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RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION
IN RURAL FAMILIES:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

By

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ABSTRACT

RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION IN RURAL FAMILIES: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

By

Carol Ann Barrett

This research involved the exploration of characteristics related to residential satisfaction in rural settings using ethnographic interviewing techniques in order to formulate a possible theory of residential satisfaction. The study was accomplished in two phases. The first phase consisted of an analysis of transcripts from 20 rural family interviews conducted as part of a related research project in order to highlight attributes of residence in a rural area. The second phase consisted of reinterviewing five of the original 20 families. Topics for these interviews related to attitudes and meanings held by family members about their rural home as well as behaviors engaged in by individuals in and around the residential environment. The families represented a variety of rural residential lifestyles and family life cycle positions. It is suggested that rural residential satisfaction is related to goals and values held by family members for their residence. The goals that were discovered in these families included maintaining control over the residence and family members, competency in behaviors related to rural living, and the promotion of a sense of belonging among family members.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Importance of Residence	3
The Study	5
The Research Problem	5
The Informants	5
Definitions	6
Review of Residential Satisfaction	
Literature	8
Integrative Model	15
Research Problem With Integrative Model .	19
Assumptions	19
II. METHODOLOGY	21
Limitations	23
Strengths	24
Phase One	24
Respondent Selection	25
Data Collection	25
Data Analysis	27
Phase Two	28
Family Selection	28
Data Collection	29
Interviewing and Other Techniques . . .	29
Data Analysis	36

Chapter	Page
III. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	40
Overview of the Original Twenty Interviews	41
Summary of the Phase One Interviews	41
Information Grids	43
Concepts for Phase Two Interviews	44
Five Family Case Studies	50
Family 4 - The Bester Family	50
Family 7 - The Hall Family	55
Family 15 - The Calvin Family	60
Family 20 - The Figer Family	66
Family 21 - The Ghost Family	72
IV. INTEGRATION OF THE FIVE FAMILY CASE STUDIES WITH THE PHASE ONE INTERVIEWS	79
Goals	79
Goals from the Five Case Studies	81
Belonging	82
Continuity	83
Identification	84
Group Identity	85
Non-Belonging	86
Environmental Belonging	87
Environmental Behaviors Promoting Belonging	90
Competency	91
Without Superfluity	93
Farming	95
Control	96
Control of Land Resources	98
Freedom	101
Children	102
V. CONCLUSIONS	104
Research Summary	104
Revised Integrated Model	106
Integration With Past Satisfaction Research	110

Chapter	Page
Control	111
Competency	112
Implications For Future Research	112
Verification	112
Elaboration	113
Application	114
APPENDICES	
Appendix	
A. METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS	116
B. NUMBER CODES FOR THE ORIGINAL 20 INTERVIEWS	119
C. LETTER TO FIVE FAMILIES	120
D. TYPES OF QUESTIONS	122
BIBLIOGRAPHY	124

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Date, Time and Family Members Present At Interviews	35
2 Acreage, Land Use and Existance of a Family Garden by Family	45
3 Housing Age, Housing Adjustments, Personal Efforts, and Energy Sources by Family	46
4 Number, Ages and Parental Goals Related To Children by Family	47
5 Share/Trade/Barter Activities and Organizational Participation by Family . .	48

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Integrated Model of Residential Satisfaction	16
2	Revised Integrated Model of Residential Satisfaction	107

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When we build, we have said . . . this is where we will build and this is where we will stay. (Interview, Family 4, 8-3-84, p. 8)

I'm a country boy. I like to be able to have a party here, step outside and holler at one of the kids and not have to worry about the person next door listening to me, or when I go out here and fire the tractor up and go out and plow the fields, or mow or whatever I do, I don't bother anybody and they don't bother me. (Interview, Family 20, 5-7-84, p. 19)

I do really feel strongly that unless you're a family that you would like to do things together, you would not be happy. We do everything together . . . I guess what I'm saying, rural life is a family life. (Interview, Family 16, 4-30-84, p. 30)

I grew up in the city of [about 50,000 people] 18 years . . . but I love the country, I love outdoors, I'm an outdoors person, I like to hunt and I love to fish. I like to see things grow. I like livestock. (Interview, Family 1, 6-30-83, p. 6)

People say all sorts of things about the places they live. The things they say can indicate their pleasure or displeasure with the residential environment. They can reveal the boundaries of their residence, sometimes including elements of the house, property, neighborhood or the community. The term 'residence' is not constant. It

can change from person to person based on the experience of the individual as a member of a family, a member of a neighborhood or a member of some other group.

The places where people live have been studied by researchers from a number of different disciplines including anthropology, architecture, urban planning, sociology, design, psychology, and geography. Often the context of the study is limited to one aspect of the place where people live. For example, geographers often concentrate on large scale and topographical aspects of the environment, sociologists often study the social dimension of the neighborhood and the community, housing researchers often limit themselves to the physical and social characteristics of the house. This disciplinary perspective limits the focus of the study. It facilitates control of research variables and allows in-depth work in one area of interest. On occasion results from different studies are combined and synthesized into a larger theoretical construct. Rarely is a research problem studied from a holistic perspective initially.

In the day-to-day world, the places where people live are experienced as unified spaces, the yard relates to the structure, the house is oriented to the street, the family adjusts or rearranges the space to suit its needs. Therefore, it may be possible to learn about residential spaces by looking at them as interrelated with the social structure of the family, neighborhood and community.

Importance of Residence

Residential spaces support a large number of individual and family activities including such basic needs as educational and interactional pursuits. Spivak (1973) has hypothesized that humans need environments that support 13 archetypal behaviors including sleeping, eating and grooming. In our culture these behaviors are most often associated with a residence.

Family residential places are often referred to as home. This term is used by all of us at one time or another; its meaning is abstract and individualized. In one sense we know what it means. It is a living place associated with our earliest memories and our most basic selves. We can perform any of the archetypal behaviors in a different location; we can eat in a restaurant or sleep in a motel, but the home is the place where we repeatedly perform these basic behaviors most of the time.

Hayward (1975) discusses the concept of home as a locus in space. This can refer to a geographical or a psychological concept. Seamon (1979) describes how respondents in his environmental experience groups spoke about the world starting at their doorstep and radiating outward in space. Locus can also refer to a psychological space where a person returns to orient himself or herself mentally before going out in the world.

Residences are important places for families. They provide a space for the family to take possession. This allows the family members to identify the space as their home and identifies the individuals as a collective unit to themselves and others. One of the functions of families is the raising and socialization of children (Melson, 1980). Proshansky (1978) feels that part of this socialization includes the surrounding environment. It is his belief that children grow and develop an ego identity within a place. That place is incorporated into the image of self; behaviors appropriate to the place are then developed. Zajonc and Markus (1983) have hypothesized that preferences based on affective responses are learned attitudes passed down in the family. If this is true then the kinds of places in which people grow up could affect their residential preferences later.

People may attempt to live in environments similar to the types of environments in which they were socialized. This idea is supported by recent rural migration literature (Sofranko & Williams, 1980). Many immigrants to rural areas from urban areas are actually return migrants, i.e., natives moving back to a rural home.

It seems important to many researchers to study residential environments as places that support individual and family interactions and activities. In the past, family residential space has been evaluated by means of satisfaction measures. Individuals have been asked to

indicate satisfaction with various objective features of the environment relating to housing, neighborhood or community characteristics. There may be other characteristics of the environment that are important to an individual or family perception of satisfaction with the residence.

The Study

The Research Problem

This research is an attempt to discern important characteristics related to residential satisfaction. Attributes of the environment emphasized by the family or individual will be explored. The residence is viewed within the larger family context contributing to the support of needs and/or goals expressed by individuals or families living in a residential environment. An ethnographic methodology was used to accomplish this research.

The Informants

The data for this study were collected in a rural township in southwest Michigan. Rural populations represent a mixture of lifestyles. While the traditional image of the country is one of farms scattered over the landscape, the present reality is often different. Many rural areas have experienced population growth in recent years (Sofranko & Williams, 1980). The majority of these inmigrants do not engage in commercial agriculture. There are indications that many individuals perform dual roles of

farmer and off-farm worker. There are still farms run by full-time farmers also. There may be a difference in attitudes, values and behaviors relating to residential satisfaction in these groups of people.

Housing satisfaction has been extensively studied in urban settings with one exception. Gruber, et al. (1983) studied rural residents in North Carolina. Their survey instrument was comparable to other urban studies; questions about housing characteristics were prominent; questions about rural lifestyle were unexplored. Rural environments are anticipated to have unique attributes related to residential satisfaction which prior research has not adequately addressed.

The researcher has had limited experience with rural populations. It is believed that this reduces the number of preconceived ideas and biases that are brought to the research. Thus, objectively this will allow a more flexible and open relationship to the data.

Definitions

Residence can be defined in a number of ways. Geographers; Tuan (1974), Relph (1976), and Seamon (1979) use the word 'place' to describe unique environments. It is an abstract, amorphous term that refers to spaces that have meaning attached to them by their usage or identification.

Just exactly what constitutes a place is unique to the individual. Tuan (1974) relates how two different

people from the same neighborhood will outline different areas on a map to represent their concept of the neighborhood. These unique neighborhoods are linked to the behaviors, experiences and thoughts of the individual.

In the same way, family residential places are specific to the family that lives there. The definition of the place may change from person to person in the family and there may be shared concepts as well. Parents may include house, surrounding property and community structures such as churches or the post office. Children may include their school in their concept of place.

One of the most important aspects of a place is its relationship to the person identifying it. It is not just any room, any house or any community; it is a distinctive space by virtue of the person or family that uses it. A room near the kitchen becomes a dining room when the family routinely uses it as a place to consume meals. Another family may fill it with a desk, chairs and bookcases and call it a den.

In this study the residence refers to those elements of the environment that are identified as living space for the individual or family. The most basic components are the house, the property, the neighborhood and the community. This definition is not confined to the physical elements of the residence, it includes other environments of importance to the respondent such as the social or family environment.

Satisfaction has been defined as "the fulfillment of a need or want" (Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, 1976, p. 1194). In this study it refers to the meeting of needs or desires of the individual in his or her residential environment.

Review of Residential Satisfaction Literature

In order to formulate an appropriate framework to begin a study of satisfaction, research from sociology, home economics and psychology will be reviewed. This literature represents past work with residential satisfaction. In addition, theoretical literature on place concepts will be discussed in the context of a working model to be presented.

All of the studies reviewed used structured interviews to collect data with the exception of Weidemann, et al. (1982); a written questionnaire was used in that study. With the exception of Gruber, et al. (1983), all studies were completed in an urban setting. While some of the variables studied, such as perception of density or availability of public transportation, reflect this orientation; many of the variables are applicable to a rural population. A discussion of these variables will be emphasized.

Socioeconomic variables such as age, income, race, education, and number of children were used as exogenous variables in studies by Galster and Hesser (1981), Onibokun

(1976), and Golant (1982). In Golant's study of residential satisfaction of the elderly, income, race, education, and marital status did not correlate with satisfaction. Onibokun (1976) found that any occupation, employment, higher income and more education were correlated with less residential satisfaction in a public housing development. In addition families headed by single parents and with more children reported less satisfaction in this same study. Galster and Hesser (1981) found this same result in their study in the larger community. In addition they found that age was correlated with housing satisfaction and race was correlated with neighborhood satisfaction.

Several studies were conducted in public housing developments including Weidemann, et al. (1982), Onibokun (1976), Ahlbrandt and Brophy (1976) and Rent and Rent (1978). The applicability of the general findings is limited for rural study, but there are several points of interest in this literature. In Weidemann, et al. (1982) variables related to the safety aspects of the environment were highly correlated with satisfaction. Other factors including social interaction, perception of neighborhood homogeneity and perceived atmosphere of the environment were all related to residential satisfaction. Safety factors were also correlated to residential satisfaction in Ahlbrandt and Brophy (1976), however, their main predictor of residential satisfaction was management techniques.

Neighborhood characteristics were examined in several studies, of which Weidemann, et al. (1982) has already been discussed briefly. Variables relating to the appearance of the physical environment were also correlated with satisfaction. Galster and Hesser (1981) measured neighborhood characteristics related to negative aspects of the structural environment such as perception of abandoned or dilapidated buildings in the neighborhood. The perception of rundown buildings did correlate with neighborhood dissatisfaction. Gruber, et al. (1983) present a very comprehensive list of neighborhood characteristics including such items as greenery in the neighborhood, availability of shopping, upkeep of homes, and amount of open space. Variables measuring social characteristics of the environment such as the presence of friends were present in the factor analysis also. The combined social and physical neighborhood factors were found to be correlated with housing satisfaction. Rent and Rent (1976) found that proximity of friends but not family was indicative of satisfaction. Also satisfaction with neighbors reflected satisfaction with residence.

Two of the studies included measures related to characteristics of the individual. Rent and Rent (1978) found that reported general life satisfaction had a significant relationship with housing satisfaction. Golant (1982) included measures of health, well-being and activity in his study of the elderly. He found those who reported

more happiness and less activity out of the home were more satisfied with their environment.

Speare (1974) and Morris, et al. (1976) conducted early studies using residential satisfaction as an intervening variable predicting mobility. While mobility is not of specific interest in this study, a discussion of the Morris, et al. (1976) model is important. In a later book, Morris and Winter (1978) present a model of satisfaction. The exogenous variables include socioeconomic characteristics. These characteristics are mediated by "norms" that relate to housing satisfaction (Morris and Winter, 1978, p. 109). These norms include adequate bedroom space for age and sex composition of the family, ownership of housing and living in single family detached housing. If any of the norms are absent then dissatisfaction results.

