators illustrates the rationale for developing spheres of influence. For example:

Iocal--on an area or county basis. Here there is a great need for our cooperatives to work together, planning their individual and joint educational programs through a central planning committee, to avoid duplication and the possibility of conflicting information to overlapping membership, and in order to make the funds spent for educational purposes in an area achieve the maximum in terms of results.

On a state-wide basis. We agreed that we must have a state-wide organization for cooperative education, which can speak

National Union Farmer (Denver: National Farmers' Union, January 1951), p. 15.

⁴⁶Tbid.

education-wise to and for all cooperatives in Iowa if we are to make real progress in building the general level of cooperative understanding of our members. . . . The educational program of such a state organization should probably be carried out through the county or area planning committees mentioned above, which would be made up of local cooperative leaders and educators within the county or area. 47

The preceding abstracted statements serve the purpose of documenting certain elements of the units under observation. We do not consider whether these statements are widely accepted or "believed" by every participant in an organization. The concern here is with the manifest content of statements or positions held which, made in the name of the organization, characterize them as large-scale organizations. We may assume that the statements have, at the minimum formal acceptance by members and/or leaders of these organizations.

In summary we can say that from the data presented the largescale organizations are concerned with maintaining the organization. No
organization is preparing for eventual "withering away". A specific
activity--education--contributes to the maintenance of the organization.
The lower level units are the "operative units": the locus of carrying
out specific educational activities. Lower level units are not autonomous in selecting activities inasmuch as upper level units have a role
of originating and communicating activities to the operative units.
Within the operative unit--the lower level units--a specialization of
tasks exists for carrying on activities. Different unit levels in the

⁴⁷ Report of the Second Annual Iowa Cooperative Directors Conference (Des Moines: Iowa State Council of Cooperation, 1951), pp. 9-10.

structure perform different kinds of tasks in carrying on activities. Finally, element 6 shows how "spheres of influence" develop for the various unit levels. To this point we have established (on the verbal level) that the organizations being dealt with are voluntary democratic associations and large scale organizations.

III. THE PROBLEM

The unit under observation in this study is the large scale organization whose members voluntarily support the organization. The organizations are made up of American farmers. One can know and understand a specific organization by viewing its structure, its value-orientation, and the historic context within which it advanced. But one cannot leave the simple level of description if one does these alone. When, however, one is permitted to view large scale organizations which have similar structural forms, appeal to a single occupational group, and have persisted over a period of time, then one is presented with the possibilities of comparative analysis. Further, when members, non-professional workers, and professional workers of these large scale organizations give verbal and written accounts of the carrying on of a specific activity one is permitted to focus on content within the structure of the organization.

The preceding statements portray the unit of observation and the last statement mentions a content within these large scale organizations to which analysis is directed. This activity is non-vocational adult education programs or activities in the three areas of international understanding for peace, strengthening of democracy, and understanding

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and strengthening the economy. 48 For the purposes of this study Landis' statement of the objectives of adult education is adequate:

The term adult education is as variously defined as the term education itself. Among the objectives of adult education as defined by those identified with the movement are: to improve skills and knowledge; to promote tolerance and open-mindedness; to develop democracy; to improve the social order; to integrate personality; to develop a philosophy of life; to promote social efficiency; to give opportunities for self-expression; to develop capacity for the enjoyment of human experience; to broaden interest. 49

At this point it is relevant to point out that only the three general farm organizations, not the farm cooperatives, appear to be the most appropriate units for systematic comparative analysis. This is true for these reasons: (1) The general farm organizations are structurally comparable in that each has at least local, county, state, and national units throughout much of its area of operation. Cooperatives are only now beginning to develop county level units and this development is extremely limited. (2) The general farm organizations are integrated structures from local to national level and all farmer cooperatives are not part of an integrated structure. Stating this in another way: a local farmer cooperative may exist without having ties to another cooperative organization but a local unit of the Grange, Farmers' Union, or Farm Bureau becomes something different if it relinquishes its ties

⁴⁸ The three areas of non-vocational adult education are hereinafter referred to as the "Ford areas" or "Ford fields." The word "Ford" is attached because the Ford Foundation financed the Social Research Service project. The project was jointly sponsored by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities and the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation.

⁴⁹Benson Y. Landis and J. D. Willard, Rural Adult Education (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1933), p. x.

to the organization. (3) Data from the general farm organizations indicate that these three large scale organizations actively promote programs and activities in non-vocational adult education to a greater extent than do the farmer cooperatives.

The reasons listed above, however, do not discharge the obligation to make an analysis of the structure and value orientation of farmer cooperatives. Also their adult education programs and activities in the three fields of interest will be indicated.

Specifically the dimensions of the problem include two areas termed intra-organization and inter-organization. The first dimension concerns position in the organization and whether conformity with or variance from adult education activities reported by upper level personnel characterizes operative units' adult education activities. This comparison involves arraying data obtained from written materials of the organization and those obtained from interviewing upper level personnel against responses received from county and local level non-professional workers. Thus, if what the interviews and analysis of written materials attribute to the three fields of interest is included in the questionnaire returns we may assume respondents at different levels of the large scale organization agree on the scope of these fields. A second intraorganization problem involves comparison of the adult education efforts of the two lower level operative units. Such an analysis will be concerned again with materials in the three fields but in addition comparative data on form and procedures will be made.

The inter-organization analysis will compare data for the large

scale organizations. Materials in the three fields and data on unit levels will be used. Part of the analysis will concern this question: What accounts for the situation that American farmers may ally with three different farm organizations? One way to approach this problem lies in making a comparative analysis of value orientation. Still another comparative analysis is available. This may be termed a comparison of the structures of the farm organizations. The quantitative data obtained in the mailed question phase (described later) of the data collection will be used in this analysis.

Hypotheses concerning intra-organization conformity or variance

- I. Because upper level personnel of the three large scale organizations unanimously said their organizations carried on adult education in the three fields no disagreement with this will appear in the empirical data received from local or county units.
- II. Because upper level personnel and written materials of the organizations indicate definite interest-areas in the three fields, no disagreement with these interest areas will appear in the empirical data received from local or county units.
- III. Because upper level personnel and written materials of the organizations indicate extra-organization affiliations for pursuing adult educational activities, no disagreement from these affiliations will appear in the empirical data received from local or county units.

Hypotheses concerning inter-organization comparative analyses

IV. Comparative analysis of a comparable written document of each of the large scale organizations will not objectively indicate differing

value orientations.

V. Comparative analysis of the structural characteristics of the large scale organizations will indicate no difference among the organizations.

This research has a <u>post factum</u> aspect in that the data were "in" before these hypotheses were established. The data, too, had been analyzed within the framework of the Social Research Service report on rural adult education. Thus the writer had some prior knowledge of distributions and relationships. However, the hypotheses of this work were established prior to analysis of the data at hand; the empirical evidence has had strictures placed on it which did not apply in the Social Research Service report. 51

Post factum analyses appear warrantable under certain conditions
even though this kind of analysis does not develop "compelling evidence."

If the following conditions prevail post factum analysis appears warranted:

(1) a sizable amount of empirical quantitative and qualitative data lies at hand; (2) hypotheses precede analysis; (3) established concepts or systems of analysis are used in designing the analysis; and (4) the analysis observes conservative conventions. The "plausible" characteristic of post

⁵⁰ Charles P. Loomis, et al., Rural Social Systems and Adult Education (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953).

⁵¹For instance, activities of the two lower level units are here distinctively treated; the empirical data obtained from mailed questionnaires and used in quantitative analyses reported here were limited to those received from the 263 counties and "first wave" responses. The rationale for these is explained in Chapter II. The 263 county sample is also explained in Chapter II.

factum analysis notwithstanding, this kind of analysis can have the beneficial effects which Merton attributes to empirical research in its relationship to sociological theory. Because of lacunae existing with especial reference to the independent variable--large scale organization-this study has an exploratory characteristic. That the lacunae exist, at least with reference to administering large organizations, appears well documented. 54

The extent of large scale organization in America demonstrates the pertinence of studying large scale farm organizations. We concern ourselves here more with members than with industrial workers or clerical employees; with the non-professional worker rather than the foreman or middle bureaucrat. In view of the predominant number of studies to do with governmental, industrial or economic large scale organizations it appears that study of large scale organizations which may differ in structural characteristics, kinds of participants and source of financial support will contribute to our understanding of this phenomenon.

⁵² Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), Chapter III, "The Bearing of Empirical Research on Sociological Theory."

⁵³Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (Part one) (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 32-36.

⁵⁴ Simon, op. cit. See especially Chapter II, "Some Problems of Administrative Theory." Simon suggests that in administration many "principles" are actually concepts or definitions.

CHAPTER II

METHODS OF THE STUDY

I. DATA COLLECTION

Data collection in this study falls into four phases: (1) A mailed questionnaire sent to 263 counties (see Form 1 in Appendix). This questionnaire was used in common throughout most sections of the study conducted by the Social Research Service. Considerations of the project as conceived in terms of the interests of the Ford Foundation were dominant in designing the questionnaire used in this phase of data collection. The design of the sample used in this mailed questionnaire phase of the study is outlined in Appendix B. The 263 counties included in this sample are also identified in Appendix B. Personnel of the farm organizations were provided with a list including the names of the 263 counties and were asked to supply names and addresses of members who would be qualified to report on their local or county program in adult education. All units of the farm organizations in a sample county were contacted. (2) Data collection was accomplished by means of another mailed questionnaire which was sent to members of the farm organizations outside the 263 sample counties (see Form 9, Appendix A). Form 9, or, as it is hereinafter

This study was done by the Social Research Service of Michigan State College under the co-sponsorship of the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation and the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities.

²The "Taylor" questionnaire, wherein it differed from the Form 1 questionnaire, was the work of Dr. Carl C. Taylor, the then Head, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

referred to, the "Taylor" questionnaire, was sent to respondents located in counties outside the 263 county sample. Respondents were asked to supply more specific data on Ford area programs and activities than were obtainable from Form 1. The sample of persons to be contacted in this phase was drawn by personnel of the national or state levels of the large scale organizations. They were asked to randomly select these names but we do not know whether random or non-random selection prevailed. (3) Data collection accomplished by field interviewing done by Dr. Carl C. Taylor and the author. (For a listing of the itinerary of field work and organizations visited see Appendix C.) In order to select the organizations to be visited for personal interview, professional workers in the national offices of the three large scale organizations were asked to suggest two state organizations where they judged a good program of adult education was being carried. These professional workers were specifically asked not to select states in which the level or quality of activity was atypical of the total organization. The states selected by professionals of the National Grange were Massachusetts and Ohio; the Farmers' Union professionals selected North Dakota and Arkansas and the Farm Bureau selections were Iowa and Arkansas. Field work was undertaken with other farm organizations in these states as time and routing allowed. Thus, representatives of the Grange in Colorado, the Farm Bureaus of Ohio and North Dakota were interviewed during this phase. Also employees of cooperatives were interviewed as time and routing permitted. (4) Data collection by means of library research. The author read literature on the farm organizations with particular emphasis on achieving an understanding of the structure and value-orientation of the large scale

farm organizations. Because the study focused on selected characteristics of these large scale organizations certain historic materials were not deemed relevant.

The field interview method obtained information "on the ground."

In view of time and expense this phase of data collection sought reasonably specific information. The standard interview form used by other field workers in the Social Research Service project was generally followed in this phase (Appendix D). In addition to the standard form we obtained somewhat more detailed information on the development of policy within the structure of the farm organization and information regarding content, techniques, and interrelationships by means of which adult education efforts were prosecuted within the organization. Also, in the field phase of data collection, certain meetings of an organization were attended wherever possible. By attending a Farmers' Union Local meeting, a County Farm Bureau annual meeting, a meeting of an Ohio Farm Bureau Meighborhood Advisory Council, and the New York State Grange annual meeting, a "feel" for the organization developed.

II. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS ON STRUCTURE OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS

Both quantitative and qualitative data are used in this analysis. The quantitative data used here come from the mailed questionnaire responses received from the 263 sample counties. Only responses used include those received as a result of the first mailed request made of respondents. This became a necessity because of the non-contact of one sub-class of respondents at a time comparable with other sub-

classes.³ To have contacted this sub-class with a second mailing of the questionmaire would have extended the time span of this phase of data collection at least an additional month. Responses received as a result of second mailings to the 263 sample counties and as a result of the mailing of the "Taylor" questionnaire may be used to enhance selected analyses.

In addition to these quantitative data, the field interviews, contemporary written materials of the organizations, and historical materials included data relevant to structural analysis.

Structural analysis, in quantitative terms, is limited to the local and county units of the large scale organizations. The presence of data suitable for structural analyses is only quantitatively adequate at these levels. Another stricture placed on the 263 county sample data has relevance here. Although the large scale organizations have local, county, state, and national levels they do not have active units at both lower levels in all parts of the country. Therefore, the only responses used include those received from counties in which the organization

³Personnel of the National Farmers' Union insisted on administering the distribution of questionnaires to respondents in the 263 sample counties. A communication failure of unexplained origin occurred with the result that only county level units of the Farmers' Union were contacted by mailed questionnaire in the first mailings. This did not become apparent until the second mailing of questionnaires from East Lansing had begun. During March, 1952, the National Farmers' Union offices were sent sufficient questionnaires to contact local units. The time span between the first mailing from East Lansing and that of the National Farmers' Union to its local units was nearly three months. It was therefore judged that a second mailing would be too far removed in time so the second wave to Farmers' Union Locals was not accomplished. Table A, Appendix E, presents information relevant to use of first wave responses.

reported both local and county units. The rationale for this stricture follows: To test the hypothesis concerning both lower level units in the large scale organization, it seemed advisable that the reporting units be located in counties including the other lower level unit. A local unit which operates without a relationship to a county unit probably has different operating characteristics than do locals in counties including a county level unit.

In the mailed questionnaire method of data collection the non-respondent presents a problem in validity. This occurs because it is assumed that answering the questions and returning the questionnaire involves a selection of the population. This problem does not occur with reference to the data used in this study. An assumption of this study is that respondents more likely than non-respondents qualify as non-professional workers ("active minority" according to Barber following). In this study representing the membership of an organization does not have the relevance that obtaining data from non-professional workers has.

III. METHOD OF ANALYZING VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS

Robin Williams' delineation of the major American value-orientations provided a useful classificatory tool in this phase. Because the Ford Foundation areas of interest--international understanding for peace, strengthening of democracy and understanding and strengthening the economy--involve value-areas it was believed that Williams' classificatory

Williams, op. cit., pp. 388-442.

scheme had applicability. Not all of Williams' major orientations are relevant because his delineation has specific references and in this case selected values represented others Williams identified. Thus an established rationale and a tool existed but an objective method of analysis did not. Then the idea developed for classifying an organization's value orientations by use of judges who would rank the organizations with respect to values expressed in their written materials. To obtain as much commonality as possible the search for suitable written materials narrowed down to documents fulfilling the following criteria: representativeness of the large scale organization and a reasonably close origin in time. The resolutions of the large scale organizations enacted during the winter 1950 and winter 1951-52 provided documents fulfilling the criteria. Printed copies of national resolutions represent the publicly-proclaimed values of the organizations and therefore constitute useful units of analysis.

Obtaining abstracted statements from the printed resolutions presented the next problem. The total copy of an organization's resolutions included too lengthy, detailed, and often, too specific content to have judges rank this information. Therefore, within an organization's resolutions only certain items judged pertinent to the Ford areas were chosen for abstraction (see Appendix F). Item headings in the printed resolutions provided the means by which abstracted statements were grouped for judging. Thus all organizations had resolutions identified as applying to the United Nations, Point IV, and taxation, inflation or economic controls. In some instances just two organizations

developed resolutions which clearly related to a given subject matter.

In such a case just these two abstracted statements were used in the ranking procedure.

Exact copies of the resolution item were placed on index cards.

When material was deleted this was indicated by a series of periods.

Most statements were complete. When repetition of ideas, highly specific references to agricultural conditions or affairs, were made these were deleted. The writer's addition of notes to the abstracted statements were clearly set off by the use of brackets.

Selecting judges for the ranking procedure also posed a problem.

In view of the substantive content of Williams' delineated values it was judged that knowledge of sociological subject matter constituted a virtual necessity. It was decided therefore to select for judges only persons who had at least an undergraduate major in sociology.

Six of the values delineated by Williams appeared most readily adaptable to the Ford areas of interest. Thus the value of nationalism-patriotism and the value of humanitarian mores dealt with international understanding for peace. Expressions from the printed resolutions on the United Nations, and the Point IV program constituted the means by which organizations value orientations were ranked. Williams' achievement and success and the individual personality values most clearly dealt with economic matters. His freedom and democracy values dealt most clearly with concerns relative to government. Some of these values have

⁵ Technically the resolution content more nearly dealt with international affairs than with the Ford area.

reference to more than one of the Ford areas. In some cases this multiple reference resulted in using multiple items for ranking an expression on a single subject matter. In addition to the use of Williams' delineations respondents were asked to rank expressions in respect to economic and political attitude. These additions supplied judgments with more specific reference to the Ford areas. The instrument used to classify the organizations value orientations appears in Appendix G.

The instrument was pre-tested with three subjects. On the basis of this pre-testing some questions were re-designed and the judging situation was made less tedious. For instance, in the pre-test respondents were asked to rank three expressions on a given question. In the final judging situation they were asked to rank two expressions and afterwards add the third for judging, or, if they preferred, to deal with all three expressions at one time.

All seven judges had sociological training. One had a B.A., two were working toward the M.A. degree, one was working toward the Ph.D. degrees and three had completed Ph.D. degrees. Males and females, conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats and a range of ages were represented. The seven judges whose judgments provide the analysis of value orientations did not include the three persons who pre-tested the instrument and expression content. As a result of the pre-test one areatermed "basic orientation"--including expressions only from the Bureau and the Union was excluded from the final judging. The exclusion occurred because pre-test judgments showed a wide range in variation and judges frequently made judgments only with great difficulty. Further, it was determined the two expressions were not on the same level of abstraction.

The longest time taken in judging was one hour and five minutes and the shortest twenty-five minutes. The other five judges needed from 35-45 minutes to complete the judging.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF THE FARMERS' LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter the formal structures of the large scale farm organizations constitute the focus of study. Within the structures the concern is with members, non-professional workers, and professional workers, communication channels, policy development and the organized efforts by which the organization achieves certain programs or activities.

Each of the three large scale organizations has a membership group. Among the members there are some who are active in working for organizational objectives and others who are "just members." The first category has been termed non-professional workers in this study. They correspond to the "active minority" in Barber's analysis. These members occupy formal positions in units of the large scale organization—the Master and other officers of Granges, the President and other officers of Farmers' Unions, the President and Directors of Farm Bureaus. McKee draws the distinction between professional and non-professional workers in agriculture with respect to their different sources of income. The professional worker has employment with the organization; the non-professional has an avocational interest in the organization. The non-professional and professional workers with whom this study will be most

Barber, op. cit., pp. 484, 489.

²McKee, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 105.

concerned are those whose roles deal with educational programs or activities. Thus the concentration will be on lecturers in the Grange, educational workers in the Farmers' Union, organizational-educational workers in the Farm Bureau.

A large scale organization maintains certain media of communication by which organizational matters are brought to members. Description of the media used by these large scale organizations will be a concern of this chapter.

Means of achieving participation in organizational activities and formulation of policy will be treated for each organization. According to Barber this is a constant objective in the democratic association. 3

The final section in this analysis will treat the ways by which a specific organization obtains organized action within the structure. The concern in this section will be on how professional workers and non-professionals are drawn into interactive situations, the kinds of groupings which occur and the content of these efforts.

I. THE GRANGE

Structure of the Grange

The lowest level of the Grange structure is the Subordinate Grange.

Membership in this unit is open to men, women, and youth over the age of

fourteen years. There are more than 7700 Subordinate Granges in the

United States. The Subordinate Grange is described as a local community

³Barber, op. cit., p. 488.

or neighborhood organization. More than 4000 of these units own their halls which often serve as community halls. In many rural communities in the northeastern United States this is the only "public" building. A Subordinate Grange may become a "community" institution with the aspect of good works for the community having higher or equal value with works for the Grange. This level of the Grange structure is "subordinated" to other levels within the organization with respect to ritualistic requirements.

A unit parallel to the Subordinate Grange is the Juvenile Grange which serves Grange members of less than 16 years of age. This unit ties directly to the Subordinate Grange by the participation of adults in activities of the Juvenile Grange.

The second level in the formal structure of the Grange is the Pomona Grange. There are 745 Pomona Granges in the United States. This level of the Grange structure ordinarily encompasses a county. The original reason for organizing Pomonas was to provide an integrating agency for economic and educational activities of the scattered Granges. With the decline of Grange cooperative activity during the 1880's the emphasis on economic activities lessened and the province of Pomona Granges came more to deal with educational and ritualistic activities. The Michigan State Grange began in 1951-52 to strengthen this unit by establishing for Pomonas a kind of supervisory reporting relationship

Personal interview with C. M. Hall, op. cit.

⁵Holter, op. cit., p. 7; McKee, op. cit., p. 38; and Martin, op. cit., p. 464.

over Subordinates. According to the Overseer of the Michigan State Grange Pomonas have been the weakest link in the Grange structure.

Thirty seven State Granges are organized in the United States.

These tend to concentrate in the northeastern, middle western, and Pacific Coast states (Table I).

The national level of the Grange is the National Grange with headquarters in Washington, D. C. At one time the Grange was an international organization with units in Canada but at the present time it is confined to the continental limits of the United States. Granges in Alaska, the Phillipines, and Canada have jurisdictional ties to State Granges in the United States.

The Grange structure may be portrayed as a single vertical line.

Only on the Pacific Coast are cooperatives important as a Grange sponsored activity. The early emphasis of Granges in cooperation was stifled because this activity pitted Grange members against small town businessmen. In a national sense the Grange does not incorporate cooperatives into its structure.

⁶Personal interviews with Overseer Verne Stockman and Deputy Master William J. Brake, Michigan State Grange, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, April 4, 1952.

The Grange in the western tier of states constitutes an enclave or cultural island with reference to the total large scale organization. Chambers cites a document which states: ". . . the Grange, instead of growing more conservative as its parent organization in the East has tended to become since the original crusading zeal of the powerful 'Granger Movement' died out has all along the Pacific tended to become the refuge of the more discontented farmers. . ." See Clarke A. Chambers, California Farm Organizations (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), p. 19.

⁸Personal interview with Verne Stockman, op. cit.

TABLE I

TOTAL GRANGE MEMBERSHIPS, NOVEMBER 1951*

State	Members	State	Members
	Total	857,008	
Arkansas	798	New Jersey	20,980
California	44,586	New York	143,143
Colorado	11,788	North Carolina	11,135
Connecticut	30,420	Ohio	147,524
Delaware	2,153	Oklahoma	2,789
Idaho	12,496	0regon	30,650
Illinois	9,731	Pennsylvania	80,688
Indiana	5,988	Rhode Island	7,977
Iowa	3,080	South Carolina	4,836
Kansas	16,9 52	South Dakota	359
Maine	62,489	Tennessee	504
Maryland	3,249	Texas	2,292
Massachusetts	50,624	Vermont	19,051
Michigan	28,640	Virginia	2,202
Minnesota	3,576	Washington	50,942
Missouri	2,829	West Virginia	941
Montana	1,888	Wisconsin	3,495
Nebraska	1,426	Wyoming	1,443
New Hampshire	33,344		_, . , 3

^{*}Loomis, et al., op. cit., p. 82.

Procedural Relationships in the Grange Structure

O. H. Kelley, a principal founder of the Grange, had been a member of the Masonic order and thought that a fraternal organization of farmers would integrate all farmers of the United States into a single organization. According to Martin the emotional content of Grange ritual activities developed internal "extension and unity." Following the organizational scheme wherein ritual content was to be an important element, the founders of the Grange established seven degrees. Four conferred by the local, one by the State and the two highest by the National Grange. Formal offices within a unit of the structure were established as pre-requisites to advancement to higher units within the structure. Buck states:

The state grange was to confer the fifth degree, on masters and past-masters of the subordinate granges, and their wives . . . The National Grange would confer the sixth degree . . . on masters and past-masters of the state granges and their wives. 12

The method by which offices in the structure and control of the structure were integrated was achieved in the following fashion:

Members of the sixth degree would constitute the National Council and after serving one year therein might take the seventh degree and become members of the Senate, which body had control of the secret work of the order. 13

⁹Buck, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁰ Martin, op. cit., p. 420.

¹¹ Buck, op. cit., p. 43.

¹² Ibid.

¹³Tbid.

This procedure was not accepted by the more militant members of the Grange and they agitated for democratization of the degree procedure. Their agitation instituted the change whereby the higher degrees were accessible to any member while control of the organization was retained by delegates to the national meeting.

The Constitution of the Grange is a highly specific document in assigning duties and functions to units in the Grange structure. Selected Articles state:

Article I. Section 1. The officers of a Grange, either National, State, or Subordinate, consist of and rank as follows: Master, Overseer, Lecturer, Steward, Assistant Steward, Chaplain, Treasurer, Secretary, Gatekeeper, Ceres, Pomona, Flora, and Lady Assistant Steward. It is their duty to see that the laws of the Order are carried out.

Article III. Laws

The National Grange, at its annual session, shall frame, amend, or repeal such laws as the good of the Order may require. All laws of State and Subordinate Granges must conform to this Constitution and the laws adopted by the National Grange.

Article IV. Ritual

The Ritual adopted by the National Grange shall be used in all Subordinate Granges, and any desired alteration in the same must be submitted to, and receive the sanction of, the National Grange.

Section 9.

After a State Grange is organized, all applications for charters must pass through the same and be approved by Master and Secretary. 14

The citations from the Constitution demonstrate the formal definitions made governing officers and channels of communication. Also illustrated

¹⁴T. C. Atkeson, Semi-Centennial History of the Patrons of Husbandry (New York: Orange Judd Co., 1916), pp. 52 ff.

is the finality of decision which rests with upper level units in determining the fitness of action in lower level units. The By-Laws to the Constitution add depth to the finality of decision and definitely spell out the locus of decision in the National Grange:

Article IV.

Questions of administration and jurisprudence arising in and between State Granges, and appeals from the action and decision thereof, shall be referred to the Master and Executive Committee of the National Grange, whose decision shall be respected and obeyed until overruled by action of the National Grange. 15

Defining spheres of influence with specificity did not occur until the 1910 annual session of the National Grange. In 1910 the Committee on the Good of the Order ruled that the units of the Grange had spheres of influence which corresponded to the political area or community of operation. Hence, within the vertical structure unit levels were defined as authoritative in their territory of operation. This had reference to educational and legislative concerns. 16

The foregoing citations spell out the method of ordering unit activities in the Grange hierarchy. The hierarchical structure has fundamental importance to the system of fraternal degrees. These degrees constitute rites of passage for access to higher levels in the structure and to decision-making on organizational affairs.

Structural Conditions for Action

All members of the Grange are members of a Subordinate Grange.

^{15&}lt;sub>Tbid.</sub>, p. 56.

^{16&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 267</sub>.

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Membership in the Grange, according to Article V of the Constitution, is so defined that "any person interested in agricultural pursuits" may be admitted to membership. 17 A recent publication implies that Grange membership is more loosely defined now.

The Grange is composed of courageous, determined fighting souls, who are confident that rural conditions can be improved; who know how to improve them; and who invite all interested in agriculture, in rural welfare, in village and town improvement, to get into the Grange and build it into a still stronger organization. 18

Membership alone does not establish a member as a non-professional worker. A member is a potential non-professional worker. Non-professional workers are the active minority; those who are active in pursuing the organization's ends while occupying a position in the organization. To further limit our analysis, we shall deal with the office of Lecturer because the Lecturer has chief responsibility for educational activities at all levels in the Grange. For instance, Buck illustrates the way the "literary society" aspect of the Grange developed and indicates the Lecturer's role in this development. 19 At a later date the educational activity carried on by the Lecturer and its import for the organization was documented by Landis and Willard. They stated "locals dwindle and die if the lecture hour is not interesting." 20 Grange literature of recent date (1948) states that content of this activity may be influential

¹⁷Buck, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁸ Gardner, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁹Buck, op. cit., p. 285.

²⁰ Landis and Willard, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

beyond the membership. The educational program becomes in this sense a means of increasing membership and the general "usefulness" of the Grange. In terms of action within a structure we see the role of the Lecturer evolve from one of specifically directing energies within the lower level unit itself to a role contributing not only to the organization but to the community as a whole.

This thought then is expressed in terms of the activities of the Lecturer of the Pomona Grange. Thus the Lecturer at this level has a role which is specific but not so narrowly conceived as the Subordinate Lecturer's role. Among the suggestions to Pomona Lecturers we find:

Certainly the Pomona Program should be on a higher level than the Subordinate programs. The Subordinate Granges will serve as sources of material for the Pomona Programs. In the Pomona program probably more outside speakers would be used than in the Subordinate, but working through the Subordinate Lecturers, much of the program material can come from Subordinate programs.

The Pomona Lecturer should hold conferences with the Subordinate Lecturers to help coordinate the work of the Subordinates with each other and with the Pomona, State and National Grange programs. . . . Some Pomona Lecturers will find it possible to maintain a loan library of materials of help to the Subordinate Lecturers.

The Pomona . . . also has the opportunity to develop programs for civic betterment on a county-wide basis. . . . The Pomona should function actively in legislative programs. . . . The Pomona is particularly suited to perform this function and should ever be alert to act on subjects which come up in the legislative field.²²

At the State level of the Grange the Lecturer is a professional educational worker. This is true, however, with qualification: The

²¹Holter, op. cit., p. 6.

²²Ibid., pp. 20-21.

State Lecturer in Ohio (the state having the largest membership) has only part-time employment and works in the State Headquarters only one day of each week.²³ However, the factor of part-time employment actually imbues the holder of this office with the quality of professionalism. This aspect of the Grange does not comply with Weber's characterization of the rational-legal system of organization whereby separation of home and office and private and organization property occur.²⁴

At the national level in the Grange structure the same condition exists. The National Lecturer is not located permanently in the National Headquarters and does not receive full-time reimbursement for his activity as Lecturer. The National Lecturer commutes to the headquarters on specific days to fulfill obligations incident to his office.²⁵

Another category of professional worker who does some educational work is the Master of upper level units. Also State Deputy Masters are active in organizing lower level units. In Michigan the State Deputy Master and 16 District Deputies engage in organizing lower level units. In Ohio there is a Deputy Master in every county. 26

²³ Personal interview, Mrs. L. P. Auck, Ohio State Grange Lecturer, Columbus, Ohio, October 29, 1951. Personal interview with Mrs. Marion Johnson, Lecturer, Massachusetts State Grange, Lowell, Mass., Nov. 4, 1951. Mrs. Johnson also is a part-time employee of the Grange. She does her work as Lecturer at her home and receives a small salary and reimbursement for travel expenses incident to her work as Lecturer. Both these Lecturers when asked their occupation replied "housewife."

²⁴ Robert K. Merton, et al., Reader in Bureaucracy (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), p. 20.

²⁵Personal interview with Lloyd C. Halvorsen, Economist, National Grange, Washington, D. C., November 2, 1951.

Personal interviews with Verne Stockman, op. cit., and Mrs. L. P. Auck, op. cit.

The office of Deputy Master was created during the early days of the Grange.

The plan of work . . . was to get a few active Subordinate Granges started, and out of them to organize a temporary State Grange, the master of which would appoint deputies to carry on the work of organizing Subordinate Granges in the different parts of the State.²⁷

It is significant that in organizational activity, especially as specialists were needed to perform this role, the office was and still is appointive rather than an elective office.

In the Grange organization the other professional workers that give time to educational activities are typically the directors of the juvenile work and the youth director. The Ohio State Grange has four employees who devote part-time to non-vocational adult education--the Master, Lecturer, Youth worker, and the Juvenile Matron.²⁸ The Massachusetts State Grange has three part-time professionals--the State Master, State Lecturer and State Overseer (Vice President)--and one full-time professional worker who contribute to adult educational activities.²⁹ For the purposes of this report we shall not describe the activities of all professional workers because their specific activities are not directly related to education efforts in the three fields of interest.

One statement concerning action in the Grange comes from the daily report of the New York State Grange meeting of 1951. The National Master

²⁷Buck, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁸Personal interview with Mrs. L. P. Auck, op. cit.