There has been a general tendency for the research to become more elaborative. Two of the earlier studies (Speare, 1974 & Morris, et al., 1976) used global measures of satisfaction. Survey items in Speare (1974) asked for satisfaction with six items: age and size of house, yard, neighborhood, community, distance to work, and shopping. Speare then used these to compute a satisfaction score. In contrast, later studies have enumerated more and more details about the environments under study. Objective housing characteristics are broken down into size of rooms, storage, number of rooms and so on; the neighborhood is

evaluated for the number of trees and the amount of greenery among other detailed questions (Gruber, et al., 1983). Weidemann, et al. (1982) used a seventeen page questionnaire with 236 questions detailing satisfaction with safety, privacy, neighbors, appearance and maintenance of the public housing development in which the study was conducted. While results have been used for hypothesis testing of specific research questions, a comprehensive model of satisfaction has not been presented with the exception of the model formulated by Morris.

One aspect of housing satisfaction literature that has been infrequently mentioned is the high overall rate of satisfaction reported by some studies. Speare (1974) reported the frequencies within categories of his housing satisfaction index. By computing the percentages it appears that 16 percent of the respondents scored their housing satisfaction as highly as possible; while 75 percent were satisfied with their housing. More recently Gruber, et al. (1983) found on the average that 90 percent of their respondents were on the whole satisfied with their housing. Morris and Winter (1978) implied that high reported satisfaction may be erroneous.

It is unquestionably true that survey respondents in the United States by and large respond in the "satisfied" range of most satisfaction-dissatisfaction questions. Obviously a portion of that pattern must arise from the "true" level of satisfaction. Many of them must indeed be satisfied. "Unwarranted" satisfaction (satisfaction

with a patently undesirable situation) may be attributed to three factors. Those factors are low salience, idiosyncratic standards, and reporting error, including random and systematic error. (Morris and Winter, 1978, p. 155)

Golant (1982) takes a different view. He discusses the paradox encountered in the study of housing and the elderly. The elderly in many studies indicate satisfaction with objectively undesirable environments. In his study he indicated that satisfaction is linked to other life areas. He feels that housing satisfaction is based on the individual's perception of the environment.

Environments or situations will differ from each other because individuals interpret their contents and consequences differently and because individuals create, select, and maintain environments that have physical and social properties consistent with their own diverse thoughts, motives and behaviors. Environments thereby become instilled with qualities that are consistent with the characteristics of their inhabitants. Viewed in this way, the dwelling becomes an inseparable part of the individual's total life situation. Whereas society's objective standards of quality guide a detached observer's judgements, it is not only this objective reality, but more importantly, the personal meanings and uses of the dwelling, that guide the evaluations of its occupants. (Golant, 1982, p. 122)

One of the main goals in past housing satisfaction literature has been to find areas of universal dissatisfaction with the residential environment. It seemed if universal standards could be arrived at such as appropriate bedroom space for children and adults or

adequate parking for apartment residents and if these standards were implemented, all dissatisfaction would disappear. The most basic assumption seemed to be that physical characteristics determine housing satisfaction.

Up to this point there have been no studies that seek to discover how individual or family behaviors affect satisfaction with residence. To return to an earlier example, one family uses their adjacent kitchen space for dining, the other uses it for a den. Suppose the family with the den is dissatisfied with the amount of space for dining. Does it mean that the family is dissatisfied with the amount of eating space but that they would be more dissatisfied if they did not have space for books and paperwork? Does it mean that they may move to a house with more dining space? Does it mean that houses should be built with bookcases in dining rooms? To restate the point, satisfaction may be a result of how the residence is used. Morris and Winter (1978) have mentioned the need to find areas of dissatisfaction and how important these dissatisfactions are to family members.

Another area that has been undeveloped by housing researchers lies in the domain of values, feelings and meanings related to the residential environment. Seamon's (1979) work with his environmental experience groups has attempted to rectify this lack. In his work he talks about a broad concept he calls "At Homeness". There are several subcategories under the label of "At Homeness" that

represent feeling states that respondents mentioned. These subcategories include 'appropriation' or territoriality and 'warmth' which refers to security, memories and pleasant emotional connotations in the environment.

Integrative Model

This study will attempt to integrate prior research with findings from the present study in an effort to amplify areas of importance to a theory of satisfaction. In addition, areas that have been unexplored in the past will be investigated. The way in which people use the residential place has not been studied as it relates to satisfaction. Meanings and values have not been considered as influences on this concept. Finally the interaction of the satisfaction reports from several household members has not been studied. With the exception of Weidemann, et al. (1982) all the studies have interviewed only one household member, usually the female head of household.

An integrative model was developed to guide the research and to lend structure to the analysis. This integrative model has two components: an affective-cognitive dimension and a behavioral-functional dimension. Each of these dimensions is thought to be imbedded in the social milieu of the family. (Figure 1)

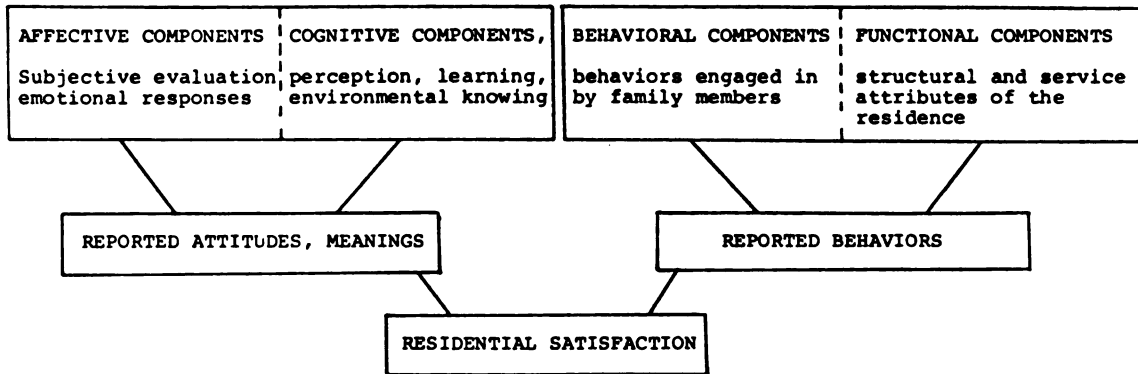


Figure 1. Integrated Model of Residential Satisfaction.

The affective-cognitive portion of the model refers to how people perceive and think about the environment. Several theorists have discussed this area in past research including Proshansky (1978), Proshansky, Fabian, Kaminoff (1983) and Tuan (1974). Proshansky has hypothesized that a concept called "place identity" exists in each person. This identity is a component of self identity.

By place identity we mean those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment. (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155)

The behavioral-functional dimension of the model refers to how the residence is used by the family, which behaviors are supported by the environment and which are obstructed or prevented. For example, living in an apartment may severely limit activities such as gardening that families could accomplish in other residential environments.

Functional housing characteristics such as number of bedrooms, sizes of rooms, outdoor space can influence satisfaction. If deficits are severe enough they can cause dissension in the household and necessitate a housing adjustment such as altering the space or moving to a different home (Morris, et al. 1976, Morris, 1978).

Sociocultural differences in housing use have been described by Rapaport (1969). Are there factors based on group identification that affect how housing is used or what behaviors take place on the property? In his book about the West-Enders of Boston, Gans (1962) describes the elaborate rituals of social visiting on an almost nightly basis; this contrasts with the more formal visiting done by the middle-class residents in a new community in New Jersey (Gans, 1967).

In other words the person learns how to behave in an environment, he or she learns how to navigate and accomplish tasks in familiar settings, and becomes proficient at environmental behavior. In relation to family housing, members are taught what is appropriate behavior in the home. In some families eating behavior is not condoned in the bedroom; guests may only be entertained in the living room and so forth. These family behaviors are incorporated into the individual and become part of their conception of housing.

Cognitive dimensions refer to those elements of environmental learning that are facilitated by the senses;

such as hearing family rules and seeing nonverbal behavioral clues, and are integrated into thoughts expressed about the residential place.

Perception is an important part of cognitive development. In a family, a daughter's perception of the environment may differ drastically from the son's view. This may be a result of sex role task differentiation or differences in inheritance patterns. Tuan (1974) discusses one study in which men and women were asked to draw lines around their neighborhoods as presented on a map. Women consistently included shopping places in their neighborhood maps unlike the men in the study.

Differences in perception or cognition could result from cultural or social group differences. In this study it is possible that there might be some difference in perception based on employment or length of residency in the present home. Class differences could account for differences in how tasks are performed in the house or in the yard.

The other element of the cognitive-affective dimension of satisfaction represents affective, evaluative aspects of environmental interaction. This topic includes values, attitudes and beliefs that are formed from emotional reactions to the environment. The strongest feeling associated with a place may be a concept Tuan (1974) called 'topophilia'.

The word "topophilia" is a neologism, useful in that it can be defined broadly to include all of the human beings affective ties with the material environment. These differ greatly in intensity, subtlety and mode of expression. The response to environment may be primarily aesthetic, it may then vary from the fleeting pleasure one gets from a view to the equally fleeting but far more intense sense of beauty that is suddenly revealed. The response may be tactile, a delight in the feel of air, water, earth. More permanent and less easy to express are feelings that one has toward a place because it is home, the locus of memories, and the means of gaining a livelihood. (Tuan, 1974, p. 93)

Research Problem With Integrative Model

This research seeks to explore the relationship between the functional environment, reported family behaviors and cognitive-affective dimensions related to residential place and residential satisfaction. The goal is to discover those characteristics that contribute to satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This information will then be used to elaborate past satisfaction and research in an attempt to build on an existing model and/or formulate a theory of satisfaction.

Assumptions

1. There are cognitive and affective dimensions of the individual that influence reported residential satisfaction.
2. There are behavioral dimensions of how individuals and families use the residence that influence reported satisfaction.

3. There are functional attributes of the residential environment that influence reported satisfaction.
4. The respondent evaluates residential satisfaction based on perceptions as an individual and a member of a family.
5. Ethnographic methods are an appropriate vehicle for this study.

To accomplish the goal of studying the cognitive/affective and functional/behavioral components of residential satisfaction in rural areas a two-phase project was completed. Both phases involved field techniques, principally ethnographic interviewing. The first phase consisted of interviews with respondents from 20 households on topics related to rural living such as agriculture, housing, children and community interaction. The second phase consisted of reinterviews with five of the original families in order to question them about topics specifically related to residential satisfaction. An analysis was undertaken with both phases independently and then a final integration was produced.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The research design is influenced by the research problem mentioned previously: to determine characteristics relating to residential satisfaction based on cognitive, affective and behavioral statements made by respondents. The exploration of these elements may then be used to formulate a theory of satisfaction. A qualitative approach will be used due to the exploratory nature of the research problem. Qualitative methods are especially useful in the formation or restructuring of theory because a comprehensive examination of the elements contributing to the formulations is possible.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have discussed this approach and have given it the name of "grounded theory." Grounded theory is the "discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 2). The general movement is from specific events to the generation of theory. The process has been described in the following way.

Whether the [social scientist], as he jointly collects and analyzes qualitative data, starts out in a confused state of noting almost everything he sees because it all seems significant, or whether he

starts out with a more defined purpose, his work quickly leads to the generation of hypotheses. When he begins to hypothesize with the explicit purpose of generating theory, the researcher is no longer a passive receiver of impressions but is drawn naturally into actively generating and verifying his hypotheses. . .

Generating hypotheses requires evidence enough only to establish a suggestion-not excessive piling up of evidence to establish a proof, and the consequent hindering of the generation of new hypotheses.

In the beginning, one's hypotheses may seem unrelated, but as categories and properties emerge, develop in abstraction and become related, their accumulating interrelations form an integrated central theoretical framework-the core of the emerging theory. The core becomes a theoretical guide to the further collection and analysis of data. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 39-40)

The qualitative approach used in this work is ethnography. Ethnography has been defined as "the work of describing a culture" (Spradley, 1979, p. 3). In this instance it involves the study of residential satisfaction in a rural setting. Ethnography can be accomplished using many different techniques. In general, information and data are obtained and analyzed from "what people do, what people know and the things people make and use." (Spradley, 1979, p. 5)

The study of residential satisfaction in a rural setting does not involve just one cultural group but many. It is possible that the family relates to cultural subgroups based on ethnic background, social class, or employment of household members.

Limitations

There are several concerns and limitations that should be mentioned as affecting the outcomes of this study.

1. Inherent in the method used is the subjective bias of the researcher. The researcher brings her own preconceived ideas to the interview situation, some that she is aware of, others that she is not. In addition, the researcher gives emphasis to some parts of the data to highlight her interests. Particularly in this study the researcher probably tends to be influenced by prior satisfaction literature.
2. Ethnographic techniques are appropriate to use in generating hypotheses. However, results are not generalizable to other populations due to the small number of respondents interviewed in the study.
3. It is unknown how the presence of so many different interviewers in the first phase of this study affected the results.
4. The presence of the tape-recording equipment may have affected the responses of those interviewed. (For a more detailed discussion of methodological concerns, see Appendix A.)

Strengths

There are strengths that should be mentioned in the use of this method.

1. This method gives a more comprehensive picture of the families than would be available using other methods. Distinctions can be recognized among family members and among the families. These distinctions can then be explored.
2. The interrelationship between sources of data such as interview responses, notes of observations, and use of artifacts gathered during interviews with respondents can be analyzed.

Phase One

Phase one of this study consisted of interviews with 24 rural families as part of a larger study of the needs of rural residents in southwest Michigan. This research was funded through the Agricultural Experiment Station at Michigan State University as part of the Kellogg Biological Station Rural Resources Education Project. The initial goal of the interviews was to understand rural life from the point of view of the respondents. There was particular interest in problems encountered by the residents that could be helped with rural education programs through the Cooperative Extension Service. One township was targeted to be studied intensively by the research group involved with this larger project.

Respondent Selection

Initial contact with township leaders was effected by a key informant who had lived and worked in the township. This key informant was connected to Western Michigan University. The informant did not participate in the interviews but introduced members of the research team to the township treasurer and township historians, and some members of the township board. The families were selected by two members of the research team using the township plat map and information provided by the township treasurer. The families were selected to represent the diversity of lifestyles encountered in this particular township from large scale agricultural farmers to small landholding rural residents. Life cycle position, length of residence, and income were also considered in the selection of families. Several additional families were chosen to be interviewed at a later time because their names were prominent in the township and they represented characteristics not found in the earlier sample.

Data Collection

Initial contact with the respondent families was accomplished with an introductory letter. Within the week after the letter had been sent the family was contacted by one of the interview team to answer any questions the family members might have and, if acceptable, to set up a convenient time for the interview.

The interviews with 24 families were collected by members of the research team in the summer and fall of 1982 and spring of 1983. Over 40 individuals were interviewed from these families. Four interviews were not recorded; one family refused to be taped (family 16) and there were mechanical difficulties that prevented the recording of three other interviews. These four interviews were not included in the analysis for the study. A collection of 20 family interviews were used.

There were six different researchers involved in the first phase of the interviews including this researcher. As many as three but generally two people conducted the interviews. Two researchers were involved in most of the interviews: a human ecologist from Michigan State University and an agricultural historian from Western Michigan University.

The list of topics covered in these interviews ranged from land ownership and use to self-sufficient behaviors, energy usage, and agricultural production. The interviews lasted anywhere from an hour to several hours. In the week following the interview a letter of appreciation was sent to each family.

The interviews were conducted with as many family members present as possible. No attempt was made to interview household members separately. This may have affected some of the responses made by informants.

Data Analysis

Prior to the analysis of the data, the interview tapes were transcribed by secretarial services at Michigan State University. As a project graduate research assistant, the researcher verified the transcripts with the interview tapes marking any needed corrections. The corrected transcripts were then retyped. Codes were initially formulated by this researcher and another assistant on the project. These codes were then approved by senior members of the research group. Codes were then tested on several of the interviews and checked for reliability by the assistants. The coding procedure was revised in this way several times until a simple, economical but comprehensive coding scheme was formulated (Appendix B). On acceptance of these codes by other research team members all interviews were coded and then codes were verified by the assistants, page by page.

In order to combine and highlight some categories of information obtained in the original interviews, an information grid was made of the original 20 families (see pages 45-48). The original grids contained information on agricultural sales, as well as attitudes, values, problems, and frustrations. Information relevant to the purposes of this study will be presented in the analysis section.

Phase Two

Phase two consisted of the reinterview of five families from the original 20. Questions in this phase concentrated on aspects of rural residence within the framework of the present study.

Family Selection

The families chosen for this phase of the study were selected for several reasons. First, four of the families had been interviewed in the original interviews by the current researcher. It was felt that some rapport had already developed between the family members and the researcher. Secondly, the phase one interviews would supplement insights gained in the reinterviews. Third, the families had characteristics relevant to the purposes of this study; they represented a diversity of lifestyles encountered in a rural environment. One family was involved in large-scale agricultural production, one was a smaller family farm, another consisted of nonfarming rural residents living on 25 acres of land, another was a retired widow living on 110 acres and last--a family new to the township that had just completed their house. This last family was not originally interviewed by this researcher, but their situation was unique to the 20 interviews and was thought to fulfill the purposes of theory generation.

Data Collection

The data collection in phase two followed a similar format to phase one. Initial recontact with the families was accomplished by letter (Appendix C). Within a week after the letter was sent a telephone call was made to the household. The researcher introduced herself to the person on the phone and asked if a letter had arrived. In all cases the letter had been received. The researcher then briefly explained the purpose of the study as outlined in the letter. The researcher emphasized the informal nature of the interview using the word "talk" instead of "interview." At this point three of the families agreed to reinterviews almost immediately. Two other families indicated that it was inconvenient at that time and to call again at a later date. After three weeks these families were called again and agreed to interviews.

Interviewing and Other Procedures

Questioning techniques. The main research technique used in this study involved ethnographic interviewing. Ethnographic techniques differ from survey question techniques in a number of ways. First, the questions are largely unstructured and closely follow the flow of conversation. This allows the researcher to stop at appropriate times and closely question the respondent about the replies to any particular question. It is also important in ethnographic techniques to understand the respondent as an individual rather than trying to codify and

record the respondent's answer as it fits the researcher's needs. The researcher tries not to assume or anticipate an answer but uses questions to let the respondents tell their unique viewpoints. Secondly, the researcher can follow different themes if they become interesting or fruitful. The researcher has the freedom to let the interview go where it will as a technique to get a broad overview of a topic and to develop new themes. Finally the researcher has a second or third chance to follow up on different ideas that emerge from the interviews. The researcher can question, analyze, question again and analyze again rather than being tied to one interview in time. In this particular study this ability is an advantage; the time between interviews was sometimes as long as a year and a half.

Types of questions. Several types of questions were used in the course of the interviewing. The most basic type of question is an information request. These questions were very basic and were often used to get things going. The root question is simply "tell me about . . . " For example, "tell me about the kinds of things you do during an average day."

Another type of question frequently asked deals with categories of answers. This was used when the researcher wanted to know all the kinds of things that were either part of a larger topic or could be included under a heading. For example, "What kinds of things do you do at the lake?" or "How many kinds of organizations are there in the township?"

The first two types of questions were frequently used during the first hour of the interviews because these questions were meant to acquire as much information as possible in a short time. Two other types of questions were used more extensively during the second hour or on recontact visits with families. The first type is a definitional request. Often respondents will use words that represent a larger concept. In this case the interviewer asked what the respondent meant when using that word. For example, one respondent told of wanting a "cozy" house (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 5) and the researcher asked what 'cozy' meant to the respondent.

Many questions were used to verify information that the respondent had given. These questions took several forms. Sometimes the responses were almost repeated verbatim back to the respondent to ascertain if the researcher had heard correctly. At other times a response was rephrased by the interviewer and verification was requested from the respondent. The last type of verification procedure involved creating a new scenario to see if the response matched the answer expected by the researcher.

Other field techniques. To a lesser extent two other techniques were used to gather information from the five families. The first technique was participant observation. During the interviews the researcher noticed things or behaviors and wrote them down at a later time

period within 48 hours of the interview. These notes could be used for a more in-depth analysis, but with this study they were only used to indicate or support material in the interviews. Further analysis could be accomplished at a later date.

Floor plans were also available for four families. Three of these families drew rough, hand sketched floor plans at the request of the interviewer. One family provided the working drawings for their newly completed house. Again further analysis was not performed because floor plans were unavailable from one family as well as differences among the remaining floor plans. Some respondents were happy to fill out the floor plans and a great deal of effort went into the drawing. Others were difficult to persuade to do the floor plans and these tended to be less complete. This in itself does not prevent analysis but for reasons of time and economy, these artifacts were used sparingly so more time could be devoted to other parts of the analysis.

General procedures. Only one family was interviewed a day. It was felt that this allowed time to review the tapes made that day and to record notes without confusion. The general procedure consisted of the researcher driving to the respondents' house and reintroducing herself at the door. Once inside the house this researcher generally talked about the study for a few minutes to relax the respondents. After the first few minutes the researcher would request

permission to record the interview. All respondents agreed to have the interview recorded.

Procedures did differ somewhat from family to family. One of the farm families had been seen in the year between the first and the second interview; at that time they filled out pretest questionnaires for a survey which was the second phase of the larger research project related to rural educational programs. On recontact for this research the wife agreed to be interviewed but the time of year precluded her husband's involvement in the interview. (This was also true of the other farming husband.) The first reinterview with this family had to be terminated early and another appointment set up. At the second reinterview the husband came in for lunch and allowed the researcher to interview him while all ate lunch. This family served as a model for future interviews. One interview was completed before seeing the other families and as a result of this experience a list of possible questions was formulated that could be used in other interviews (Appendix D).

The other interviews were accomplished in single visits. The researcher found a single visit to be the best procedure for two reasons. The interviews were inconvenient for the two farming families because of the time of year; they stated that this was their busiest time. Another family postponed the interview because of the need to get their garden in, another had a child graduating from high school. The families seemed very busy. It was also

possible that the researcher might have only one opportunity to interview in person so an attempt was made to cover ground during the first contact with a follow-up telephone contact later to verify information.

Another reason for the longer contact in the single interview involved the researcher's personal observation that the interviews worked better for her this way. The first reinterview seemed to require time to warm up for both the researcher and the respondents. The first hour was spent confirming details from the original interviews and the collection of floor plans. In the second hour of the interview words would flow much more easily and the most important details were gathered at this time.

There was some difference in the length of interview time. The shortest reinterview lasted one hour and twenty minutes with one of the farm families (family 7). Getting permission for this interview was difficult and a third interview was discouraged, but the respondent agreed to be phoned for further questions. The longest time was spent with the other farm family (family 15) and involved an invitation to stay for lunch, this interview contact was approximately six hours long.

As in the original interviews as many family members as possible were encouraged to be present. Each family differed somewhat. Details of the interviews appear in Table 1.

Table 1. Date, Time and Family Members Present at Interviews.

Family	Dates	Time	Family Members Present	Interviewers
Family 4	8-03-82	1 hr. 30 min.	Patsy, John, Kelly (D)	++
The Besters	5-20-84	3 hr. 10 min.	Patsy, John	C.A.B. +
	7-06-84	30 min.	Patsy (telephone)	C.A.B.
Family 7	10-10-82	1 hr. 10 min.	Alan	C.A.B. ++
The Halls	5-17-84	1 hr. 20 min.	Julie	C.A.B.
	7-09-84	25 min.	Julie (telephone)	C.A.B.
Family 15	10-10-82	2 hr. 10 min.	Jerry, Mo	C.A.B. ++
The Calvins	4-26-84	1 hr. 20 min.	Mo, Harry (S)	C.A.B.
	5-01-84	3 hr. 35 min.	Mo, Jerry	C.A.B.
	7-09-84	25 min.	Mo (telephone)	C.A.B.
Family 20	5-03-83	1 hr.	Bill, Margaret	C.A.B. +
The Figers	5-07-84	3 hr. 15 min.	Bill, Margaret, Rob (S)	C.A.B.
	7-06-84	25 min.	Margaret (telephone)	C.A.B.
Family 21	5-07-84	1 hr. 30 min.	Ruth	C.A.B. +
The Ghosts	4-28-84	2 hr.	Ruth	C.A.B.
	7-09-84	25 min.	Ruth (telephone)	C.A.B.

+ - interviewer other than researcher

(S) - son

(D) - daughter

All the families were given gifts of baked goods made by the researcher. In addition, two of the respondents with dogs were also offered large dog bones for their pets. The gifts were meant as a goodwill gesture for agreeing to participate in the study. It was seen as an exchange similar to the reciprocal sharing talked of in the original interviews.

Following the interview the researcher would listen to the tape on the drive home to review the interview. On returning home notes would be made about the interview consisting of time spent, visual observations of the house and interiors and notes concerning the way the respondents

answered the questions. In the beginning an attempt was made to transcribe the tapes verbatim, but this proved to be impractical and took time away from preparation for other parts of the study. Complete transcripts were made for two of the families, notes were made on the other family interviews and quotes pertinent to research objectives were written down. Each tape was reviewed at least three times: once immediately after the interview, once for transcription of notes and once for an accurate transcription of specific quotations. There was one exception to this procedure. One of the tapes became demagnetized between the second and third playback and a portion of the actual interview with family 4 was lost; fortunately, notes and some quotes were available for the lost sections.

The final contact with the families consisted of telephone follow-ups to clear up any unanswered questions, to verify information and give the families some feedback as to the outcomes of the research.

Data Analysis

Several procedures were experimented with when trying to find the best way to handle the data. In general, several color coding systems were tried before a fairly simple six color code system was selected.

The final categories used in the color coding were formulated after reviewing information in the phase one interviews and reviewing past satisfaction literature.

Initial uses of the color coding system closely paralleled information thought to be related to rural residences. The 'Housing,' 'Family,' and 'Community' topics were all thought to impact on residential satisfaction and had been studied in the past by other researchers mentioned earlier.

'Energy use and self-sufficient behaviors' were often discussed in the phase one interviews and seemed important to rural residential lifestyles, and so were included in the analysis. The 'Attitudes and Meanings' category related to the affective dimensions of the satisfaction model are presented on page 16. The 'values' component emerged as a concept while reviewing the transcripts. The 'Control' category also emerged very early in the analysis even before the interviewing had been completed. It was then included in the color coding. For a more detailed description of the emergent themes see Chapter III.

Each family's transcripts, notes and floor plans were placed in a notebook. The transcripts and notes were then reviewed. Specific passages were bracketed with the color that corresponded to that research topic. The color system is presented below.

- Red . . . Housing including adjustments, changes, reported housing behaviors
- Orange. . Family topics including communication patterns, goals, family history
- Green . . Community involvement including church affiliation, community organization membership, political involvement, friends, neighbors

- Yellow. . Energy use and self-sufficient behaviors contributing to household food, fuel, shelter needs
- Purple. . Attitudes, meanings, values related to all aspects of rural living including children, land, home, and community
- Blue. . . Control statements about the environment, family or household

This system discriminated well when dealing with the transcripts. Notes were written in the margins with the appropriate color pen for outstanding examples. Each transcript was reviewed when coding for each color category; thus the transcripts were reviewed several times.

After the coding was completed each important idea from the transcripts was entered on a colored 3 x 5 notecard corresponding to the color of the coding pen. If a quotation seemed especially relevant it was also typed or written on the card. When a family's transcript had been transferred to cards the data could easily be arranged in outline form. Also common areas between families such as housing could be combined for the purpose of looking at similarities between the families. These cards formed the basis for the analysis section.