²⁹The full-time professional has employment with the National Grange publication agency at Springfield, Mass. He is available to the State Grange. Personal interview with Mrs. Marion Johnson, op. cit.

mentioned to the delegates at the New York State Grange meeting, "... the Grange has been criticized for its slowness, but I hope we never see the time when the program of the Grange is put in the hands of a hired technical staff."30 In acquiring a professional staff other considerations than expertism per se are important. Gardner cites the relevance of long-time experience in Grange affairs as a desirable attribute of an employee.31 Atkeson cites the relevance of this attribute with reference to establishing a staff for the National Grange house organ.32 Loyalty, knowledge of Grange requirements and standpoint were cited by Atkeson as desirable attributes of employees.

Knowledge and proficiency in specialized subject matters are desirable. But it appears that if a person has these abilities and does not have experience as a Grange member he is less desirable.

The principal media of communication in the Grange structure is the organizational newspaper. This media made its appearance when:

The leaders of the order wanted to get into closer touch with the membership, partly perhaps with the idea this could be done through the press. As a result official Grange organs were established in nearly every state in which the order existed. Sometimes the officers of the State Grange themselves edited and published a monthly paper.³³

However, the formal establishment of a newspaper by the National Grange

³⁰Remarks of Herschel Newsom, Master, National Grange, reported in <u>The Grange Gleaner</u>, New York State Grange Convention, Syracuse, November 1, 1951, p. 1.

³¹ Gardner, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

³² Atkeson, op. cit., p. 251.

³³Buck, op. cit., p. 289.

did not occur until 1910 when a Committee on the Official Organ recommended that a newspaper be established. This committee recognized the need for a national level organ with a mission of disseminating information on legislation. The national Lecturer served on the board of management of the paper. The committee recognized the educational relevance of the paper. 34

The above citations refer to the educational content of this organization's newspaper. The "National Grange Monthly" in 1951 was sent to 250,000 members. Subordinate Granges use issues of the paper in discussion programs.35

Other printed materials supplied by the upper level units of the Grange are discussion materials, dramatics, and tableaux materials. Rather early in the existence of the Grange materials published by State Granges were used in programs of lower level units. According to Buck the Iowa Grange prepared questions on agricultural concerns for discussion in local programs. And according to Martin the National and State Granges disseminated information on "improvements" and "needs" of the agricultural system. He cited "the discussion is of infinite value to all concerned in it." The content of the materials mentioned by Martin was apparently vocational in that they were directed toward

³⁴ Atkeson, op. cit., p. 270.

³⁵ Personal interview with C. M. Hall, op. cit.

³⁶Buck, op. cit., p. 286.

³⁷ Martin, op. cit., p. 464.

improving farming.

According to the editor of the "National Grange Monthly" this paper is subscribed to "principally by use of the club plan in local Granges." Articles and the Lecturer's column provide discussion material for local programs. 38

The National Grange also uses the media of the legislative report.

MacCune cites the National Grange as an agency which sponsors a legislative reporting service available to subscribers.39

The Grange uses radio rather sporadically. For instance, the Master of the Ohio State Grange speaks on radio programs in which he presents the Grange viewpoint. The New York State Grange, in cooperation with nine other general farm organizations or farmer cooperatives, sponsors the Rural Radio Network, a thirteen station radio network whose programs are specifically directed to the rural audience. The New York State Grange maintains one program a week over this network. The Michigan State Grange in 1950 carried on a regular weekly program over the Michigan State College radio station. Nowhere does the Grange own and operate a radio station.

The lower level units of the Grange use motion pictures in their educational programs. Professional workers contacted stated that motion pictures "are very popular. Many Granges open their halls to non-members

³⁸ Personal interview with C. M. Hall, op. cit.

³⁹Wesley MacCune, The Farm Bloc (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1943), pp. 156-157.

when motion pictures are shown."40 Granges, particularly Pomonas, are encouraged to obtain motion picture projectors and make these available to other Granges and community groups. However, neither of the contacted State Granges nor the National Grange maintains a film library. Some of the sources of films used by the Ohio State Grange are International Harvester and Standard Oil. The suggested sources of films in the Grange Lecturer's Handbook are either industrial or governmental.

Establishing Policy in the Grange

To make a thorough analysis of the structure of a large scale organization and action in the structure, it is fruitful to analyze the way policy is developed; the ways participation in affairs of the organization is obtained, and the contexts in which these activities are based. For instance, a professional worker of the National Grange noted in a recently given speech to a Grange audience:

In . . . the Grange every individual member is afforded an opportunity to grow and to develop his or her ability to serve in the community and at higher levels. Keeping in mind that each of these community groups is a cross section of all the people in the community and is composed of family groups, it is obvious that only the church parallels the Grange in this respect. But in another respect these Grange groups are different from even the church—in the respect that all members are equal in status and opportunity in the conduct and government of the group, and in that all offices are open to all alike. 41

Related to governing the affairs of the large scale organization is the resolutions process. In the Ohio Grange the resolutions process does

⁴⁰ Personal interview with Mr. C. M. Hall, op. cit. Mrs. Auck, op. cit., expressed the same views.

⁴¹ Sanders, op. cit., p. 4.

not adhere to the structure of the organization. Resolutions for consideration of the State or National Grange may go through the Pomona or directly from the Subordinate to the state level. 42

After policy is formulated at the upper levels of the structure it may (1) become content for action for all or some units in the structure; (2) become part of the rules of procedure defining action of professional workers at upper or lower level units in the structure; or (3) be ignored. 43 According to the Lecturer of the Ohio State Grange

The legislative agent is responsible to bring resolution materials back down to Subordinates and contacts Subordinates with letters, etc., on the status of legislation. The Subordinate is encouraged to discuss these then. 44

It appears from the foregoing that the Grange structure, highly rigid in terms of ritualistic activities, is not nearly so rigid in developing policy.

Organized Action in the Grange

In the Grange local interests may prevail to the extent that upper level workers have little success in stimulating members to undertake educational activities. For example:

Members of Subordinates of the Colorado State Grange are simply not interested in a program in the three fields. They think of the local unit as an organization whose chief function

⁴² Personal interview with Mrs. L. P. Auck, op. cit. The same procedure prevails in the Michigan State Grange.

^{43&}lt;sub>Ib1d</sub>

⁴⁴Tbid.

is purely social . . . Our members are apathetic. 45

The Master of the Colorado State Grange went on to say how he had attempted to interest Subordinates in studying the United Nations, the problems of rural roads, rural school legislation, but had not been able to activate the membership into studies in these areas.

A Grange Lecturer in Vermont gave the following account of Subordinate and Pomona programs during 1951. Titles and techniques are given as they were listed on the questionnaire:

Christmas Program -- Rev. W. White, speaker, "Birth of Christmas." Agricultural Program -- County Agent; movie followed by discussion. Vocational Rehabilitation -- movie and speaker.

Educational Program with movie called "School in the Red," discussion on better schools in Vermont.

Mother's Day Program.

Safety Program with State Trooper present to speak and movie shown. Forestation Program with County Forestry Agent present and movies.

Farm Program with President of Farm Bureau present; movies on his farm tour to Europe.

Musical Program consisted of piano selection and community singing. Religious Program which included "How Did You Die," Minister was speaker, community singing of church songs.

Health Program -- Speaker and movie "Feeling of Rejection."

Fire Prevention Program -- Fire Chief present; showed us how to use fire extinguisher.

Juvenile Delinquency Program -- Chief of Police speaker, discussion followed.

Neighbor Nite -- Inviting visiting Granges.

Social Welfare Program--speaker and discussion of purpose of such an organization.

Program on Atomic Bomb--its use in war and destruction it does--movie. Program on Selective Service--to preserve peace.

Blood Bank Program -- speaker. 46

Reconstructed personal interview with Lee R. Pritchard, Master, Colorado State Grange, Denver, Colorado, October 14, 1951. (Interview reconstructed by Carl C. Taylor and the writer.)

Questionnaire from Mrs. Robert Levesque, Lecturer of Subordinate and Pomona Granges, Starksboro, Vermont.

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Such activities of lower level Grange units are arranged through the efforts of local non-professional workers. The variety of an annual program is illustrated by the program titles.

The Pomona Grange is made up of Subordinate Grange members who have attained the Fifth Degree. With few exceptions a Pomona does not have a hall but rather rotates its meetings among Subordinate halls.

According to Gardner this practice is commendable because Pomona meetings are attended by a wide group of members when rotation is followed. Action in the Pomona Grange is obtained almost wholly through the efforts of non-professional workers.

The State Grange is the locus of much organized group action in the Grange structure. The State Grange annual meeting is the occasion for the meeting of representatives of lower level units with the professional workers of the State level. Voting delegates from both Subordinate and Pomona Granges attended the 1950 Michigan Grange Convention. 47

Also at the State level the professional worker interacts with representatives of other groups and agencies whose interests or programs involve agriculture. The Ohio State Grange Master and the Juvenile Matron, for example, promote Grange viewpoints through radio programs. The College of Agriculture cooperates with the State Grange in providing resource people for leadership training and for various Grange conferences. The Ohio State Grange sponsors two youth camps each summer located on a college campus. The State Lecturer sends out films to local lecturers who desire

⁴⁷ Journal of Proceedings, Michigan State Grange, Muskegon, Michigan, October, 1950, pp. 8-10.

films for their programs. The State Lecturer met with officials of the Ohio State Library and through them was able to get agreement on routing bookmobiles to Grange halls. The State level is the level where non-professional workers and professional workers most likely interact; it is the level where alliances are made with other agencies who have an interest in agriculture; it is the level where much of the content of local programs is assembled and sent to lower level units. Gardner indicates the extent of State Lecturer's conferences and how this kind of activity will insure a high quality Lecture Hour.

Some region-wide organization in the Grange occurs particularly in the northern and eastern states. These organized efforts are formally a part from the Grange structure but have developed out of members' common interests. Within a given region such associations may be permanent but these forms do not extend to all State Granges. 50

The National Grange annual meeting provides the arena of policy formulation for the organization. The voting delegates to the National Grange meeting include only Masters of the State Granges and their spouses.

Eighteen State Granges maintain regularly issued publications which go to their membership.

⁴⁹ Gardner, op. cit., p. 413.

^{50 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 410-417. Gardner treats in a general way the development of Programs and Conferences in the Grange structure. From his description it appears there are two kinds of general headings for these group actions; first, conferences of officers who are actively engaged in Grange work--these embrace non-professional and professional workers; the second kind of group action is an informal arrangement whereby "past masters" or "Seventh Degree" clubs have been formed in areas where there are a number of Granges. The latter groups intimately associate with the ritualistic aspect of Grange activity.

If a State Master has no spouse that State has only one vote.

The National Lecturer of the Grange originates program planning material for the use of local Lecturers. A principal media of this activity is through the Lecturer's Column of the National Grange Monthly. The Lecturer's Handbook is another means by which the National Lecturer communicates program materials to the lower level units of the Grange structure.

The National Grange sponsors an annual Community Service Contest.

This activity is one in which action is obtained in the local community.

The Contest Guide states:

The more we assume our individual responsibilities toward our communities the better able we will be to meet the challenge to America's freedom. The mark of a free people is their determination and ability to solve their problems through their own resources rather than calling upon others to do it for them. The Grange, founded on the principle of self-help, provides the mechanism through which we, as individuals can become articulate and serve this objective.

America can be no stronger than the sum of its communities. Every community has the potential leadership to carry out its own program of development.

Community Service is one of the contributions that every Grange can give to its community.51

Grange members are encouraged to expand their horizons beyond their own organization. But this encouragement to extend activities retains a parochial aspect because "local" emphasis remains dominant.

⁵¹¹⁹⁵² Community Service Contest Guide (Washington, D.C.: The National Grange and the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, n.d.), no pagination.

II. THE FARMERS' UNION

Structure of the Farmers' Union

The lowest level unit in the Farmers' Union is the Farmers' Union local. This unit is a community or neighborhood organization. The local unit is regarded as the "one social device" which can hold together the rural community. According to a professional worker of the North Dakota Farmers' Union the local "is a non-property organization; it is a group of people." Farmers' Union locals do not ordinarily have halls for meeting purposes but meet in open country school houses or member's homes. Membership in the Farmers Union is in the name of the head of the family but women and children are encouraged to participate in the meetings of the local unit. In fact participation of women and children in local activities has been correlated with successful locals. The same writer quotes from an early organizer's experience:

When you organize the men, organize the women. If you fall down on the job of organizing the women you are licked from the start.55

According to Knight, Farmers' Union leaders value the local unit above cooperatives or the legislative program of the Union. Active locals are

⁵² Handbook for Farmers Union Locals, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵³ Personal interview with Richard C. Joyce, Assistant Director, North Dakota Farmers' Union, Jamestown, North Dakota, October 16, 1951.

⁵⁴ Harold Knight, Grass Roots: The Story of the North Dakota Farmers Union (Jamestown: North Dakota Farmers Union, 1947), p. 127.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 38.

basic to the Union program. 56

The Farmers' Union local is an operative unit in the structure of the organization. Action is encouraged at this level because:

We must plan our action not only on national and state issues but on local projects. This will interest more people. Local projects are concrete, can be seen.57

The County Union is the next unit in the hierarchy of the Farmers' Union structure. There must be at least three locals in a county before a County Union can be organized. There are 400 County Unions in the United States. The majority of these units are in North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, Colorado, and Oklahoma. Locals in counties in which there is no County Union are directly under a State or Territorial Union. Most County Unions hold quarterly meetings during the year.

The State Union, or in thinly-organized areas the Territorial Union, is the next unit in the structure. State Unions are organized in North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, Iowa, Texas, Oregon, Michigan, and Arkansas. Members in other states affiliate with a Territorial Union. (See Table II.)

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 51.

⁵⁷ Program of the Summer Camp, 1951 (Little Rock: Arkansas Farmers' Union, 1951), p. 10.

During the 1952 Biennial Convention of the National Farmers' Union the delegates revoked the charter of the Iowa Farmers' Union. This state organization had pursued a policy with reference to international and economic affairs whose views agreed with the views of the American communist party. The period following the Korean war brought these views to the fore with increasing frequency. In this case, as with the Grange on the West Coast, a large scale organization enclaved a part whose views differed from the total organization.

TABLE II

TOTAL FARMERS' UNION MEMBERSHIPS, NOVEMBER, 1951*

State	Members	State	Members
	Total	462,759	
Alabama	812	New Mexico	812
Arkansas	2 6,8 75	North Dakota	94,500
Colorado	27,750	Ohio	1,062
Idaho	2,250	Oklahoma	89,000
Iowa	2,560	0regon	5,250
Kansas	24,750	South Dakota	41,250
Michigan	5,250	Tennessee	1,188
Minnesota	23,000	Texas	4,250
Missouri	825	Utah	1,625
Montana	30,750	Virginia	1,375
Nebraska	45,625	Washington	3,500
New Jersey	7,750	Wisconsin	20,750

^{*}Loomis, et al., op. cit., p. 82. The number of family memberships per state was expanded by the constant 2.5 to arrive at number of memberships reported here.

The National Farmers' Union is the upper level unit in the Farmers' Union structure. The national level maintains its headquarters in Denver, Colorado, and a legislative office in Washington, D. C.

The Farmers' Union structure actually involves two parallel structures. The second represents the structure of cooperatives tied to the Farmers' Union at all levels. For example:

Farmers' Union does not believe in co-operatives as a separate entity unto themselves. They are more than an isolated economic lever. They are an integral part of the organization, contributing their full share to the education, welfare and political articulation of family farmers. 59

Procedural Relationships in the Farmers' Union

Membership in the Farmers' Union local is open to all members of the family of sixteen years of age and over. Younger members may enroll in Reserve Units. Members of the Reserve Units are encouraged to participate in activities of the local but are non-voting members.

The relationship between the Local and County Union in terms of educational activity is that local members report educational activities to the County Union and represent the local unit at county-wide educational events. The County Union reciprocates by publicizing local efforts; by visits of county educational workers (non-professional) to the local; and by arranging conferences of local educational officers. Also, the County Union maintains a library of reference materials, sponsors leadership schools, county-wide organizational activities, and encourages

⁵⁹ Farmers' Union: Deep-Rooted in America's Past . . Looks to the Future, op. cit., n.p.

participation in Fairs. All Farmers' Union members are automatically members of the County Union if such an organization exists in their county.

The Local also has a reporting relationship with the State Union. This is true even if there is an intervening County unit. The Local educational officer is encouraged to maintain full complements of State Union program materials and to be alert to State-sponsored conferences and meetings. In turn the State Union is responsible for interpreting the National Farmers' Union program to Local Unions and to develop a unified educational program within the defined limits and objectives of the National program. 60

The National Union coordinates the activities of all the State
Unions. Thus the National carries on public relations work, provides
field services and prepares program materials for use at other levels.
The presidents of the State Unions form the Board of Directors of the
National Farmers' Union. From this group an Executive Committee of five
is elected which is the decision making group for the National Union.
According to Knight:

The National Farmers Union (in 1937) was still a loose federation of state organizations, each pretty much with its own program . . . It took the war years and the adoption of the new constitution in 1946 to weld the Farmers Union into a truly united Union of farmers, instead of a federation of state groups. 61

⁶⁰ Farmers' Union Youth Activities Manual (Denver: Department of Education, National Farmers' Union, 1951), pp. 24-26.

⁶¹ Knight, op. cit., p. 85.

This account and the previously given statements demonstrate a "unity" theme as the desired relationship between State and National Unions.

Structural Conditions for Action

Membership in the Farmers' Union is open to farmers, teachers, preachers, newspaper editors (sympathetic to the Farmers' Union) and is specifically denied to bankers, speculators, middlemen. When a family head joins the Union all members of the family of eight years of age or more become members. 62

Members active in the affairs of the Local are the officers--the non-professional workers. Three elective officers--President, vicePresident, Secretary-Treasurer-- and a group of appointed Action Officials constitute local non-professional workers. Action Officials are Directors of Education, Cooperation, Legislative, Organization, Juniors, Recreation, and Publicity. These officers with the elected officers constitute the Action Group. The Action Group members establish a division of labor, plan a year's action program and meetings. Action Officials are allotted time at meetings to report on their specialized activities. The Local Education Director sees that issues are discussed and members are aware of problems of concern to the Farmers' Union. Deciding on necessary materials and methods and leading discussions fall to the Education Director. According to a professional worker of the Rocky Mountain Farmers' Union:

The objectives of the Action Program are (1) to enhance discussion of public issues; (2) to improve local organization for

⁶² Handbook for Farmers' Union Locals, op. cit., p. 8.

presenting content to local discussion groups.63

The County Union has the same elective and appointive officers as the Local Union. It has no jurisdiction over the Local Union regarding representation in State or National Union meetings. The Educational Director of the County Union is the person to whom falls the responsibility for conducting adult and junior educational programs with the Local Unions. Apart from this, the County level educational work concerns publicizing activities of Farmers' Union Locals and developing county-wide events for the membership. It appears as though the County Union plays a service roll with reference to local units. This probably relates to the less frequent meetings of the County Union and the emphasis placed on the value of local activities.

The multi-county level is the lowest level in the Farmers' Union structure where professional workers are found. Ordinarily professionals at this level work in organizing Local Unions. Knight states that in North Dakota:

. . . the County Unions pooled a large part of their financial resources with the State Union to employ 12 to 18 fieldmen, each covering from two to four counties. 64

Thus a cooperative relationship exists between County Unions and the State Union whereby organizing activity is carried forward.

The State Union serves as a locus of professional workers in the Farmers' Union structure. The North Dakota Farmers' Union has 14 full-

⁶³ Personal interview with Harvey Solberg, President, Rocky Mountain Farmers' Union, Denver, Colorado, October 12, 1951.

⁶⁴Knight, op. cit., p. 127.

time professional workers all of whom actively engage in non-vocational adult education. Of these 14 professionals, six are based at the State Headquarters and the remaining eight are field workers who spend some time at the headquarters but are more often out in the state. Six of the field workers are women. Women field workers are better able to "sell" Farmers' Union to farm women. When the mother believes in the Union "father is much more likely to remain an active Union member. The employment of women fieldworkers relates to the dominant attitude among Farmers' Union people that women should participate in the activities of the organization.

The Education Director of the North Dakota Farmers' Union sends discussion kits out to local units of the Farmers' Union. These kits of reference materials include plays, songbooks and discussion materials on "human relations and cooperatives." The Education Director, also, referred to the need for women to participate in Union activities. For example:

If Locals are to be active we must have more women interested in the study groups. Women have to know more about the Farmers' Union in "women's language." Ladies Camp relates all Farmers' Union activities to the home situation. 67

Another activity of this professional is organizing and directing the Annual Ladies Camp referred to above. This camp is a week long

^{65&}lt;sub>Tbid., p. 109</sub>

⁶⁶ Personal interview with Mrs. Lulu Evanson, Education Director, North Dakota Farmers' Union, Jamestown, North Dakota, October 17, 1951.

⁶⁷ Tbid.

activity attended by women who belong to the Farmers' Union.

Many professional workers of the North Dakota State Union do adult education work as indicated above. While they do not devote full time to this activity they are all full-time employees of the State Union and all of them perform their work at the State Headquarters or work out of this office.

The Radio Director is responsible for a daily radio program. The Assistant Director of this Union is Cooperative Director which involves maintaining reference materials for cooperatives and contributing material to the organization newspaper and radio programs. The President is more concerned with over-all policy of the State Union and with keeping activities of the organization in proper perspective. For example, he said:

farmer have conflicts of interest. To the grain farmer the grain marketing part of the Farmers' Union becomes the important part. This may be repeated in oil association so that a psychological horizon is set in terms of the interest of the individual farmer. Others think the local or the County unit, the legislative activity is the most important. Within the organization the individual employees develop proprietary interests in their own area. We try to build one Farmers' Union. All the farmers' problems are not going to be solved with a health program, a livestock program, etc. We have to deal with all these things. We are dealing with a farmer, his wife, his family; he is not just a hog marketer. We are dealing with John Jones, a human being. 68

The Education Department of the National Farmers' Union includes five professional workers of whom four are classed as fieldworkers. In addition the President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, Director of

⁶⁸ Personal interview with Glenn Talbott, President, North Dakota Farmers' Union, Jamestown, North Dakota, October 16, 1951.

Publications, and three Legislative workers all perform non-vocational adult education work. However, none of these persons participates full time in this activity.

National Union Farmer, a monthly newspaper, sent to all dues-paying members. Another monthly publication of the National office is the Action Letter sent to Action Officials. Each month it covers one topic considered to be of fundamental importance in the Farmers' Union program. This upper level office also originates the quarterly Program Service. This publication features materials for discussion and program aids. The Washington, D. C. office publishes a weekly legislative report sent to all Legislative Directors in organized Farmers' Union units. The National Farmers' Union does not sponsor radio activities although, like the Grange, its professional workers regularly appear on radio programs. This activity is not organized on a regularly-programmed basis.

The North Dakota Farmers' Union sponsors a daily radio program of half-hour duration. The Radio Director and other professional workers of the State office speak on this program. Farm people appear on the program at least once each week. The format carries announcements of group meetings, Farmers' Union information, recorded folk music and songs of the Farmers' Union and labor organizations. The audience for this daily program includes the state of North Dakota and adjoining areas.

The North Dakota Farmers' Union has developed a State Action

Bulletin sent to 3800 Action Officials in North Dakota each month. This

State Union also prints a bi-weekly newspaper sent to all members. This

Union also provides a library for the use of members.

The National or State Farmers' Unions do not maintain film libraries. However, the National Farmers' Union Institute program carries the addresses of agencies where films might be obtained. Some suggested sources are the American Association for the United Nations, the United States Department of Agriculture; UAW-CIO Film Library and the State University.

Establishing Policy in the Farmers' Union

A National Farmers' Union pamphlet outlines the Union's resolution process. 69 The Local submits resolutions to a State program committee which prepares resolutions for floor discussion at the Convention. At the national level a program committee considers State programs and suggestions from members prior to submitting resolutions for consideration by the delegates. From these and earlier cited statements it appears that the County level of the Farmers' Union structure is not necessary to policy formulation.

State conventions are held every year. Delegates are elected by individual members in Farmers Union locals, the basic organizational unit. In some states the Locals are joined in a County unit so that more effective work can be done on such community issues as schools, roads, medical services and co-operatives. 70

Because the Local Union is consistently found wherever the Farmers' Union is organized, it has an important role in developing policy. The Local

⁶⁹ For These Things We Stand, op. cit., n.p.

⁷⁰ Farmers' Union: Deep-Rooted in America's Past . . Looks to the Future, op. cit., n.p.

is called the "basic organization unit." However, where there are County Unions elected delegates represent these units at State Conventions.

National policy is executed by the Board of Directors of the National Farmers' Union. This Board includes the Presidents of State Unions who in turn delegate much of the policy determination to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is an elective group based in membership of the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee may resolve during the interim between Biennial Conventions. 72

Farmers' Union upper level personnel believe that tours contribute to developing member participation in organization affairs. Of importance are tours to Washington, D. C., the area of the Tennessee Valley Authority and especially those tours to facilities of cooperatives allied with the Union. The President of the Arkansas Farmers' Union indicated plans for bringing members to the meeting of the State Legislature. By touring cooperative facilities and meeting government officials, it is believed members obtain concrete evidence of the Farmers' Union program and understanding of our political and economic systems.

In order to relieve the State Union of having to maintain membership by annual recruiting drives, the organization has encouraged

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Resolution on Building Strength for Peace, Prosperity and Democracy, Adopted by the Executive Committee of National Farmers' Union, July 27, 1951. Resolution adopted shortly after beginning of Korean hostilities.

⁷³ Personal interview with Albert Hopkins, President, Arkansas Farmers' Union, Little Rock, Arkansas, November 16, 1951.

cooperatives to practice the check-off of dues. Thus patrons of cooperatives automatically become members of the Farmers' Union. These "patronage dividend" members present a special problem to State Farmers' Unions. 74

Organized Action in the Farmers' Union

In numerous places in this study references have been made to the activities of the Farmers Union Locals' meeting. This is the basic organization unit in the structure according to the stated pronouncements of the organization's literature.

The County Union typically sponsors quarterly meetings during the year. All levels in the Union, except for Locals, sponsor camp programs. The camp programs included 10,000 participants in 1950. The National Union sponsors the All-States Camp for "future officers and leaders" and the National Training Institute of the Farmers' Union for employees of State Unions. Meetings deal with cooperative philosophy, racial and religious prejudice, the meaning, structure, and function of the Farmers' Union. In a class on cooperatives the instructor used socio drama to illustrate the operation of a Local meeting. This educational fieldworker said, "It seemed there was always someone who wanted to play the corporate farmer." The Institute staff is from the National office.

⁷⁴ Personal interview with James Baccus, Director of Information, North Dakota Farm Bureau Federation, Fargo, North Dakota, October 18, 1951. Mr. Baccus referred to the Union's patronage dividend members as "captives." The Farm Bureau regards this system of dues collection as unwholesome.

⁷⁵ National Union Farmer, January, 1951, op. cit., p. 14.

⁷⁶ Personal interview with Mrs. Flossie Harris, Senior Fieldworker, National Farmers' Union, Denver, Colorado, October 11, 1951.

The Director of Education taught the course in Human Relations which emphasized:

... visibility effects prejudice. Prejudice is not rational thinking, it is pre-judging. The instructor emphasized that all people have basic drives; all want security. This ties in with economics. Tensions that result in a scarcity in any line, results in competition. This then is tied in with cooperation and thru cooperation, tensions are mitigated.77

Other courses dealt with the organization's insurance program, cooperatives, Action techniques, and propaganda analysis. Outside speakers at the Institute were the Regional Director of the Communication Workers of America, the Director of the Urban League, the Educational Director of the Anti-Defamation League, and workers from folk schools.

III. THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

Structure of the Farm Bureau

In much of the United States the lowest level of the Farm Bureau structure is the local unit. This is the Farm Bureau Center in California, the Township Farm Bureau in Iowa, the Neighborhood Advisory Countil in Ohio, and the Farm Bureau Chapter in the southern states. Developing local units is being considered in those states where the lowest operative level has been the County. 78

The County Farm Bureau federates with all other County Bureaus in a state to form the State Federation. There are 2,396 County Farm

^{77&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁷⁸Kile, op. cit., p. 379.

Bureaus in the United States out of a total of 3,070 counties. The County Bureau was the first level of organization developed in this structure. There are today State Farm Bureaus in 47 states affiliated with the American Farm Bureau Federation. (See Table III.)

First steps toward organization of the American Farm Bureau
Federation were taken in 1919 with the organization becoming final in
1920. It has since become the American farm organization with the
largest number of members.

Procedural Relationships in the Farm Bureau Structure

The Farm Bureau Local is the lowest level in the Farm Bureau structure. The Ohio Farm Bureau has organized congeniality groups into discussion groups. These groups constitute the local level in Ohio and also in Vermont and Michigan. When Farm Bureaus first organized local units this was done to achieve access to groups of farmers for dissemination of technical agricultural information. More recently the rationale for developing local units has been directed toward achieving participation in the large scale organization. A letter from the Director of Education, Vermont State Farm Bureau, states some effects of this kind of organizational activity:

Before my coming to Vermont in 1946, the Farm Bureau program consisted mainly of Annual Meetings on a State and County level, sending delegates to the Convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, some legislative work, the insurance program, and the sponsorship of Extension work.

⁷⁹Roger Fleming, speech reported in <u>Summary of the National Rural Youth Leadership Training School</u> (Des Moines: American Farm Bureau Federation, 1951), p. 7.

TABLE III

TOTAL FARM BUREAU MEMBERSHIPS, NOVEMBER 1951*

State	Members	State	Members
	Total	1,452,130	
Alabama	61,193	Nevada	1,406
Arizona	3,362	New Hampshire	4,869
Arkansas	49,019	New Jersey	8,819
California	61,279	New York	82,902
Colorado	7,626	New Mexico	6,503
Connecticut	8,648	North Carolina	58,025
Delaware	760	North Dakota	8,752
Florida	11,000	Ohio	58,978
Georgia	50,253	Oklahoma	30,852
Idaho	11,637	Oregon	4,953
Illinois	183,510	Pennsylvania	521
Indiana	96,354	Rhode Island	3,259
Iowa	125,022	South Carolina	14,693
Kansas	58,008	South Dakota	2,776
Kentucky	64,188	Tennessee	40,001
Louisiana	10,033	Texas	50,000
Maryland	10,217	Utah	6,425
Massachusetts	5,287	Vermont	9,422
Michigan	4 7, 768	Virginia	8,762
Minnesota	61,954	Washington	4,681
Mississippi	23,084	West Virginia	11,620
Missouri	38,989	Wisconsin	29,578
Montana	1,242	Wyoming	5,944
Nebraska	7,956	, -	- •

^{*}Loomis, et al., op. cit., p. 82. To make Bureau memberships comparable to Union memberships multiply each state figure by 2.5. The resulting total number of memberships: 3,630,325.

There is a need to strengthen democracy in other places than government, however. One of the most important places is in our own Farm Bureau organization. Today, as a result of our Neighborhood Club program, there is an awakening to the real potentialities of a farmer's organization. . . Probably 50% of the resolutions passed at the Annual Meeting get their start in Neighborhood Club discussions. There is less of an inclination to accept the word of the officers as the last word on a subject and more of an inclination to study the subject further. 80

A local unit is related to the County Bureau in its county. 81 The Local consists of those members who reside in an area small enough for convenience in meeting together. The following statement indicates, in terms of the responsibilities of Directors, the County Farm Bureau's sphere of action.

The County Farm Bureau Board of Directors . . . can have the leading influence in the county . . . /in/ formulating policies and directing supervision of a broad program of education, legislation and service. 82

Farm Bureau literature is insistent that the locus of local policy making is in the County Farm Bureau. Stanfield states that the County Boards in Ohio "are legally responsible for the conduct of the local Farm Bureau program.*83

The County Farm Bureau is in turn related to the State Farm Bureau in precisely defined terms. Memoranda of understanding are in existence between state and county units in the Farm Bureau structure. The document

⁸⁰ Personal communication to C. P. Loomis from Don Elberson, Director of Education, Vermont State Farm Bureau Federation, Burlington, Vermont, March 12, 1952.

⁸¹ Manual, California Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 8.

^{82 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 45.

⁸³D. R. Stanfield, <u>Process and Techniques in Developing Farm Bureau</u>
Policy (Columbus: Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, 1951), p. 3.

defining relationships in the Michigan Farm Bureau structure states:

THIS AGREEMENT, is in effect a memorandum of understanding between the various County Farm Bureaus which are federated together in the Michigan Farm Bureau. It states further the procedures for effecting a unified program throughout the state . . .