This coding system was then used to code the original 20 interviews for which transcripts were available. To simplify the process of coding several hundred pages of original transcripts, a general procedure was used. The original number codes were consulted to indicate topics relevant to this research. The pages with this material

were copied. These copies were inserted in a separate notebook and the new color codes were used to bracket the appropriate material.

Some confusion could be generated in the analysis section of this document due to the change in interviewers. The analysis section will refer to interviewers other than the researcher in the third person. When information is presented in the first person it refers to either direct observation or questioning by this researcher.

It should be mentioned that all family names have been changed. Names referring to geographical locations have also been altered or removed. The names that are used have special associations for the researcher. Since the researcher expected to present material from the study in a verbal exchange she changed the names to fit an easily remembered formula.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of ethnographic interviews involves an iterative process: informants are interviewed, their responses are analyzed, new questions are formulated and respondents are again questioned. As the interview responses are reviewed items of potential importance are noted and the researcher attempts to collect other examples, establish categories, build hierarchies and discover themes. In this process some material is put aside and other material is highlighted.

This is the same sequence used in this study. The reporting of the data in chapter form may be misleading. Some themes were discovered early in the analysis, others became evident after the interviews were over. As mentioned earlier several themes were found in the phase one interview transcripts. These themes were suggested by past literature and the goals of this study. These topics were purposely included in the phase two interviews. In the process of interviewing new themes became evident and were pursued by the researcher. In this way the themes that are discussed in Chapter IV emerged.

This chapter will be presented in several sections. The first section will review some of the information obtained in the original interviews. Informational grids will be included to give an overview of all the families in the domains of housing, community interaction, children and land use. Concepts that appear related to the research problem will be discussed.

The second section of this chapter will contain information about the five families who were reinterviewed. Material from the interviews will be presented as it pertains to relevant study areas. The section will close with a summary of three domains gleaned from the interviews.

Overview of the Original Twenty Interviews

The information relating to this study obtained from the original interviews will be briefly summarized. Informational grids with more detailed information will be presented in the second section. Finally a review of common concepts will appear in the third section.

Summary of the Phase One Interviews

Rural experience. Of the 40 respondents participating in the original interviews, 15 were township natives with farming background; another four were natives without farming experience. Of the immigrant group, four came with farming experience from other areas, eight had previous rural experience and nine had no farming or rural experience prior to their move to the township. Most of the households had one member either from the township or

with previous rural experience. Only one household was comprised of people with no previous rural experience.

Land use. There was some diversity in land use among the residents interviewed but most were involved in some type of agricultural activity, either commercially or for personal use. Of the farming families, three worked over 500 acres, six worked between 200 and 375 acres, four worked between 50 and 200 acres. Eight families lived on less than 50 acres, three of these families had some agricultural production. Virtually all the families had gardens for household use. In addition 13 of the families had some land in timber used for fuel purposes.

Housing. Housing was not discussed in depth in the original interviews, but it was discovered that seven of the families lived in houses over 80 years old. Nine of the families lived in houses less than 25 years old. The remainder were unreported. Thirteen of the families reported burning wood for heating at least occasionally; most of these families used wood harvested from their own land. Five of the families that had homes under 25 years old reported building the home themselves or doing extensive hand labor when the house was being built. Others in older homes reported doing major changes such as adding rooms, replacing windows and other large remodeling efforts themselves.

Family life. Family life and raising children were topics of great interest to most respondents. Many of the

older farming families had a child who had come into the farm business. Other farming respondents expressed a desire for their children to farm. Nonfarming residents also talked of their children's involvement in gardening, raising animals and other pursuits at home. For some of the newer residents, the main reason for moving to a rural area involved a belief that it was a better place to raise children. Some of the factors reported included the opportunity to be more involved in the school and extracurricular activities such as 4-H; more control over the movements of the children and beliefs that children were not being exposed to influence of drugs and alcohol.

Social networks. There were some differences in the amount of community interaction reported. Many parents were involved in 4-H as leaders and helpers. Religious activities were often mentioned also. Most often a loose network of support and friendship was reported to exist for many of the families. Activities that contributed to this network included sharing work, produce or machinery. It was especially important to new immigrants without vast agricultural experience to be able to ask an older resident for help or to receive it without the need to ask.

Information Grids

Information tables 2-5 are presented on pages 45-48 to give a brief overview of the type of information obtained in the first interviews relevant to the purposes of this study. Topics include children, housing, community

interaction and land use. Those families marked with an * indicate families interviewed during the second phase of this project. Boxes marked with an N.A. indicate information not ascertained in the interviews. Families are numbered according to the chronological order in which they were interviewed.

Concepts for Phase Two Interviews

As a result of reviewing the original transcripts several areas were identified which related to the focus of the current study. These concepts were viewed as a basis for preliminary questions during the reinterview phase of the study. The most prominent concepts included familism, self-sufficiency and community interaction.

Familism. Familism in this study refers to positive attitudes or goals relating to family interaction and continuance. Many of the respondents reported extended family relationships within the township. In a few cases families reported coming back to the township because of their family roots. Several families mentioned the importance of working together around the property or farm. It was thought possible that family networks could be related to residential satisfaction. That is, if a household had a strong family network in the community this would contribute to residential satisfaction.

Self-sufficiency. There were numerous self-sufficient activities that respondents engaged in extensively. Some families were committed to a less

Table 2. Acreage, Land Use, and Existence of a Family Garden by Family

Family	Acreage	Land Use	Family Garden
1	Between 25 and 50 acres	8 Acres corn	Yes
2	Between 200 and 500 acres	Oats, rents out remainder of land	Yes
3	Between 100 and 200 acres	Hay, corn, wood-lot, pasture, sweet corn, dairy, chickens	Yes
*4	Less than 25 acres	Horses, corn, hay, orchard	Yes
5	Over 500 acres	Dairy, hay, corn	N.A.
6	Between 200 and 500 acres	Wheat, corn, steers, hay, hogs, horses	N.A.
*7	Owens over 300 acres, works another 500 acres	Dairy, corn, grain	N.A.
8	Between 200 and 500 acres	Woodlot, sheep, oats	Yes
9	Between 25 and 50 acres	40 Acres corn, beef cattle, hay	Yes
10	Between 200 and 500 acres	Woods, hay, corn, oats, beef cattle	Yes
11	Between 50 and 100 acres	Goats, sheep, chickens, some land rented to farmer on shares	Yes
12	Between 200 and 500 acres	Oats, corn, wheat, hay, dairy, chickens beef cattle	N.A.
13	Less than 25 acres	Rents out land to farmer	Yes
14	Works 1200 acres	Corn, soybeans, wheat, pasture	N.A.
*15	Between 50 and 100 acres	Corn, hay, dairy; also farms parent's land	Yes
17	Less than 25 acres	3 Acres corn, recreation, woods, pond	Yes
18	Less than 25 acres	Woods, raises chickens, grapes, potatoes	Yes
19	Less than 25 acres	Mows 9 acres of lawn, 6 acres woods, Lends acreage to neighbor for corn	Yes
*20	Less than 25 acres	17 Acres woods, open field for recreation, snowmobile trail through land	Yes
*21	Between 100 and 200 acres	Rents out land to farmer for corn, lake on land takes up considerable acreage	Yes

Table 3. Housing Age, Housing Adjustments, Personal Effort and Energy Sources by Family

Family	Housing Age	Housing Adjustments	Personal Efforts	Energy Sources
1	100+ Years	Major remodeling, moved walls,	Labor performed by owners	Oil, Wood
2	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
3	80 Years	Remodeled kitchen, bath	Labor hired out	Wood, Oil
* 4	3 Months	New home	House designed by husband Entire family participated	Oil, Wood
5	16 Years	N.A.	N.A.	Electric, Oil Son burns Wood
6	N.A.	Remodeled in 1960	N.A.	Wood, Oil
* 7	115 Years	Extensive remodeling including all interior finishes, windows	Owners performed most of labor	Oil
8	100+ Years	Remodeled 2 rooms	N.A.	Wood
9	17 Years	N.A.	Owners built home	Electric, Kerosene
10	16 Years	N.A.	Owners built home	Wood, Oil
11	100+ Years	Insulated, added wood stove, Added aluminum windows	Husband built wood stove	Oil, Wood
12	N.A.	Built sun porch	Owners performed labor	Oil, would like Wood
13	100 Years	Added 2 bedrooms, 1 bath	Owners performed labor	Oil, Wood
14	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
*15	80 Years	Insulated, new well, remodeled interior	Owners performed labor	Oil, Wood
17	6 Years	N.A.	Personal labor in building process	Wood, Oil
18	12 Years	Insulated, added wood-burner	N.A.	Oil, Wood
19	19 Years	Insulated	N.A.	Oil, Wood
*20	25 Years	Added bedroom, 1 bath	House originally built by husband, also additions	Oil, Wood
*21	80 Years	Added kitchen, bathroom	N.A.	Oil, Wood

Table 4. Number, Ages and Parental Goals Related to Children by Family

Family	Number and Ages of Children	Goals for Children, Attitudes and Values Related to Childrearing
1	Has children, ages N.A.	Want children to keep farm in family if anything should happen to parents
2	5 sons, aged 41, 39, 37, 30, 14	None of sons farm, Mother strongly against sons farming
3	2 sons, aged 22, 21 2 daughters, aged 17, 10	21 y/o son helps out on the farm, husband main caregiver for youngest daughter
* 4	17 y/o, 15 y/o daughters	Daughters can do anything they desire in the future, family close knit because everyone works together
5	2 adult sons	1 son works the farm, the other son would like to farm also
6	2 adult sons	Father tickled that 1 son is farming with him, Mother did not want children to farm
* 7	3 daughters, aged 8, 6, 2½	Mother wants daughters to go to Christian school for education
8	3 sons, 3 daughters, all adults	None of children in farming, parents did not encourage it
9	3 sons, aged 29, 26, 20 1 daughter, 25 y/o	Rural areas are good places to raise children, youngest son may farm when grandfather retires
10	2 adult sons	Mother did not want sons to farm, 1 son still lives in rural area
11	4 sons, aged 19, 17, 15, 13	Father wants sons to learn good values, responsibility, how to work, oldest son student in college
12	15 y/o son, 17 y/o daughter	Parents do not expect either child to farm
13	14 y/o son, 2 other children	Parents believe children only want to live in rural area
14	2 adult sons, 1 adult daughter	2 sons work on farm with Father
*15	13 y/o daughter, 15 y/o son	Parents would like children to go into family farming, expect both children to go to college
17	Has children, ages N.A.	Want wholesome environment for children, want them to learn responsibility
18	2 sons, 1 daughter, ages N.A.	Family is close-knit, less pressures on children in rural area, know where children are in rural area, more control
19	1 son in Germany, married	Son not interested in living in rural area, career in armed services
*20	23 y/o daughter, married 22 y/o son	Daughter and husband renting house from parents, son lives at home, parents have more control over children in rural area
*21	2 adult children, 1 son, 1 daughter	Expected that son would buy farm but less of a possibility

Table 5. Share/Trade/Barter Activities and Organizational Participation by Family

Family	Share/Trade/Barter	Organizational Participation
1	Swaps pears for raspberries with neighbor	Wife currently holds township office
2	N.A.	N.A.
3	Helps newcomers with dairy problems	N.A.
* 4	Helps out neighbors when emergencies happen	4-H, leaders of horse group
5	N.A.	Husband held township office in the past
6		Wife does community work, husband has held township office in the past
* 7	N.A.	Involved in church in nearby township, wife is pianist and organist in church
8	N.A.	N.A.
9	N.A.	N.A.
10	Shares machinery and labor with neighbor, shares produce	Not active in community
11	Gives raspberries to neighbors	4-H leader, township church membership, goat herders, goat, dairy and rabbit clubs
12	N.A.	West-Side Ag group, only involved in township politics when it affects agricultural decisions
13	Trades use of barn for use of woodlot rents land on shares, 50/50	Considers themselves part of nearby town, not involved in township or with neighbors
14	Works some land on shares	West-Side Ag group, Grange, Farmer's Union, American Ag
*15	Husband helps neighbors with work on house	Church membership in nearby township
17	N.A.	P.T.A., husband is a volunteer fireman
18	N.A.	4-H
19	Shares land with neighbor to grow corn, no remuneration, shares pool	Township church membership
*20	Shares open land with neighbor kids for ball games, open snowmobile trail	Township church membership, had been active in scouts, Grange, 4-H, Little League, held township office (husband)
*21	Shares produce with neighbors, allows neighbors to use barns	Ladies Aid

consumptive lifestyle; they often burned wood for heat, raised large gardens, raised livestock of various kinds and preserved these products by canning or freezing. The informational grids (pages 45-48) give a more detailed picture of this activity.

Community interaction. Indications of community interaction took many forms. These included sharing, trading or bartering with community residents, belonging to township organizations, and less formal friendship networks. Less bartering took place than sharing or trading. Sharing was often mutual. For example, Family 1 gives pears to another family and receives raspberries in return. This could also be called a trade, but the respondents used the term "share." In general the organizational interaction was of two predominant types: religious affiliations and organizations related to agriculture such as 4-H, the Grange and more specialized groups for dairy farmers or poultry farmers.

Friendships were discussed frequently in the interviews. Friendships were not purely social; there were indications that friends also supplied help when needed. Friends or neighbors lent machinery, pulled equipment out of ditches and came running in an emergency.

Five Family Case Studies

Family 4 - The Bester Family

The Bester family moved into their home in the spring of 1984. This was the realization of a goal they had worked toward for six years. Work was highly regarded in this family and working together as a family unit was a stated value to promote a goal of cohesiveness and unity. As parents the Besters encouraged independence and self-sufficiency in their daughters. Dissatisfactions with the environment related to the unfinished nature of the house and property.

John and Patsy Bester appeared to be in their forties. Both were employed outside the home; John had started his own engineering business and Patsy worked for a utility company. They had two daughters: Kelly who just finished high school and Milly who had just completed the tenth grade.