- . . . it is mutually understood and agreed as follows:
- 1. The "County Farm Bureau" will assume responsibility for carrying on a program designed to maintain a County Farm Bureau organization . . . and will retain therefor three dollars for each paid-up membership in said county. The program to be conducted by the County Farm Bureau to include:
 - a. The holding of an annual County Farm Bureau meeting. b. The appointment of a membership committee, which committee shall be authorized to act for such County Farm Bureau in matters pertaining to acquisition and maintenance of membership and to whom shall be referred all questions concerning and the direction of membership acquisition and maintenance. c. The sending of delegates to the Michigan Farm Bureau annual meeting.
 - d. The meeting of the County Farm Bureau Board of Directors at least eight (8) times during the year with provision for an executive committee to act in the interim.
- 7. The "Bureau" agrees that it will carry on an educational, legislative and business program agreeable to the general membership of the Michigan Farm Bureau. The program to be conducted by the "Bureau" to include:84
 - a. Assisting the "County Farm Bureau" through a field force which will contact said "County Farm Bureau" to advise, correlate and help organize and to assist in every other way as is desired and feasible; said field force to be maintained within the limits of finances available. Further assistance will be given through pamphlets, speakers, education, projects, etc.

8. The "Bureau" further agrees that it will assume within the

⁸⁴The term "bureau" as used in the cited document refers to the Michigan Farm Bureau Federation.

scope and limitations of the "County Farm Bureau" program, supervisory responsibilities over the work of the county organization and information director and that such activities as are carried on have the approval of the County Farm Bureau, all this for the purpose of better accomplishing the objectives of the county and state program and to correlate all county programs within the state to a common purpose. Of

A professional worker of the American Farm Bureau Federation termed the "uniform cooperative agreement" between the county and state organizations one of the "principles of organization" in Farm Bureau. He indicated that such agreements make explicit "the obligations and contractual relations through which a county and state operate." 86

These citations have taken the analysis on to the state level of the Farm Bureau structure. 87 Eligible for membership in the Iowa Bureau are those County Bureaus which cooperate with Iowa State College and whose use of public funds is limited to educational purposes. 88 Delegate representation to the Iowa Farm Bureau is based on the County Farm Bureau and the means of their selection as County delegates is specified by the State Bureau. 89

⁸⁵ County Farm Bureau Relationships (Lansing: Michigan Farm Bureau Federation, n.d.), pp. 1-4.

⁸⁶Harry Bryson, speech reported in Summary of National Rural Youth Leadership Training School, op. cit., p. 30.

⁸⁷McKee, op. cit., p. 32. "The county Farm Bureaus constitute the important local level of activity and the important political unit of the organization. The district scheme prevails in most Farm Bureau states. It is not a policy making level."

⁸⁸ Articles of Incorporation of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation (Des Moines: Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, 1949), p. 4.

⁸⁹<u>Tbid</u>., p. 4.

The national level of the Farm Bureau structure is the American Farm Bureau Federation. Only State Farm Bureaus may be members of the American Farm Bureau Federation. Individuals, County Bureaus and women's and youth's associations have associate or affiliate status. 90 Voting delegates to the American Farm Bureau represent the member organizations. The number of votes held by members is based on numerical strength. However, all have one vote as a minimum. To retain voting delegate status dues for the current fiscal year must be paid. 91

According to the By-Laws the Board of Directors administers affairs of the national organization. The Directors are chosen from among the Voting Delegates. The national president and vice president along with the elected Board members make up the total Board. 92

Cooperatives associated with the Iowa Farm Bureau handle fertilizer, serums, petroleum products, paint, tires, anti-freeze and farm chemicals. Cooperative handling of plant food and serums is carried on in all but two Iowa counties while the Farm Bureau Service Companies-petroleum, paint, tires--number thirty-one with coverage equalling about one-half of the state. The emphasis in cooperative effort is on those aspects which contribute directly to production aspects of the individual farm business. Further, consumption products handled by the Iowa Farm Bureau are limited to those items which contribute to the farm business. 93

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

⁹¹ Tbid., p. 15.

⁹² Ibid., p. 17.

⁹³Annual Report of Progress, 1950 (Des Moines: Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, 1950), n.p., section on "Affiliated Companies."

The same characteristic prevails in the Michigan and California Bureaus except that the Michigan Bureau handles lines of farm machinery.

In addition to these forms of cooperative effort the State Farm

Bureaus have developed extensive insurance programs. Affiliates of the

Iowa Farm Bureau offer insurance protection from hail and fire and

standard life insurance programs as well. Local agents in Iowa counties

are under the direction of the County Farm Bureau Board of Directors.

The cooperative structure is integrated at the state level in the structure of the Iowa Farm Bureau being placed under the Administrative Board of the state unit. The cooperative structure is found only at the County and State levels in the Iowa Farm Bureau.

Women's activities in the Farm Bureau structure. Farm Bureau memberships are family memberships but within the organization women are grouped in an auxiliary structure. Women in the Iowa Farm Bureau have Women's Committees at all levels comparable to the state organization. 94 Within the Iowa and Michigan Farm Bureaus Women's Committees have a representative on the Board of Directors of the county and state organizations. The women, however, maintain the parallel structure of the Associated Women of the Farm Bureau through both state and national

Jowa Farm Bureau Women's Committees, op. cit., pp. 2-3. This kind of organization does not prevail throughout the structures of the Ohio or Michigan Farm Bureaus where local units are discussion groups. Above the local level differentiation by sex occurs. See 32nd Annual Report of the Michigan Farm Bureau, op. cit., p. 37, and Carl Hutchinson, "Function of the Small Group in the Ohio Farm Bureau," Autonomous Groups Bulletin, Vol. IV, Nos. 2-3, Winter, 1948-Spring, 1949, p. 20.

levels. Within the structure of the Associated Women the same kind of selection of voting delegates prevails as illustrated for the Farm Bureau organization. 95

Youth activities in the Farm Bureau structure. The structure of Youth activities in the Farm Bureau is similar in form to the women's structure. Inasmuch as we are concerned with adult activities in this study the youth structure will not be described.

Structural Conditions for Action in the Farm Bureau

Membership in the California Farm Bureau is open to citizens or those "eligible for citizenship." An owner of farm lands in a California county may belong to the Farm Bureau even if he is not a county resident. 96 By joining the Farm Bureau an individual also acquires for his immediate family (husband, wife and minor children) the benefits of Farm Bureau membership. 97 In this case, agreement with objectives rather than occupation serves to limit membership.

The Farm Bureau makes use of committee assignments in the lower level units. The five permanent committees of County units in the California Farm Bureau are Program, Organization, Finance, Executive, and Resolution. These non-professional workers have active counterparts in the local units. The non-professional worker who integrates the units of

^{95&}quot;Articles of Incorporation," Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 12.

⁹⁶ Manual, California Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 72.

^{97&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 72</sub>.

these levels with the state organization is the State Delegate. The California Farm Bureau considers that the state delegate has the highest office in the County Farm Bureau. The delegate should "endeavor to maintain . . . harmony" of the County program with State organization policies. The California Bureau includes a district organization whereby several counties are grouped. Delegates from the counties in a district select one from among their number to represent the district on the State Board. 98

A non-professional worker--the Director--in the Farm Bureau structure is the policy formulating person. Professional workers are restricted from filling a delegate's role. 99 There are exceptions to this dictum of salaried employees performing policy formulating roles. In some State Bureaus and at the national level the president is a member in good standing, a practicing farmer and an employee as well. 100 Also in the Arkansas Farm Bureau the Executive Secretary has executive responsibility because the President does not have time to devote full time to the organization. 101 The same condition prevails in the North Dakota Farm Bureau. 102 In general, it appears that in many strong states the Farm Bureau is headed by a full-time employee with the title of President who is assisted by a full-time

⁹⁸ Toid., p. 56.

⁹⁹ Voting Delegates of the American Farm Bureau Federation (Chicago: American Farm Bureau Federation, n.d.), p. 5.

Articles of Incorporation of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁰¹ Personal interview with Waldo Frazier, Executive Secretary, Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation, Little Rock, Arkansas, November 16, 1951.

¹⁰² Personal interview with James Baccus, op. cit.

executive secretary. In states where support is not so strong the President has part-time employment or is paid expenses alone for conducting the affairs of his office and an executive secretary has executive responsibilities. With respect to the documents and interviews concerning the professionalization of top workers in the state organizations of the Farm Bureau it appears that no set pattern exists as between states.

The lowest level in the Farm Bureau structure where professional workers are found is at the county level. In the California Farm Bureau the County Secretary should manage affairs so that non-professional workers are not unduly burdened. Also his management should:

. . . make possible an integrated, smoothly-operated organization that will be on a par or exceed the status of other organizations which the farmer must be prepared to meet upon an equal or superior basis. 103

The County Secretary has numerous and well defined duties. Acquiring members, maintaining efficient office routine, performing public relations work, arranging and attending Farm Bureau meetings, distributing materials for programs and performing research are duties outlined for him. He acts "as the employed manager of a corporation of which the directors are the governing body." 104

The Iowa, Ohio and California Farm Bureaus have regional districts

¹⁰³ Manual, California Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 94.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. See Annual Report of Progress, 1950 (Des Moines: Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, 1950), n.p. Iowa Farm Bureau fieldmen have essentially the same duties. These fieldmen operate in every Iowa county.

for organization work. These professional workers are under the Organization Department of the Bureaus and responsible to the state organization. These professionals supervise the activities of the county level professional workers.

The next level in the Farm Bureau structure is the state organization. According to the 1950 Annual Report of the Iowa Farm Bureau this state office has 26 professional employees. These professionals work in the legal, organization, research, legislative, safety, young peoples, information, purchasing, livestock, and women's departments. The California Farm Bureau has twelve different departments each headed by a professional worker. The Michigan Farm Bureau follows the same general scheme but appears to have fewer employees. 105

Within the state unit of the Ohio Farm Bureau a professional worker has the office of Director of Education. This person maintains a flow of materials to the organization's discussion groups and processes materials sent back by these groups. This is the one case for the Farm Bureau organizations visited where a professional employee was designated as an educational worker. As can be ascertained from the accounts which have preceded the extreme emphasis in the Farm Bureau is on "organizational" work with educational work falling somewhere in this area. In the Ohio Farm Bureau 21 professional workers engage in non-vocational

¹⁰⁵ See relevant sections of Annual Report of Progress, 1950, op. cit., 32nd Annual Report of the Michigan Farm Bureau, op. cit., and Annual Reports of California Farm Bureau Federation Service Departments (Berkeley: California Farm Bureau Federation, 1951).

adult education. Six devote full time to this end. 106 In the Arkansas Farm Bureau five full-time professional workers contribute part time to non-vocational adult education.

Professional workers at the state level actively promote the objectives of the organization in interaction with non-farm groups. Thus the Iowa Farm Bureau promotes farmer-businessman meetings. The President and Executive Secretary of this organization speak before Chambers of Commerce, League of Women Voters units, Manufacturers Associations, and other similar groups in the state. According to the Executive Secretary:

The ideas we try to get across through the speakers bureau are rather high on our educational list. We try to deal with current issues. During the past year we dealt with . . . controlling inflation. Through this means I estimate we reach nearly 50,000 non-Farm Bureau people. 107

A different means of achieving agreement on inflation control was used by the Arkansas Farm Bureau. The Executive Secretary organized a state-wide committee whose activity was directed toward publicizing an inflation control effort. This activity involved organizing business groups of the state into a temporary organization called "Save the Dollar" campaign. The Arkansas Farm Bureau collected relevant materials from the American Farm Bureau, National Association of Manufacturers, Michigan

¹⁰⁶The Ohio and Vermont Farm Bureaus appear to be quite different from the other State Farm Bureaus. An emphasis in these two states lies with education and discussion. They constitute enclaves within the Farm Bureau structure. These Bureaus quite frequently differ from American Farm Bureau Federation policies.

¹⁰⁷ Personal interview with Kenneth Thatcher, Executive Secretary, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa, October 26, 1951.

State College, and the National Cotton Council to document its position on inflation control. 108

The Vermont Farm Bureau organized statewide efforts, in much the same manner as the case cited for Arkansas above, but the content and direction of these activities differ somewhat. This organization cooperated with or organized a citizens' committee for the U.N., the State Department of Education, various adult education programs and a conference of farmers and laborers. Neighborhood Clubs have had discussions on electrical energy, milk pricing, the domestic effect of foreign trade and the role of cooperatives in our economy. 109

For purposes of organizational activity the national level of the Farm Bureau structure divides the United States into four regions. The professional workers filling these offices carry on organization work. in membership acquisition and maintenance. 110

A weekly newspaper published by the Iowa Bureau circulates to all its members. A monthly magazine of the Ohio Farm Bureau has a circulation of 75,000. In each issue Neighborhood Council activities are reported and an article on the topic for discussion in the Councils is included. The Ohio Farm Bureau also sponsors a newspaper. The newspapers of the Ohio and Iowa organizations devote half of their space to local news.

The Ohio Farm Bureau sends each Advisory Council a Monthly

¹⁰⁸ Personal interview with Waldo Frazier, op. cit.

¹⁰⁹Communication from Don Elberson, Director of Education, Vermont State Farm Bureau, Burlington, Vermont, March 12, 1952.

¹¹⁰Kile, op. cit., p. 366.

Discussion Guide. The Vermont Bureau follows a similar procedure in its program. Typical discussion guides of these organizations concern the family farm, cooperatives, rural churches, legislation, taxation and policy development in the Farm Bureau.

The Ohio Farm Bureau owns a radio station whose coverage encompasses Ohio. The state organization sponsors five daily radio programs over this station. Each Sunday two half-hour shows on council discussions, community projects, business-labor-agriculture panels, or dramatic stories are broadcast. A five station "Farm Bureau Network" carries a daily program of the California Farm Bureau to a state-wide listening audience.

The Iowa Farm Bureau maintains a film library and additionally uses Iowa State College films. According to the Information Director most County Farm Bureaus have projectors. 111

The Nation's Agriculture. This magazine goes to every Farm Bureau member in the United States except those in California. A weekly newsletter from the Washington office goes to 30,000 persons on state and county boards of directors. The newsletter reports on legislative activity, administrative matters, and reprints speeches of Farm Bureau professional and non-professional workers.

Personal interview, Dan Murphy, Director of Information, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa, October 26, 1951.

Establishing Policy in the Farm Bureau Structure

The Iowa Farm Bureau spends a great deal of time on policy development. 112 In May the state professional staff develops twelve or fifteen issues on which Farm Bureau has no position or on which revisions are due. 113 The State Board of Directors goes over these issues and when content is approved by the State Board copies are sent to the County Farm Bureaus in the form of background material. Following this County Resolution Committees hold District meetings at which full discussion of the background material occurs. The County Committees take the background materials and the information gained from district discussions back to their counties. Township meetings in early autumn prepare resolutions and send these to the County Resolutions Committee. The Township resolutions have only an advisory capacity because the County Farm Bureau is the policy formulating body. The State Resolutions Committee, which receives County resolutions, consists of representatives of each district unit of the Iowa Farm Bureau and, in addition, the Women's Chairman and Youth Chairman.

At this point the State Resolutions Committee analyzes the resolutions and calls in for testimony such people as the State Conservationist, State Chairman of the Production and Marketing

¹¹² Personal interview with Guy Gilchrist, Director of Research, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa, October 26, 1951. The description of this process was obtained in its entirety from Mr. Gilchrist.

¹¹³ Background Material on Legislative Issues 1950-51 (Des Moines: Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, 1950). This mimeographed publication included 27 pages of information on major and minor issues.

Administration, State Roads Commissioner. After deliberation the resolutions are presented to the delegates at the annual meeting. Delegates! instructions are contained in their County resolutions. The state and county levels of the Farm Bureau agree that the resolutions developed by the state meeting "shall be and become the definition and policy of both parties hereto." An Ohio Farm Bureau publication on policy development states that contributing to the development of policy includes the responsibility to support the program. Because of the opposition of the Michigan Bureau to the Brannan Plan an employee of the Michigan Farm Bureau stated he is prevented from discussing even those features of the Plan which he considered constructive. 116

The Resolutions Committee of the American Farm Bureau is the locus of decision making for the organization. This committee consists of about thirty-five members. Resolutions promulgated by this committee and ratified by Bureau delegates are rigidly followed by non-professional and professional workers of the national level of the Farm Bureau. These resolutions are "law" to the professional workers. 117

Developing a Voice for Agriculture (Des Moines: Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, n.d.), p. C-XI-3.

¹¹⁵ Stanfield, op. cit., p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Personal interview with Donald Kinsey, Director of Research and Information, Michigan Farm Bureau, March 18, 1952.

¹¹⁷ Personal interview with W. E. Hamilton, Economist, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Illinois, October 9, 1951. This professional described the way members of the Executive Committee will constantly refer to their copy of resolutions during deliberative sessions of the Committee.

Organized Action Within the Farm Bureau Structure

The Ohio Farm Bureau has 1580 discussion groups, involving about 20,000 members, which meet monthly to discuss pertinent topics. These Neighborhood Councils meet in the homes of the members. Most Councils range in size from five to ten couples. Each month the Council's minutes are forwarded to the state organization where they are digested and circulated to the "Farm Bureau leadership" in Ohio. Local units based on political subdivisions failed in Ohio so the organization of Councils was based in congeniality groups. By allowing the Council to define its own membership "you have some social cohesion that is not so likely true in a group defined on an areal basis. These Councils do not have speakers. They do not think in terms of programs but of discussion. They do not look to entertainment as a source of inspiration. This group is not an action group; they can not act for the Farm Bureau, they discuss and inform." 118

The County Farm Bureau Annual Meeting is one of the most important meetings held in the Farm Bureau structure. At the County Farm Bureau annual meeting officers are elected, resolutions adopted, and a report made on the condition of Farm Bureau activities in the county. A state level professional gives the assembled members information on contemporary farming problems, legislative prospects and the status of the organization and its affiliates. "Controlling inflation" was stressed at these meetings in Iowa in 1951. The Executive Secretary dealt with

¹¹⁸ Personal interview with Carl Hutchinson, Director of Council Activity, Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Columbus, Ohio, October 29, 1951.

the need for developing Point IV, supporting the United Nations and increasing military and economic aid. 119

In the Iowa Farm Bureau another organized activity at the county level are meetings of the Service Companies. According to the director of research these meetings actually draw participants to a greater degree than do the County Farm Bureau meetings. The members who are "Farm Bureau through and through" attend the County Farm Bureau meetings. Service Company meetings draw this group in addition to members specifically interested in the business operations of the Farm Bureau. 120

The district level of Farm Bureau structure is utilized in the resolutions process of the Iowa Farm Bureau. This level organizes the Women's Camp program of the Michigan organization. "Our American Heritage" was the theme of these camps with speeches given on the following subjects: "Our Children," "Our Soil," "Our Culture," and "Our Organization."121 These district meetings provide a setting where professional and non-professional workers in the Farm Bureau structure interact in developing or approving state level programs or activities.

One of the most significant organized actions of the state organizations is the annual meeting. This has been dealt with under other sections of this chapter. This policy formulating activity brings together professional workers, non-professional workers, and members. At these

¹¹⁹ Prepared talk for delivery at County Annual Meetings, Kenneth Thatcher, Executive Secretary, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa, 1951, n.p.

¹²⁰ Personal interview with Guy Gilchrist, op. cit.

¹²¹ Annual Report of the Michigan Farm Bureau, op. cit., p. 34.

meetings professional workers from the national level appear to speak and serve as integrative agents for the total Farm Bureau structure. Persons outside the Farm Bureau structure also appear on these programs. The 1951 Annual Meeting of the Ohio Farm Bureau featured a speech by Senator Aiken of Vermont.

The Ohio Farm Bureau sponsors an annual activity in which one man and one woman from each of the state's congressional districts visits Washington, D. C. for two days. During this time they confer with Ohio Congressmen and Senators, the U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, and discuss with them such issues as price and wage controls and the farmer's role in national defense production. These members are the elected "Legislative Spokesmen" for Farm Bureau in each of the state's congressional districts.

The New York State Home Bureau Federation sponsors a Citizenship Leader Training School held at Cornell University. In 1951 this program featured citizen participation in local government activities, the United Nations and legislative processes. Professional and non-professional workers from Farm Bureau, specialists from Cornell and other universities, legislators and employees of the state government all participated in the events. 123

The Iowa Farm Bureau Women sponsor an annual conference which

¹²² Ohio Farm Bureau News (Columbus: Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, June, 1951), pp. 22-23.

¹²³ Program, Citizenship Leader Training School (Ithaca, New York: New York State Home Bureau Federation, 1951).

includes participants from nearly all Iowa counties. Most speakers were professional and non-professional workers of the State Farm Bureau. Outside speakers included representatives from the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Iowa Extension Service and a rural school teacher. 124

The national level of the Farm Bureau structure sponsors annual regional activities. The Western Regional Training School held at Montana State College in 1951 included professional workers of county, state and national levels in the faculty. The emphasis of this school was on means of organizing membership acquisition campaigns for local and county campaigns. 125

Another organized activity of the national level of the Farm
Bureau is the annual National Rural Youth Leadership Training School.

Professional workers from the national level, professionals specializing in youth work in Farm Bureau, and employees of various Extension Services formed the faculty for this school. Most participants were professionals in the Farm Bureau or Extension Services. Most non-professional workers were those who fill adult advisory roles in Farm Bureau Youth activities. The four sections were on organization, publicity and public relations, program planning and education, and recreation.

The single most important organized annual activity in the Farm Bureau is the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation. The

Report of the Summer Conference (Des Moines: Iowa Farm Bureau Women's Committee, 1951), p. 3.

¹²⁵ Program, Training School, Farm Bureau--Western Region, Montana State College, 1951.

meeting is held in Chicago every other year. In alternate years it is held in one of the other three regions of the United States.

IV. COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS

All three organizations emphasize the virtue of local neighborhood or community organizations but only the Grange and Union actively foster this level of organization. 126 Neither the Grange nor the Union segregate by sex or age in their structures but the Bureau tends to segregate in both respects.

Full time professional workers appear more frequently in the Farm Bureau organization than in the others. The Union appears to fall next in line followed by the Grange with fewest full time professionals. The Farm Bureau professional, according to the evidence, is restricted from policy formulation. He carries out policies formulated by non-professional workers. In certain State Bureaus the president has employment with the organization while in other states he receives reimbursement for expenses. The State president as an employee, however, does not appear universally.

In the Grange and the Union the top state officer combines the roles of executive secretary and president as these occur in the Bureau. These upper level officers of these two organizations formulate and carry out policy. For instance, only Grange State Masters and their spouses have voting delegate status at the National convention. The Executive Committee of the National Farmers' Union--derived from the ranks of the

¹²⁶ Three in ten (30.4 per cent) of the County Farm Bureaus in the 263 county sample occupy the lowest level in the Farm Bureau.

State presidents -- likewise has policy formulating and executing roles.

In all organizations some professional workers have access to the policy development process through their relationship to the organization's communication media. Also, in developing background material for resolutions and organization "positions" professional workers can effectively operate in policy development.

Workers in an organization attempt to specify relationships between local levels of the organization. However, the Grange and Union both allow local units to by-pass the county level in sending up resolutions. In the Bureau no Local can by-pass the County because only County resolutions are official. The Grange and Union emphasize local action. They assign Locals a parity status with County units in policy development. From the standpoint of operative units in policy development the Bureau has one and the Grange and Union have two local units. In this respect the Bureau has segmented and specified activities appropriate to the lower levels to a greater extent than have the other organizations.

The Grange and Union specify educational content as associated with certain roles in the organization. The Bureau, in most instances, considers education as a secondary part-time pursuit for numerous workers. The degree of salary support afforded Grange educational workers precludes their doing full-time work in this activity. The Union emphasizes full-time educational roles filled by professional workers relatively more than the other organizations.

One receives the impression that two rather different orientations toward the role of education are held by workers in these organizations.

The Grange and Union workers seem to have an inward-facing emphasis in their programs of education. The concern lies with developing members' abilities or in imbuing them with the organization's values and programs. The Bureau seems to emphasize education as an outward-facing activity to convince non-members they should join or to maintain public relations with non-member populations. 127

Apart from the direction of this study has been the discovery that within each large scale organization an enclaved unit or units exist.

Such an occurrence has relevance for theories of large scale organization with respect to the role played by the enclave, how members of the enclaved and non-enclaved units view the others and what kinds of adjustments occur between the large scale organization and the enclave.

¹²⁷This does not appear as the emphasis in the Ohio Farm Bureau. According to the Director of Education: "The Council makes the Farm Bureau. It is not telling people what the Farm Bureau is doing." This constitutes a pattern different from both patterns. In effect the Local in the Ohio Farm Bureau constitutes an educational process which concerns the twin aims of developing abilities of the participants both as individuals and as members.

CHAPTER IV

VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS

Values according to Williams involve preferred states drawn from an individual's experiences which include actual or potential emotional mobilization. They constitute criteria for choosing goals and have importance. The areas included in the Ford Foundation study--international understanding for peace, understanding of democracy, understanding and strengthening of the economy--involve and include value orientations. This provides a rationale for making an analysis of value orientations. More importantly, this kind of analysis is supported because the large scale organizations appeal to a single occupational group. Hence, possibly an explanation for the multiplicity of organizations lies in the realm of differing value orientations toward what constitutes a problem in democracy, economics and international affairs and what solutions are suggested for these problems.

The data used in this chapter come principally from written materials of the organizations. Those materials pertinent to the Ford areas have primacy. Other important orientations are included as these appear important to understanding an organization.

I. VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE GRANGE

The Grange document principally used in this section included

Williams, op. cit., p. 374.

eight sections exclusive of the introduction.² If amount of space devoted to a section equates with importance of the covered subject matter then a crude indication of importance is provided by the following ranking. The sections dealt with problems of domestic government, Grange farm policies, resource development, communication problems, education and health, cooperatives, labor-management and social security and, lastly, the United Nations. The first three sections comprised over sixty per cent of the contents; the next two accounted for about one fifth; the section on cooperatives and the labor-management and social security section received equal emphasis and the section on the United Nations accounted for three to four per cent of the total.³ The section headings indicate that the Ford areas of interest have concern for Grange workers.

International Understanding for Peace

The Grange unequivocally supports our membership in the United Nations as a means of "building the conditions of peace . . . while attempting to prevent actual agression and war . . ." Following this developed position the Grange pronouncement suggests:

Not our official Government, but only we, the people of America

²J. T. Sanders.(2), <u>Summary of National Legislative Policies and Programs of the National Grange for 1952</u> (Washington, D.C.: The National Grange, 1952).

³It must be recognized that the section headings do not clearly indicate assignation to the Ford areas of interest. For instance, "Grange farm policies" includes materials relevant to the areas of democracy and the economy. Much the same prevails with reference to other sections as well.

Sanders (2), op. cit., p. 22.

can cultivate that confidence, respect, and understanding among the peoples of the world which must be developed before we can achieve that condition of good will among men which will lead to peace on earth. Therefore, we set forth the following international policies and recommend:

1. That the National Grange confer with other citizen organizations in an effort to determine whether it would be helpful to call an international citizens conference to discuss means of promoting a more favorable basis for peace through mutual understanding and cooperation.5

Government action does not of itself constitute an adequate approach to peace but there must be "people to people" interchanges as well. In our government's foreign policies the stress is laid on

. . . social and economic improvement in the free world and through the advancement of principles of justice, truth, and the dignity of the individual, rather than by relying too greatly upon military power.

We recognize the necessity for an immediate policy designed to stop the aggression of Russian Communism, an evil force which seeks to pervert human decency and to destroy individual freedom by imposing its police state upon the world by force of arms, by infiltration, and by deceit.

Technical assistance is strongly endorsed because it is "basic" and costs less in the long run than does military assistance. The technical assistance program may best be advanced by under-developed countries obtaining capital necessary for modern production. The sound way to obtain capital is by encouraging private investment.

Further, private investment will encourage the participation of American businesses in technical assistance and through this means the people will obtain advances in their standards of living.

^{5&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>

^{6&}lt;sub>Ibid., pp. 22-23.</sub>

The Grange position on Communism suggests a "program of action" in which the following points are stressed:

Stimulate in all Subordinate Granges an active study and discussion of the purposes and methods of Communism, and promote programs destroying its influence by reactivating the principles of our Order, our Republic, and Christianity.

Exert all possible influence to prevent the infiltration of communistic doctrines or propaganda in our educational system and to promote more effective teaching of American history and of the ideals of democracy.7

The Master's address to the 1950 meeting of the Michigan State Grange contained the following:

This year again Christian Rural Overseas Program will ask us to help feed the peoples of the world. . . . Many farmers have felt that other countries of the world should begin to feed themselves. However when children and innocent people do not have enough to eat, no Michigan farmer can deny them a share of his food.

In international affairs, those who have share with those who have not.

Especially when those who have not reach this position through innocence.

Strengthening of Democracy

Grange documents cite overcentralization of government as "undermining our dual system of government and our system of private enterprise." In this view Congress has control over government. If Congress loses this control the people also lose control over their government. Bureaucracy, excessive taxation and spending constitute the "certain road"

^{7&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 24</sub>.

⁸ Journal of Proceedings, op. cit., p. 32.

⁹Ib<u>1d.,</u> p. 25.

to the socialistic state."10

A slogan of the Grange has reference to the proper role of government in relation to the citizen in that "the prime purpose of government is to protect its citizens from aggression--both physical and economic."

The individual Grange member can influence government by taking the initiative. A professional worker of the Grange characterizes the Grange as an effective agency of influence in dealing with government. This characteristic has relevance at every level of government. 12

The National Grange, as a farm organization, is concerned with government in its relationship to people. Farm people, especially, have had many direct experiences with government programs. The Grange locates the responsibility for initiating agricultural programs in the legislative branch of government. The Grange resolution concerning conservation indicates the program "must be accomplished" democratically and under local control were practicable. The organization opposed conservation payments. For example, farmers with adequate income:

. . . would automatically carry out necessary conservation practices at a profit to themselves without incentive payments. 14

^{10 &}lt;u>Thid</u>. Personal interview with Mrs. L. P. Auck, op. cit. Stated that the objectives of the Grange were: . . . to promote rural life. We stress local action to solve local problems. Stem socialism and centralization of government.

lbid., n.p., inside facing of back cover.

¹² Sanders, op. cit., p. 6, and, Why Join the Grange (Washington, D.C.: The National Grange, n.d.), n.p.

¹³ Sanders (2), op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁴ Tbid.

And those farmers who had low incomes ought to receive nothing on this basis because a "dole" cannot solve farm problems. Farmers may receive funds to apply to erosion problems which cannot be handled under normal operating conditions of the farm business. Low income farmers would have increased aid through the Farmers Home Administration. Other than these the Grange favored continuing farm programs then in operation.

The position of a large scale organization relative to military training presents another expression toward the role of government and government's impact on the citizen. The National Grange resolution on this subject suggests that military training may instill in youth a spirit of militarism and "a trust in armed might rather than morality." 15

Strengthening of the Economy

Grange members have long had concern with economy. "Economy in all things" is a Grange slogan. Buck noted that Grange ritual inculcated orderliness, thrift, industry and economy. He characterized the Grange as the "uncompromising foe of carelessness and disorder, idleness and vice." Economy of operation of the organization itself was manifest by early Grange members' reaction to the reimbursement of the organization's professional workers. Salaries and allowances were scrutinized and discussed during Grange meetings. 17

Gardner illustrates the Grange position on economy by indicating

¹⁵ Sanders (2), op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁶Buck, op. cit., pp. 120, 299.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 68.

that this value holds for the individual, group and government. Gardner further states:

... no sentence occurs more frequently in connection with its the Grange's resolutions than "Pay-as-you-go," extending almost from the beginning of the Order to the present time. 10

The Master's Address to the meeting of the National Grange in 1946 emphasizes that neither individuals nor governments can indefinitely live beyond their income. He indicates that self control is a necessary virtue so that what we can afford limits our demands rather than having "what we want" create demands. 19

The Grange resolution on inflation expresses concern for those persons who had saved money only to see its purchasing power decline under inflationary conditions.

Once again under the expression on labor-management a Grange resolution indicates the convergence of economy and democracy. Labor organization is approved because it needs power to deal with "organized big industry and finance." The organization favored the union shop but opposed the closed shop and mass picketing.²⁰

During its early days the Grange had as an objective the organization of farmers' cooperatives. However, Gardner notes that it was soon recognized that Granges should sponsor rather than directly organize cooperatives. 21 A promotion leaflet of the National Grange limits

¹⁸ Gardner, op. cit., p. 146.

¹⁹Tbid., pp. 146-147.

^{20&}lt;u>Tbid</u>., pp. 20, 21.

²¹Gardner, op. <u>cit</u>., p. 317. Verne Stockman, Overseer, Michigan

appropriate cooperative activities to marketing. By such cooperatives the farmer acquires a greater portion of the consumer's dollar. 22

Other Dominant Values of the Grange

Martin, in writing about the Grange, indicated the Grange orientation toward the virtue of work. Idleness and inactivity were censured. He noted "that the idle or lazy man can be neither prosperous, virtuous, nor useful." National Master Goss enunciated the "Three Grange Guideposts" in 1942. These statements carry on through much of the literature of the National Grange. Two of these state:

- 1. All prosperity springs from the production of wealth; or anything which retards the production of wealth is unsound.
- 2. The compensation each should be based on what he contributes to the general welfare. 24

The value of work as a virtue is implicit in Goss' prophecy included in Gardner's book. For example, Gardner quoted Goss:

No longer will shiftless, wasteful practices in agriculture suffice, if the nation is to be fed. The day is near at hand when the ne'er-do-wells on the farm will have to give way to the most competent producers. Hence the principles of developing maximum production and efficiency, which have underlain all Grange teachings for four score years, will be followed by an ever-increasing proportion of farmers, because of the growing

State Grange, noted that the Michigan State Grange has not actively organized cooperative businesses but Grange members have contributed leadership to these activities.

The Farmer's Best Friend: The Grange (Washington, D. C.: The National Grange, n.d.), p. 4.

^{23&}lt;sub>Martin</sub>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 466.

Sanders (2), op. cit., inner facing of back cover.

demand for food.²⁵

Another dominant expression which consistently appears in publications of the Grange is its view toward temperance. Thus Gardner writes:

Urging personal habits of temperate living upon its members --even embodied in its ritualism--the organization has always backed every effort, local, state and national, to curb the liquor traffic and to rid the nation of the baneful effects of intoxicating liquors.²⁶

The Master's Address to the 1950 meeting of the Michigan Grange dealt with temperance in eating, drinking and language. He relates how political corruption and the distribution of liquor are inter-related.²⁷

A professional worker of the National Grange states the Grange position on moral values:

They the Grange founders were thinking of building an order based on bedrock and eternal principales of man's lot; for the Grange is grounded on the principles of the dignity and value of the individual, the worth and sacredness of the family, the brotherhood of man, on fraternity, charity, mutual assistance, and a faith and trust in the eternal truths and rule of a just God. 28

The Grange is characterized by many as a community organization.

The Community Achievement Contest manifests this interest. In a prefatory letter accompanying the contest materials it is noted:

America can be no stronger than the sum of its communities. Every community has the potential leadership to carry out its own programs of development. Often a little inspiration is

²⁵Gardner, op. cit., pp. 431-432.

²⁶ Tbid., p. 137. On the same subject see Buck, op. cit., p. 298.

²⁷Journal of Proceedings, op. cit., p. 30.

²⁸ Sanders, op. cit., p. 2.

all that is needed to give them the added incentive to translate ideas and blueprints into actuality.29

The Lecturer of the Massachusetts State Grange stated Grange objectives are:

. . . to educate, elevate, and instruct members. To develop in people their abilities for self-help so they will contribute to community life and rural life. 30

Another orientation of the Grange considered relevant for this study is probably best typified as an evaluation placed on a "stability-property" equation. This is reflected in terms related to Grange property holdings but other elements will be noted in the following citations. A professional worker of the National Grange stated:

The Grange is a stable organization. It has gone through its wild oats stage. Four thousand Subordinate Granges own their halls full and complete--this is a factor in the Grange's stability. 31

A promotion leaflet of The National Grange poses the question: "Why join the Grange?" In answering this question one reason follows:

Its members are largely property-owning people . . . a dependable and stable citizenship.32

²⁹ The 1952 Community Service Contest Guide (Washington, D.C.: The National Grange and Sears-Roebuck Foundation, 1951), p. 2.

³⁰ Personal interview with Mrs. Marion Johnson, op. cit.

³¹ Personal interview with Charles M. Gardner, Director, National Grange Publicity Bureau, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 5, 1951.

³² Why Join the Grange, op. cit., n.p.

II. VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE FARMERS' UNION

The Union document used in this section devoted over one half its space to a section headed "The Preservation and Strengthening of Family Farming." One-fourth of the contents dealt with the "economy of abundance"; the remaining sections dealt with "World Affairs," interests of the Farmers' Union organization itself and "civil rights." The "civil rights" section accounted for nearly five per cent of the total space. The section headings clearly indicate concern with the Ford areas of interest. The document includes two parts: the first part deals with the organization's "long term purposes" and the second with the "action program." Only the second part includes resolutions enacted by the convention.

International Understanding for Peace

In a section on world affairs the delegates to the Farmers' Union indicated that Russian imperialism and "uncorrected and indefensible evils" existed both of which combined to threaten "world brotherhood and peace." The delegates stated, for example:

. . . We must end starvation, exploitation, feudalism, dictatorships and all other injustices in the world. We must stop being miserly about Point IV, economic aid and technical assistance. We must cease making partners of despotic governments like those of Franco Spain and launch through the United Nations a campaign to create a world that is truly free, in

³³Farmers' Union Program for 1952-53, Adopted by the Golden Jubilee Convention (Denver: Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, 1952).

which men may find justice through democratic and peaceful processes. 34

The Farmers' Union resolution indicates a hope that the United Nations "will grow into a world government." The Union desires to see strengthened international agencies within this world government. An international program may inaugurate land reform to discourage "undemocratic elements, procedures and practices." 36

The Union recognizes disarmament as an international policy which ultimately will achieve peace. A plea for American investments in Point IV as large as those investments in preparation for war will also contribute to peace. The organization opposed universal military training because this would involve "turning the nation over to rule by the military." 37

The role of the organization in promoting peace is stated in a publication of the North Dakota Farmers' Union:

The road to permanent peace will be perilous. Even now 1947 the idea that a third World War is inevitable is accepted in high places. If the Farmers' Union is to play a part in making an enduring peace possible it must take positions that are unpopular. It must combat the propaganda mills of press and radio with basic education.

Perilous indeed are international relations in the years ahead. The American farmer must be concerned with what is happening in the world. Through organization he can have a voice in making the

^{34&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p. 31.

^{35&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 9.

^{36&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 10.</sub>

^{37&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

fateful decisions in the years ahead.38

The way in which Farmers' Union values bridge the areas of interest of the Ford study and incorporate into these areas a moral orientation is demonstrated in the following abstract from a radio broadcast:

Peace on earth among men of goodwill must mean motivations of other than selfishness, cooperative methods in place of competitive habits, service of government to protect the weak against the strong, unselfish acts of individual nations, and some form of responsible world government with authority to settle differences. 39

The last citation implies, similarly as an earlier cited resolution stated, that the failure to have peaceful international relations is not solely the responsibility of aggressive nations.

Strengthening of Democracy

The Farmers' Union position on civil rights unambiguously deals with the threat of "McCarthyism," the Smith and McCarran acts and government loyalty programs. The resolution encourages" an intelligent and informed constituency" which will not accept rumors or prejudices as bases on which to judge persons, ideas or issues. Freedom of expression and association receive support in this pronouncement. 40

Democracy is not limited to affairs of government or economics but is involved in social organization as well. Again quoting from a radio broadcast of the North Dakota Farmers' Union:

³⁸Knight, op. cit., p. 167.

³⁹Chester Graham, Director of Radio, North Dakota Farmers' Union, radio talk given on December 13, 1948.

⁴⁰ Farmers' Union Program for 1952-53, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

It ought to be easy for every honest citizen of our modern world to see that we cannot fight intolerance and bigotry on a world scale without opposing them with the same determination at home. We cannot effectively condemn the lack of free elections in Russia and the Soviet orbit and condone the poll tax in Mississippi. We cannot condemn the absence of free speech behind the iron curtain and say nothing about unreasonable attacks upon leaders in our own country who are sincere and loyal but who do not approve of all the status quo in our social and economic life. We cannot fight slave labor in the Soviet Union and do nothing about atrocities against our own migrant workers. 41

The North Dakota Farmers' Union attempts to develop its beliefs concerning human relations in the following ways:

We are trying to create a cultural pattern in North Dakota by using folklore, folksongs, historical treatment of the pioneer days. We are emphasizing the ways farmers could work, think out problems, dream and create. If we are going to build world peace we have to understand and appreciate other peoples' culture.

The Union position indicates no fear in "big government" if the people democratically participate in assuming responsibilities as citizens. In fact, Union literature indicates the necessity for this kind of participation provides a rationale for voluntary organizations. The "legislated economy" dictates that citizens take part in government and demonstrate their interest by participating at all levels of government. Union pronouncements abound with encouragements to write letters to congressmen and other government officials. 43

⁴¹ Chester Graham, op. cit., radio talk given on May 26, 1950.

⁴² Personal interview with Mrs. Lulu Evanson, op. cit.

⁴³ Handbook for Farmers Union Locals, op. cit., pp. 19-20. In this source sample addresses of national officials and sample resolutions on federal aid to education are provided for members to follow in writing officials.

National Farmers' Union expressions indicate that government agriculture programs should be administered by farmers themselves. Elected farmers committees for administering programs should direct government employees in their areas. To specify the relationships further the resolution indicated:

. . . The channel of administration and policy communication should be from the farm family to the Department, through, the county and state farmer committees, not from the top down.

In this expression is found, par excellence, citizen participation in affairs of government.

Understanding and Strengthening of the Economy

The delegates to the 1952 biennial convention resolved on many issues with economic relevance. Included are comments relative to the agricultural economy, cooperatives, national economy and labor. For example:

The Farmers' Union "View of the Economic System"

We believe in the preservation and strengthening of a genuinely free interprise economy which adapts itself continuously to the common good. We believe in the encouragement of private enterprise. Cooperatives are an important form of free private enterprise. We are convinced that their growth should be encouraged to perform those tasks they can best accomplish, emphasizing that they too must serve the common good. We believe that government should take whatever economic action is necessary in the performance of those tasks for the common good which cannot or are not being performed by individual enterprise or by cooperatives. 45

The economic positions of the Union favor parity income for farmers,

⁴⁴ Farmers' Union Program for 1952-53, op. cit., p. 16.

^{45&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 7.

expanded low-cost credit facilities, income protection from natural hazards and personal disability and government intervention in the economy to insure full employment, to expand "social" and "cultural" services, to develop "coordinated development" of "every river valley in the nation." Also the Union encourages government anti-monopoly actions. The organization's position here regards economic and political concentrations as maladapted to resource development and providing a disservice to the common good.

The Union traditionally supports organized labor. 47 It opposes the Taft-Hartley Act and approves high minimum wage legislation. 48

A statement which does more than reveal the Farmers' Union attitude toward economic activity is the following:

Validation of success in terms of externals has become the mark of our civilization. In such a value system, human relations take on the ethical values of the salesman. The idols of the market place reign supreme. Competition is the most powerful law. The competitive personality governed by the ideals of an industrial society must always be out in front. We must be better than others, for to be so yields the greatest returns. In the world of a person so conditioned, it is taken for granted that some persons are inferior to others in their capacity to achieve. To most such persons the notion that there are whole groups of mankind which are unimprovably inferior is not only acceptable but indispensably necessary, for it constitutes at once a proof of the validity of the system and an incentive to go ahead and reap its benefits.

⁴⁶ Tbid., pp. 6-8.

⁴⁷ For instance, of the three organizations' printed resolutions, only the Farmers' Union resolutions include the printers union symbol.

⁴⁸ Farmers' Union Program for 1952-53, op. cit., p. 8.

Program, Arkansas Farmers' Union Camp, 1951, op. cit., p. 33.

Cooperation holds a central place in the Farmers' Union program.

Social and economic problems regardless of level and scope may be solved through the application of cooperative organization. The following citations from Farmers' Union publications will demonstrate the value of cooperation as held by the organization. For example:

Man is born for co-operation, not for competition or conflict. This is a basic discovery of modern science. It confirms a discovery made some two thousand years ago by one Jesus of Nazareth. In a word: It is the principle of love which embraces all mankind. It is the principle of humanity, of one world, one brotherhood of people. 50

Most farmers' cooperative activity is in marketing farm products. Farmers' Union cooperatives are principally marketing organizations but it assigns an important role to consumers' cooperation as well. This position occurs because we are all consumers. The "consumer-oriented society" will be the final goal of an economically abundant society. 51 Cooperation involves more than economic considerations alone. Cooperatives constitute a means of achieving democracy and has the literal meaning of "working together." 52

Recently the Union has developed an insurance program. The rationale for instituting this program and values of the organization are demonstrated in the following:

This wealth money paid for insurance premiums left the community where it was produced, and if it returned at all it was only in return for a mortgage on the farm. . . . The insurance

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 34.

⁵¹Knight, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 79.

⁵² Program, Arkansas Farmers' Union Camp, 1951, op. cit., p. 18.

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companies have piled up huge amounts of money until today they are the biggest gatherers of capital in the world. Their money is used to finance monopoly businesses against which cooperatives must struggle to exist.

. . . the money that farmers pay to their own insurance cooperative is used to promote other cooperatives in their community.53

Other Dominant Values of the Farmers' Union

The value orientation of this organization toward brotherhood has been stated in a number of preceding citations. However, the following relates several values in one statement:

The United States must be Morally Strong. We must rededicate ourselves to the Christian concepts and in all our dealings strive for a true brotherhood of men living in peace. This means that we must crusade against poverty and want for the reward alone of seeing it banished. This means we must interest ourselves, unselfishly, in milk for the Hottentots and in a better life for all. It means that we must return to the basic doctrine preached by the founders of our Farmers Union--the Golden Rule. 54

A vast amount of Farmers' Union literature relating to the neighborhood, community, and farm life in general may be subsumed under the heading of agrarianism. This philosophy concerns the goodness of rural life as opposed to urban living. Thus the locus of Farmers' Union meetings should be in the country:

We shudder every time a local is set up in town. Too many pool halls, moving picture shows, etc. The local should meet out in the country where there are no distractions. 55

⁵³ Handbook for Farmers Union Locals, op. cit., p. 27.

Annual Meeting, 1951 (Little Rock: Arkansas Farmers' Union, 1951), n.p.

⁵⁵Knight, op. cit., p. 38. Knight quotes from an article which appeared in a house organ of January, 1929.

Loomis found the same value orientation stated in terms of Farmers' Union activities. He wrote:

In 1910, the organizer-lecturer reported that approximately 75,000 people had attended the Union rallies and picnics during the summer. He /the organizer-lecturer/ also stated that the best results were obtained when these rallies were held in the country.56

Recent Farmers' Union literature emphasizes the goodness of rural neighborhoods and farm life. Thus it is that "love of land not money keeps them [farmers] on the land." And finally the organization emphasizes that rural churches and schools must remain active to "nurture neighborliness." 58

III. VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE FARM BUREAU

The Farm Bureau resolutions of 1950 included 25 sections. Over one-half of the total space is devoted to the section on international affairs, plus the sections on agricultural credit, defense production, federal taxation and inflation control. The education, rural health, taxation of cooperatives, decentralization of government, programs of rural electrification and telephone, and labor-management sections account

⁵⁶ Charles P. Loomis, "Activities of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. VII, No. 4 (October, 1930), p. 460. See also p. 468. In another context Loomis cited a 1913 resolution which demanded that country life be emphasized in textbooks for use by rural children.

⁵⁷ Program, Arkansas Farmers' Union Camp, 1951, op. cit., p. 2.

⁵⁸ Program, North Dakota Farmers' Union Ladies Camp, 1951, op. cit., no pagination. The above quote is taken from the Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, no date or further citation.

for nearly one fourth of the total. The international affairs section involved by far--one-fourth--the greatest space. The section headings indicate Farm Bureau interest in the areas of international understanding for peace, strengthening of democracy and the economy. Like the Union, the Farm Bureau resolved with reference to its own organization.

International Understanding for Peace

Under the introductory statement--The Challenge--Farm Bureau delegates recognize United States leadership in "the world-wide defense of freedom, democracy, the dignity of man and religious freedom." The proper role of government in the fight against Communism is to insure our remaining a free people while protecting "our traditional freedoms and those economic principles that have made our nation great." The United States' economic foreign policy should recognize that most of the world's resources lie in foreign countries. In view of this foreign economic programs must include mutual aid and self-help because subsidies alone are not sound in foreign affairs. On the theme of mutual aid:

The United States should state prerequisites for economic, political, and military strength as conditions to United States aid. If we have not the courage to make such conditions and "would be" recipients have not the strength to comply, then we commit ourselves without limit--a commitment the acceptance of which could destroy us. Nations that would join with us should adopt the necessary monetary and fiscal measures which assure sound currencies. They should collaborate among themselves and each in turn aid their weaker sister nations. 61

Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 5.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

^{61&}lt;sub>Tbid., p. 7</sub>.

With reference to Point IV the delegates at the 1950 Farm Bureau meeting resolved:

Emphasis should be given to increased production of food and scarce materials in these areas. Where prudent, United States surplus foods should be used to raise living standards in exchange for underdeveloped natural resources or materials essential to our economy. In the implementation of this program, dependence should be placed on private investment, free enterprise, and private trade with property rights guaranteed. 62

Exchange of persons programs were encouraged as stated in the resolution on International Training. For example:

The American Farm Bureau Federation will continue to promote and sponsor programs that will increase the number of farmers, students, and farm leaders visiting America to study agricultural techniques and to become better acquainted with our democratic way of life. 63

Farm Bureau women are extremely active in the Associated Country Women of the World. The preponderance of organizations in the United States which are affiliated with this organization are women's affiliates of State Farm Bureaus. Of all member societies throughout the world the Iowa Farm Bureau Women make the largest financial contributions to the ACWW. Chief representation to the ACWW comes from the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Low Countries, and the Scandanavian Countries. The assembled delegates at the 1950 annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau resolved in favor of the ACWW and encouraged every Farm Bureau woman to support the organization.

^{62&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 8.

^{63&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>., p. 10.

⁶⁴ Personal interview with Mrs. Raymond Sayre, President, Associated Country Women of the World, Ackworth, Iowa, October 21, 1951.

Of the three large scale organizations the Farm Bureau appears to attach greatest importance to international affairs.

Strengthening of Democracy

The Farm Bureau considers over-centralization of government an important problem and prefers to see de-centralization develop so that "big government' will be kept close to and responsive to the people." 55 Such a reversal may be brought about by the use of traditional federal grant-in-aid programs which allow federal support but prevent its control. By such a procedure local people have greater interest in government and are more likely to participate in decision making. The rationale for the Farm Bureau "Get Out the Vote" campaign is to obtain citizen participation in government affairs. In 1950, about 30 State Farm Bureaus participated. Political party organizations have increased participation of urban citizens in voting. The Farm Bureau has concentrated on getting out the rural vote. 66

The Farm Bureau prefers locally controlled government programs. For example:

We have no trouble working with agencies that are governed locally. However, in the straight line government agencies the local person can not make policies. . . . As long as the local man can make a decision we can get along with him. 67

Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 21. Meeting of the American

⁶⁶ Personal interview with W. I. Storey, Director of Legislative Activity, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa, October 27, 1951.

⁶⁷ Personal interview with Waldo Frazier, op. cit.

The Extension Services represent a decentralized government program. The belief that local representatives of the straight line agencies can not make decisions is not the only objection Farm Bureau has to this kind of government organization. Workers in these agencies "sooner or later get into partisan politics." These workers of the executive branch of government eventually try to influence public policy by marshaling citizen support for their agency. 69

With this orientation toward government the Farm Bureau regards the executive branch of government as the passive applier of legislation. Congress is the branch of government "closest to the people." 70

Strengthening of the Economy

A major emphasis of the American Farm Bureau during 1951 was its program of inflation control. In 1950 the delegates to its national meeting resolved that price and wage controls deal with symptoms of inflation and not its causes. These controls reduce flexibility which is necessary to efficient production. Inflation would be overcome by increased production resulting from higher productivity, increased length of the work week and strict government economy. 71

⁶⁸Kile, op. cit., p. 336.

^{69&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 338.

⁷⁰¹⁹⁵⁰ Annual Report (Chicago: American Farm Bureau Federation, 1950), p. 30. Personal interview with James Baccus, op. cit. Mr. Baccus said "The North Dakota Farm Bureau considered the Family Farm Policy. Review an invasion of Congress' right. The same attitude was expressed by the Executive Secretary of the Iowa Bureau.

⁷¹ Resolutions Adopted at the 32nd Annual Meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 16.

Both legislative and executive branches of government were asked to defer:

Costly new programs . . . except where immediate action is essential for the national defense. Now, during a period of high employment and scarcities of many essential materials, is not the time to add new services or construct works which can be deferred. 72

The Farm Bureau suggests that both labor and management look to increased production for an optimum situation. Government anti-monopoly programs are approved because of the characteristic that the farmer produces for a free market. In concluding the labor-management section the delegates resolved:

. . . A high level of production at fair prices is the objective of American agriculture. We recommend that both labor and industry accept this as their objective. 73

Government credit programs which encourage "farmers to remain in uneconomic operations . . . when industry needs manpower . . . helps neither the individual nor national defense."

The Farm Bureau position toward farmer cooperatives is, like the other large scale organizations, favorable to this economic form. 75

Other Dominant Values of the Farm Bureau

One valuation which constantly recurs in Farm Bureau literature is the emphasis on "economy," "efficiency," "business-methods" and similar kinds of terms. These can be subsumed, it is believed, under the general

⁷²Ibid., p. 18.

^{73&}lt;sub>Tbid., p. 23.</sub>

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 25.

^{75&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 20.

heading of "rationality." This particular value-orientation has had a long standing place in the Farm Bureau organization. For example, at a pre-organization meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation it was said:

We shall organize, not to fight anyone or to antagonize, but to cooperate and construct, managing the affairs of agriculture in a broad business manner, following the policy that most of the ills complained of by the individual will disappear when business is done in business ways. 76

The following year, at the first national level meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Henry C. Wallace, Editor of Wallace's Farmer, and later Secretary of Agriculture, told the assemblage:

This federation must get to work at once on a real business program if it is to justify its existence. This doesn't mean turning the work over to committees of farmers, either. Every line of work must be in charge of experts. . . This federation must not degenerate into an educational or social institution. It must be made the most powerful business institution in the country. 77

From the Annual Report of 1950 for the American Farm Bureau Federation the farmer is described in the following terms:

The Farm Bureau members in the Northeast Region are deeply interested in appraising the factors that have made our nation great. They want to make sure that farmers and other groups understand what has made American farmers efficient. They believe that Farm Bureau is an organization that can assume the responsibility of making this possible. Farm Bureau members in the Northeast are also interested in building unity in American Agriculture and believe that if they are to be free and independent businessmen, it will be necessary for them to

⁷⁶Kile, op. cit., p. 50. Kile quotes the first president of the Illinois Agricultural Association in the keynote speech at an AFBF preorganization meeting.

^{77 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 123. DeTocqueville, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 361, wrote: "Almost all the farmers of the United States combine some trade with agriculture, most of them make agriculture itself a trade . . . the Americans carry their businesslike qualities into agriculture, and their trading passions are displayed in that as in their other pursuits."

agree on some fundamental principles within Farm Bureau. 78

In Kile's book you are taken on an imaginary tour of a County

Farm Bureau building in Illinois. For example:

As you walk about the building, glancing at the various private offices and special-purpose rooms, you get the impression of a well-equipped modern business office. Except for the posters and exhibits of agricultural interest, which you note on the walls you might be visiting the headquarters of a private business organization. 79

Although, Kile notes, entertainment and recreation occurs in these facilities, these are strictly separated from business meetings. 80

A value orientation which displays another dimension of rationality is concerned with an organization objective of obtaining solid support of members in programs of the organization. Thus the delegates to the 1950 annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation resolved:

Much depends in the future upon the attitudes of our citizenry and the members of Farm Bureau. Each member is urged to adopt an attitude of positively supporting policies which have proved to be right, and then everlastingly being for them.⁸¹

In a similar vein is a statement found in a report of the Iowa Farm Bureau.

One speaker stated:

The Farm Bureau Women's program and policies are developed by the demands and wishes of the majority of the people. We defend our policies, we believe in and know our course. There is no deviation from this course.⁸²

⁷⁸¹⁹⁵⁰ Annual Report, American Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 15.

⁷⁹Kile, op. cit., p. 378.

^{80&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 384.

⁸¹ Resolutions Adopted at the 32nd Annual Meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, op. cit., p. 35.

⁸² Report of the Summer Conference, Iowa Farm Bureau Women, op. cit., p. 6.

This same emphasis is stressed with reference to the meaning of participation in policy development in the Ohio Farm Bureau. Thus:

We believe that the process of contributing to the development of policy carries with it the responsibility of support of the Farm Bureau program. 83

Possibly this is a means of integrating members into the program of a volunteer organization whose value system holds rationality in high regard.

IV. SUMMARY OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS

The Grange value orientation toward international affairs indicates the importance of citizen participation in assistance programs or in programs seeking international understanding. A study-action emphasis characterizes the Grange orientation toward combatting Communism. In the area of government Congress exercises control over the Executive Branch. "Good" government has a passive role with reference to its relationship to the citizen. In economic concerns the Grange places emphasis on "economy" as saving. In cooperation its orientation is toward marketing cooperatives. Work, temperance, the local community and stability appear to be other dominant values of the Grange.

The Farmers' Union regards world government as the end product of contemporary international affairs. Within the framework of the United Nations positive actions have to be taken in order to achieve peace. The Union pronouncement on civil rights was unique among values expressed by

^{83&}lt;sub>Stanfield, op. cit.</sub>, p. 3.

the three organizations. We must develop domestic democracy and in addition foster it, throughout the world. The Union favors direct citizen participation in government. This organization does not express a fear of big government nor does it prefer the legislative as compared to the executive branch of government. In economic concerns the Farmers' Union favors government intervention in many areas of the economy. It delegates much economic importance to cooperatives. Brotherhood, neighborhood and farming appear as other dominant Farmers' Union values.

The Farm Bureau recognizes this country's leadership of one part of the world. In international affairs economic concerns and agreement with our values have great importance. The Farm Bureau devotes more emphasis to international affairs than do the other organizations. The Farm Bureau views government programs with control in local hands—the Extension Services—as a means by which all levels of government may operate to the benefit of citizens. The Bureau regards the executive branch as the applying agent for the legislative branch of government. Farm Bureau regards economic problems essentially as problems in production. Other than these values the Farm Bureau materials predominantly emphasize the values of rationality and organization integration concerning the Farm Bureau program. Participation in policy development ipso facto should develop member agreement with organization policies.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURES AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS

The preceding two chapters described structures and value orientations of the three large scale organizations. This chapter analyzes selected data by which intra-organization and inter-organization comparisons may be made.

Quantitative Analysis of Responses Received from the Lower Level Units in the Large Scale Organizations

The data in this section came from the 263 county mailed questionnaire responses received as a result of the first mailed request to local
and county units. The following significant differences of proportions
(data in Table IV) occur in comparing the two lower level units of an
organization with respect to responding to the questionnaire: Grange
(C.R. = 6.59), Farmers' Union (C.R. = 3.12), and Farm Bureau (C.R. = 7.01).
Critical ratios of this magnitude indicate that members at these two
levels in the organization differ in a highly significant way in returning the questionnaire. Positive action in responding to the questionnaire
correlates with higher position in the structure.

Thomas C. McCormick, Elementary Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), pp. 266-267. Formula used for obtaining critical ratio: $CR = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{ED} = \frac{P_2}{ED} \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} \right) \text{ where } \bar{p} = \frac{n_1 P_1 + n_2 P_2}{n_1 + n_2} \text{ and } \bar{q} = 1 - \bar{p}$

TABLE IV

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONSES RECEIVED FROM LOCAL AND COUNTY

UNITS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS IN

THE 263 COUNTY SAMPLE

Unit	Number of Units Contacted in 263 Counties	Responding Units	
		Number	Per Cent
Local Grange	775	96	12.4
County Grange	6 5	14	21.5
Local Union	148	29	19.6
County Union	37	10	27.0
Local Bureau	1040	147	14.1
County Bureau	203	70	34.5

Table V includes responses received indicating whether or not the specified level carried on efforts in adult education. From these data it is apparent that the respondents at the county level of an organization more likely reported adult education efforts than did local respondents.²

In Table VI the same relationships exist as existed in the preceding analysis. The county level respondents more likely report adult education efforts in the Ford areas than do local respondents.

Carrying on adult education often includes joint effort with other organizations of the area. The data in Table VII include only those respondents who reported their unit carried on this kind of effort and who also reported on extra-organization involvement. Without exception the mean number of extra-organization involvements increases from the local to the county level. These data show empirical variation among the large scale organizations in addition to the mean differences applying to the two units of the same organization. Because of these observed variations the data in Table VII were grouped into those organization-classes used in Table VIII and some data, those for which a small number of cases were reported, were discarded.

However, perhaps of more interest, are the intra-organization and inter-organization comparisons. Within an organization the data on extra-

²No statistical tests were used on the data analyzed in Tables V and VI because of the limited number of cases in company with the occurrence of zero frequencies. To have added a constant would have distorted relationships.

TABLE V

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONSES RECEIVED FROM LOCAL AND COUNTY
UNITS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS POSITIVELY OR
NEGATIVELY REPORTING EFFORTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

Unit	То	tal	_		Eff A	ot Report orts in dult cation		ply or scer-
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Local Grange	93	100.0	68	73.1	22	23.7	3	3.2
County Grange	14	100.0	14	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Local Union	29	100.0	26	89.7	2	6.9	1	3.4
County Union	10	100.0	10	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Local Bureau	147	100.0	114	77.5	27	18.4	6	4.1
County Bureau	46	100.0	39	84.8	6	13.0	1	2.2

TABLE VI

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONSES RECEIVED FROM LOCAL AND COUNTY
UNITS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING ADULT
EDUCATION EFFORTS IN THE FORD FOUNDATION AREAS
OF INTEREST

Unit	То	tal	Effor Ford I tion	Founda-	Effor Ford F tion A	Report rts in Founda- Areas of erest	No Re not A taina	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Local Grange	69	100.0	46	66.7	13	18.8	10	14.5
County Grange	14	100.0	13	92 .9	0	0.0	1	7.1
Local Union	27	100.0	20	74.1	3	11.1	14	14.8
County Union	10	100.0	10	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Local Bureau	122	100.0	82	67.2	2 5	20.5	15	12.3
County Bureau	43	100.0	34	79.1	5	11.6	4	9.3

TABLE VII

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS AT TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING EXTRA ORGANIZATION INVOLVEMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

										Organization	zatio	a						
Unit	Total	:a1	F. Ori	Farm Organi- zation	Extensi Service	Extension Service	School	001	Church	rch	College Univer- sities	686 6r- 88	Poli Orga tio	Political Organiza- tion or Bureaus	Communi Council	Community Council	Lfb	Library
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- Per ber Cen	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- Per ber Cen	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per
Local Grange	89	100.0	56	4.58	39	57.4	35	51.5	39	57.4	13	19.1	30	1.44	0	13.2	22	32.4
County Grange	13	100.0	10	76.9	10	6.97	9	69.2	8	61.5	۲-	53.8	9	69.2	9	76.2	3	23.1
Local Union	27	0.001	25	95.6	16	59.3	ω	29.6	9	22.2	4	14.8	22	81.4	rC	18.5	N	7.4
County Union	10	100.0	70	100.0	80	80.0	4	0.04	m	30.0	N	20.0	9/	90.0	N.	20.0	ч	10.0
Local Bureau	118	100.0 109 92.4	109	4.56	76	7.67	77	37.3	54	42 35.6	43	36.4	54	45.7	28	23.7	0	7.6
County Bureau	143	100.00 42	775	7.76	14	95.4	22	51.2	15	15 34.9	† ∂	55.8	77 77	55.9	16	37.2	m	7.0

TABLE VII (Continued)

								Organization	zatio	۵							Mean
Unit	C1v1 Ser	Civic and Service	Women	Women's Club	Par	Parents Org.	Veterans Org.	rans 3.	Frat.	Fraternal Org.	I.a.	Labor Org.	Profes sional Org.	Profes- sional Org.	5	Other	Number of Extra Organiza-
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	tion In- volvements
Local Grange	25	25 36.8	22	32.4	17	25.0	7	10.3	19	27.9	0	0.0	4	5.9		13 19.1	5.1
County Grange	7	53.8	٦	7.7	က	23.1	٦	7.7	4	30.8	0	0.0	N	15.4	4	30.8	6.5
Local Union	9	22.2	2	4.7	က	11.11	N	7.7	α	4.7	7	18.5	ч	3.7	9	22.2	4.3
County Union	4	0.04 4	0	0.0	н	10.0	7	10.0	н	10.0	m	30.0	0	0.0	Ø	20.0	5.1
Local Bureau	25	21.2	77	20.3	21	17.8	11	9.3	6	7.6	Ø	1.7	80	6.8	77	20.3	9.4
County Bureau	13	13 30.2	11	25.6	<u>ب</u>	11.6	æ	7.0	н	2.3	٦	2.3	m	7.0	6	20.9	4.5

NUMBER OF CHOICES GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS AT TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS TO ORGANIZATIONS OR CLASSES OF ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH THEIR UNIT WORKED IN CARRYING ON ADULT EDUCATION*

Unit	Farm Organi- zation	Exten- sion Service	Church, School and Parents Organi- zation	Polit- ical Organi- zation or Bureau	Non-farm Occupa- tional Organi- zation	Com- munity Organi- zation	N
Local Grange	56	39	91	30	29	57	302
County Grange	10	10	20	9	9	12	70
Local Union	25	16	17	22	12	11	103
County Union	10	8	8	9	7	4	46
Local Bureau	109	94	107	54	35	7 2	471
County Bureau	42	41	42	24	17	31	197
N	25 2	208	285	148	109	187	1189

^{*}It is recognized that the County Union cell in the last column has too few cases. This cell did not, however, unduly contribute to any chi square values in which it was involved.