Patsy and John originally bought the land in 1978. Some of the reasons for buying the land were mentioned by John.

. . . the combination of wanting a new home and the kids into horses, and the more we got out into the country and got away the more we decided . . . we wanted some room.
(Interview, Family 4, 8-3-82, p. 4)

Once they had purchased the land they slowly began adding things on it. First a barn was built for their daughters' horses, second a pole barn for the tractor and other equipment, next fences were built and finally the

house was completed. All this activity took place over a six year period. In the interim before the house was finished, they made two trips a day from their house in a nearby city to their land to water, feed and exercise the horses. Patsy indicated that this took a lot of "dedication" (Interview, Family 4, 8-3-82, p. 3)

At the time of the first interview in 1982 the home had not been built. The second interview occurred in May of 1984, six weeks after the family had moved into their new two story, colonial home. At the time of this interview Patsy took me through the house pointing out details of the construction. Patsy reported that this is their "dream house" (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 10) and they have planned many details for the future.

The linkages between the physical environment, values and meanings were suggested by some of the things that Patsy said about the house. The house represented many things to the Besters: "family" (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 3); "memories" (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 8); and promoting family ties by working together (Interview, Family 4, 8-3-84, p. 5). Patsy talked about the help that they have received from family and friends while building the house. For example, at one point Patsy mentioned how one of the grandmothers helped paint Kelly's bedroom. She stated that memories like that make the house "special" (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 8).

The value of working was very noticeable in this family; the word itself appeared in conversation with the family again and again. Patsy stated in the original interview that "our family is quite close . . . It has taken a lot of work on our part getting here and getting back all the time" (Interview, Family 4, 8-3-83, p. 5). Patsy indicated that this involved a learning process on the part of the children.

They had to do a lot of learning, had to work with us both closely . . . a lot . . . I think it's made them extremely self-sufficient. (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 3)

This emphasis on working together was not unplanned as Patsy indicated.

Children need to have responsibilities . . . that's one thing we've tried to do with this . . . there's a responsibility here that we all have to pull together on . . . and they know how important they are to that responsibility . . . (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 3)

Patsy and John differed somewhat in their attachment to the house and property. John appeared to be more attached than Patsy to the structure. John told of staying late at work throughout one winter while designing the house, he carried the main design responsibility even though the family helped by making suggestions. John also built some special things in the house: a brick storage unit in the kitchen for the microwave, a wooden floor in one of the dining areas and a wooden staircase in the entry. John also served as contractor while the house was being

built. He indicated that it would be "traumatic" if anything happened to it. He stated "I have a lot of me in this house, physically and mentally" (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 8).

Patsy on the other hand stated that the "outside" is special to her. (Interview, Family 4, 5-21-84, p. 8) Patsy indicated that she likes to garden. John uses the near environment to release tension.

It's just more relaxed and quiet. If I want to get away from it, I can just walk straight back there 200 feet and I'm away from a lot of things. (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 6)

The Besters seem to care about the appearance of the neighborhood. They initially chose the township as a place to settle because of the zoning requirements.

We looked for quite a while in [the] township. That's kind of where we wanted to be because of zoning and because its more agricultural and zoning is a little stiffer as for letting them have junk cars. (Interview, Family 4, 8-3-82, p. 1)

They also indicated that if the open land behind them came on the market they would attempt to buy it. The land was owned by the same man who sold them their land originally; this man is thinking of selling out. Their reasons for the purchase would be to control the way the land is used and by whom it would be used.

Patsy--Well, we wouldn't want it just to go to anyone, for anyone to build . . .

John--We'd try and buy right through if he sold it. (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 4)

Even though the Besters had not lived in the township very long, they were already involved in community activities. They acted as leaders for a children's horse group. They did not belong to other groups because they did not like "politics" in the groups (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 5). On the other hand Patsy and John spoke often and with warmth about their new neighbors and friends. The next few statements were just a few of the many made by the Besters in the course of the interviews.

Patsy--We made friends out here so fast . . . people are so willing to help. (Interview, Family 4, 8-3-82, p. 14)

John--We're probably as close to any of the people here as we were with our one neighbor who was right across the driveway from us. [Referring to their best friend in their last house.] (Interview, Family 4, 8-3-82, p. 3)

Patsy--Since we've been out here, there is no doubt in my mind . . . you know you need your neighbor and you may need him fast and you're just closer . . . (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 6)

They stated that their goals for the future include finishing the house and making it as comfortable as possible for the girls to come back to and for their own retirement. Patsy seemed to have a great deal of pride in what they have accomplished and she indicated what this effort meant to the family.

If Kelly leaves and never comes back, she's got roots . . . stability . . . she's got it and Milly's got it and we've given it to them. (Interview, Family 4, 5-20-84, p. 9)

Family 7 - The Hall Family

The Hall's major dissatisfaction is related to the proximity of a subdivision to their farm. This created difficulty in the running and expansion of the farm, one of Mr. Hall's main goals. The kitchen was mentioned as a source of dissatisfaction to Mrs. Hall; the size and layout inhibit food preparation. Both the adults valued the house and it provided the main reason for staying in their present location. Both adults had indicated that the preservation of their house was a long-term goal.

Alan and Julie Hall were in their mid-thirties. They had three daughters, nine, six and two and a half years of age. Alan ran a large agricultural operation with over 800 acres in crop farming and 85 head of dairy cattle. He also had a side business selling wood chips. Julie worked in the home and was very involved with her church as a pianist and organist.

The Halls originally bought the farm in 1977. The house on the property was a large, white victorian structure and was about 115 years old. It had over 5,000 square feet of floor space. The house was in bad shape when they first bought it. Julie stated, "I just cried when I first saw it." (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 1) Alan described the house in the following manner.

This house was a total wreck, in fact it was so bad my wife wouldn't move into it . . . the guy had lived here 20 years and never done a thing to it. In fact, the people that lived here just before we

bought the place . . . had cats and dogs in here and they weren't potty trained . . . there was even a billy'goat in here and there was writing all over the wall . . . it was really rough. (Interview, Family 7, 10-10-82, p. 17)

Alan and Julie worked on the house for a year before they moved in. Alan described the work done.

We went through and repainted the house, fixed all the broken windows, put new storm windows on it, insulated it, put a new roof on it and redid the whole downstairs and upstairs. (Interview, Family 7, 10-10-82, p. 17)

Julie indicated that it was liveable when the "carpet was down and the wallpaper in" (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 1).

The house is actually divided up into two household spaces. Most of the house is used by the Halls. Alan's grandmother lives in a duplex on one side of the first floor.

Both Julie and Alan had developed a strong attachment to the house. Even though the Halls were interviewed independently they spoke of the historic roots of the house. It seemed as if part of their attachment is based on their efforts to preserve it. Julie mentioned that people tried to get them to lower the ceilings or modify the house in other ways but both the Halls resisted this. Alan stated: "Just love it the way it is; I wish I had the money to go through and maybe do it a little better" (Interview, Family 7, 10-10-82, p. 20). Part of Julie's appreciation

of the house was based on her stated belief that "they could never replace" this house (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 10).

When Julie talked about the house and the family she indicated that she tries to make it a special environment for her family.

I want things nice. . . . I've gone into a lot of people's homes . . . I've seen a lot of kids' rooms . . . nothing matches, maybe there's no carpet on the floor . . . it'll be just a real small, square, little room that it's just nothing . . . I guess I just wanted things to coordinate, I want bedspread and curtains to match, I want nice little things in there that they would like to use. They each have a little desk in their rooms . . . I'm real proud of my house . . . my kids are so proud of their rooms. (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 7)

The Halls attempted to segregate business and family spaces in the house to a certain extent. This had not always met with success, and in some cases was later found to be undesirable. For example, Julie indicated that Alan's office has been moved three times. The first time the office was in another part of the house with a separate entrance. Julie stated that Alan didn't care for this arrangement in the wintertime because he wanted to be closer to the family. They next tried it upstairs but Julie indicated that it was unacceptable to have men walking through the house to go upstairs to the office. At the time of the interview the office was near the kitchen and just off the back door but Julie mentioned that the space was too small for Alan and the office will be moved again.

Julie also indicated that Alan did a lot of work in the living room while watching television with the family.

Segregation was attempted with household workspaces also. The laundry had also moved several times in the six years they had lived in the house; at the time of the interview it was upstairs. In the future the Halls would like to open up the rest of the house and provide a special place for Julie's musical instruments. Her piano and organ were observed to be in the dining room. Julie stated that these changes will be accomplished when Alan's grandmother is no longer living with them.

The ability to segregate spaces and people in the house is one of the things that Julie liked best about the house. She stated that she "can escape" to her bedroom and not hear the rest of the family when she needs time alone (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 8).

As the Halls have become more attached to the house their implied satisfaction with the rest of the property had decreased. Alan stated he is having trouble getting loans to expand his operations. He stated the main reason to be his proximity to residential neighbors; their farm borders on a small subdivision only yards away from his barnyard. He does not think the Right-To-Farm law protects him.

But where I have my problems with the Right-To-Farm law is getting money to build anything here . . . I can't get a new barn. They say well maybe you have the right to farm now, if they

throw a big enough stink, maybe in five years or ten years they can run you out . . . they've suggested that I move out of here, don't expand anything here . . . (Interview, Family 7, 10-10-82, p. 16)

Julie stated there are also problems with dogs from the nearby subdivisions attacking their cows. Many of the residents in the subdivision allowed their dogs to run loose and the Halls have had several incidents with them. Still Julie indicated that their attachment to the house was holding them back.

In fact, there's a lot of times the farming hasn't worked out back here, we needed to have a different dairy set up, places didn't want to lend you money because of all the houses over here . . . and we really should have looked someplace else for our farm. The only thing that made us not want to move is our house. We would go in a minute if it wasn't for this house. (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 10)

Most of Julie's community interaction is accomplished through the church she belonged to. The Halls sent their two oldest daughters to the Christian school held at the church. Julie indicated that next year the girls will go back to public school because of the high cost of the tuition at the church school. Julie stated that she would prefer to send her children to the Christian school because she believed the public school environment was not as good as the church school setting.

I really didn't want my kids going there . . . I know there's a lot of trouble with drugs and this one guy taught . . . he had an attitude . . . he didn't like

kids, only doing it for the money and only sticking it out till his retirement . . . I just didn't want those kind of people training my child. (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 4)

Julie stated that she likes the new development in the community including the restaurants and the new shopping mall. She realized that her satisfaction with the new development might conflict with other family goals. "I suppose for the farm it's not necessarily good, there's a lot more traffic." (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 11)

In summary the Halls had somewhat conflicting goals. On the one hand Julie and Alan have tried to create a special environment for their family; it seemed that they saw the house as fulfilling many of their individual goals of providing business and living space. They also voiced a strong value for preserving the house. On the other hand they reported that their farming operation suffered because of the proximity to a residential subdivision. Julie indicated that their attachment for the house had kept them in an unsatisfactory farming environment.

Family 15 - The Calvin Family

The goals and values of the Calvins were closely related to the continuation of the family and the farm with special emphasis on the goals for children. Interaction with children frequently took place in the working atmosphere of the farm. The adults expressed the desire to have both children go to college. Afterwards they would like to see them decide to stay on the farm.

Their home was used for a variety of activities, many seem to overlap into more than one domain. The dining room was used for most business activities and also used for meals and visits; sometimes more than one activity occurred at the same time.

Jerry and Mo Calvin were in their mid-thirties. They had two children; Harry is 14 and Mary is eleven. They were living on an 80 acre farm that included a white, two story house, a large wood and stone barn and a smaller shed-type outbuilding. Jerry and Mo also worked Jerry's father's 320 acre farm and dairy. It's located about a mile away from their present home.

Jerry was originally from the township. Mo is originally from a city in Florida; they met one spring while Jerry was vacationing and married several months later.

When Jerry was growing up he did not think that he wanted to go into farming, partially because of his allergies to some of the crops. After high school he worked at a factory job in town. When his father retired, Jerry took over the running of the dairy operation at his parents' farm.

Jerry and Mo moved into their house in 1972. Prior to that they had lived with Jerry's parents for three years. Mo described it as "hairy" and "bad" (Family 15, 4-26-84, p. 2). Jerry thought that the farm was bought "out of necessity" (Interview, Family 15, 10-10-82, p. 2). "One of them either-or situations." (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84,

p. 24) At one point Mo mentioned that she had threatened to leave Jerry if they didn't move but she laughed as she told the story (Interview, Family 15, 4-26-84, p. 3).

They had looked for houses in town. Jerry mentioned why he did not like any of these homes.

I guess being close to other houses . . . that's the biggest thing. Didn't want to live in town, didn't want to drink city water. That's nasty. (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 23)

When the house went up for sale Mo indicated that they bought it because "it was close [to the dairy], first one that came up in the neighborhood" (Interview, Family 15, 4-26-84, p. 3).

When Jerry and Mo moved into the house there were quite a few difficulties with the existing structure. Jerry reported making several changes with the electrical, water and sewage systems which had to be completed before they could obtain insurance on the place. For a year they lived with two overhead lights and one electrical outlet that worked. Still Mo indicated that it was a "pleasure" to move into it (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 27). Later work included tearing down plaster and installing new wall surfaces, painting and wallpapering. In order to save energy new windows and insulation were added to the house. In the last year a wood-burning stove had been added. Most of these changes have been accomplished by the two of them. For some things like the windows they hired help to put them

in. Mo indicated that she desired these changes more than Jerry.

The most used room in the house was the dining room. It was furnished with a diversity of items representing some of these uses. To suggest a few of its uses: an upright piano was evident flanking the arched opening into the living room. Directly opposite the piano a filing cabinet and a wooden bookcase stood. An aerial view of the farm hung on the wall over the filing cabinet. At the other end of the room several folding chairs were leaning against the wall. An armchair and small end table were positioned in front of the folding chairs. A credenza was positioned in one corner; the top held several piles of papers. In the very center of the room was a table with five chairs.