Chi square for Grange levels, 5 d.f., 1.87, p. between .90 and .80

Chi square for Union levels, 5 d.f., .68, p. between .99 and .98

Chi square for Bureau levels, 5 d.f., .73, p. between .99 and .98

Chi square for inter organization comparison of Local Units, 10 d.f., 29.14, p. of .01

Chi square for inter organization comparison of County Units, 10 d.f., 9.47, p. of .50

organization involvement in adult education programs show no significant differences. However, for the Bureau and Union significant similarities (p. between .99 and .98) prevail when comparing involvements entered by local and county units for carrying on adult education. Inter-organization comparisons show significant differences at the local level (p. = 01) but none (p. = 50) at the county level. Members of local Granges report a tendency to work with churches and schools, women's clubs and community organizations in general. Members of local Unions report a tendency to work with political and labor organizations. Members of local Farm Bureaus report a tendency to work with college-related adult education agencies. These identified variations probably account for the significant differences prevailing in the comparison of local units.

Interestingly, however, when the organizations county units are compared no significant differences nor similarities occur.

The data in Table VII come from a check list which indicated general kinds of organizations on the mailed questionnaire (Section D on the Form 1 questionnaire). Immediately following this check list respondents were asked to name three specific organizations their group most often worked with. For the following analysis the first organization named by a respondent was assumed to be equated with the most important organization. Following this assumption all responses were sorted, by level, into two sub-samples: The first sub-sample "A" included those respondents who indicated "farm organization" first; the second sub-sample "B" included all other respondents exclusive of those who made no response. After this sort was accomplished the two sub-samples were run against responses

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received in the check list.³ Table IX shows, in summary form, the outcome of these analyses. Except for the Local Grange sample in the Taylor sample, the mean number of organizations worked with by the "B" units was larger than the number reported by "A" units. When a respondent indicates the farm organization was the most important organization worked with this response was associated with a lower mean.

Involvement with other organizations to carry on adult education includes communicating with members of these organizations and citizens of the area as well. Mass media may be used in this process. On the other hand, mass media may be useful as a program technique. For example, radio listening groups or motion pictures may be used as a method in an educational program. Table X lists the mass media methods employed by the lower level units of the large scale organizations. Percentagewise local level units of an organization more emphasize the use of motion pictures than do units at the county level. This suggests that locals employ motion pictures to supply education in an entertaining way. Respondents at the county level place greater emphasis on newspapers and radio. It appears as though the county level unit employs mass media more in an outward facing manner for publicity and announcing events. At the county Level the orientation appears to be toward informing members or the public. At the local level a consumption orientation prevails in which the mass media are used in an inward facing way to provide adult education for

³Sub-classifying samples was not accomplished for Farmers' Unions and County Grange samples in the 263 county sample because of number. Due to a Bureau decision only County Bureaus were contacted in the Taylor sample.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS LOCAL AND COUNTY RESPONDENTS IN THE 263 COUNTY AND TAYLOR SAMPLES REPORTED WORKING WITH IN CARRYING ON ADULT EDUCATION*

	263 F	263 County Sample First Mailing	ple A	26 3	263 County Sample Second Mailing	ple 8		Taylor Sample	le
Unit	Total	Total Number of Organiza- tions Chosen	Mean Number of Choices	Total	Total Number of Organiza- tions Chosen	Mean Number of Choices	Total	Total Number of Organiza- tions Chosen	Mean Number of Choices
Local Grange A	36	175	6.4	33	133	0.4	54	216	4.8
Local Grange B	30	172	5.7	39	170	7.7	43	200	4.7
County Grange A	1	•	•	•	ı	ı	15	65	۴.3
County Grange B	•	•	•	•	•	ı	ជ	51	9.4
Local Union A	•	1	•	•	ı	1	37	158	4.3
Local Union B	1	•	•	•	•	ı	17	87	5.1
County Union A	1	•	•	•	1	ı	19	76	5.1
County Union B	1	•	•	•	1	1	18	115	4.9
Local Bureau A	57	549	ተ• ተ	62	276	54.4	ı	•	•
Local Bureau B	ß	262	5.2	55	250	45.4	ı	•	•
County Bureau A	21	109	5.2	31	151	6.4	17	81	5.8
County Bureau B	21	120	5.7	27	164	6.1	33	215	6.5

chose first a farm organization as most often worked with are designated by the letter "A". Those respondents *The letter designations added to the samples have reference to the sub samples. All respondents who who chose other organizations first are designated by the letter "B".

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS AT TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING ON THE USE OF MASS MEDIA IN ADULT EDUCATION

	То	tal	Ra	dio	News	paper	Mot Pict		Ot:	her
Unit	Num- ber	Per Cent								
Local Grange	58	100.0	11	19.0	29	50.0	50	86.2	7	12.1
County Grange	14	100.0	6	42.9	11	78.6	10	71.4	2	14.3
Local Union	23	100.0	8	34.8	11	47.8	13	56.5	4	17.4
County Union	8	100.0	3	37.5	8	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Local Bureau	113	100.0	1 2	10.6	38	33.6	67	59•3	9	8.0
County Bureau	35	100.0	12	34.3	25	71.4	18	51.4	5	14.3

members.

Procedures and form of program show few clearly outstanding associations when comparing levels of the organization. (See Appendix E, Tables B and C.) On both forms and procedures the mean number reported are higher for the county unit than for the same organization's local unit. The one clear difference between county and local level units occurs in the use of the lecture form. More county respondents report this form of presentation than was true of their organization's local respondents. Perhaps this relates to kind of program offered or that lecturers more likely appear at programs of the larger unit.

The last item in this section is a comparison of the occupation of respondents at the two levels. Many different occupations were reported but farmers, housewives and teachers constituted the main classes (see Appendix E, Table D). Housewives more likely appear as non-professional workers at the local than at the county level. As the structure is upwardly traversed males rather than females appear more frequently as non-professional workers. This holds true even for Grange Lecturers. This has traditionally been a woman's role.

Program Content in the Three Ford Areas of Interest: Intra- and Inter-Organization Comparisons

This discussion of program content continues along the same lines of analysis begun in the preceding section. The local and county units of the same organization and like units in different organizations will be compared. The complete designations respondents listed for program content in the three Ford areas were taken from questionnaires received

in the 263 county sample (first mailing). These statements appear in Tables XI, XII and XIII. Let us examine statements from Grange members first then follow with those received from Union and Bureau members.

Statements from Grange members (Table XI) indicate that program methods more often mentioned include lecturing (including speaking or talking), followed by films and discussion. Grange members seem to be passive consumers of education. The listener has a relatively passive role in which he is "talked at." Grange programs, more than either of the other organizations, emphasize international affairs. Also, Grange members were more specific in designating a program as wholly within a given Ford area. The following words uniquely appear in Grange designations: individual, teaching, waste, evils, privileges, constant and responsibilities. The one comment which appears to epitomize the Grange list of programs is that the organization tries ". . . to have something on the evils of communism, government and taxes at each meeting." This comment succinctly sums up three subjects about which Grange policy is unambiguous. With these stimuli to goad one on it is reasonable that members carry on "constant teaching" on such subjects as the "privileges of demo-Cracy" and that ". . . waste is destroying the economy." Grange comments. more than the Union or Bureau, emphasize highly abstract words.

In the listing of comments from Union members (Table XII) five words or phrases uniquely occur on these questionnaires. "Farm program" and "family type farm," "debate," "sharecropping" and "disarmament" appear uniquely on responses from Union members. The latter two, in context, reflect the Union's liberal political position. The word "debate"

TABLE XI

PROGRAM CONTENT IN THE FORD AREAS LISTED BY GRANGE RESPONDENTS IN THE 263 COUNTY SAMPLE*

Local Grange N = 31

- 1 A study of the U.N. and how it works for Peace
- 1 Program on the U.N.
- 1 A talk by a displaced person on conditions in Europe
- 1 U.N. Description of organization
- 1 Film forums about people in other countries
- 1 Films
- 1 "Trade" [exchange] farmers work through out the world
- 1 General study of the U.N.
- 1 U.N. Flag made and displayed. German youth exchange program
- 1 Discussion of Korean War and related domestic questions
- 1 County wide Meeting: "What the Individual Can Do for Peace"
- 1 Lecture by a German Student
- 2 Group Discussion on "How to be an American"
- 2 Democracy in the U.S.A.
- 2 Constant repetition on basic ideals of democracy
- 2 Privileges of democracy have been discussed
- 3 Social Security Revision
- 3 Lectures on Economy
- 3 Talk by County Agent
- 3 Thanksgiving Supper showed how waste is destroying the economy
- $3 \sqrt{No}$ identification $\sqrt{}$
- 1-3 War Correspondent talked. Economy is part of Grange Work
- 2-3 Inflation; Why I Like the U.S.A.
- 1-2-3 Constant teaching that good government will effect all three
- No spe. Extension Service Demonstration
- No spe. Speaker from "Freedom on the March"
- No spec. Try to have something on the evils of communism, government and taxes at each meeting
- No spe. Reports on State Legislation
- No spe. Have something on these every month
- No spe. Panel on civic problems
- No spe. Discuss materials from County agent

TABLE XI (Continued)

County Grange N = 11

- 1 World Friendship; Exchange Farmers
- 1 Sponsor a German Youth
- 1 Exchange person to Switzerland gave talk and showed slides
- 1 A student from Iran and a minister from India
- 2 Our responsibility as citizens
- 2 County wide meeting on democracy
- 2 "This is worth Fighting For"
- 2 Freedom and Voting
- 3 Understanding monetary system and taxes
- 2-3 Cutting taxes; better legislation
- No spe. Grange Visitation Meeting

^{*}In this table the number or "No spe." shown at the beginning of a statement designates the Ford area specified or unspecified: 1 = international understanding for peace; 2 = strengthening of democracy; 3 = understanding and strengthening the economy; No spe. = no specification.

TABLE XII

PROGRAM CONTENT IN THE FORD AREAS LISTED BY UNION RESPONDENTS IN THE 263 COUNTY SAMPLE*

Local Union N = 15

Program Identification

- 1 Report on United Nations
- 1 International Understanding for Peace
- 2 Work for 100% of parity for farm products
- 2 Strengthening of democracy
- 3 Explanation of part cooperatives play in our economy
- 2-3 Disarmament; private ownership of land instead of sharecropping
- 2-3 Farm program; family type farm
- No spe. Open debate on family type farm
- No spe. Farmers' Union organization meetings and schooling
- No spe. Annual meeting of the regional coop
- No spe. F.U. speakers on our programs
- No spe. Regular F.U. program material
- No spe. Discussions on material sent out by Farmers' Union
- No spe. James Patton acts as representative of group and informs
 - local organization by letters and lectures to groups
- No spe. Farmers' Union Action Program

County Union N = 8

- 3 Study of effects of farm programs on national and farm economics
- 2-3 Open discussions on economy and democracy
- 1-2-3 Dr. Theodore Jackman talked on international understanding
- 1-2-3 Statewide conference with National speakers
- No spe. Radio, Youth Camps, Conferences
- No spe. Youth Talks and debates by our teenagers
- No spe. Understanding among ourselves
- No spe. Monthly meetings

^{*}In this table the number or "No spe." shown at the beginning of a statement designates the Ford area specified or unspecified: 1 = international understanding for peace; 2 = strengthening of democracy; 3 = understanding and strengthening the economy; No spe. = no specification.

TABLE XIII

PROGRAM CONTENT IN THE FORD AREAS LISTED BY BUREAU RESPONDENTS IN THE 263 COUNTY SAMPLE*

Local Bureau N = 51

- 1 Legtures by a Czech and a person from Holland on foreign customs
- 1 Exchange education with other countries
- 1 Discussion led by foreign student
- 1 Motion pictures of conditions and economic situations of overseas neighbors
- 1 Study of United Nations
- 1 International talks and moving pictures
- 1 Program on U.N. and talk by exchange student returnee
- 1 Our foreign policy in Asia
- 1 When exchange student was present
- 1 Exchange of 4H members and ACWW
- 1 Exchange student; pennies for Friendship
- 1 Visits of farm youth in 4H exchange program
- 2 Vladas Hriskivicus, "Crusade against Communism"
- 2 We are not a partisan group
- 2 Get out rural vote; MSC open forum discussion topics
- 2 No identification
- 2 Well informed discussions on the best way to vote wisely
- 2 Trying to get government back to local control
- 2 Discussion on how to keep democracy in the face of advancing communism
- 2 Discussions of existing laws; proposals for changes
- 3 Overall program for economy, Hoover plan
- 3 Strengthening local economy
- 3 Sales promotion and better prices for dairy products
- 3 Potatoes and government control
- 3 Discussion of taxes, government efficiency and costs
- 1-2-3 Ohio Farm Bureau's Council Program
- No spe. Discussion of farm trends by leaders in government programs
- No spe. Motion picture of democracy vs. isms
- No spe. Congressman gave report on legislation, fiscal and foreign affairs
- No spe. Legion Programs
- No spe. Some phases have been touched on in resolutions process
- No spe. Involved in discussions of local farm bureau resolutions
- No spe. Resolutions process of Farm Bureau
- No spe. \sqrt{No} identification/
- No spe. Discussion of farm legislation by group
- No spe. Legislative proposals introduced in legislature
- No spe. Group discussions of government policies

TABLE XIII (Continued)

Local Bureau (Continued)

- No spe. Are our public officials looking after their interests or our interests?
- No spe. Drawing up resolutions
- No spe. Most discussions on above topics
- No spe. The ladies of the church have discussions on race, peace**
- No spe. Group discussions of national and international policies
- No spe. CARE, school lunches, cooperatives, political issues
- No spe. Rural-urban relations
- No spe. Motion picture on Hoover report on U.S.D.A.
- No spe. State Senator and Assemblyman worked with us in understanding statewide problems
- No spe. Tour visit to grain terminals
- No spe. In our Farm Bureau group meetings
- No spe. Artificial insemination meeting

County Bureau N = 19

- 1 Speaker on China and its international aspects
- 1 U.N. Flag and Study at Community church program**
- 2 Farm Forum on working of democracy
- 3 Discussion programs
- 3 Holding down inflation
- 2-3 Dangers of inflation, of communism and the rest of the American way of life
- 2-3 Our resolutions pertained to economy and democracy
- 2-3 Explain economic principles in relation to democracy
- No spe. \sqrt{N} o identification 7
- No spe. Increase production to feed the rest of the world
- No spe. County meeting on "understanding" Russia
- No spe. Public Relations, Rural-urban Conference
- No spe. Radio program every Saturday
- No spe. Outlook Meetings telling farmers how to plan
- No spe. Organization of discussion groups among farmers
- No spe. Advisory Councils
- No spe. Advisory Councils
- No spe. Study of Cooperative development
- No spe. Meeting concerning legislation

^{*}In this table the number or "No spe." shown at the beginning of a statement designates the Ford area specified or unspecified: 1 = international understanding for peace; 2 = strengthening of democracy; 3 = understanding and strengthening the economy; No spe. = no specification.

^{**}It appears as though this may have been a Church and not a Bureau program.

illustrates the Union's use of an educational method which emphasizes the pitting of two opposing viewpoints. Again a classic method in education -a method in which practical training in thinking rapidly and arguing cogently and convincingly obtains the highest rewards. Union members mention, far more frequently than Grange or Bureau members, the name of their own farm organization in one or another context. This suggests that Union members look upward within their own structure for program material, ideas and issues. Responses from Grange members more emphasize an inward facing attitude in which their own group serves as referent. Bureau members, on the other hand, more likely faced outward toward urban publics, legislative questions and various public issues. Union member's responses had far less specificity in designating programs to Ford Areas. On this characteristic Union and Bureau members' responses agreed. Neither of the other organizations responses listed the "family farm" or the "farm program" as program content. Union members' responses tend to emphasize evils existing in social or economic systems and not in government as do Grange respondents.

Bureau members comments most frequently mentioned words with economic referents. Production, plan, markets, sales, prices, efficiency, costs represent this kind of word. The word "discussion" appears far more frequently on Bureau member's responses than in comments of members of the other organizations. The word "resolution" appears only in the Bureau comments. When County Bureau respondents mentioned other Farm Bureau levels they tended to face downward--advisory councils, discussion groups--rather than upward or inward as did other respondents. Where the Farm

Bureau has local units these units appear to have high relevance for the county level respondent. Bureau respondents, like the Union, made mention of various government programs. For respondents of these two organizations government agencies, officials, and programs constitute realities to which members direct constant scrutiny and study and on which they exert influence. Bureau member's responses use concrete referents and have a pragmatic aspect which suggests doing and seeking.

On some items it appears that the organizations have similar characteristics. The discussion method, the use of film presentation and studying and reporting appear to be local-bound from these data. This suggests that a member's adult education experiences more likely occur in the local setting. County level programs more likely concern affairs of the large scale organization such as county conventions or meetings or as the level at which an adequate audience may be assured for a high prestige speaker.

Comparative Analysis of the Value Orientations of the Large Scale Organization

Students of the farm organizations characterize these organizations in different ways. In this diversity, however, two rather general clusterings occur: the Grange and Farm Bureau are most conservative and the Union is least conservative. When these students further distinguish the Grange and the Farm Bureau they identify the Grange as the more conservative. 4

MacCune, op. cit., p. 45, calls the Grange the most conservative farm organization. A. Whitney Griswold, Farming and Democracy (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), p. 201. Griswold writes that the Farm Bureau aims for a "prosperous agriculture" in which the family farm is

The expressions of these students may be gauged in comparison with the already presented value orientation data. In the data presented certain characteristic modalities appear but the means of objectively characterizing the organizations have not been developed. Empirically judging expressions obtained in the national resolutions enacted by these organizations provides a nominal scale by which this further step--crude measurement-elassification--may be taken.⁵

Judgments rendered by seven judges demonstrate rather clear cut characterizations of the large scale organizations. The Chi square test, for independence of judgments, Table XIV, indicates the Farm Bureau holds the most conservative position, the Grange holds the neutral position most often and the Union clearly holds the least conservative position. 6 The

[&]quot;desirable." He then writes that the Union's aim is for the welfare of less prosperous farmers in which the "family farm is essential." Dwight Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1943). Sanderson writes that the Grange includes "the better class of farm families; the Union makes "a particular appeal . . . to the small and middle-class farmers," and that Bureau members usually come from "mostly middle and better-class farmers." These references p. 509, 515, and 519, respectively. David E. Lindstrom, American Farmers and Rural Organizations (Champaign: The Garrard Press, 1948). Lindstrom calls the Grange "conservative," the Union "left wing or radical," and the Bureau the "middle ground" organization. These references p. 177, 179, and 218, respectively. Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology (New York: American Book Co., 1948), p. 532. Nelson cites the Farmers' Union as "considerably more 'liberal' . . . than either the Grange or Farm Bureau." Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 635. The authors write that "the Union is considered more liberal than the Grange or the Farm Bureau." Carl C. Taylor, et al., Rural Life in the United States (New York: Knopf, 1950), p. 515. In discussing the Union, Taylor writes that "it is today a militant economic and political organization . . ."

Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (Part one) (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 119-120. For explanation of "nominal scale."

⁶Three ranking efforts involved expressions from only two organiza-

TABLE XIV

TOTALED JUDGMENTS CIVEN BY SEVEN JUDGES IN RANKING ABSTRACTED STATEMENTS CHOSEN FROM DOCUMENTS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS*

Large Scale Organization	Total	Number of Most Conservative Judgments	Neutral	Number of Least Conservative Judgments
Grange	112	41	54	17
Union	112	18	21	73
Bureau	112	58	31	23
Total	336	117	106	113

^{*}Chi square for table = 87.06, p. = .01. The incidence of unequal totals for the three categories occurs because of tied ranks.

numerical distribution shows rather well the neutral position of the Grange. Concerning the "most conservative" position the observed number of judgments placing the Grange in this category differed from the expected number by the smallest (+ .107) cell p. value. The Bureau therefore clearly occupies the most conservative position as measured in this judging operation. 7

The rather different evaluations obtained from the judges in comparison to characterizations made by students of the farm organizations calls for an explanation. On the side of the students of the farm organizations it may be said that their characterizations appear to have been deductively obtained and not obtained by objective testing. To a certain extent the documents of the organizations and speeches made by organization workers emphasize the kinds of characterizations that the students impute to the organizations. Grangers say they are conservative; Farm Bureau members say their organization is middle of road.

Before proceeding it is appropriate to develop a brief exposition concerning the assumptions of what the most and least conservative attitudes involve. The expression content (Appendix F) and questions asked to obtain rankings (Appendix G) concern the Ford areas and William's value orientations. It is assumed within Williams delineation that positive

tions' resolutions and four involved expressions from all organizations. The latter judgments provided the data used in the Chi square analysis.

⁷To numerically order the organizations the most conservative, neutral and least conservative judgments on each question were given the designations of • 3, 0, - 3, respectively. By this scheme the Bureau's total net score was • 99, the Grange's was • 78, and the Union's was - 165. The Grange and Bureau do not vary widely on this score.

orientation toward the values of nationalism, individual achievement and success equates with the most conservative attitude. Further, this kind of attitude, it is assumed, would be less concerned with emphasizing the value of humanitarian mores and more concerned with duties rather than rights (of citizens or nations) with respect to Williams' value of freedom. Too, it is assumed, the more conservative attitude would tend to identify success with narrowly defined economic variables and less with other kinds of variables—human resources, developing democratic attitudes. The more conservative attitude would equate with less government interference in individual activity. The exception to this lies in that the conservative attitude with respect to what has been called "internal security" would more likely emphasize positive restrictions by government on individual activity. The rankings on conservative economic or political attitudes are self-explanatory as is the position that the least conservative attitude occupies the pole antithetical to the most conservative.

The fundamental question posed for examination deals with the diametrically opposed characterizations attributed to the Grange and the Farm Bureau by writers on farm organizations and the seven judges. The data in Table XV deal in detail only with the most conservative rankings because this area will best contribute to differentiating the Grange and Farm Bureau. The Grange is designated by "G", the Union by "U" and the Bureau by "B". Because questions were paired, for example, Ia and Ib refer to the most-least poles of one continuum, the two items appear together in the Table's first column. The last three columns in Table XV list the net conservative score based on rankings given the organization's expression.

TABLE XV

JUDGMENTS MADE BY SEVEN JUDGES IN RANKING EXPRESSIONS CHOSEN TO REPRESENT THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS*

i Ins	em n tru-	Con	Most s erv s		1	Neutra	ıl		Least .se rva ti	ve		Net servat	
me	nt										G	U	В
I	ab	G		BBBBBB	GGGGG	ម្			UUUUUU	В	3	-18	15
I	cd	GG	U	BBBBB	GGGG	U		G	טטטטט	BB	3	-1 2	9
I	ef	G	υυ υ	BBBB	GG	uu	BB	GGGG	UU	В	-9	3	9
I	gh	GG	U	BBBB	GGGG	UU		G	บบบบ	BBB	3	- 9	3
II	ab	GG	UU	BBBB	GGGG		BB	G	טטטטט	В	3	-9	9
II	cd*	GG	U	ВВВ	GGGG		BB		UUUUU	В	6	-12	6
II	ef	GGG	U	BBB	GGG	UU	ВВ	G	UUUU	ВВ	6	- 9	3
II	gh	GGG		BBBB	GGGG	UU	В		บบบบบ	BB	9	-15	6
IV	ab	GGGG		BBBB	GGG	U	BB		บบบบบบ	В	12	-18	9
IV	cd	GGGGG	U	В		UUUU	BBB	GG	ŬŪ	BBB	9	-3	-6
IA	ef	GG	U	BBB	GGGG	U	BB	G	טטטטט	В	3	-12	9
IV	gh	GGGGG	UU	В			BBBBBB	GG	บบบบบ		9	-9	3
VII	ab	GGG	υ	BBBB	GGG	UU	В	G	บบบ	ВВ	6	- 9	6
VII	cd	GGG		BBBB	GGGG	U	BB		บบบบบบ	В	9	-18	9
VII	ef	G	บบบ	BBB	GGGGG		ВВ	G	บบบบ	ВВ	0	- 3	3
VII	gh	GG	U	BBBB	GGGGG	υ	В		บบบบบ	BB	6	-12	6

^{*}One judge stated question IIcd did not apply to the content and did not rank the expression.

By use of the net conservative score it can be found that the Bureau has the most conservative position on items Ief, Iab, Icd, IIab and IVef. Four of these items deal with international affairs. Farm Bureau expressions indicate a nationalistic ethnocentristic attitude which emphasizes other nations should be constructed in our image. However, the Grange, too, has an exceedingly nationalistic-ethnocentristic expression in the Point IV series. It appears as though the difference between the two lay in that the Grange view expresses an economic-nationalistic attitude while the Bureau expresses a nationalistic attitude in terms of total cultures. The Bureau's expression on duties of other nations clearly supports the most nationalistic position. The Bureau's equation of economic variables with success in the assisted culture also implies an economic overtone to international relations. Most other Grange excesses, when compared to the Farm Bureau, deal with the conservative political expressions.

The net conservative scores show high agreement in the area of inflation. Both have the conservative view here as compared with the Union. Again on the matter of taxes the two seem quite comparable. However, the Bureau least emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores regarding tax policies.

Aside from the differing way international affairs may be prosecuted the Grange and Bureau do not appear greatly different. We have hardly gone farther in this analysis than have the text book or monograph writers who said both are conservative. However, two additional items in the judging may provide a solution to the question posed at the beginning of this section. These two items dealt only with Grange and Farm Bureau expressions

on farmer cooperatives and government. In obtaining a conservative score only the differences between the number of most conservative selections were used because this judging involved only two expressions and least conservative amounted to a residual category.

The data in Table XVI present clues by means of which we can analytically differentiate between the Grange and the Bureau. First, despite the Grange's conservative economic position with reference to

JUDGMENTS MADE BY SEVEN JUDGES IN RANKING EXPRESSIONS CHOSEN TO REPRESENT THE GRANGE AND FARM BUREAU*

Item in Instrument	Mo Conse	st rvative		rvative ore		east ervative
			G	В		
V a	GGGG	BBBBB	12	15	GGG	BB
V b	GGGGGG	BB	18	6	G	BBBBB
V c		BBBBBBB	0	21	GGGGGG	3
VI a	CCCC	BBBB	12	12	GGG	BBB
VI b	GGGG	BBBB	12	1 2	GGG	BBB
VI c	CGGGGGG		21	0		ВВВВВВВ

^{*}Chi square for total table is .44, p. between .70 and .50.

cooperatives there was unanimous agreement among the judges that its expression on cooperatives most emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores. Thus with reference to an economic matter--farmers' cooperatives--the Grange displays an ambivalence which curiously mixes positive identification with the under dog and laissez faire economics. The judges could not differentiate on two government items but again unquestionably they

identified the Grange as being most opposed to government restriction of individual initiative. To the Grange member--to the extent that he has these attitudes--the best government is literally the least government in the classical sense. Certainly a conservative attitude. On the other hand, the Bureau attitude toward government appears to be one that accepts government and operates within this structure. Thus Grange expressions present a curious mixture of conservative emotionalism and the brotherhood of man so that the judges ranked the organization significantly less conservative than the Farm Bureau. The Farm Bureau expressions, on the other hand, seem far more rational in their content and have a more consistent reference to the conservative position.

Whereas the Farm Bureau expressions appear to be rational and realistically integrated into a conservative school of thought and the Grange expressions appear to emotionally range from realistic conservativism to selected liberal attitudes there was little doubt among the judges in characterizing the Farmers' Union as least conservative. Perhaps we can say that the Union expressions appear to the judges realistically integrated into a liberal school of thought.

The Grange and Farmers' Union expressions on "internal security" were also ranked (VII series of items). In this ranking all seven judges unanimously agreed the Grange favored government restriction on the individual (VII c). In this sense the Grange again reflects a conservative position--Williams' value of conformity--of an extreme variety. It is unfortunate that all three organizations did not cover comparable material in their resolutions in the areas of farmers cooperatives and government.

CHAPTER VI

AMERICAN FARMERS' COOPERATIVES: STRUCTURE AND VALUE ORIENTATION

There are in the United States more than 10,000 farmer cooperatives. Farmer cooperatives carry on diverse kinds of activities. For example, marketing cooperatives include those through which the farmer member markets his milk, cheese, cotton, grain, fruits and livestock. Numerous consumer cooperatives—grocery stores, oil associations, credit unions—serve farmer members. Service cooperatives provide farmers with serums, fertilizers and other items needed in the farm enterprise.

I. STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN FARMER COOPERATIVES

Structure of Farm Cooperatives

The lowest level in the cooperative structure is the local cooperative association. Local associations have overwhelming, numerical predominance among farmer cooperatives. Many local associations constitute collection stations for centralized cooperatives. This kind of unit will not be dealt with in this study.

In Nebraska and Minnesota a county level unit appears in the cooperative structure. This is typically called the County Cooperative Council. This development has been recent and has a limited extent in the United States.

Regional federations of cooperatives occur within some states.

Cooperatives like Texsun, The Michigan Milk Producers, usually market products grown by a widely-dispersed membership which is wholly contained

in one state.

State Councils of Cooperation operate in 33 states. These units usually include as members local and regional cooperative associations within a state.

Many cooperative associations serve an area greater than one state. The Grain Terminal Association of St. Paul, Minnesota, serves a marketing terminal for grain farmers in the northwestern tier of states; the Consumers Cooperatives Association of Kansas City, Missouri, serves member associations in eight midwestern states; the Midland Cooperative Wholesale of Minneapolis, Minnesota, has local member cooperatives in four midwestern states. The Southern States Cooperative of Richmond, Virginia, serves local cooperatives in a number of southern and middle Atlantic states. The Dairymen's League of New York is an organization of local cooperatives in six states of the Middle Atlantic area.

The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, the American Institute of Cooperation, and the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. serve as the national level of American cooperatives. All carry on educational activities for their members and extend their educational efforts beyond the limits of their own organization to extra-cooperative organizations and publics. For the purposes of this study the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives will serve as the focus because this is an organization limiting membership to farmer cooperatives.

Procedural Relationships Within the Cooperative Structure

The local cooperative is an autonomous organization with its own administrative and managerial officials. It incorporates under the laws

of the state where it is located. The local may be a marketing, consumers, or service cooperative.

In Nebraska the County Cooperative Council scheme of organization has been instituted. The relationship between the County and local organization involves tying the manager and directors of local cooperatives into the County Council. The County Council elects from among its membership delegates to the State Council. Then members of the State Council choose their Board of Directors. The Nebraska Council specifies the number of farmers must numerically exceed the number of managers on its board.

Every cooperative affiliated with the Wisconsin State Council has a voting delegate. Larger organizations may have as many as ten voting delegates. The voting delegates constitute the "legislative body" of this state organization. Membership in a State Council is available to local or regional farm cooperatives.

The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives was first organized in 1929 as the National Chamber of Cooperative Council. It was organized at a meeting of the American Institute of Cooperation and maintains close relationships with the American Institute. According to an early publication the organization was to develop:

. . . bonds of friendship, understanding and mutual helpfulness among farm cooperatives.4

The Organization, Financing and Function of State Councils of Farmer Cooperatives, op. cit., p. 5.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 22.

Bluebook (Washington, D.C.: National Cooperative Council, 1934), p. 1.

Also of importance was its purpose of carrying on legislative activities in behalf of agricultural cooperatives.

Membership in the National Cooperative Council was limited to "agricultural cooperative business" associations owned and controlled by farmers. Marketing, processing, consumers or federated cooperatives may be "direct" members. An additional classification indicates State Councils have "associate" memberships.

Memberships are classed by commodity divisions within the National Council. In 1951, 112 direct or associate members had affiliation with the Council. These memberships represent 5000 local cooperative associations and 2,600,000 farm families. According to these figures nearly one-half of the farm families and one-half of farmers cooperatives had affiliation with the Council.

Structural Conditions for Action in Farmer Cooperatives

Most farmer cooperatives from whom information was obtained in this study are marketing cooperatives. According to one source this emphasis involves limiting the membership to producers of specific products. 6

Membership often results from patronage alone.

The Board of Directors of the local cooperative is a widely found group of non-professional workers. Much of the Board's authority is delegated to a professional worker--the cooperative manager--to carry on

⁵Bluebook (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1951), p. 26.

⁶Leonard C. Kercher, Vant W. Kebker and Wilfred C. Leland, Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1941), p. 7.

the affairs of the cooperative. Kercher, Kebker and Leland note, with reference to cooperatives of predominantly American memberships (as compared with cooperatives with predominant Finnish membership) that these cooperatives feature strong centralized management in which the manager "should be given a free hand . . . to run the business."

Managers literally "run the business." For example, in the 263 County sample of the ninety eight respondents representing cooperatives who provided their occupation sixty eight (69.4 per cent) were managers of cooperatives and eleven were farmers. The remainder of the ninety eight indicated other occupations. No housewives were included among cooperatives' respondents. Of those respondents who indicated the cooperative sponsors adult education even more, proportionately, of those who replied (77.0 per cent) were cooperative managers. In this study-experience managers of cooperatives clearly dominate as respondents.

Increasing the number of non-professional workers constitutes an aim of a number of cooperative organizations. The Director of Education for a state-wide producers cooperative states that involving members in committee assignments increases participation. The committee on education is one way non-professional worker involvement occurs. These committees may sponsor meetings, in addition to the annual meeting, of the cooperative during a year. Through sponsorship of additional meetings it

⁷<u>Ibid</u>., p. 50.

⁸Personal interview with Earl King, Director of Education, Iowa Farmers' Grain Dealers Association, Des Moines, Iowa, October 24, 1951.

⁹Personal interview with Cecil Crews, Director of Educational Fieldwork, Consumers Cooperatives Association, Kansas City, Missouri,

appears that cooperatives may become less oriented toward vocational problems and more toward education.

In a study of 237 regional cooperatives LeBeau found that "the manager takes the major responsibility for educational work in about half the associations reporting." Others who perform educational work are board members, public relations or editorial employees, field workers or educational workers. 11

The manager has a strategic position in a cooperative's adult education program. For example, an observer states that successful discussion group programs seem to be associated with places where "cooperative managers have a broad general philosophy of cooperation." According to LeBeau the general practice in cooperatives is that an educational role involves only part time employment. For example, field men of regional cooperatives devote some time to education. The Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association employs forty fieldmen who contact managers and directors of local elevators. These fieldmen appear at the annual meetings of local cooperatives in the interest of public relations for the regional association and to keep local members informed of pertinent

November 19, 1951. According to Crews local educational committees have developed meetings so that their cooperatives no longer have only one meeting a year.

¹⁰ Oscar R. LeBeau, <u>Educational Practices of Farmer Cooperatives</u> (Washington, D.C.: Farm Credit Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture, January, 1951), p. 1.

ll_{Tbid}.

Personal interview with Iver Lind, Assistant Director of Education, Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 22, 1951.

events.

The regional educational specialist is being developed in the Consumers Cooperatives Association territory. This regional encourages the organization of local cooperatives into "educational federations" whereby a group of cooperatives jointly employ an educational specialist. However, this recent development is far from general in the organization's territory.

Also, regional cooperatives employ educational specialists. These persons supposedly devote full-time to educational activities. However, LeBeau indicates that only about one-fourth devote as much as eighty per cent of their time to education. More than four in ten devote less than twenty per cent of their time to education. Further, he states that purchasing cooperatives more likely support educational workers than do marketing cooperatives. ¹³ Thus it appears that marketing cooperatives—the type with which this study is most concerned—most limit efforts in education. This corroborates an impression gained in field work in which it was noted that consumers' type associations were active in educational activities and marketing cooperatives were not so active. ¹⁴

¹³LeBeau, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁴ The exception to this statement is the case of the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association and other Farmers' Union regionals of the north-western United States. These organizations maintain a relationship with the State Farmers' Unions of the area whereby 5 per cent of the regional's net income is paid to the State Farmers' Union to carry on educational work in cooperation. This is the one observed case where a marketing association consciously supports education. It is relevant, however, that in this case the educational program is channeled through an allied farm organization.

of the 112 responses received from cooperatives in the 263 county sample 38 (33.9 per cent) responded that the cooperative sponsored adult education. One in four (24.1 per cent) reported efforts in the Ford areas. Observers of cooperatives and workers in the cooperative movement cite the need for education and the increasing evidences of education sponsored by cooperatives. However, these figures indicate that at the local level cooperatives fall far short of the farm organizations in sponsoring efforts in adult education. 15

An observer of cooperative development in western Canada indicates that marketing cooperatives of this area much more actively support educational work than do their American counterparts. ¹⁶ The executive secretary of a state-wide marketing association indicated its adult education "is almost wholly in the area of marketing." In this response vocational rather than non-vocational emphases have primacy.

Much activity at the State Council level of cooperation is accomplished by professional workers. According to LeBeau executive secretaries of these units maintain close relationships with service clubs and

¹⁵ The responses reporting adult education were sorted into producer and consumer cooperative classes but the small totals (38 cases yielded 14 consumers and 16 producers cooperatives. The remaining cases could not be assigned definitely to either class) precluded analysis. Therefore all responses received from cooperatives were analyzed as a whole.

¹⁶ Paul F. Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1948), pp. 34-35. Perhaps of significance is the fact that the American marketing regionals which are concerned with education are located in a rural cultural area of the United States adjacent to the western provinces of Canada.

¹⁷ Personal interview with Paul Getz, Executive Secretary, Ohio Wool Growers Association, Columbus, Ohio, October 31, 1951.

chambers of commerce in order "to explain the cooperative point of view." 18

Educational activity in this area emphasizes public relations with extraorganization publics and excludes the cooperative member public.

The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives employs five full-time professional workers. The executive secretary acts as representative of "the Council in contacts with other farm organizations and with administrative and legislative agencies of the government"; the assistant secretary "serves in a general administrative capacity and is responsible for analyzing and following closely legislation affecting farmer cooperatives"; a general administrative counsel "handles the legal work of the National Council"; a professional worker directs "the Council's activities in the field of farm supply and service"; and a director of information. ¹⁹ These offices demonstrate the legislative and economic orientation of this level of the cooperative structure. No one professional worker has full time employment in educational activities except the director of information-an editorial position--who, in fulfilling his role, does some educational work.

The newspaper has importance as a channel of communication in regional cooperatives. Farmers' Union cooperatives, Midland Cooperative Wholesale, and Consumers' Cooperatives Association sponsor newspapers which go to their members. LeBeau found approximately two-thirds of the farmer cooperative associations publish a house organ for the membership.

¹⁸ LeBeau, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁹Bluebook (1951), op. cit., p. 15.

Nearly two-thirds of these publish on a monthly or more frequent schedule.

Many marketing cooperatives sponsor market news publications.

The Ohio Wool Growers Association sponsors a monthly house organ distributed to its full membership. In the three Ford fields of interest it carried promotional articles for the CROP campaign. The Midland Cooperator has a circulation of more than 100,000 persons and the Cooperative Consumer of Consumers Cooperatives Association of Kansas City reaches an audience of more than 300,000. These publications include numerous news stories in the three fields of interest.

Other printed materials distributed and published by cooperatives cover a wide range of subjects. Some of these may be promotional publications which inform the audience of the purpose of the cooperative and reasons for joining. LeBeau states that such publications "foster a pride-of-belonging among members and lead to better understanding of the responsibilities and services." Many publications of cooperatives circulate to non-members. County agents and editors are mentioned frequently as persons to whom cooperatives send their publications. LeBeau found that informational pamphlets or publications are more likely to be sponsored by purchasing cooperatives than by marketing cooperatives. 21

Apparently newsletters have wide use by cooperative organizations.

This is especially true for those units which participate in legislative

²⁰ LeBeau, op. cit., p. 22.

^{21 &}lt;u>Thid</u>. LeBeau states that 62 per cent of the purchasing cooperatives distributed "special publications" while 31 per cent of the marketing cooperatives distributed this kind of publication.

activity or which keep members informed on market conditions. The newsletter of one State Council consists of announcements of cooperative meetings, legislative concerns, and general information about cooperatives in the state. This newsletter is directed toward the cooperative managers.²² The Farmers' Grain Dealers Association of Iowa publishes a weekly newsletter which circulates to cooperative managers, presidents and secretaries of the affiliated locals, and to newspapers and radio stations.²³

The Farmer Grain Dealers Association of Iowa, Farmers' Union regional cooperatives, and the Dairymen's League use radio to disseminate market news. Also, the Dairymen's League and the Grange League Federation cooperate with other New York State organizations to sponsor the Rural Radio Network. During a week in November of 104 hours of broadcasting this network devoted seven hours to subjects in the three Ford areas of interest. A daily UN news program, "School of the Air," "Education News," "The Freedom Story" and legislative reporting programs are some of the regular features included in programming.

Cooperative respondents who indicated sponsorship of adult education programs also indicated radio as the most frequently used mass media. Motion pictures and newspapers followed radio. Nearly four in ten respondents (39.5 per cent) mention radio while three in ten (31.6 per cent) mention motion pictures and one in four (26.3 per cent) mention newspapers. The emphasis in the use of these media appears to lie more in

The Organization, Financing and Function of State Councils of Farmer Cooperatives, op. cit., p. 24.

²³Personal interview with Earl King, op. cit.

informing members or the public concerning market situations or about scheduled activities of the cooperative. Motion pictures probably more often contribute to non-vocational efforts in education.

Films are an integral part of the adult education work of the Dairymen's League. This organization has fourteen division offices each of which has a projector. Professional workers of the organization state that standard Hollywood productions are more popular with farmers than are films on specialized agricultural subjects. However, professional workers of the Farmers Grain Dealers of Iowa attest to the popularity of organizational film. This film portrays the relationship which exists between the local cooperative and the state-wide cooperative organization maintained by these locals.

The Midland Cooperative Wholesale maintains a film library.

Through this medium many films on cooperation are lent to schools throughout the Iowa-Minnesota-Wisconsin area. Its films are also supplied to local cooperatives, Farmers' Unions, Granges, Farm Bureaus, and Chamber of Commerce groups. Films distributed by Midland attempt to encourage discussion on social and economic problems. Some of the titles from its library are: Brotherhood of Man, China's Pattern for Peace, My Neighbor and I, One World or None, The USA in World Trade, World of Plenty, Discussion in a Democracy. The titles give a rough indication of the contents of this film library.

Cooperative organizations use advertising in daily and weekly

²⁴Personal interview with Iver Lind, op. cit.

newspapers to promote cooperation and their business interests. State

Councils distribute prepared mats to local cooperatives or directly to

local newspapers. The Michigan Association of Farmer Cooperatives obtains
these materials from the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives.²⁵

It appears that farmers cooperatives use mass media most frequently in a way similar to typical business use. Attracting buyers or members or increasing product sales appear to be the dominant emphases in these activities.

Establishing Policy Within the Cooperative Structure

The cooperatives contacted in field interviews or through the mailed questionnaire represent a wide variety of structural forms. Because of this the following description will be largely impressionistic in that it will be related to no specific farmer cooperatives.

Local cooperatives usually establish a body of resolutions at the annual meeting of the organization. Local resolutions will often be based on information which an upper level unit in the cooperative structure furnished the local. For example, at the annual meeting of the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association in 1951 the General Manager broached the subject of cash rebates in place of stock dividends. This subject will be discussed in local meetings in this regional's territory and will be resolved upon for the 1952 meetings of the regional.²⁶

²⁵ Annual Report, 1951 (Lansing: Michigan Association of Farmer Cooperatives, 1951), p. 24.

²⁶Personal interview with Mr. Roth, Editor, Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minnesota, October 19, 1951.

Many cooperative organizations—the Dairymen's League, Consumers Cooperatives Association, Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Farmer Grain Dealers Association of Iowa—have a district organization within the larger structure. In some the district level is operative in determining policy by the resolutions process. Resolutions from these district units are the instructions to the director who represents the district on the regional organization's board of directors.

Prior to the annual meeting of a regional cooperative the Resolutions Committee prepares a body of resolutions for the delegates. Delegates to the annual meeting represent organizations affiliated with the regional cooperative. Of the 1100-1200 persons who attend the annual meeting of the Midland Cooperative Wholesale, 500 or 600 have voting delegate status. Delegates from each local in the Dairymen's League attend its annual meeting. In addition to the voting delegates the 640 local units of the Dairymen's League have women's committees each of which has an associate delegate. The Resolutions Committee of the Dairymen's League calls in professional workers of the organization for suggestions on resolution content.

Several regional organizations have representation on the Board of Directors of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives. They represent specific commodity or cooperative services. In 1951 two of the National Council's fifty-three directors represented the Dairy Division. One of these directors represented the Dairymen's League. Thus individual members of local affiliates of this regional organization, insofar as they participate in forming policy for their regional, were in turn represented at the highest level in the farmer cooperative structure. At the annual

meeting of delegates the standing committees of the National Council draft recommendations which it sends to the resolutions committee. The resolutions committee includes chairmen of the standing committees and additional representatives of each of the Council's seventeen divisions. After approval by the resolutions committee recommendations are referred to the Council's delegate body for action.

Organized Action Within the Cooperative Structure

The smallest organized group activity within the cooperative structure is the discussion group. This program is not widespread among cooperatives in the United States. These local groups are not formally relevant in determining policy. In the Midland Cooperative Wholesale the Educational Division organizes discussion groups. At one time 500 groups were active but in 1951 about one-third of this number remained in operation.

Discussions in these groups include topics on cooperation, local, national, and international problems. Local social and economic problems receive emphasis. Such efforts as obtaining a community hospital, elimination of a hazardous grade crossing, local library organization, have been noted in the Midland area. The organization uses discussion outlines of the Ohio Farm Bureau in this program.

The youth organization affiliated with the Dairymen's League supports a discussion group program sponsored by the regional cooperative.

This organization uses <u>Public Affairs Pamphlets</u> and <u>Town Meeting of the Air publications</u> for discussion materials. According to LeBeau about one cooperative in eight uses discussion outlines. Again he notes that

purchasing cooperatives more likely use these than do other cooperatives.27

The next level of organized action in the cooperative structure is the local cooperative. The most common form of sponsored activity at this level is the annual meeting of the association. LeBeau reports that "three-fifths of the cooperatives hold but one meeting a year." He indicates that business not "membership participation" constitutes the bulk of activity at an annual meeting. According to LeBeau the principle means by which members are "maintained", occurs through:

Annual meetings and personal contacts. Each were checked as of major importance by more than seven-eighths of the cooperatives.29

Although the frequency of occurrence of this form is not great it remains one of the two most important means of informing members about their cooperative organization.

Five in six (83.3 per cent) respondents who indicated sponsorship of adult education and who responded to the question on program form, indicate that their cooperative used a public meeting to best advantage.

No other form receives mention by more than 20 per cent of the respondents.

Concerning useful procedures, by far the most popular is the lecture method (72.4 per cent) as reported by these respondents. However, nearly six in ten (58.6 per cent) mention group discussions and 31.0 per cent mention panel discussions.

²⁷LeBeau, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁸Ibid., p. 13.

²⁹Ibid., p. 5.

Another form of organized action at this level in the cooperative structure is the board meeting. Although the total membership meets annually "usually there is a monthly board of directors meeting" in local cooperatives in Arkansas. 30 According to LeBeau the dearth of membership meetings provides the rationale for entrusting business affairs to the board. When the board further allocates decision making to the manager the typical practice has been achieved. 31

It is apparent from previously cited materials that cooperatives are concerned with increasing members' participation in the affairs of the cooperative. Some professional workers think participation increases if women become active in the organization.³² For example, the Dairymen's League has established women as associate delegates to its annual meeting. Also, the League has placed women in charge of local legislative activities. With reference to developing education committees a professional worker of the Farmers' Grain Dealers of Iowa stated that, in order to increase participation, there were an equal number of men and women on these committees.

The next unit level in the cooperative structure at which organized action occurs is the county level. Inasmuch as this organizational form

³⁰ Personal interview with Mr. Isgrig, Director, Service Department, Arkansas Farmer's Association, Little Rock, Arkansas, November 17, 1951.

³¹ LeBeau, op. cit., p. 12.

³² Personal interview with Miss Genevieve Judy, Director, Women's Activities, Dairymen's League, New York City, November 3, 1951.

³³ Personal interview with Earl King, op. cit.

is not fully developed in the United States and because no occurrence of this organizational form was found in the field interviews, we will not deal with it here.

A State Council sponsors an annual meeting of its members. In addition to this meeting the State Council sponsors many activities supporting the objectives of the organization. For example, the Iowa Council of Cooperatives, in cooperation with the Iowa State College and the Bank For Cooperatives, sponsors an Annual Directors Conference. The program of this meeting in 1950 made eight recommendations for the improvement of cooperative activities. The directors rated "increased and improved educational programs" as their first recommendation. In 1951 the directors note a poor record of adoption in increased and improved educational programs. The appears that the need for education in cooperation receives widespread expression but limited activity in this area is the rule.

In 1951 the Michigan Association of Farmer Cooperatives sponsored fifteen cooperative educational conferences. Participants in these conferences included managers and directors of cooperatives, public school personnel and county agents. In summarizing the discussions held at these conferences it was agreed that closer relationships should exist between cooperative managers and school teachers. In order to increase knowledge about cooperatives among members and with the public the

³⁴ Report, Iowa Cooperative Directors Conference, op. cit., p. 1.

³⁵ Annual Report, 1951, op. cit., p. 14.

participants recommended sponsoring a newsletter, having the managers and directors visit farmers and becoming active in community affairs. 36

Some state-wide cooperative organizations actively sponsor organized group action. The Farmers' Grain Dealers Association of Iowa sponsors tours to its Des Moines facilities during the slack farming seasons. In 1951, 2000 local members visited its elevators and offices while on tours. County agents, ministers, and local newspaper editors also are encouraged to participate in these tours.

The annual meeting of the Farmers' Grain Dealers Association of Iowa is a three day meeting. Speakers are national-level professional workers of the farm organizations and professional agricultural workers in government. Usually about 1000-1200 managers or directors of local cooperative associations attend this meeting.

The organized action which occurs at the National Council of
Farmer Cooperative is almost wholly concerned with the annual meeting of
the organization. Other than this periodically called meetings of the
standing committees occur throughout the year. Professional workers of
the National Council have the role of secretary to these standing committees. Most of the speakers at the annual meeting of this organization
are professional workers of the national level in the farm organizations,
professional agricultural workers in government, and non-professional and
professional workers of the Council.

Cooperatives do not sponsor general adult education nor efforts in

^{36&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p. 15.

the Ford areas to as great an extent as do the farm organizations. The public meeting form is most used by cooperatives. Within this form the lecture, discussion and motion picture procedures are most mentioned. The form and procedures used suggest that education of members by cooperative managers and directors concerns itself chiefly with an accounting of the financial status of the organization. Perhaps cooperatives lag behind farm organizations in sponsorship of non-vocational education because of the business aspect of cooperation. If members regard the cooperatives' objectives as limited to economic advantage their interests are satisfied when patronage dividends are adequate.

II. VALUE ORIENTATION IN FARMER COOPERATIVES

This analysis like much of the preceding will be less complete than in the farm organizations. The range in type and organization of farmer cooperatives in the United States constitutes such great variety as to preclude this. Some of the distinctions between different kinds of cooperatives and how these differences affect the role of the cooperative have been mentioned above and will be elaborated on in this section. In the following analyses the concern will be with expressions representative of the two general kinds of cooperatives—producer and consumer—found in rural America.

A professional worker of Midland Cooperative Wholesale indicated that the early emphasis among cooperatives on money rebates excluded consideration of cooperation as a social organization. 37 Landis' conclusion

³⁷ Personal interview with Iver Lind, op. cit.

corroborated this view when he termed cooperatives "business-only" and indicated they "probably differ little from the ordinary business corporations.³⁸ Benson found in the early 1920's that one in twenty (5.3 per cent) of the cooperatives he investigated carried on education in cooperative principles and methods. A professional worker of the Arkansas Farmer's Association stated:

We procure and distribute feed, seed, fertilizer, farm supplies, hatchery equipment. The local cooperative is organized strictly with economic purposes. 39

A professional worker of the Farmers' Grain Dealers Association of Iowa stated the organization works to raise farmers standards of living, increase their income and provide services needed to market their grain. 40 Most American cooperators believe that "free private enterprise" may be made to "function more effectively" with cooperatives included in the economy. Cooperatives do not, for most Americans, have the goal of eliminating profit "and individual initiative."

Implicit in the foregoing is the theme that producers' cooperatives among the farmers of the United States are economic organizations whose existence is predicated on its alliance with traditional business. If the traditional business system becomes locally oppressive then cooperatives act as a check on the development of unfair procedures in the system.

³⁸ Benson Y. Landis, Social Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing, Bulletin #4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 48.

³⁹ Personal interview with Mr. Isgrig, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Personal interview with Earl King, op. cit.

Report, Second Annual Iowa Cooperative Directors Conference, op. cit., p. 4.

Kercher, Kebker and Leland summarize well the orientation of marketing cooperatives. For example:

In producers' societies people are cooperating to get more returns from their productive activity. They are in effect seeking to increase their margin of profit by producing improved commodities at lower costs and selling them at relatively higher prices. . . . A practical, business-like view of cooperation largely devoid of any particular idealism or conception of a new order of this is encouraged. The status quo would be disturbed only to the extent of redirecting profit from the owner as an investor to the worker as a wage earner or producer. 42

However, the authors go on to note that the Farmers' Union cooperatives, Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Consumers Cooperatives Association and the Farm Bureau Cooperatives of Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania depart from this orientation. The departure relates to the identification these organizations make with the worldwide consumers' movement. 43

Let us turn now to the consumers' cooperatives, or, more specifically, to those farmer cooperatives which more nearly express an orientation compatible with the orientation of consumers' cooperatives. According to one source this kind of cooperative organization deals with satisfying members "material and non-material" wants. They indicate relevant to the non-material:

A... real function of the \(\subsection \) cooperatives has been to provide members of the movement with social status, security, and an avenue of personal advancement and prestige.

In comparing the cooperative and business forms a professional

⁴² Kercher, Kebker and Leland, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴³Tbid.

^{44 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 15.

worker indicates the difference lies in the cooperative's membership group. Business organizations do not have membership groups. 45 A publication of Consumers' Cooperatives Association refers to cooperation as a means of creating a "better society and better relationships between classes, peoples, and nations." However, these cooperators retain a pragmatic view too in indicating that directors must first direct the affairs of their own co-op successfully. 7 One may read reports or addresses of professional workers of the Farmers' Union cooperatives or the Ohio Farm Bureau and find similar expressions as those noted above. Phrases like "people's democracy," "people working together," and "social organization" abound in these documents. 48

These introductory statements indicate general differences between the two kinds of farmers' cooperatives. More specific analyses of value orientation now become relevant. The Ford areas of interest will be used for ordering the contents.

Value Orientation of Producers' Cooperatives in the United States

Although cooperatives do not share the farm organizations' orientation toward adult education, workers in cooperatives deal with and

⁴⁵ Personal interview with Iver Lind, op. cit.

Monthly Bulletin for Educational Committees, op. cit., n.p.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

For example, see: Murray D. Lincoln, President, Ohio Farm Bureau Insurance Companies, "The Age of Abundance," an address, reported in the Ohio Farm Bureau News, June, 1951. Also: Annual Report, 1949, Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association, op. cit., n.p.

recognize the importance of problems in the areas of international and economic concerns and in strengthening democracy.

International Understanding for World Peace. The president of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives in speaking to the delegates of the 1952 annual meeting indicated that Point IV would turn back communism. The program would do this because communism advances on hunger and poverty. It is our responsibility to share "our agricultural know-how with the remainder of peoples" which still use "the agricultural practices of their ancestors."

The delegates to the 1951 annual meeting of the Farmers' Grain
Dealers Association of Iowa resolved concerning the World Crisis:

We find ourselves today in the midst of a grave international crisis. This is a time when the people of our nation should stand solidly in the strengthening and defense of the ideals and institutions which have made America strong and great. Today's world problems are entirely too big to be solved by the efforts of one nation alone.

We believe the fundamental conflict between the free and enslaved people of the world can be won by the free people through their greater initiative, their resourcefulness and incentive to sacrifice, and their right to maintain freedom of thought and action through democratic ways and means.

We most ardently hope and fervently pray that the United Nations lose no opportunity in trying to find a basis whereby there can be built a secure and lasting world peace. A new program of action to help build up under-developed areas of the world and to "count in" the common man must be a part of the United Nations' challenge and approach to a world now faced by imperialistic, aggressive communism. 50

⁴⁹Newsletter (Lansing: Michigan Association of Farmer Cooperatives, January 28, 1952), p. 2.

Farmers' Grain Dealers Association of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1951, n.p.

The citation above combines ideas on international affairs, the economy and democracy. Certain ideas and expressions in this statement appear quite similar to Grange and Bureau comments cited in Chapter IV.

Strengthening of Democracy. The Grange-League-Federation distributed a publication of the Northeast Farm Foundation in which American progress on "the Road to Socialism" is documented. The publication deals with the amount of land owned by the government and the number of businesses it operated. Also it indicated "the government makes us carry insurance with it" [the government]. To finance these activities the federal government "is rapidly taking over the taxing power." Farmers must check this trend if private ownership of land and a "free choice" economic system are to prevail.

Strengthening of democracy can be articulated with reference to control over marketing systems in an economic system. In this Ford area of interest the executive secretary of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives stated in 1950 that private agencies should assume more responsibility for marketing farm products. Government marketing programs tend to become substituted for "voluntary private organizations and facilities." 52

The implication appears to be that when private ventures atrophy and government intervenes the economic system undergoes fundamental

⁵¹ Monthly Economic Letter (Ithaca: Northeast Farm Foundation, October 1, 1951), n.p.

⁵² Bluebook, 1950 (Washington, D. C.: National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1950), p. 10.

changes. This appears consistent with the views cited above in the document distributed by the Grange-League-Federation.

Strengthening of the Economy. The president of the National Council wrote in 1950 in opposition to those who belittle the profit motive. He indicates that it is time to "stand up and fight" for private enterprise and against socialism, communism or other "variations of state supremacy."53

Within agriculture a great deal is written on the family farm.

Farmers' organizations are concerned with maintaining the family farm but considerably different concepts of the family farm exist. A State Council professional worker indicated that writers in the "depression-born" agencies of government favor small units so that their operators will have to have government assistance. 54

The delegates to the 1951 annual meeting of an Iowa cooperative in resolving with reference to inflation control used much the same language as appeared in Farm Bureau literature. 55

The Grange League Federation of Ithaca, New York, distributed a reprint of an address made before a Pomona Grange. This demonstrates an orientation toward strengthening the economy. For example:

⁵³<u>Tbid.</u>, p. 3. The same person indicates later in his talk that "there is no great distinction between the farmer and any other businessman or industrialist."

⁵⁴ The Blue Anchor (Sacramento: California Fruit Exchange, November, 1951). "The Farmers Corner" by Ralph H. Taylor, Executive Secretary, Agricultural Council of California, p. 32.

Farmers Grain Dealers Association of Iowa, op. 47th Annual Convention of Convention of Iowa, p. 4.

In America today, we are surrendering our basic liberties. The complexity of the daily affairs of 150 million Americans baffles us.

. . . the supply of finished goods depends entirely on how hard and how long and how efficiently we work. The more finished goods a person produces, the more there is for him to eat, wear, and enjoy. By hard work our standard of living can improve; there is no other way.

Few persons enjoy work. Some downright abhor it, and they envy the hard workers who are enjoying a better and better living, and who by saving some of it, have more and more.56

The association between a farm organization and the "producer oriented" cooperatives again appears in this instance.

Value Orientation of the Consumers' Cooperatives

Let us see how and in what ways the cooperatives which have been characterized as "consumer oriented" differ from producer, or marketing, cooperatives in international and economic concerns and strengthening of democracy.

International Understanding for Peace. The president of the Ohio Farm Bureau Insurance Companies stated his philosophy of international affairs in which the "world of force" will be replaced by the "open society." The open society stands for equalization of opportunity and constant consideration for racial and minority groups. People in underdeveloped countries are our "neighbors." This professional worker said,

^{56&}quot;Dollars Make Poor Eating," reprint of an address by C. L. Dickinson, Etna, New York, distributed by The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, #31, n.d., n.p.

for example:

. . . To offer them talk about the high standard of living in the United States, while they remain hungry and land-poor, is neither neighborly nor helpful. 57

The expansion of cooperative economic methods, nationally and internationally, will bring about a "world of plenty." 58

The president of Consumers' Cooperatives Association sees in international cooperative trade the means of putting into effect the Golden Rule. Under this system "people are equal" and "there is no exploitation." Democracy and cooperatives provide "neighborly tools." International cooperative trade and the extension of cooperatives in underdeveloped areas is a means "of bringing world peace closer to reality." 59

Once again a spokesman for cooperatives recognizes the interrelatedness of international affairs and strengthening of the economy and democracy.

Strengthening of Democracy. The citations listed above relate international affairs to the strengthening of democracy and the economy in unambiguous terms. The president of Consumers' Cooperatives Association indicates that cooperatives can only exist in a democratic society.

⁵⁷"The Age of Abundance," an address by Murray D. Lincoln, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵⁸ Cooperative News Service (Chicago: Cooperative League of the United States of America, October 26, 1951), citing a talk by Murray D. Lincoln, President, Ohio Farm Bureau Insurances.

⁵⁹Howard A. Cowden, President, Consumers Cooperatives Association, Kansas City, Missouri, "Using the Tools of Democracy," a radio address, February 19, 1951, n.p.

Cooperatives and democracy have a linkage but to effect this linkage we must "work for democracy" to make "democracy work for us," Cooperatives are a part of the heritage we leave to future generations. 60

Strengthening of the Economy. The orientation of the Midlands Cooperative Wholesale toward price controls in 1950 indicates a rather moderate attitude. For example:

. . . Now, in the face of a new world crisis, government restrictions and controls based on a near war economy are already beginning to interfere with normal operations and may continue to do so for an indefinite period. Yet if these restrictions are necessary to meet the threat to our democratic way of life we would be untrue to our principles as cooperators if we did not support them with our best efforts as individuals and organizations.

The following citation on the family farm is included in this section to correspond to the location of a similar citation in the section of producers' cooperatives. A discussion guide of the Ohio Farm Bureau has as its subject the family farm. The following statements and questions for discussion are abstracted from this publication:

Farming is more than a business; it is a way of living. Many choose the farm because it makes for better family life. It takes a lot of family living to supply our spiritual needs--food for mind, heart and soul. Our bodies demand physical food, but we cannot live by bread alone.

Because of the importance of the family-type farm to our way of life, let us look more closely to what is happening to the farm family. Our cities have grown to the point where they make up 80 percent of our total population. . . . We are told that with present methods of farming we could cut the number of

^{60&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁶¹ Annual Report, 1950 (Minneapolis: Midlands Cooperative Wholesale, 1950), p. 14.

farmers in the nation in half and still keep up our production.