During my own return visits I was always led to the dining room table. It turned out that many formal and informal visits ended up at the table. When asked how the room was used Mo stated the following.

Probably as much for business as we do for family, we do all our figuring right here at the table. The men come in, everybody sits down, Jerry and I discuss . . .
(Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 19)

The dining room acted as a business center for the farm, a place for children's homework and an entertainment spot for family and friends. Mo indicated that the dining room was as much a business place as a family meal place and the uses at times conflicted.

The house was furnished with an eclectic mix of furniture and almost everything had been purchased at auctions. Mo stated that both she and Jerry like old things, and she hated to see furniture discarded or otherwise wasted. Mo also spoke of an attraction to its "character," her appreciation is tied to its practical aspects and she likes to imagine how it was used.

We were talking about that rolltop desk . . . I don't know what it is but it's got character, maybe, a feeling . . . like . . . I could imagine . . . it's got the wings that hinge where they had those great big books, where they opened up, it had to work at a night job, train station maybe. (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 17)

When asked if she was dissatisfied with any part of the house Mo stated "no". Later she indicated that the kitchen could use some storage space. While completing the floor plan Mo stated "we sleep in this little biddy room that you have to cross the bed to cross the room" (Interview, Family 15, 4-26-84, p. 11). When asked specifically if this caused dissatisfaction, Mo indicated that it didn't. Mo indicated that the room was used "only for sleeping" (Interview, Family 15, 4-26-84, p. 25).

Even though Jerry and Mo indicated that they are very satisfied with the house they are somewhat ambivalent about it. Jerry was waiting to move back to his parents home when it becomes available. He indicated a definite attachment to the other house and does not feel the same way about his present home. "I'd always lived at home . . .

moving away from home was . . . its just not my house . . . this will never be my house" (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 24). Mo expected to move to Jerry's parent's house but spoke of the convenience for the dairy business rather than an emotional attachment to the structure.

The outside space was strongly valued by Mo, she indicated that it was her favorite thing about their home. The children both had outdoor hobbies; Harry had a motorcycle and Mary had a horse.

The farm and house were very much integrated for family interaction. One of the most important places for this activity was the dairy barn. The whole family participated in the afternoon milking. Mo indicated that she even took the kids when they were babies. This was related to a value for family involvement in the farming.

You know to work at something that you both enjoy, this type of work . . . I used to be a nurse, and I really like that. I probably could go back to it now but if you're going to farm I think it has to be a family thing. (Interview, Family 15, 10-10-82, p. 15)

Mo and Jerry would like their children to stay in farming but realize that the decision is theirs. Financial arrangements have already been made so "they'll be able to walk into it if they want." (Interview, Family 16, 5-1-84, p. 14) Mo Calvin stated that she would like them to go to college before that time.

Both the adults indicated that the country is a good place to raise children. In an earlier interview Jerry put it this way.

I think a lot of kids start gettin' into trouble when they don't have things to do . . . he's got the motorcycle and Mary's got a horse . . . that takes a lot of their time and we're trying to get them 4-H now. As long as there are leaders around to help these kids that's in the county . . . that's going to help an awful lot. I really feel sorry for kids that's in the city.
(Interview, Family 15, 10-10-82, p. 21)

The Calvins participated in few formal community organizations other than their church. They had a strong informal friendship network however. On every occasion when I was in their home, neighbors would come over to the house and the phone would ring several times during the interviews. These activities were strongly encouraged by both adults in the household. For Mo these visits "take up for family not being there" (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 5). For Jerry the best thing about where he lives was his "lifetime friends" (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 31). When we were discussing what was important in a home, Mo spoke of comfort for family and company being equally important.

Family 20 - The Figer Family

The Figers had a strong value for their surrounding property. The property maintained a cushion of space around them and separated them from their neighbors. The Figers had a value for community support and interaction. This was demonstrated through their interest in township organizations and activities. It also provided resources

for themselves and their children who are both grown. Both children indicated the desire to stay and build a new home or live in existing buildings on the property.

Dissatisfaction in the present home related to the floor plan. Goals in the future included building a new home back in the woods on their land and maintaining the land the way it is.

Bill and Margaret Figer appeared to be in their forties; both were township natives. They met during high school and later married. Both Bill and Margaret were employed in a nearby town at the time of the interview. Bill was a journeyman machinist and Margaret worked for a doctor. They had two adult children. Their son Rob was 23 and lived at home. Their daughter Fran was 24 and lived with her husband and child in a house on the Figer's property.

They moved into their present home in 1960, about a year after their marriage. One acre of land was purchased from Bill's father and was part of the original family homestead. Later they acquired an additional 24 acres of family land from Bill's mother.

Bill reported that he built most of this house with the exception of the foundation. The original house contained two bedrooms but after their son and daughter were born, Mr. Figer added a bedroom and bath to one end of the house. When talking about the house and any problems with the space Bill indicated that they just fix it.

"I think nothing of moving a wall." (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 21) For example, both Margaret and Bill talked about how small the kitchen was. In an attempt to add more space Bill built a recessed cubicle for the refrigerator. Unfortunately when he opened up the wall he found all the household wiring. Bill stated he just "rewired half the house" in order to accommodate the refrigerator (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 22).

According to the Figers, the most used room in the house is the living room. This room also produced the most frustration for them. As Bill indicated, "All the traffic goes through the living room" (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 21). Bill indicated that when the room was used for entertaining it was disruptive to have people walking through. This problem was mentioned several times in the interview and Bill stated that any attempt to adjust it "would be a major, major change" (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 21).

The Figers were planning to build another home in the future for their retirement. They stated that it would be about the same size as their present home but the floor plan would be different and the house would sit further in on their property. Mr. and Mrs. Figer differed in their ideas and preferences for the new home. Margaret described how flexible an open floor plan is while Bill stated he wanted the house in "zones" for sleeping and other activities.

separate, closed-off bedroom due to the fact I work nights. During the day if people are here I've got to be someplace else where I can sleep. (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 20)

Both Mr. and Mrs. Figer discussed the need to plan their next home carefully. They talked about how "naive" they were when planning their present home, and how they had to add to the house very shortly after it was built (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 1). They said it is important to plan for the future with any home. When interviewed they were considering their future health status and the implications this could have for their future housing. They also discussed how inadequate their present home would be in the event of a disability.

This house would be absolutely impossible to live in if one of us ended up in a wheelchair. The doorways are so narrow. (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 21)

The surrounding property was the main topic of conversation in the original interviews. Seventeen acres of the land was in woods. Bill was very emphatic about keeping the land as is with no changes. When asked about this possibility he responded.

No way! I like the woods too much . . . I love animals, period . . . I like nothing better than to look out in the yard and see squirrels playing and the rabbits running around and the deer playing . . . (Interview, Family 20, 5-7-83, p. 15)

There were several indications of the importance of woods and trees to Bill. In the original interview he told

of leasing a right-of-way through his property to an oil company. At one point in time crews came in and widened the right-of-way beyond the agreed upon width.

Originally it was a forty foot right-of-way through the woods . . . while we was gone, they had permission to come in and clean the right-of-way, which means remove the brush on the forty foot strip. When I got home and sit down here and had my coffee, I could hear chain saws. I went over there and looked, and flew in a rage and I've got a lawsuit against them right now. They cut 106 trees they had no business to cut. It looks like a giant freeway through there now. (Interview, Family 20, 5-7-83, p. 13)

After the incident Bill made an attempt to replace the trees that had been removed. He expressed an interest in learning how to better manage his woods in the future.

The other seven acres were used for the house and entertainment purposes. Bill stated that he keeps it mowed. It was shared with members of the neighborhood and friends.

We use it mainly, the kids play out there, the neighbor kids have ball games . . . every now and then friends get together, bring their rigs in, have a campfire out there some nights . . . just for private entertainment. (Interview, Family 20, 5-7-83, p. 2)

As important as nature and the ability to entertain were to the Figers, their chief reason for keeping the property was related to the preference to surround themselves with space. Mrs. Figer explained it this way.

I guess my feeling is, if you don't want people that close then you're going to have to do what we did, just buy land to surround you. . . . Nowadays you're just

going to have to buy land to give yourself the space because the town is coming to us . . . is how we feel and that's exactly why we bought the land . . . it wasn't the sentiment or anything like that . . . the houses were getting so close that we wanted a little space around us. (Interview, Family 20, 5-7-83, p. 20-21)

The Figers have always been very involved with the community. According to Bill, when their children were growing up they participated in 4-H, scouts, the little league and other organizations. In both interviews they mentioned supporting the volunteer fire department and the schools. In 1984 they were still involved in community organizations, but without formal affiliation. In the following passage Bill discussed the Grange and his unofficial involvement.

Our lives have gone a different way then that so we dropped out . . . It's a good organization, we do participate in a lot of things that they do yet; dinners, sporting things . . . after we dropped out, when they were getting ready to build [a new grange hall] I went and worked with the crew several days and I wasn't even a member then . . . it was done by community effort. (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 15)

Margaret agreed with the importance of involvement in the community and talked of the "community feeling" generated by church and township involvement by rural residents (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 15).

The Figers stated that they are surprised that their children have stayed so close to home. They indicated that they did not try to influence their children to stay. In

fact, they speak of the need for privacy and noninterference. As Bill stated, "We have our lives and they have theirs."

(Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 11) Their son, Rob, was present at one of the interviews and he indicated that his reasons for staying are related to the friendships he had made in the township and the attachment he had for the property.

The family interacted frequently; much of the interaction was based on work. The other house on the property was currently being remodeled. The daughter and her husband were living there at the time of the interview. The Figers' son stated he would like to live there in the future. All the remodeling decisions were made as a family according to Bill. This house came up in conversation in both the early and the later interview. Bill grew up in the house and his mother lived in it till her death. Later his daughter and her husband moved in and they will stay until they build a house on the property. Finally Rob wanted to settle permanently in the house and raise a family there.

Family 21 - The Ghost Family

Even though Mrs. Ghost was a widow who lived alone, she and the residence she lived in represent a family in the historic sense. Much of the discussion we had together was based on events of the past. Family involvement was still very important to Mrs. Ghost and the small farm she lived on had links to the past when she and her husband farmed;

and links to the future, when she hoped to have her son buy the farm. The possibility of her son buying the farm was more remote at the time of our interviews and Mrs. Ghost had tried to make a decision to sell the farm and move to a nearby city to be closer to her children. The decision of whether to move or not was based on her concern over keeping up the farm. She was aware of her limitations.

Mrs. Ghost appeared to be a woman in her early seventies and she had lived in her present home for 47 years. Mrs. Ghost originally moved into the house after her husband bought the 110 acre farm from his mother. Mrs. Ghost stated that in the beginning the family operation was very diversified but it gradually evolved into production of cash crops and dairy products. This continued until her husband's death in 1970.

When she moved into the house it "wasn't much" (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 1). Gradually they improved it by adding electricity in the late 30s, a new oil furnace and finally plumbing; a bathroom and kitchen in 1951.

Mrs. Ghost discussed how the house was used when her family was growing up. The dining and kitchen area were used the most by the family; children could do homework and play games at the table. Sunday nights the family would gather and listen to the radio. Most of the time during the interviews Mrs. Ghost was reticent in her responses. However, when we discussed the dining room and how it was

used in the past, Mrs. Ghost gave elaborate details including descriptions of the pantry, shelves, table and stove. It seemed as if this room was the heart of the house, both literally and figuratively. One of the most important items in the room was her wood-burning cook stove. Mrs. Ghost described how things would simmer during the day, bread would be kept warm on a back shelf. In fact she stated that she was sorry she had sold the stove when they remodeled the house and she reported that she missed it. She stated that her "sister still had one and I'd give anything to have one again" (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 2).

Mrs. Ghost stated that the house had changed little since 1951. The first floor had a living room, dining room, kitchen, bath and bedroom. This was the main living space for Mrs. Ghost. There were also two bedrooms upstairs that were used for storage purposes. She reported that the place she spent the most time was her chair in the living room.

Mrs. Ghost indicated that she had lived in the same community her entire life. She stated that she and her husband were actively involved with the larger township and the surrounding neighborhood. Her husband was on the township board, and she was involved with 4-H and the Ladies Aid Society. She was still a member of the local Methodist church.

Neighbors served as the most important source of social experience. In the past this interaction was an

economic necessity as well as a social preference. Mrs. Ghost stated that six to eight families used to exchange work for threshing and filling silos. During this time two women would get together to cook and feed the men. Mrs. Ghost felt that this was a "lot of fun" (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 15).

Mrs. Ghost indicated that a great deal of informal visiting took place also, especially during the winter months. Families would visit back and forth two or three times a week. In addition neighborhood card parties were frequently held on weekends. Mrs. Ghost is still friendly with nearby neighbors; they still visit back and forth and share produce from their gardens. She had not noticed a great deal of turnover in land ownership in her area, development had not been a problem. If she were to move Mrs. Ghost thinks she would "really miss her neighborhood" (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 10).

The most important feature of the land was a lake that was contiguous with her property and a neighbor's property. It was totally landlocked by their private property and there was no public access. Just as the dining room was an important indoor space for the family, the lake represents an important outdoor interaction space. When her husband was alive Mrs. Ghost recalls having three to four large picnics a summer for family and friends. It was still used by the family. Her daughter came and camped by the lake on weekends. Her son used it for ice fishing during

the winter. Mrs. Ghost still used the lake also. "It's about a half mile, seems about like that, I walk down there a lot when I exercise" (Interview, 4-28-84, p. 4).

At the time of the interview Mrs. Ghost was thinking of selling the farm and moving to a nearby city, near her son and daughter. Her attachment to the lake was holding her back.