What effect will the shrinking of our farm population have on our cities?

on our family life in America?

on our Churches?

on our rural communities?

on our national life and ideals? 62

The family farm has other aspects than an economic aspect. Also recognized is a relationship between "the shrinking farm population" and other areas of rural and national life.

III. PROGRAM CONTENT OF THE FARMERS' COOPERATIVES IN THE FORD AREAS OF INTEREST

The program content data--Table EVII--suggest some characteristic modalities relating the farm organizations and American farmers' cooperatives. Like the Grange the cooperatives' respondents indicated program content involving lecture and film presentations. The annual meetings of cooperatives apparently include a recreational dimension in this educational venture. Like the Bureau, cooperatives' respondents indicated program content involving economic concerns. Probably this indicates the general economic objective of American farmers' cooperatives. Cooperatives' respondents indicated means of communicating a program--the annual meeting, various programs of cooperatives--in the same way as did Farmers' Union respondents. Cooperatives' respondents place relatively more

⁶² Not by Bread Alone (Columbus: Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, June, 1950) Advisory Council Guide.

TABLE XVII

PROGRAM CONTENT IN THE FORD AREAS LISTED BY COOPERATIVE RESPONDENTS IN THE 263 COUNTY SAMPLE*

N = 27

Program Identification

- 1 County Agent talked on agricultural conditions in Germany
- 1 No identification
- 1 Student exchange
- 1 Better world understanding
- $2 \sqrt{No}$ identification 7
- 2 7No identification/
- 3 Annual Meeting Program
- 3 Dairy Economy
- 3 Helping group understand price controls
- 3 No identification 7
- 3 No identification/
- 3 7No identification7
- 3 Elimination of excessive costs and expense
- 2-3 No identification 7
- 2-3 No identification/
- 2-3 No identification/
- 1-2-3 Speaker at Annual Meeting Traveled in Europe
- 1-2-3 Annual Meeting addressed by returnee from Europe
- 1-2-3 American Cooperative business
- No spe. Educational film and speeches
- No spe. Movies on Coops, TVA
- No spe. Recognized Speaker at our Annual Meeting
- No spe. Articles on sound farming in our magazine
- No spe. Armistice Celebration
- No spe. Credit Union meetings on social and economic problems
- No spe. No identification
- No spe. /No identification/

^{*}In this table the number or "No spe." shown at the beginning of a statement designates the Ford area specified or unspecified: 1 = international understanding for peace; 2 = strengthening of democracy; 3 = understanding and strengthening the economy; No spe. = no specification.

emphasis on economic concerns when compared to program content reported by respondents of other large scale organizations.

The value crientations of producers cooperatives appear to be akin to the conservative value orientations as most often manifest by the Farm Bureau and by the Grange. The values of the individual, achievement, and nationalism-patriotism, appear most frequently in expressions of producers' cooperatives. The value orientations of consumers' cooperatives appear to be akin to the liberal value orientation most often manifest by the Farmers' Union. The values of humanitarianism and equality are most emphasized and that of nationalism receives less emphasis among these expressions.

If the cooperatives may be thought of as a large scale organization certain characteristics appear to have relevance. American cooperatives embrace two movements which have been broadly identified in this analysis with producers' and consumers' cooperatives. These two segments have divergent value orientations regarding education in the Ford areas. Although few data are available consumers' cooperatives appear to give relatively more emphasis to education as compared with producers' associations. Employees appear far more important in cooperatives than in the farm organizations. Cooperatives deal with tangible goods in marketing or purchasing for members as contrasted with the farm organizations in which many activities are quite intangible. Cooperatives appear similar to the Union in that employees hold decision-making roles.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This chapter concludes and interprets the materials used in this exploratory study. In the final section it includes suggestions for further research.

The conclusions relate to the five hypotheses directing the study. The hypotheses dealt with the variables of large scale organization and non-vocational adult education as carried on within the structures of the farm organizations. Varying amounts of empirical evidence account for the degrees of exactness attached to different concluding statements. If areas of analysis for which data were not wholly adequate had been eliminated from consideration then more exact concluding statements would have been realized. However, in an exploratory study the investigator seeks to establish clues for further research; relevant to this objective highly abstract associations may be identified which other investigations may fruitfully exploit in future descriptive or experimental study.

The areas of education, structure and social action will be comparatively dealt with in interpreting the data. Comparative analysis provides maximal possibility for interpretation because a single variable may be observed as it relates to different structures. It appears that this position holds especially true when somewhat insufficient empirical evidence characterizes selected areas. When dealing with this kind of evidence the investigator has an obligation to exercise maximal insight. This obtains because the investigator has a unique knowledge of the body

of evidence. By virtue of his strategic position he interprets the associations so that other investigators may more easily and readily replicate in further study. If his interpretations have validity knowledge in a discipline is advanced rapidly under replication. If his interpretations do not have validity discovering this by proceeding one replication beyond an exploratory study involves less expenditure of time and expense than would have occurred had interpretations been left unsaid.

I. CONCLUSIONS

Hypothesis I was examined and found untenable. The lower level units differed from one another concerning reported sponsorship of adult education both in general and in the Ford areas. In addition, numerous small empirical differences, especially in different means found when comparing the lower levels, develop evidence which casts serious doubt on the tenableness of this hypothesis. County level units more likely sponsored adult education than did local units. Respondents associated with county units were significantly more likely to respond to the questionnaire than were local respondents.

Hypothesis II was examined only in qualitative terms because quantification of the data from written materials and/or interviews presented difficulty. However, it may be said that in the program content area the local and county units appear to have greater agreement with the data reported by their upper level workers and with data in their organizations written materials than they have with units of the

other organizations. The Grange respondents to the mailed questionnaire agreed with upper level respondents and written expressions when they emphasized economizing, responsibility, local problems and issues. The Union respondents to the mailed questionnaire mentioned the family farm, cooperatives, and positions of a liberal political persuasion in agreement with interview and written materials. The Bureau respondents to the mailed questionnaire indicated inflation and general areas of economic concern which again agreed with interview and written materials. By inference from these data, though limited quantitatively, we may say that the evidence suggests that Hypothesis II is tenable.

Hypothesis III was examined and found tenable within limits prescribed by the small number of responses. Most frequently Grange respondents indicated working with community organizations, Union respondents indicated working with political and labor organizations, and Bureau respondents indicated working with the Extension Service and universities. These alignments agree with written materials and interview data.

Hypothesis IV was examined and found untenable. The judges used in this study evaluated written expressions representative of the organizations and made clear cut distinctions in classifying the large scale organizations as most or least conservative and neutral. The written expressions used in this study objectively establish different value orientations for the three large scale organizations.

Hypothesis V was examined and found both untenable and tenable.

Local units of the organizations differed significantly in alliances made

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to carry on adult education. However, county units did not differ in this matter. Again, although the program content material was not treated to systematic quantified analysis certain empirical variations warrant casting doubt on the tenableness of this hypothesis. Thus Local Granges reported international programs while both Union and Bureau indicated programs of less specific direction. The local units differed regarding teaching method. Local Union respondents indicated more frequently that organization events or programs dealt with the Ford areas. Numerically less data were available for the county units so even less objective indications were available. Certain dominant organization values received expression in county level responses and the agreement between local and county level responses was apparent in many respects. For instance, if a Grange respondent indicated programs on the family farm this would have been a departure from interests expressed by persons interviewed. If Bureau respondents had indicated no programs on inflation or economic concerns this would have indicated a different orientation prevailed within the organization.

II. INTERPRETATIONS

The Grange may be characterized as a collection of autonomous units. Granges are encouraged to deal with local problems. For example, the Community Achievement Contest is oriented toward improving the whole community not just the Local Grange organization. Also Granges work significantly more often with local community groups than do units of the other large scale organizations. The principle means by which Grange

levels bind to one another lies in the realm of ritualistic degrees.

Upper level Grange professional or non-professional workers actively work with local units in early organizing efforts but do not have much indicated importance in maintaining local programs. Also consistent with the idea of autonomy is the characteristic that neither Grange documents nor interviews emphasize membership maintenance.

The Union members responses placed emphasis on organization events, materials, and workers. It appears that the local non-professional worker has a closer interactive relationship with upper level workers in his organization than that reported by Grange or Bureau respondents. In this kind of situation neither lower nor upper level units have autonomy.

Workers at the two levels have a kind of symbiotic relationship. Perhaps the following illustrates this: non-professionals rely on professionals for materials and programs and reciprocally professionals rely on non-professionals to marshall support for positions taken by upper level personnel. This will be elaborated in the area on education which follows. Binding levels within the structure appears, in this respect, to occur through interactions between workers of different levels.

The Bureau presents the most bureaucratized structure of all three organizations. Relationships between units have specificity and actions relevant to given levels are defined. Written strictures apply in delimiting roles appropriate to those who formulate and those who execute policy. However, in practice these strictures may not be supported. Bureau documents unequivocally ascribe spheres of influence to specific levels in the organization structure. The lowest level unit with the

policy formulating role is the County Bureau.

Grange respondents indicated educational programs most often involved forms in which a relatively passive audience may be assumed.

Typically, under the lecture form, responsibility for developing a given program falls to the lot of an individual. The Grange educator more likely obtains source materials from the library. The impression prevails that education in the Grange has a fundamental relationship to entertainment and recreation. Perhaps this accounts for the international accent of Grange programs in that these programs have entertainment value in much the same way as does a travelogue motion picture.

The Union places relatively more emphasis on professional workers in education than do the other organizations. Educational content appears to be chosen at upper levels and then communicated downward in the organization. Thus the President of the National Farmers' Union "acts as representative for the group." Under such an arrangement extreme levels may become operative in both formulating and executing policy. There is, however, a suggestion that formulation more frequently occurs at the upper levels. For example, it was documented that upper level professional workers in the Union combine policy formulation and execution roles. Local support and approval may be activated prior to upper level actions or may be sought after the action. Thus persons in educational roles act as integrating agents in the Union structure. Union documents cite the desirability of a unified educational program. The objective is to educate with minimal variation from state to state.

Education, in the Union, appears to have a training overtone. Perhaps

the training emphasis explains the objective of standardized education.

If extreme levels have principal roles in formulating and/or executing policy the intermediate levels become relatively more important for educational-recreational events. For example, County Unions sponsor picnics and summer camps. Also most County Unions hold only quarterly meetings. These events serve to bring together upper level professional workers and non-professionals collected from many localities. Apparently education at such events is communicated through speeches, talks and lectures given by upper level workers. Under these methods at such events the Union audience has a passive character similar to Grange audiences.

The incidence of debate and the one illustrated use of socio drama in Union programs suggests the use of methods which obtain high participation among group members. Under these methods opposing viewpoints may be readily concretized. Also, the possibility of manipulating members of the audience appears to be high in the use of these methods. If under these methods the positions of friend and foe support the worker's or member's prior held beliefs and a consistency with upper level workers' prior pronouncements prevails then agreement on the suitability of upper level action likely occurs. And, further, when upper level personnel originate much of the intra-organization communication, ideally, a closed system develops. Debating and dramatizing issues presented in organization program materials, especially if accomplished under professional leadership, which is followed by local action in resolving or writing letters to congressmen, lays bare the symbiotic relationship. Structurally the Farmers' Union appears to be the most authoritarian of the

large scale organizations.

The Bureau clearly dominated in the use of discussion method and the resolution process of policy development. The discussion method appears to be more used at the local than at the county level. This method encourages active participation particularly when a small number of people are involved. This method and policy development relate to one another in the resolutions process of the Bureau. Discussion of background materials and the resolving process commit participants to a restricted course of action. If the organization establishes discussion as a value a member can hardly plead ignorance concerning actions taken in the name of the organization. Again, it must be recognized, that professional workers have an opportunity to influence the resolution process through their relationship to intra-organization communication.

Perhaps the emphasis on iron bound committment, characteristic of the Bureau, relates to the high incidence of political activity this organization carries on. Or, perhaps, commitment relates to the characteristic that most political activity is accomplished by professional workers of the organization. To an employee the organization likely constitutes his career. The member has employment in non-organization concerns. Therefore, the employee has to be certain of support in testifying before congressional committees or other kinds of groups. If members have committed themselves to an action then he has some security in this knowledge in acting for the organization. Also, the Bureau has the most far flung organization and incorporates in its membership the greatest variety of farmers; therefore, the greatest diversity of opinion on

given subjects develops within its organization.

The role of the Bureau educator most often, when compared to the other organizations, concerns non-member publics. Education combines with membership acquisition or work in an organizational role. Public relations, another activity directed toward non-members, has, in the Bureau, educational properties. Bureau educators concern themselves with recruitment or explaining "our position." This kind of educational practice does not likely have an integrative role with reference to internal structure. Nor does the practice involve training the membership. If these analyses are valid the latent function of Farm Bureau education has principal relevance for political activity and propagandistic ventures rather than for education.

Reported content of Grange programs and delineated values indicate a value system in which the individual and the local are ennobled. By inference then the farther one proceeds from these points of reference the less noble. This is manifest in the way the Grange materials characterize government. Even in international affairs one obtains the impression that the structure of government has less relevance for peace than do the people who constitute governments. In this value system government may, in international affairs, be fruitfully circumvented in the best interests of peace. Government comes to have an "unnatural" cast about it. Within this value system government economic policy merely involves a logical extension of an individual's economic policies. The conceptual equation of the nation's budget with an individual's budget involves an idealistic non-recognition of the different levels of

operation taken by individuals or nations. Perhaps the over-simplification manifests a lack of substantive concern with economic matters and the consequent rise in importance of entertainment values. The Grange emphasis on the value of humanitarianism suggests a romantic idealization of the "noble savage" who existed prior to the advent of formal government and articulates through this symbol its anti-government position.

It appears that in the Grange the expressed ideas of autonomy and the individual militate against developing strict internal hierarchization. Too, the relative absence of employees as a consequence of the wide practice of laymen filling organizational roles supports the autonomic character. Thus, educational content directed toward instructing individuals, through lectures, for example, only commits the individual to make self evaluations of accepting, rejecting, or ignoring program materials. The picture of Grange members listening to a lecture on Switzerland or Iran and on the completion of this presentation scurrying to develop a resolution apropos to the lecture content which, in turn, is transmitted to some other structure, is indeed difficult to conjure up. Further, when entertainment or recreational variables have dominance acceptance or rejection of program content may be taken without jeopardizing the individual's relationship to the organization.

The Union cannot aspire to a "national" appellation to the same extent as can the other large scale organizations. Also the Union most frequently takes positions which may be characterized as ideologically contrary to dominant American social and economic beliefs. The dominant

beliefs, it may be said, are more often expressed by Bureau or Grange personnel. By occupying a position at variance to dominant beliefs an organization could become alienated from the total society. Such isolation would certainly be deleterious to its long time persistence. Following this the Union allies with non-farmer structures which have access to authority and influence lying outside the scope of operation of the general farm organizations.

The Bureau appears to constitute a counter-organization to other organized groups. Its literature portrays the desire to cope with other organizations on an equal footing. This kind of orientation demonstrates a desire to equal or better an ideal. In this case the ideal is probably organized American business. But the striving orientation also demonstrates a kind of insecurity. In the case of the Bureau this insecurity appears to be born of invidiously comparing one's occupation with other occupations. Perhaps then another dimension of commitment is that of securing one's rear echelons to achieve some security in an otherwise insecure situation.

Most participants in the large scale organizations agree that their organization carries on adult education. However, the content of this education, the role of the educator and, in fact, the role education plays differ from one organization to the other. Such a situation indicates application of these conclusions through a program would be difficult or unsuccessful unless these differences were considered in establishing an action program in adult education. Within the Ford areas film programs on international understanding would probably be well

received by members and workers of the farm organizations and cooperatives. This method and this subject matter have wide acceptance. Acceptance of programs in the areas of democracy and economy would probably be less generally welcome by virtue of the widely different value orientations expressed by members through documents and in interviews. Perhaps the most palatable way to educate on strengthening of democracy and the economy would be through using films dealing with cultures. Objective films accompanied by an objective commentary would possibly be the most satisfactory way to develop a program of adult education in the Ford areas. Accompanying this kind of program with small group discussion-perhaps based on an objectively developed discussion guide--would probably yield satisfactory results with reference to the Ford areas and to non-vocational adult education as well.

III. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Let us now examine, in the light of the conclusions and interpretations, some promising directions for further research. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, all hypotheses used should be tested in replication.

First, a recommendation concerning where research on the large scale farm organizations would best be accomplished. Areas should be chosen, counties would be suitable, wherein all three organizations and farm cooperatives have local units. Among the 263 county sample four counties had this characteristic so far as the large scale organizations are concerned. Therefore, the universe of counties which have this

characteristic should not be so large as to present difficulty in collecting data by mailed questionnaire. Following this phase sample counties could be chosen for participant observation and interviewing. Through this means a maximum of control over extraneous factors—type of farming, level of living—would be achieved. Too, the organizations may be viewed as they locally operate to complement, supplement or compete with one another. By including farm cooperatives in the analysis this kind of organization would be set in a relational context to the general farm organizations.

The elements of large scale organization had usefulness in determining the large scale character of the organizations under analysis in this study. However, certain questions arise, based in this analysis, regarding the applicability of certain elements. It must be remembered that these elements were established with empirical referents to organizations which were not voluntary associations.

The first two elements dealt with maintenance or persistence of the organization as an imperative. The analyses undertaken here suggest that this imperative may more appropriately be ascribed to upper level workers and perhaps even more narrowly ascribed to those who have employment with the large scale organization. The existence of an imperative to persistence constitutes a problem for sociological investigation and does not appear to have status as a principle in the theory of organization. In order to demonstrate the tenableness of this element of large

lwilliams, op. cit., p. 458. Williams briefly elaborates this position.

scale organization employees and members, upper level and lower level personnel have to have significantly similar judgments concerning persistence of the organization.

The third element concerns the position that the lower level unit is the operative unit. According to the author of this element in a military operation the private wages the war under direction from persons somewhat removed from active contact in the fighting. In some instances reported here the two lower level units have equal status. In other instances extreme levels appear to be the operative units. And in still other cases the level next to the lowest level may be termed the operative level because non-professional workers at this level appear to have better incorporated organization objectives than have their local counterparts. To sum the argument: the given structure influences the operative characteristic attached to specific levels.

Again we find a useful heuristic device which, with respect to large scale organization, constitutes a problem for further investigation. For such an element to become more than a definition it must have been tested on a variety of large scale organizations. Comparative study of large scale organization appears fruitful in many areas. A selected number of areas follow: role conceptions of professional and non-professional workers in voluntary and non-voluntary large scale organization; what influence does different kinds of financial support--voluntary contributions, dues, public funds--have on members, clients or customers and/or professional workers' role conceptions; or what influence does source of finance have on value orientation of the large scale organization;

what structural characteristics occur with different kinds of organization; what kinds of commitment occur in different organizations; how do media of communication differ in different organizations.

The serendipitous discovery of enclaves in each of the large scale organizations was developed in Chapter IV. It appears this phenomenon has analogousness to the concepts of cultural island and to deviancy as the latter relates to smaller social systems. At any rate the enclave should become subject of further study to eliminate a lacuna in a theory of large scale organization.

Another area warrants further research. Those lower level units whose respondents were most oriented toward working with farm organizations in carrying on adult education apparently did so at the expense of working with non-farm organizations. Further study of this relationship appears to have relevance for the diffusion of adult education.

Finally the variable of education itself appears to constitute a lucrative area for further sociological research. In this study education has a functional relationship to the large scale organization. For example: entertainment, intra- or extra-organization propaganda appear as rationales for education depending on the organization. How do sociologists, educators, or foundation directors define education? How do their definitions compare with the empirical reality of education as practiced? The issue raised here has more than semantic relevance. It has relevance for an action program in adult education.



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- Mr. Klinefelter, Organizational Director, Missouri Farmers' Association, Columbia, Missouri, November 18, 1951.
- Cecil Crews, Director of Educational Fieldwork, Consumers Cooperative Association, Kansas City, Missouri, November 19, 1951.
- Donald Kinsey, Director of Research and Information, Michigan Farm Bureau Federation, Lansing, Michigan, March 18, 1952.
- Verne Stockman, Overseer, Michigan State Grange, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, April 4, 1952.

D. MISCELLANEOUS

- Cowden, Howard A., President, Consumers Cooperatives Association, Kansas City, Missouri. "Using the Tools of Democracy," radio address, February 19, 1951.
- Dickinson, C. L. Address, "Dollars Make Poor Eating." Reprinted and distributed by The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, n.d.
- Elberson, Don, Director of Education, Vermont State Farm Bureau Federation, Burlington, Vermont. Personal communication to Charles P. Loomis, March 12, 1952.
- Graham, Chester, Director of Radio, North Dakota Farmers' Union, Jamestown, North Dakota. Radio address, December 13, 1948.
- Graham, Chester (2). Radio address, May 26, 1950.
- Sanders, J. T. "The Roots of Strength and the Weaknesses of the National Grange," a prepared address, 1951.
- Thatcher, Kenneth, Executive Secretary, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa. Prepared address for delivery at county annual meetings, 1951.

APPENDIX A

MAILED QUESTIONNAIRE FORMS

Form 11

out peor	Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation has asked us to find what types of educational programs are being carried on among rural ple in the United States. Will you please help us by answering this of questionnaire and returning it promptly? Thank you. Organization for which you are reporting
Α.	Does your organization have any educational programs or activities for adults? Yes () No () 1. If yes, about how many different people were reached last year?. Of these, how many live in the open country or in centers of less than 2,500 people? Check one: Almost none () About 1/4 () About 1/2 () About 3/4 () Almost all ()
В.	Indicate mass media used in your programs or activities: () Radio () Television () Newspapers () Motion pictures () Other (Specify) () None
C.	During the past year did any foreign person appear on your program? () Yes () No
	What other organizations do you work with, or through, in your educational work with adults? (check as many as apply) 1-() Colleges & universities 12-() Libraries 2-() Schools 13-() Political parties and/or organizations organizations 14-() Professional organizations 4-() Farm organizations 15-() Labor unions 5-() Cooperative Agricultural 16-() Women's clubs Extension Service 17-() Patriotic and veterans' organizations 6-() Federal and/or state gov't. bureaus 18-() UNESCO organizations 7-() Elected or appointed 19-() Parents' organizations 8-() Community councils 20-() Fraternal organizations 8-() Community councils 21-() Others (specify)
	Of the above GENERAL TYPES of organizations which you have checked, list here the SPECIFIC NAMES of the three with which you work most.

(List FIRST the ONE you work with most.)

¹Loomis, et al., op. cit., pp. 350-351. Form 1 copied from this source.

. • •

		ch deal with the foll 1-INTERNATIONAL 1 2-STRENGTHENING	UNDERSTANDING FOR PEACE	
	wor	kshops, demonstration	ties may have taken the s s, meetings, contests, es ganizing of councils, etc	chibitions, radio
Ε.	und sta	erstanding for peace, nding and strengthening	ity for adults that include (2) strengthening of demons of the economy, carried the past year? () Years	nocracy, or (3) undered on within or by
	1.	activity	brief description of you	
	2.		or activity, about how mar?	
		than 2,500 people?	lve in the open country of the ck one: Almost none (at 3/4 () Almost all () About 1/4 ()
	3.	<pre>in the three fields t () Conference ()</pre>	Public meeting () Ins Demonstration () Tou	titute () Radio
	4.	In conducting the pro () Lectures () Group discuss () Panels		s split into small groups
		Please go back to No. extensively."	4 and DOUBLE CHECK the	procedure used most
F.	thre		outstanding programs or names, and addresses of t them.	
		Names	Mailing Address	Organization

F.

:

•

.

G. Your Name	Occupation	• • •
Mailing Address	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
October 29, 1951		SRS Form 1
	FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 941 sec. 34.9. P.L.&R. East Lansing, Mich.	- - -
BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE No postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the	e United States	-
Postage Will Be Paid By		-
SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE EAST LANSING MICHIGAN		- - -

Form 9^2

A STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Sponsored by

The Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities

and

Fund for Adult Education Established by the Ford

Foundation

us to find out what types of education among rural people in the United States answering this brief questionnaire and Organization for which you are repo	al programs are being carried on s. Will you please help us by returning it promptly? Thank you.
adults? Yes () No () 1. If yes, about how many different	t people were reached last year? open country or in centers of less Almost none () Almost 1/4 () About 1/2 () About 3/4 () Almost all ()
B. Indicate mass media used in your pr () Television () Newspapers (() None () Other (Specif	
c. What other organizations do you work educational work with adults? (Chect 1-() Colleges and Universities 2-() Schools 3-() Church and religious organizations 4-() Farm organizations 5-() Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service 6-() Federal and/or state gov't bureaus 7-() Elected or appointed gov't bodies 8-() Community Councils	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
9-() Inter-agency councils 10-() Civic and Service organizati	

²<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 366-368. Form 9 copied from this source.

	lis (Li 1. We a which 2. Thea worl	there the SPECIFIC NAMES of the three with which you work most. st FIRST the ONE you work with most.) 2
D.	und sta you	e any program or activity for adults that included (1) international derstanding for peace, (2) strengthening of democracy, or (3) underanding and strengthening of the economy, carried on within or by ar organization during the past year? Yes () No () If YES, give name or brief description of your best program or activity
	 3. 4. 	were reached last year?
E.	Int	ernational Understanding For Peace
	1.	During the past year did any foreign person appear on your program? Yes () No ()
	2.	During this period has your local group discussed or had a speaker on any international problem? Yes () No ()
	3. 4.	Do you have a committee which deals with international problems? Yes () No () If yes, what is the name of the committee? Do you receive any printed materials from your State or National Organizations on international problems? Yes () No ()

 $\mathbf{r} = \mathbf{r} - \mathbf{r} -$

F.	Stre	engthening of Democracy
	1.	During the past year did you have programs on the following topics? (Check as many as apply) a-() Having open discussions b-() Stimulating citizens to vote c-() Other (Specify)
	2.	Has your local sponsored any special community betterment programs or projects? Yes () No () If yes, describe and indicate what was accomplished
	3•	How does your local group attempt to improve participation in meetings? (Check as many as apply) a-() Having open discussions b-() Stimulating youth participation c-() Training local leaders d-() Training discussion leaders e-() Other (Specify)
G.	Unde	erstanding and Strengthening the Economy
	2.	During the past year has your local discussed any of the following? (Check as many as apply) a-() Government agricultural policies b-() Inflation and/or price controls c-() The family farm d-() Cooperatives e-() Labor problems f-() Other (Specify)
		a-() Business men's groups b-() Organized labor
	_	When you discuss economic problems, from what sources do you get information or discussion material?
Н•		NAME OCCUPATION
	ember Form	13, 1951

•

APPENDIX B

SAMPLING PROCEDURES AND LIST OF 263 SAMPLE COUNTIES

Two samples established by the Bureau of Agricultural Economies were used. One is the General-Purpose Sample and the second is the Sociological Laboratories Sample. In the first sample the 196 county level was used and in the second all 71 counties were used. Four counties were common to both samples.

THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS GENERAL-PURPOSE SAMPLE3

A national sample of 101, 196, 301, and 391 counties has been developed for use in enumerative surveys of the Bureau. The sample was planned to meet the following objectives:

- (1) To provide an efficient national sample;
- (2) To be representative with respect to the major type-of-farming regions of the United States;
- (3) Within each major type-of-farming region, to be representative with respect to a number of important items relating to the agriculture and farm population of that region;
- (4) To make possible two-way summarization at lower than the national level--by 8 major type-of-farming regions and/or by 4 major group-of-States regions;
- (5) To provide a flexible method of expansion of the basic 101-county sample into a general-purpose national sample twice, three times or four times as large;
- (6) To provide a flexible method of expansion of the basic lolcounty sample into special purpose samples and/or into samples permitting estimates by major type-of-farming regions or by major group-of-States regions.

The method of stratification used was planned in accordance with these objectives. All counties of the United States were grouped into 101 strata and one county from each stratum was selected for the national sample. The grouping of counties into 101 strata was done as follows:

(1) All counties were grouped into the following major type-of-farming regions adapted from a revision by the Division of Farm Management and Costs of its latest published map:

³ Ibid., pp. 375-377. This section copied from this source.

- (2) Within each major type-of-farming region, the counties were next grouped according to the major group-of-States region in which they fell--Northeast, North Central, South, and West. (These 4 regions are combinations of the 9 Census geographic divisions.) This gave 20 groups of counties, with each group falling wholly within a major type-of-farming region and a major group-of-States region.
- (3) These 20 groups of counties were further subdivided into 101 strata, with approximately 60,000 farms in each stratum.
 - (a) The 10 largest groups of counties (Containing 2,405 counties) were subdivided into 81 strata, each containing approximately 60,000 farms by the use of component indexes. For each major type-of-farming region 12 Census items relating to agriculture and the farm population were combined into 2 or 3 indexes for each county. (The indexes are called "component" indexes because the formulas for weighing together the correlations of the 12 items in each major type-of-farming region.) Counties were then classified into strata according to the counties' values on these indexes. This is the method used to achieve the third objective listed above, namely to assure representatives of the sample with respect to the agricultural and farm population characteristics deemed important in a given region.
 - (b) The 6 smallest groups (of the 20 groups of counties mentioned) were not further subdivided, each group being used as a single stratum.
 - (c) The 4 groups of "residual" counties (one group in each group-of-States region) were subdivided into 14 strata on the basis of geographic location and type-of-farming criteria.

After all counties were grouped into the lol strata, one county was drawn for the sample from each stratum. The drawing was done by the use of random numbers in such a way that the probability of a county's being included in the sample was proportional to the number of farms in the county. In a stratum, the counties were arranged in alphabetical order, the number of farms was recorded for each county, and these were added, with a subtotal made after each county's number of farms was added in. A list was prepared of lol random numbers within the range from 1 to about 60,000. Each of these numbers was used to determine for one stratum which county was to be chosen. In a given stratum, the particular county was chosen which had a subtotal of farms nearest to the random number larger than the random number. The attached list shows the lol counties selected in this way.

Objectives (5) and (6) were met by further stratification. The 101 strata described were each further subdivided into 2, 3, and 4 strata. By the same method of selection, a 196-county, a 301-county, and a 391-county sample were drawn, each sample including all the counties of each

smaller sample. When it is desirable to supplement the 101-county sample in certain type-of-farming areas or in certain regions, additional counties from the larger samples can be combined with the 101 counties. Somewhat similar procedures were used in the 71 Sociological Laboratory Counties which contained 4 counties included in the 196-county sample.

Incidence of Units of the Large Scale Organizations in the 263 Sample Counties

Among the 263 sample counties 21 had no local or county unit of any of the large scale organizations. These voids occurred most frequently in the Cotton belt followed by the General and Self-sufficing, Range-Livestock and Residual type-of-farming areas.

Three of the four void counties in the Self-Sufficing area were in Missouri. The Missouri Farmers' Association serves as the general farm organization for much of this area of Missouri. Probably in the Range Livestock and Residual areas strong regional or specialized farmers' or ranchers' organizations prevail in the stead of the general farm organization.

The remainder of the 263 county sample were distributed as follows: 153 counties had local or county units of one large scale organization; 85 counties had local or county units of two large scale organizations; 4 counties had local or county units of three large scale organizations.

⁴Personal interview with Mr. Klinefelter, Organization Director, Missouri Farmers' Association, Columbia, Missouri, November 18, 1951. Mr. Klinefelter indicated that the MFA was practically the only general farm organization represented in the Ozark area of Missouri.