Well, I really would like to get me an apartment or something in [a nearby city], that's really where I'd like to go . . . but . . . I hate to sell the farm. For one reason, we have a lake on the farm and all my kids, grandkids and all love that lake. I guess I'm being selfish, I don't want to part with that lake. (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 3)

Part of her attachment to the lake was influenced by her husband's love for it, " . . . cause my husband was, he just thought the world of that lake, and he was really proud of it" (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 3).

At one point her son expressed a desire to buy the farm and run it. He had recently married for the second time and the move back to the farm was less of a possibility. Mrs. Ghost also does not think the grandchildren would be interested in buying the farm. A few have grown to adulthood and moved to places out of state. Mrs. Ghost was pragmatic about this but she became tearful when she mentioned how important continuity is to the family.

I think they have to go where the work is.
 I think they prefer to live here . . .
 they'll be back. I can't blame them . . .
 gotta . . . go where the work is . . . I
 think they miss family life . . . they make
 friends but its not like family.
 (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 14)

Mrs. Ghost was considering a move to an apartment in town. Her reasons for moving were based on her awareness of her future limitations. She would like a ground floor apartment near a shopping area "close enough to get to the store when I can't drive" (Interview, 4-28-84, p. 10). Still there were parts of her lifestyle that she would miss very much including gardening and walking around the lake.

The days that she thought about moving were usually days when things went wrong.

. . . last three to four years, he's been gone 14 years. I have days I wish I was someplace else. . . When I need help to start the lawnmower and there's no one here. Last year a renter put corn too close to the neighbor's fence where the neighbor had cattle. They stuck their heads thru the fence to get the corn and ruined the fence. I'm waiting for him to fix it, I haven't heard from him, it's times like that I think I shouldn't be here, life gets complicated nowadays.
 (Interview, Family 21, 4-28-84, p. 13)

When Mrs. Ghost spoke about selling her land she had definite preferences for what happens to the land; she would like it to "stay just like it is" (Interview, 4-28-84, p. 12). She felt especially concerned about the lake; in the past developers did try to build on it when the other farmer sold his portion. She indicated that the lake was too small

for development. She would like to see the land remain in farming and worried that a land use change might adversely affect nearby farmers.

In conclusion Mrs. Ghost's appreciation of her place was strongly tied to the pleasant memories she had in the house and the lake. The lake also had positive meaning for her because of its link with her late husband. Mrs. Ghost had been thinking about selling the property for some time, she had always hoped that her son would buy it but that seems an unlikely possibility. Mrs. Ghost also thought she was less able to do the necessary tasks around the property and would like to find a more manageable living situation for her possible future limitations. At the time of the interview she seemed to be influenced by her warm, affective ties to the property and her perception that she would be unable to perform jobs she felt were necessary to keep it up.

CHAPTER IV

INTEGRATION OF THE FIVE FAMILY CASE STUDIES WITH THE PHASE ONE INTERVIEWS

Goals

It became evident that satisfactions and dissatisfactions with residence fell into two types. There were satisfactions and dissatisfactions that were readily apparent and salient; respondents spoke about these with ease. Often the dissatisfactions of this type were temporarily or permanently uncorrectable from the view of the household members. Correction took the form of simple structural adjustments or in the most extreme case it could mean moving to a new house or property. The other types of satisfactions and dissatisfactions were largely ignored or seldom thought of; these would only be revealed when triggered by a random comment or when reporting behavior. Sometimes during the interview the discussion would come around to part of the house or property and a subtle satisfaction or dissatisfaction would emerge.

Morris and Winter (1978) stated that satisfaction with an attribute of the residence is tied to how important the attribute is to the functioning of the family. If a portion of the environment is important to the goals of the

family it has a greater chance of incurring satisfaction or dissatisfaction. In the interviews it seemed people could talk about what was or was not important to the family, while satisfactions and dissatisfactions were secondary formulations based on the importance of these items. It seemed that the family or the individual had explicit or tacit goals that were considered and then the objective residential characteristics were evaluated as conforming or not to these goals.

Goals were as common and ordinary as needing a place to do laundry or as significant as promoting family cohesiveness. The families did not talk about goals being related to satisfaction. This was suggested by the manner in which dissatisfactions were discussed. It seemed the underlying reason for dissatisfaction was related to some salient purpose, goal, value or intention.

Values and goals have been discussed in family systems literature. Melson (1980) described the "family as a set of interrelated roles, changing with time and actively pursuing goals" (p. 4). In this same work values are defined as having "an 'ought' character that guides personal actions, provides standards for reaching decisions and resolving conflicts, justifies behavior, and maintains self-esteem" (Melson, 1980, p. 100). It is suggested that goals are formed, acted on, adjusted, discarded or renewed over the lifetime of the family or individual. The goals are formed by attitudes, values and meanings that family members

bring to the residential situation. In some cases one member's goal takes precedence over others.

Values and goals are believed to be learned in the family and influenced by experience. Morris and Winter (1978) discuss the concept of 'norms' or values as mediators of satisfaction.

In order to clarify the remainder of the discussion two definitions will be added. Goals will be defined as the endpoint of an effort toward fulfillment of some objective or desire. Values are defined as cognitive and affective formulations that guide family standards related to the residence. The cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions that formed the basis for the study framework remain important in the formation of questions and the analysis of data.

In the following case studies the implicit goals and values related to satisfaction will be highlighted as well as any overt statements of dissatisfaction. A short discussion of each of the five families follows. Emphasis will be placed on goals or values mentioned by the families as being important to their household and their place of residence.

Goals from the Five Case Studies

During the analysis several family goals in relation to the place of residence became apparent. While each family had individual goals relating to their own unique

situations some of the goals could be categorized under a broader conceptual goal. Three goals that appeared repeatedly in several families will be discussed. The first goal is for a sense of belonging, related to a feeling of mutual attachment between a group, family, community or environment. This goal emerged from earlier statements that were coded under family topics and meanings, attitudes, values. The goal of belonging emerged from statements that could be coded under several categories. The second goal relates to environmental competency in behaviors or cognition related to rural living. Competency was discovered in the statements about self-sufficiency and energy usage. It was also a theme that emerged from the Ghost interview when we discussed Mrs. Ghost's desire to move. The third goal relates to control over aspects of the residential place. Control statements were easily found in the interview transcripts, several respondents made a connection between their residential choice and control over some aspect of the environment. The next section of the analysis will mention examples from the five family case studies and then present supporting information from the larger phase one collection of interviews.

Belonging

The goal of belonging was reminiscent of the affective portion of the satisfaction model presented on page 16. In some ways this concept relates to Seamon's (1979) concept of 'At Homeness' or Hayward's (1974)

mention of home as a 'locus in space.' Belonging refers to an emotional bond to a family, a social group, a community or other environment. This bond is reinforced by interactions with the environment of attachment. In the Bester family belonging is reinforced by the family working together to build a home in a new area. The Calvin family also had a strong work pattern to their belonging. Mrs. Calvin reported the main family interaction place is the dairy barn when all family members are working together.

Continuity

There seemed to be a value for continuity in four out of the five families interviewed in the second phase of this study. The Calvins promoted future belonging by letting their children know that there was a place for them on the farm when they reach adulthood. The Besters had planned their home so they could close off sections when their children leave home and open them up again when they return. The Figers spent considerable time with their children fixing up the house Bill grew up in. This house would then be passed from their daughter to their son. Mrs. Ghost had difficulty making a decision to sell the farm because she had always expected her son to buy it. She hated to let go of the lake and other places with strong family memories.

The value for continuity was voiced in the original interviews also. One man mentioned that he "bought the farm to settle the estate . . . kind of keep it in the

family: (Interview, Family 5, 8-4-82, p. 8). Another woman spoke of their intentions for the farm.

If something happens to both of us . . .
the farm is not to be sold, its to be
preserved but it can only be sold as a
last ditch effort, financially . . .
if the kids can't keep it up. (Interview,
Family 1, 6-30-82, p. 32)

Identification

The concept of identification is viewed as a component of belonging. By identification the person perceives himself or herself as similar or sharing characteristics in common with the group or environment of attachment. A concept of belonging also includes positive associations such as those described by Seamon (1979). This warm identification suggests a temporal component. A person belongs to the environment now and in the future; belonging is not accomplished spontaneously but is developed over time as this quote from one of the original case studies suggests.

I don't know that I can blame the other people any more than maybe ourselves. As newcomers, you don't go out as much, and maybe the other ones don't come in as much to you. But very strangely, I think it was probably like a year and a half, two years before we truly became acquainted with the neighborhood. And in the community as a whole. I think even now [9 years] we're realizing how little we know. There's a lot about this community that is very much of . . . people that have lived here all their lives and their families lived here and their families lived here, and I know we go to the . . . Methodist church up here which is our home away from home, believe me . . . but we're kind of almost an

outsider in that we're not a relative of anybody, pretty near everybody else is relatives. (Interview, Family 19, 4-30-83, p. 7)

Group Identity

This cognition of belonging sometimes limited the perception of the respondents and revealed inaccuracies. For example, both rural residents that were farmers and residents that were not farmers spoke about how everybody did the same thing or believed the same way. When Mrs. Calvin was asked what she liked best about the community she responded, "I don't know, because it's farming, everyone's in the same business" (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 6). Another person from a nonfarming family talked about their attitudes being similar to those of their neighbors.

They didn't like another house being built and we don't like the same thing that they didn't like. You don't like to see it turn into a suburb. But the nice part about it, really, the kind of people that move out here are kind of the same type. They want privacy, so nobody bothers you, and yet everybody would be right there if you needed anything. (Interview, Family 18, 4-30-83, p. 4)

Definitions of belonging differ from person to person. In the above quote, non-belonging seems to be the accepted form of belonging unless help is needed. Others use more stringent definitions for which people belong including family, lifelong friends or others in the same employment situation. The following segment of an interview

took place with a couple from a southern state who had lived in the township for 18 years.

Interviewer (I): Was it easy for you to come back here? Has it been well accepted or are you still newcomers?

Husband (H): Oh well, we don't feel like newcomers now because we know everybody just around, mostly farmers.

Wife (W): There has been new houses built, but we don't know who lives there, but we know car when it goes up and down the road. But I feel that everybody else tends to their business and I will mine.

I: So you don't try to get to know the newcomers?

W: Not real good. I'll speak to them and talk to them. I met a girl two weeks ago that lives around the corner here and I knew who she was but to meet her I didn't know her. We met her at a reception, at a wedding. I said "I understand you're my neighbor." and she said "yeah, we just live around the corner from each other." They've been there what, probably eight or ten years and I never saw her before.

I: Quite a difference from where you grew up, isn't it?

W: Yes, because where we grew up everybody knew everybody, you know, because we were born and raised there. (Interview, Family 10, 10-9-82, p. 8)

Non-Belonging

For some there was no cognition of belonging to this place or township, other affiliations were formed instead. One woman discussed her experience after living in the township for nine years.

The one thing was tough . . . I come from the city and for me . . . and still we are friendly with our neighbors but we

do not see one another unless you happen to run into one another. The people across the road I know I could call on them for anything, but I do not consider it real warm. There was no effort when we came, not one neighbor came to the door and said "Hi, welcome" . . . when we first moved here I was six months pregnant, I had two little, tiny kids, I did not have a car. We only had one vehicle and you know there was a lot of loneliness then. That's when I wanted my neighbors, you know. But not anymore, I think we like our isolation . . . We still consider ourselves part of [nearby medium sized city], whether it's for instance the merger situation or whether it's a balloon championship or the ethnic festival or whatever I would say we include ourselves in that. Now we are not active in the township government or any of the township activities . . . (Interview, Family 13, 10-9-82, p. 15)

Environmental Belonging

People can also have a sense of belonging in an environment. This relates closely with Proshansky's concept of Place Identity (1978) or Tuan's goal of Topophilia (1974). It is also the case that a person can feel discomfort in environments where he or she felt they did not belong. Jerry Calvin was uncomfortable in a city environment and his distaste extended even to the taste of the water available in the city. Mr. Figer stated "six weeks in the city cures anybody" (Interview, Family 16, 5-7-83, p. 8).

Often in the interviews strong feelings would be expressed about the attachment to the land and why the person thought he or she belonged.

I grew up in the city of [medium size] 18 years. I spent time with my grandparents over by [another city] on 16 mile road when I was growing up. And I lived with

my uncle for about nine months to a year and I helped him farm but I love the country, I love outdoors, I'm an outdoors person. I like to hunt, and I like to fish. I like to see things grow. I like livestock. (Interview, Family 1, 6-30-82, p. 6)

Many of the individuals discussed a sense of belonging to the near environment including the house or the property, trees and lakes, or the community as in the cases of the Calvin, Figer and Ghost families. For two of the other families the belonging was more specific to the structure. In fact the Halls delayed moving from a poor farming location to a better site because of their attachment to the house. For the Besters many of the small details of the house brought intense satisfaction especially to the husband who designed the house. This is evident in the original case studies also. One man who had done extensive remodeling in his home described the construction of the original structure and included details of which he had no actual knowledge, not unlike Mo Calvin's thoughts about the rolltop desk. His thoughts about the structure were a combination of things he actually visualized such as pins in the wall, work he did on the house, feelings of pleasure, and events that he imagined taking place when the house was first built.

This was all pinned, wooden pins. The major structure is all wooden pins. Hardly any nails. It's . . . very gratifying to tear a place like this apart and see where there used to be doors and windows and . . . I think probably one time there was a loft over

here. . . I think there's a fireplace there, yeah an open fireplace . . . I'm quite sure this part is a hundred years old at least . . . It's all logs underneath here . . . but you go beyond this wall then you're into milled lumber. You know where they'd drug it to a sawmill and cut the wood out . . . a hundred percent of the framework in the house is probably right off the land.
(Interview, Family 1, 6-30-84, p. 13)

Tuan (1974) talked about the unselfconsciousness of interactions in the home environments. In the case of these interviews feelings of belonging were often difficult for longer term or native residents to articulate. After all, if a resident had lived in the same area all his or her life there is nothing to compare with the experience of belonging. Sometimes statements about belonging or attachment would emerge with difficulty or surprise from the respondent. In the Figer family an offhand remark by Bill was greeted with much laughter when his wife (both natives) pointed out the inconsistency of his remark with his behavior. The question immediately preceding this exchange asked if the family would like to instill meaning or attachment in the next house they build (on the same land the respondent has lived on his entire life).