LIST OF 263 SAMPLE COUNTIES⁵

Corn Belt

*	Greene, Grundy, Jasper, McLean, Mason,	Illino: Illino: Illino:	is is is] * (]	Boone, Bremer, Crawford, Fremont, Hamilton,	Iowa Iowa Iowa		*	Adair, Howard, Johnson, Randolph,	Missouri Missouri
	Pike,	Illino	le	1	Lucas,	Iowa			Holt,	Nebraska
	Wabash,	Illino	ls	N	Mahaska,	Iowa			Sarpy,	Nebraska
									Saunders,	Nebraska
	DeKalb,			F	Brown,	Kansas		*	Seward,	Nebraska
	Elkhart,	Ind	liana	1	Doniphan,	Kansas			Sherman,	Nebraska
*	Henry,	Ind	liana						York,	Nebraska
	Newton,	Ind	liana ·	* 1	Nobles,	Minnesot	a			
	Vermillio	on, Ind	liana	1	Pipestone,	Minnesot	a		Clark,	Ohio
				5	Sibley,	Minnesot	a		Crawford,	Ohio
									Shelby,	Ohio
									Williams,	Ohio
									Wood,	Ohio
							4	*	Wyandott,	Ohio

Cotton Belt

**	Colbert, Dallas Elmore,	Alabama Alabama Alabama	*	Allen, Avoyelles, East Carro	Louisiana Louisiana 11, Louisiana	*	Lincoln Pottawatomi	Oklahoma e, Oklahoma
	Marshall,	Alabama					Florence,	South Carolina
	Sumter,	Alabama	*	Calhoun,	Mississippi		Lancaster,	South Carolina
*	Tuscaloosa,	Alabama		Carroll,	Mississippi	*	Union,	South Carolina
				Claiborne,	Mississippi			
	Clark,	Arkansas	¥	Coalhoma,	Mississippi	*	Bell,	Texas
•	Crawford,	Arkansas		Jasper,	Mississippi		Brazoria,	Texas
**	Desha,	Arkansas		Lawrence,	Mississippi		Coleman,	Texas
	Drew,	Arkansas		Leflore,	Mississippi	*	Fisher,	Texas
*	Izard,	Arkansas		Lincoln,	Mississippi		Fayette,	Texas
	Mississippi,	Arkansas		Monroe,	Mississippi		McLennan,	Texas
	Prairie,	Arkansas		Quitman,	Mississippi		Milam,	Texas
				Walthall,	Mississippi		San Jacinto	, Texas

* List of 71 Bureau of Agricultural Economics Sociological Laboratory Counties ** These counties on both sample county lists

⁵Combined from the 196 county level of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics General-Purpose Sample and the 71 counties in the Sociological Laboratory Counties. Four counties appear in both samples.

Cotton Belt (Cont.)

	Jefferson, Florida		Warren,	Mississ	ippi		Stonewall, Travis,	Texas Texas
	Chattooga, Georgia Hart, Georgia	L	Mississi	lp pi, Mi	ssouri	Williamson, Wilson,		
	Montgomery, Georgia		Anson,		Carolina		Wise,	Texas
*	Oconee, Georgia		Harnett,		Carolina			
	Pulaski, Georgia		Nash,		Carolina			
	Warren, Georgia Washington, Georgia		Union,	•	Carolina Carolina			
	washing con, Gootsia	•	Wake,		Carolina			
			Wayne,		Carolina			
			Dai	ry Regio	<u>on</u>			
*	Litchfield, Connect	icut	Straffor	d, New H	lampshire	*	Rutland, Ve	rmont
Ħ	Frederick, Maryland		Albany,	New Yo	rk		Fairfax, Vi	rginia
			Columbia	•				
*	Hampshire, Massachu		•	New Yo			Barron,	Wisconsin
_	Totan Maham		Oneida,	New Yo			Dane,	Wisconsin
*	Eaton, Michiga Genesee, Michiga		Orange, Oswego,	New Yo			Green Lake,	Wisconsin Wisconsin
	Gratiot, Michiga		oswego,	New 10	I.K.	*	Juneau, Monroe,	Wisconsin Wisconsin
	St. Joseph, Michiga		Ashland,	Ohio			Shawano,	Wisconsin
	Washtenaw, Michiga		Summit,				Waukesha,	Wisconsin
	,		·				Winnebago,	Wisconsin
	Goodhue, Minneso		Crawford	•	•			
	Otter Tail, Minneso	t a	Lancaste	r, Penns	ylvania			
		Ge	neral an	d Self-S	ufficing			
	Searcy, Arkansas	*	Belknap,	New Ham	pshire		Bradford, Huntington,	Pennsylvania Pennsylvania
	Windham, Connecticu	t	Chenango	, New Yo	rk		Juniata, Schuylkill,	Pennsylvania Pennsylvania
*	Rabun, Georgia		Alamance				Somerset,	Pennsylvania
	Don'd Tildmod		Haywood,		Carolina		Easter 5	D
	Bond, Illinois		Iredell, Randolph		Carolina Carolina		•	l'ennessee
	Perry, Indiana		Kandoipn, Watauga,		Carolina Carolina		•	l'ennessee l'ennessee
	Jackson, Indiana		na waga,	HOT OH (O-1071189			Cennessee
							- · · - · · · ·	

^{*} List of 71 Bureau of Agricultural Economics Sociological Laboratory Counties ** These counties on both sample county lists.

Gillespie, Texas

General and Self-Sufficing (Cont.)

* Magoffin, Kentucky Hamilton, Ohio Scott, Tennessee Jackson, Russell, Kentucky Ohio Sumner, Tennessee Knox, Ohio * Wilson, Tennessee Kennebec, Maine Noble, Ohio Smyth, Virginia Carter, Missouri Ottawa, Oklahoma Pittsburg, Oklahoma Christian, Missouri Doddridge, West, Virginia * Greenbrier, West Virginia * Dent. Missouri Perry, Missouri West Virginia Lewis, Marion, West Virginia Nicholas, West Virginia Sumners, West Virginia

Range-Livestock

Washoe, Nevada

* Coconino, Arizona

Kendall, Texas * Val Verde, Texas Arapahoe, Colorado Bernalillo, New Mexico San Miguel, New Mexico Coffey, Kansas * Sante Fe, New Mexico * Summit, Utah * Morris, Kansas Lawrence, South Dakota * Franklin, Washington * Lyman, South Dakota * Custer, Montana * Sweet Grass, Montana Crook, Wyoming Natrona, Wyoming

Western Specialty Crop

* I M 0 S S	intte, imperial, lendocino, range, acramento, an Joaquin, anta Barbara, ehama,	California California California California California	* Ada, * Bingham Jerome,	Idaho , Idaho Idaho	Sanpete, Utah
	ulare,	California			

^{*} List of 71 Bureau of Agricultural Economics Sociological Laboratory Counties ** These counties on both sample county lists.

Wheat Belt

	Fremont,	Idaho		Deuel, Nebra	ska	*	Garfield, Ol Woods, Oklal	
	Ellis, Haskell,	Kansas	.	Griggs, Stark,	North Dakota North Dakota North Dakota North Dakota		Douglas, Was	
	•	Minnesota Minnesota		Ward, Wells,				
				·				
				Resid	ual			
	Bent, Col	orado		Hampden, Mass	sachusetts		Erie, Pennsy	ylvania
*	Okaloosa, Polk,			Van Buren, M	ichigan		Horry, South	n Carolina
	Taylor, Volusia,	Florida		Carlton, Min	nesota		Montgomery,	Tennessee
	Eayette,			Pearl River,	Mississippi	*	Frederick, Pittsylvania	_
*	Graves,	Kentucky	*	Camden, N	Vew Jersey		-	
*	Nelson, Scott,	_		Cumberland, N	•	*	•	shington
	Jefferson	Davis, La.		Beaufort, No Columbus, No	orth Carolina orth Carolina		Thurston, Wa	shington
*		, Louisiana		•	orth Carolina		Bayfield, Wi Langlade, Wi	
	Aroostook	, Maine					Sawyer, Wi	
*	Piscataqu			Clackamas, Or Coos, Or	_			

^{*} List of 71 Bureau of Agricultural Economics Sociological Laboratory Counties

^{**} These counties on both sample county lists.

APPENDIX C

ITINERARY OF FIELD WORK

October	12, 1951	American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Illinois
	13 and 14	National Farmers' Union, Denver, Colorado
	15	Rocky Mountain Farmers' Union and Colorado State Grange, Denver, Colorado
	18	North Dakota Farm Bureau, Fargo, North Dakota
	19 and 20	North Dakota Farmers' Union, Jamestown, North Dakota, Meeting of Farmers' Union Local
	21	North Dakota Farmers' Union, Jamestown, North Dakota
	22	Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Minneapolis, Minnesota
	23	Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minnesota
	24	Farmers' Grain Dealers Association of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa
	25	Associated Country Women of the World (interviewed President), Ackworth, Iowa
	26 and 27	Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa Annual Meeting Louisa County Farm Bureau
	29	Ohio State Grange and Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Columbus, Ohio
	30	Ohio Farm Bureau Federation Neighborhood Advisory Council Meeting
	31 .	Ohio Wool Growers' Association, Columbus, Ohio
November	2	National Grange, Washington, D. C.
	3	Dairymen's League, New York City, New York
	4	Massachusetts Grange, Lowell, Massachusetts
	5	National Grange Publications, Springfield, Massachusetts
	6	Attended N. Y. State Grange Convention, Syracuse, New York

November 9	New York State Farm and Home Bureau Federations, Ithaca, New York
10	Cooperative Publications, Rural Radio Network, Ithaca, New York
11	National Grange, Washington, D. C.
12	American Farm Bureau Federation, Washington, D. C.
13	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, Washington, D. C. National Grange, Washington, D. C.
16	Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation, Little Rock, Arkansas Arkansas Farmers' Union
17	Arkansas Farmers' Association, Little Rock, Arkansas
18	Missouri Farmers' Association, Columbia, Missouri
19	Consumers Cooperatives Association, Kansas City, Missouri
23	American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Illinois Cooperative League of the U.S.A.
December 16	International Federation of Agricultural Producers, Washington, D. C.
March 18, 1952	Michigan Association of Farm Cooperatives, Lansing, Michigan Michigan Farm Bureau Federation
April 4, 1952	Michigan State Grange, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan

APPENDIX D

STANDARD INTERVIEW FORM

Personal Interview6

- 1. Origin and history of organization.
 - a. When first began.
 - b. Person or persons responsible for initiating work.
 - c. Most important events in shaping direction of organization's work (i.e. any clashes with other and similar phases of work, association with development of other organizational work in locality or center. etc.).
- 2. Objectives of the organization.
 - a. Original objectives and purposes.
 - b. What respondent considers as present most important objectives.
- 3. Importance of and nature of program planning.
 - a. Is it geared to the needs and desires of the local people or is it designed by experts and technicians at higher levels.
 - b. How is it done, i.e., dictated from above, decided through staff conferences, or through meetings and contacts with local leaders, groups, requests, surveys, etc.
- 4. How policy is made in the organization.
 - a. Interviewer probes for recent example.
 - b. Interviewer probes to get composition of policy forming group or groups.
 - c. Interviewer probes to determine how group or groups function in policy formation.
 - d. Interviewer probes to ascertain whether policy sessions are (a) group centered, (b) leader centered, or (c) both.
 - e. Interviewer probes to see how action is initiated when new policies are made.
 - f. Interviewer probes to ascertain the nature of pressures exerted in policy formation.
- 5. In developing policies for adult education probe on same points as in question 4.
- 6. If not already revealed, probe to ascertain whether procedures in policy formation as stated are actually followed.
- 7. What is the spatial distribution of offices and personnel of organization? If possible show on a map (try to get a copy of the map).
- 8. If you could, would you do more in these three fields?
- 9. If yes, what are the obstacles (i.e. why they are not doing more).
 - a. Attitudes of policy makers (boards, administration, etc.).
 - b. Limitations on space and other facilities.
 - c. Lack of technical guidance.
 - d. Attitudes of local people.
- 10. Do the people in your organization have adequate training to handle these fields?

 YES ()

 NO ()
 - If YES, what do they have?

Loomis, et al., op. cit., pp. 352-353. Form copied from this source.

APPENDIX E

ADDITIONAL STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE A

COMPARISON OF LOCAL AND COUNTY UNITS OF THE GRANCE AND FARM BUREAU WITH RESPECT TO TWO FACTORS

		Grange	nge			Bureau	əau	
Factor	Local	11	County	nty	Local	1.	County	nty
	lst mailing	2nd mailing	lst 2nd lst 2nd mailing mailing mailing	2nd mailing	let 2nd let 2nd mailing mailing	2nd mailing	lst mailing	2nd mailing
Adult Education Efforts Carried on	73.1	82.3	100.0	85.7	77.6	82.6	84.8	93.3
by Organization	N = 93	N = 93 $N = 79$ $N = 14$	N = 14	N = 7	741 = N	N = 147 N = 138 N = 46	97 - N	N = 60
Adult Education in Three Fields	L*99	0.09	92.9	2:99	67.2	58.7	79.1	73.2
Carried on by Organization	N = 69	N = 69 N = 65	N = 14	N = 6	N = 122	ητι = N	N = 122 N = 114 N = 43	N = 56

In general two different trends appear (only the County Grange on the first factor, less likely reported efforts in the Ford Fields. No judgment has been made regarding which sample has greater The rationale for using only questionnaires received as a result of the first mailing receives support departs from the trend.) Respondents to the second mailing more likely reported adult education efforts but validity. That the samples differ is apparent. from the data shown here.

TABLE B

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS AT TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING ON PROCEDURE USED IN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Tin 1+	Z	Lect	Lectures	Gr Discu	Group Discussions	Pan	Panels	Small Discu	Small Group Discussions	0¢	Other	Mean Number
		Num- ber	Num- Per ber Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Reported
Local Grange	59	77	9.47 44	94	0.87 94	13	22.0	12	20.3	3	5.1	2.0
County Grange	13	य	92.3	11	9**8	5	38.5	N	15.4	0	0.0	2.3
Local Union	25	15	0.09	23	92.0	89	32.0	4	16.0	0	0.0	2.0
County Union	0,	9	2.99	0/	100.0	α	22.2	٦	11.1	0	0.0	2.0
Local Bureau	93	24	45.2	98	92.5	13	0.41	12	6•त	N	2.2	1.7
County Bureau	37	25	25 67.6	32	86.5	21	32.4	11	29.7	ч	2.7	2.2

TABLE C

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS AT TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING ON PROGRAM FORM USED IN ADULT EDUCATION

Unit	Z	Public Meeting	ing 1ng	Confe	Conference	Demons	Demonstration	갽	Tour	Other	ler	Mean Number
		Num- Per ber Cen'	Num- Per ber Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Reported
Local Grange	64	38	38 77.6	25	24.5	16	32.7	N	4.1	80	16.3	1.3
County Grange	77	11	91.6	m	25.0	0	16.7	٦	8.3	0	0.0	1.7
Local Union	25	23	%.0	9	24.0	٦	0.4	5	20.0	_	28.0	1.7
County Union	89	7	87.5	a	25.0	٦	12.5	т	12.5	4	50.0	1.9
Local Bureau	78	59	9.52	56	33.3	16	20.5	15	19.2	23	29.5	1.8
County Bureau	37	29	78.4	13	35.1	₹	13.5	10	27.0	13	35.1	1.9

OCCUPATIONS OF RESPONDENTS BY TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATION TABLE D

2110	Z	Hous	Housewife	Fa	Farmer	Төа	Teacher	o t	Other
·		Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- Per ber Cent	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Local Grange	19	17	41 67.2	κ	6.4	80	13.1	6	14.8
County Grange	11	m	27.3	m	27.3	m	27.3	8	18.2
Local Union	23	m	13.0	16	4.69	0	0.0	4	17.4
County Union	70	ч	10.0	ω	80.0	0	0.0	٦	10.0
Local Bureau	118	9	5.1	100	7.48	m	2.5	0	9.7
County Bureau	75	т	2.4	34	80.9	0	0.0	7	16.7

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TABLE C

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS AT TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING ON PROGRAM FORM USED IN ADULT EDUCATION

- Unit	×	Public Meeting	ic ing	Confe	Conference	Demons	Demonstration	To	Tour	0ther	er	Mean Number
		Num- Per ber Cent	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- Per ber Cent	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Reported
Local Grange	64	38	38 77.6	12	24.5	16	32.7	N	1.4	ω	16.3	1.3
County Grange	7	11	91.6	က	25.0	N	16.7	Т	8.3	0	0.0	1.7
Local Union	25	23	%.0	9	o•45	٦	0.4	5	20.0	7	28.0	1.7
County Union	80	7	87.5	Ø	25.0	٦	12.5	ч	12.5	4	50.0	1.9
Local Bureau	78	59	.9.51	56	33.3	16	20.5	15	19.2	23	29.5	1.8
County Bureau	37	59	29 78.4	13	35.1	2	13.5	10	27.0	13	35.1	1.9

OCCUPATIONS OF RESPONDENTS BY TWO LEVELS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATION TABLE D

Unit	N	Ноив	Housewife	FB	Farmer	Теа	Teacher	O.	Other
		Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Num- Per ber Cent	Num- Per ber Cen	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Local Grange	19	17	67.2	М	6.4	ω	13.1	6	14.8
County Grange	11	m	27.3	8	27.3	m	27.3	N	18.2
Local Union	23	m	13.0	16	4.69	0	0.0	4	17.4
County Union	70	ч	10.0	8	80.0	0	0.0	٦	10.0
Local Bureau	118	9	5.1	100	7.48	m	2.5	6	9.7
County Bureau	75	ч	7.2	34	80.9	0	0.0	7	16.7

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APPENDIX F

ABSTRACTED EXPRESSIONS USED IN JUDGING SITUATION

--UNITED NATIONS--

- I-l The principal hope of the world for the achievement of permanent peace, abundance and security is that the present United Nations will grow into a world government through which all people everywhere can find a truly democratic means of making their wishes govern in world affairs. The United States must support the United Nations as a place where disputes between nations can be settled by democratic processes of conciliation, arbitration and negotiation. We shall give full support to the rapid development of stronger international agencies under the United Nations organization. /Union/
- I-2 The United Nations Charter was conceived and developed on the basis of an assumed common will among the great nations to secure world peace. It has now become clear that Communist Russia and her satellites seek not peace but domination in the world by use of armed aggression, if necessary. The time has now come for nations that would join with us in the defense of freedom to stand up and be counted with their contribution to the common effort. Our future relations with the United Nations should take into account the fact that while we are prepared to make a great contribution to the defense of freedom in this time of crisis, we call upon those who would join with us to make their just contributions. In the absence of these assurances, we cannot risk the sharing of our sovereignty with those who are not firm in their allegiance to the cause of freedom. /Bureau/
- I-3 Our Nation's greatest existing opportunity to promote a peaceful world is offered by its membership in the United Nations. We should devote every effort to cooperate with other member nations in building the conditions of peace through the Economic and Social Council, while attempting to prevent actual aggression and war through action in the General Assembly and the Security Council. Not our official Government, but only we, the people of America, can cultivate that confidence, respect, and understanding among the peoples of the world which must be developed before we can achieve that condition of good will among men which will lead to peace on earth. /Grange/

--TAXATION--

II-l As a long-time tax policy, we favor the following principles and urge their adoption as rapidly as conditions will permit:

Long-range plans should be made for the gradual reduction of the national debt; however, debt retirement should be handled in such a manner as to promote a stable price level and prosperous economy.

A Federal tax policy should be adopted . . . _that allows] . . . that tax revenues should rise relative to governmental expenditures in inflation, and fall in depression.

The personal income tax should be the major source of revenue for the Federal Government. Its base should be as broad as practicable through the retention of low exemptions. All self-supporting persons should make a direct contribution to the support of government.

. . . Prompt but temporary reduction of the lower bracket personal income tax rate within certain limits should be made during periods of low business activity. We do not believe that it is a sound tax policy to increase taxes during periods of depression or lower them during periods of prosperity.

. . . Bureau

- II-2 l. Taxes should be equitable and bear a definite relationship to ability to pay or to benefits received.
- 2. Tax rates should be known, and levying of hidden taxes should be avoided.
- 3. The tax base--including National, State, and local taxes--should be broad, with the burden as widely distributed as possible, in order that the public will have a direct interest in government expenditures.
- 4. Taxes should be levied for revenues, but not as a means of social reform.
- 5. The tax program should be used to reduce public debts when production and employment are at a high level. /Grange/
- II-3 Federal tax loopholes should be closed and sufficient tax rate increases for corporations and for those groups best able to pay should be levied to balance the federal budget.
- (a) We oppose shifting of income taxes from high income brackets to low and middle income brackets and any limitation on the maximum percentage which may be levied. . . .
 - (b) We urge adoption of steeply graduated gift and inheritance taxes.
- (c) Corporate tax structure should be revised to eliminate loopholes, provide tax levies which will stimulate production at capacity, particularly by small business and deter monopolistic practices.
 - (d) We oppose the proposed imposition of a general federal sales tax.
 - (e) . . \sqrt{U} nion7

--POINT IV--

IV-1 The development of underdeveloped areas has an increasing significance. The human and natural resources of underdeveloped areas will weigh in the balance for freedom only by voluntary allegiance to the cause of freedom.

Voluntary allegiance of the peoples of underdeveloped areas can rest only where there is hope of better living and some immediate improvement to strengthen that hope.

Emphasis should be given to increased production of food and scarce materials in these areas. Where prudent, United States surplus foods should be used to raise living standards in exchange for underdeveloped natural resources or materials essential to our economy. In the implementation of this program, dependence should be placed on private capital investment, free enterprise, and private trade with property rights guaranteed.

. . . Bureau7

- IV-2 We believe that the only sound way for under-developed countries to get the capital necessary for substantial modern production is to provide a climate favorable to private investment. We know of no other way that will transplant American know-how, capital, incentive, efficiency, and organization to under-developed nations on a scale sufficient to bring about a real advance in the standard of living of all their people. Grange?
- IV-3 . . . We regard the "Point IV" Program as a stroke of the highest statesmanship. This bold new program if of sufficient size and quality can change the political and social climate of the world within a few years. We endorse pending proposals to expand and improve the program, with special emphasis on the need for working under the guidance of the United Nations. We regard these proposals as pitifully limited in comparison with the need, both from a selfish national economic point of view and from the point of the general welfare of all peoples. We are convinced that the United States should embark now on an international development program on a comprehensive scale. /Union/

--FARM COOPERATIVES--

V-1 Farm cooperatives effer the most practical and effective means of combating monopoly, by providing real competition in areas where little or no competition would otherwise exist, thus making the future of the free enterprise system more secure. These agencies give us the opportunity to pool resources for our economic advancement just as other segments of society have done for many years.

Because we believe that the capitalistic, free enterprise system is the best economic system yet devised, we hereby reaffirm our intention to defend the right of farmers to market their commodities, purchase supplies, and perform services for themselves on a cooperative, non-profit basis.

Grange

--GOVERNMENT --

VI-1 The earnestly advocates a reversal of present trends and policies of over-centralizing authority in the Federal Government that are undermining our dual system of government and our system of private enterprise.

The final check on which the Founding Fathers relied to keep a government of checks and balances in operation was the check placed in the hands of Congress on all expenditures. If Congress loses this control, the people lose their ultimate control over their government. It is precisely this control which is being lost.

There is no more certain road to a socialistic state, there is no more direct way to loss of individual freedom and liberty than by excessive taxation and governmental spending through bureaus which by propaganda and devious ways continue to grow apace. But even rampant bureaucracy can be checked; Congress can starve it.

. . . /Grange7

VI-2 Over-centralization of government and lack of coordination of administration remain pressing problems. Recent events re-emphasize the need for decentralization which will keep "big government" close to and responsive to the people.

Programs dealing with problems of national importance do not necessarily require Federal administration. Experience has shown that overcentralization of administration can be avoided by utilization of principles of Federal-State-local cooperation. Adjustment of programs to local needs through this pattern of administration can greatly increase the value to the people of governmental effort. Federal grants-in-aid facilitate administrative decentralization and make it possible for the Federal Government to participate in a program without producing excessive Federal control or a loss of efficiency at the State and local levels. Bureau

--INFLATION CONTROL--

vII-l recommends the absolute freeze of wholesale and retail prices with posted specific dollar and cent ceilings coupled with only such wage increases as will reflect changes in the cost of living and economy-wide increases in productivity per man hour and farm commodity prices that will reflect parity or the May 24-June 24, 1950 price. If undue hardship is involved in particular cases, this hardship should be relieved by issuance of tax certificates. Mobilization authorities and the Congress should stand strongly against the attempt of industrial groups to rape the economy by demanding a full pass-through to price increases of increased profit margins and legitimate wage increases.

VII-2 Inflation has reached a dangerous level. As a result, hundreds of thousands of persons have been compelled to watch a rapid decline in the purchasing power of their savings.

Efforts to control food prices by price-fixing legislation during the past 46 centuries have invariably resulted in failure when continued for any considerable length of time. Direct controls have sometimes been used successfully to fix the prices charged by natural monopolies and used during wartime emergencies to determine the price and allocation of metals and a few other materials that had become scarce as a result of their use in manufacturing munitions and other war supplies.

Probably the most important cause of inflation is a disproportionate rise in the flow of purchasing power, of money in circulation and credit, relative to the flow of foods and services. Another important cause of inflation is the reduction of approximately 40 per cent in the gold content of the dollar in recent years.

. . . Grange 7

VII-3 Inflation cannot be stopped by price, wage, and ration controls. Such measures deal with symptoms rather than fundamental causes. They interfere with production; impair the flexibility of our economy; reduce our capacity to expand output; require huge administrative staffs; and invite black markets. We face an emergency of indefinite duration. In such a situation the premature adoption of price, wage and ration controls could strangle our economy to the point of impairing our ability to fight an all-out war should such a conflict prove unavoidable.

Bureau

--INTERNAL SECURITY--

- VIII-1 We recognize Soviet-directed Communism as a dangerous threat to the security of our Nation and to the peace of the world, and will support the following program of action:
- 1. Stimulate in all /Local Units an active study and discussion of the purposes and methods of Communism, and promote programs destroying its influence by reactivating the principles of our Organization, our Republic, and Christianity.
- 2. Exert all possible influence to prevent the infiltration of communistic doctrines or propaganda in our educational system and to promote more effective teaching of American history and of the ideals of democracy.
- 3. Urge and support effective measures in the provisions of the American Constitution to prevent Communists or those actively promoting or supporting Communism from holding positions of influence and responsibility in any branch of our Government, our educational institutions, or our professional organizations. Grange

VIII-2 Freedom of speech, the press and religion have always been an integral part of our American civil liberties. We feel that these precious treasures of our heritage are endangered by recent legislation placed on the statutes. These laws are supposed to curb certain specific undesirable movements in our country, but their language is so broad and vague that it can result in penalizing the legitimate activities of all loyal citizens. Protection of our government against criminal and subversive elements must always be provided in ways consistent with the Bill of Rights.

The basic error of much of this legislation is that it moves in the direction of suppressing opinion and belief. This is a very dangerous course to take because any government stifling of the free expression of opinion is a long step toward totalitarianism. Therefore it behooves us to be more alert than ever, lest we lose these great privileges.

. . . [Union]

APPENDIX G

INSTRUMENT USED IN JUDGING SITUATION

INSTRUMENT FOR RANKING VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

I will give you two cards on which appear statements abstracted from resolutions enacted by American farm organizations. In some instances I will add a third card to locate it with reference to the first two ranked; this will occur after you perform the first ranking; or, if you prefer, you may have all three cards at one time. These resolutions were enacted during the period from mid-November 1951 to mid-March 1952.

I will ask you to rank two or three statements according to some of the major value orientations in American society as delineated by Robin Williams. Additionally, I will ask you to rank on a most-least conservative scale for economic or political attitudes.

All expressions appear as in the original resolutions. A series of periods indicates that following or preceding material was not considered relevant to make a judgment. A bracketed statement masks the identity of an organization. In one case the bracketed statement provides a connecting phrase because two separated expressions were needed to develop the complete expression.

All expressions deal with one or more of the areas of international understanding for peace, understanding and strengthening the economy, strengthening of democracy.

⁷Judges were incorrectly informed as to the time period in which resolutions were enacted. The period extended from December, 1950, to mid-March, 1952. It is assumed this error did not influence judgments rendered.

- I. a. Which statement most emphasizes the value of nationalism-patriotism? (most ethnocentristic)
 - b. Which statement least emphasizes the value of nationalism-patriotism? (least ethnocentristic)
 - c. Which statement places most emphasis on the rights other nations have?
 - d. Which statement places least emphasis on the rights other nations have?
 - e. Which statement places most emphasis on the duties other nations have?
 - f. Which statement places least emphasis on the duties other nations have?
 - g. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative political attitude?
 - h. Which statement would you rank as the least conservative political attitude?
- II. a. Which statement most emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores (most identifies with the underdog)?
 - b. Which statement least emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores (least identifies with the underdog)?
 - c. Which statement most emphasizes taxes as a restraint on individual achievement?
 - d. Which statement least emphasizes taxes as a restraint on individual achievement?
 - e. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative economic attitude?
 - f. Which statement would you rank as the least conservative economic attitude?
 - g. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative political attitude?
 - h. Which statement would you rank as the least conservative political attitude?

- IV. a. Which statement most emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores?
 - b. Which statement least emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores?
 - c. Which statement most emphasizes the value of nationalism-patriotism?
 - d. Which statement least emphasizes the value of nationalism-patriotism?
 - e. Which statement most equates achievement and success in the assisted culture with economic variables?
 - f. Which statement least equates achievement and success in the assisted culture with economic variables?
 - g. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative economic attitude?
 - h. Which statement would you rank as the least conservative economic attitude?
- V. a. Which statement most regards the role of cooperatives as contributing to individual achievement?
 - b. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative economic attitude?
 - c. Which statement most emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores?
- VI. a. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative economic attitude?
 - b. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative political attitude?
 - c. Which statement most emphasizes government as a restraint on the individual?
- VII. a. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative economic attitude?
 - b. Which statement would you rank as the least conservative economic attitude?
 - c. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative political attitude?
 - d. Which statement would you rank as the least conservative political attitude?

- e. Which statement most emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores?
- f. Which statement least emphasizes the value of humanitarian mores?
- g. Which statement most favors government restraint on individual achievement?
- h. Which statement least favors government restraint on individual achievement?
- VIII. a. Which statement would you rank as the most conservative political attitude?
 - b. Which statement most emphasizes the value of nationalism-patriotism?
 - c. Which statement most favors government restraint on the individual?

APPENDIX H

TABULATION OF JUDGMENTS ON VALUE ORIENTATIONS

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TABLE E

TABULATION OF SEVEN JUDGES' RATINGS OF EXPRESSIONS TAKEN FROM RESOLUTIONS OF THE LARGE SCALE ORGANIZATIONS*

Item Identi-			J	UDGE			
fication	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
from	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	six	Seven
Instrument							
Ia	В	В	В	В	G	В	В
ъ	U	U	U	U	В	U	U
c	В	G	U	Ū	U&B	U	U
d .	U&G	В	В	В	G	В	В
е	U&G	В	В	В	U	U	В
f	В	G	G	U	G	G	Ŭ
g	G	Ŭ	В	В	G	В	В
h	В	В	U&G	U	В	U	U
IIa	U	U	U	U	G	В	U
Ъ	В	В	G	B&G	U	U	В
c	U	U	d.a.	U	U	В	Ū
ď	G	В	d.a.	G	В	U	В
e	G	В	G	В	G	Ŭ	В
f	U	U	В	Ū	В	G	U
g	G	В	G	В	G **	В	B U
<u>h</u>	В	U	В	U	U	<u>U</u>	
IVa	U	U	U	U	Ū	Ŭ	В
Ъ	В	G-	B&G	G	В	В	G
C	В	U	G	G	G	G	G D
đ	G	G	В	U	В	U	B G
θ	В	В	G-	B U	Ū	B G	U
f	U	U	U Bo C	G.	B U	G	G.
g	U	G U	B&G U	Ū	G	U	U
<u>h</u>	<u>G</u>				<u>в</u>	 G	G
٧a	В	В	B&G	G&B G	В	G	G
ď	G&B	G	G B	В	В	В	В
C	<u>B</u>	<u>B</u>			В	 G	G
VIa	В	В	G	G&B	В	G	G
Ъ	G&B G	B G	G G	B G	G	G	G
c					U	В	В
VIIa	G D	G	В	B&G	В	Ŭ	G.
Ъ	В	U G	U G	U B	G G	В	В
c d	B U	U	U	Ū	В	Ŭ	Ü
	Ü	В	Ŭ	Ü	В	G	Ū
e f	G	Ū	В	В	Ū	Ŭ	В
	В	U	Ŭ	Ü	Ŭ	В	Ü
g h	Ŭ	В	B _	В	Ğ	Ğ	В

TABLE E (Continued)

Item Identi-				JUDG	E		
fication from Instrument	Number One	Number Two	Number Three	Number Four	Number Five	Number Six	Number Seven
VIIIa	บ	Ü	G	G	U	G	G
ъ	Ū	G	G	G	G	G	G
c	G	G	G	G	G	G	G
							-

^{*}This tabulation differs from the work copy of tabulations only in that letter designations representing the large scale organizations are used here. On the work copy the arabic numerals identifying an expression were used. G = Grange, U = Union, B = Bureau.



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Mar 17 '58