Bill: That can be helpful or a hindrance, me, I've never been one to get that attached to material value for the simple reason anything can happen. Look at my backyard. My backyard looks like a bomb hit it. (A storm had blown down a large tree.) It's nice to get attached, I always been one, if you want to move on, move on . . .

Margaret: So we stay right here,
 (laughter) your actions or your thoughts?
 (Interview, Family 20, 5-4-84, p. 10)

Environmental Behaviors Promoting Belonging

Up to this point the examples have indicated emotional or affective, or cognitive bonds to the places people have lived. There is evidence of behaviors engaged in by individuals that reinforced belonging. Mr. Figer discussed the importance of belonging to an organization or at least supporting community organizations with time and resources.

The Besters believed it was important for families to perform physical labor together as well as work together in a more abstract sense. They felt that this imparted to children that they were important to the family as a whole. The Calvins also wished to suggest to their children that there was a place for them on the farm. In one of the original interviews one woman believed that working together and rural life go hand in hand.

But you know, I do really feel very strongly, that unless you're a family that you would like to do things together, you would not be happy. We do everything together. When we clean house, we clean house. When we mow yard, we mow yard. When we work in the garden, we work in the garden. Every once in a while there are some things I do and then he does. But I guess what I'm saying, rural life is a family life. And if your family isn't structured that . . . family life is not what you're going to be happy with, I

would also say you probably would not be happy with rural life. (Interview, Family 19, 4-30-84, p. 30)

Another family discussed the decision to give away food rather than sell it to reciprocate and reinforce belonging among neighbors.

We gave lots of raspberries away this spring to neighbors. We probably could sell some of that stuff but this is probably the nicest neighborhood I have ever lived in. Everybody is just real nice. If you need a hand, they will just be right there to help you. So if we have something extra we usually give it away. (Interview, Family 11, 8-3-82, p. 4-5)

In all these cases the environment supports the goal of belonging. There is an opportunity for the families to interact with each other and with the environment.

Competency

Competency is another goal that may be a little more difficult to discover because people did not readily discuss it. Competency refers to "the property or means of subsistence sufficient to furnish the necessities and conveniences of life, without superfluity" (Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language, 1976). Many people interviewed reported carrying out behaviors that provide food, fuel or shelter for their families. These behaviors were mentioned matter-of-factly and were not dwelt upon by the respondents themselves. These were often called self-sufficient behaviors, the term competency is

used in its place for two reasons. First, competency covers a wide assortment of behaviors from gardening for family food supply to building a home that the family will live in. On the one end of the continuum would be behaviors with a small investment of human or economic capital such as gardening. On the other end are behaviors that are extremely labor intensive and represent a significant outlay of capital, like building a home. In the case of building, some risk of capital loss is possible if a person is not qualified to do the work. So competency refers not only to the behavior performed, but also the self-confidence of the individual or family performing the behavior. This self-confidence extends to areas of family safety as well as family economics. Several of the families reported building wood stoves themselves. This indicated a certain amount of confidence that the final product is safe and effective.

Even though families did not say that they are satisfied that they had the competencies they needed to live in a rural area, there are some respondents that implied that being incompetent in the environment was cause for an adjustment in residence. One of the main reasons for Mrs. Ghost's desire to move off her farm was her perception that she was becoming less competent to handle it. The Figers are planning their possible future infirmities into their next home by designing a one story structure for when they could no longer climb stairs.

Without Superfluity

The phrase "without superfluity" in the Webster's (1976) definition has some meaning in the context of this study. In one case a respondent decided to keep a wood stove he had built out in the open; he had planned to move it out of sight, but had never quite gotten around to moving it.

A guy I worked with just talked me into building it so I built it and I was just, it looked pretty ugly, but I just set it here as a novelty. I thought I would set it near the furnace in the basement, probably and build a jacket on it and everything. Then it heated so well right here and somehow circulates so we just kept using that. (Interview, Family 11, 8-3-82, p. 12)

Several of the families interviewed built their homes themselves; in addition most of the families had performed major alterations or had participated to a major extent in the building or remodeling. In some cases this was an unself-conscious behavior. In one of the interviews the husband was somewhat confused when asked about his source of information when working on the house.

I: It's very interesting where people get information as to farming or remodeling houses and so forth. Where did you get your information?

H: Information?

I: How to do, what to do, what choices to make . . . ?

H: You don't do anything unless you just do it . . .

I: Trial and error would you say?

H: Yeah, I fly by the seat of my pants quite a bit. (Interview, Family 1, 6-30-84, p. 13-14)

The Bester family represented the other end of the spectrum, they put a tremendous amount of time and effort into the planning of their home, which was completely designed with all the finishes before the building began. This willingness to talk about the effort was the exception rather than the rule. In the Bester case it was to be expected since the family had just moved into their home. There were respondents that tossed off their efforts with a disclaimer as to the effort that had gone into the process.

This door didn't exist when we came (nine years ago). We have added two bedrooms and a bath upstairs. We haven't done a lot. This room was just a laundry room on the cement floor and we've made it into a family room. We have done some things but not a lot. (Interview, Family 13, 10-9-82, p. 10)

While most respondents did not discuss competency in themselves, they did discuss the importance of passing this trait down to their children. The Besters felt their daughters were very self-sufficient due to their working with them. One small scale farmer perceived that the environment teaches important lessons.

The main reason I guess that we are doing this is so the boys would grow up with a farm atmosphere . . . I thought they would learn good values and learn how to work and learn how to care for animals and learn responsibility. (Interview, Family 11, 8-3-82, p. 4-5)

One woman responded in a similar way. She links this learning to a sense of satisfaction when an adult.

You weren't born here [to her son] but you were raised here and it's been in my family over 100 years and there's a lot of work . . . there's just something about it, that they don't realize it as they're growing up but they learn an awful lot on a farm that they don't learn any other way. We can see that with our little grandsons . . . sure it's hard work but there's some day they will see the satisfaction of it. (Interview, Family 5, 8-4-82, p. 20)

Farming

An exception to the general trend of not discussing competency occurred with some of the farmers. Several of the farmers discussed skills related to farming that others in the same business could visually appreciate.

I always like to have a beautiful crop for decent recognition. Your plowing is the main thing. (Interview, Family 6, 8-4-82, p. 26)

Another farmer talked about his reaction to criticism from other farmers.

It's one of the most difficult things to live in a community, come into a community and live here and do the things we've done and have people make fun of us for doing things like bulldozing the hills off or changing the old dairy barn so it held 40 cows instead of six and all the things that go along with it and the field work, if they seem dumb and I do something different in the field, they make fun of me, you know, and that will get back to me and they don't know how that hurts. (Interview, Family 5, 8-4-82, p. 21)

One farmer defended himself when he was being teased by one of the interviewers.

I: How old are your children?

H: Neil is 14 and Jerry was 10 or 11
. . . 11 in June.

I: Oh, that's terrible . . . (laughter)
. . . you have to ask your wife how old
they are.

H: She can't tell me how many gelts are
going to come in tomorrow and next week,
that end of it. (Interview, Family 6,
8-4-82, p. 5)

Other farmers became upset with nonfarming
residents who thought that farming was simple and easy.
Mr. Hall related a story about selling calves to a nonfarmer,
and then indicated his opinion of this behavior.

Oh, right. You run into them. I mean that
is not the first ones I've sold, people just
do not know what's what and they don't know
anything about taking care of them. They
think just cause they got ten acres, they
say, well, how many cattle can I get on this
ten acres, you know. And you run into all
kinds of situations where people had known
nothing and just because they have moved out
in the country and they got ten acres and a
little, bitty barn, you know they think
they're going to start farming. (Interview,
Family 7, 10-10-82, p. 28)

Competency involved two dimensions: the stated
behaviors that people performed indicating competency and
the value people placed on being competent in their
environment.

Control

The third goal to be discussed as it relates to
residential satisfaction is control. This goal was alluded
to in all components of rural life and may be one of the
more important influences on residential satisfaction.

Control refers to the ability of an individual to maintain or alter a situation to personal desire. Some of the areas in which rural residents assert their satisfaction or dissatisfaction are housing, land use, privacy, territoriality and community offerings. Desire to have control is apparent in many of the statements made.

In the Hall family two of the spaces had been changed several times in order to control how the rest of the house was used. In both cases the rooms represented jobs performed by adult members of the household. One room was the laundry-sewing room. It was determined to be too messy to locate these activities in a room by the most used entrance because clothes were always spilling out onto the entry floor. Mr. Hall's office was moved several times also. In one instance it was moved from the second floor to the first floor to prevent people from walking through the family's living space.

Traffic flow caused by a poor floor plan was the most important source of dissatisfaction for the Figer family also. The main interaction space was always being intruded upon or interrupted by family members traveling through it to get to other rooms.

In the Bester family, Patsy wanted to control the type of interaction the family enjoyed at meals, especially dinner. In order to control visually against the sight of dirty dishes or the television, both dining spaces were enclosed and private.

In order to control the amount of money that was spent for energy purposes many families had made changes to their homes in the form of insulation and heating equipment. Virtually every family questioned replied that they had added insulation or that they were aware of how much insulation had been added. More striking are the number of families that had converted to wood-burning equipment; 13 of the 20 families were burning wood.

Control of Land Resources

Land resources were often connected to statements about control. Ownership and land rights were major topics of conversation for both farmers and nonfarmers, and in some cases the polarity of opinion was very obvious. Two themes seemed to emerge. First, there seemed to be satisfaction related to how the respondent viewed personal resources and how he or she used them. Secondly, the activities of others with regards to land use were sources of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The perception of control was evident in these discussions.

In the interviews it was apparent that appropriate land use rested in the eye of the beholder. The Besters were concerned about who might buy land bordering on their property if it were to be sold and talked of buying it themselves to prevent dissatisfaction later. Mrs. Ghost told of her effort to keep the lake on her property undeveloped.

The basic question of whether agricultural land should be developed into residential uses generated much discussion in the interviews.

Now there's some debate about that and I can remember back when we put that in, what we called the Custis farm down by [the] park. That was before [the] park was there. We thought that was going into a subdivision, so my idea was that that's fine if we have a subdivision. You have poor ground, that was really poor ground. That would be all right if they did make the subdivision but they didn't make it and that opened it up so that houses were built all over in a random fashion and there's a lot of land been lost because of that. That should not have happened. (Interview, Family 5, 8-4-82, p. 49)

The farmers were very vocal about how changing land use had affected them; land cost inflation, loss of prime agricultural land to development and difficulties in locating and utilizing land and economic resources were mentioned. Mr. Hall was especially concerned about this; he had difficulty obtaining money for farm improvements from loan agencies because of the proximity of his land to a subdivision. He was also hindered from buying land due to the increase in price.

There's been, oh say, 160, 240, probably 300 acres right up in here that's been developed out of good farm land. Just within the last seven or eight years . . . I'd like to buy this farm right across the road some day. But this guy's already sold off six or seven plots and that's all he's got in line for the rest of it. So you can't compete with that kind of prices. I tried it. I bought some land down here by the high school and I paid a terrific price for that and what there was, there was 160 acres in there that I was farming and it was all just as flat as

can be, you know, it grows good crops and I'd irrigate it right out of the creek and everything and you know, 40 of it came up for sale, I couldn't buy that so another farmer down in the southern township here bought that and then so the the other day he sold off, ten of his 40, you know he got \$4,500 an acre and you know he called up and wanted to know if I wanted to buy his 40 and I said, well, how much?" and he said \$4,500 an acre, I says, "I guess I'll pass it up today. So I lost that . . . but what can you do? How do you stop that? (Interview, Family 7, 10-10-82, p. 14)

Some residents believed that the house and land of others should conform to a certain appearance. For example, the Besters chose to live in this township because of the strict zoning requirements prohibiting "junk cars and stuff like that," (Interview, Family 4, 8-7-84, p. 1).

This concern about how the neighborhood looked was expressed by others in the original interviews too.

We bought the house across the road. Now I could kick myself because we owned that house over there. Well, I was broke and I felt that I had to sell it and I sold it to a young couple and pretty soon they got divorced. She's on welfare and that's where all the junk is thrown in the yard and everything else. So I did have control over it and I could have kicked myself but I should have burned it down. It's too late now. (Interview, Family 9, 10-11-82, p. 8)

On a community level the recent school millage caused a great deal of discussion; almost universally residents saw a need for the increase but were unhappy about the new tax rate. Several men who were interviewed indicated that this was due to mismanagement by the previous school administration. One of the respondents went over to

the school to review the budget. Another felt that he had tried to intervene earlier to help with future planning. There was a basic belief that if the school had been run in a more business-like manner there wouldn't have been a need for the large increase in taxes to support the school.

Respondents made expressive statements about their property that revealed the diversity of thoughts on personal land use. Several of the comments relate to satisfaction with the privacy or freedom to carry out private actions without interference. A few describe behaviors that they could engage in that may be viewed as unusual or unacceptable by others.

Freedom

Mr. Figer spoke of the freedom to discipline his children out of earshot of the neighbors. Another resident shared this view.

I think one thing from living out here, you can express yourself in a manner that maybe you wouldn't in the suburbs. Like if you're out in the yard and you feel like hollering at somebody, you can do that naturally and maybe it carries less weight or something. I don't know which, but you feel freer in that respect. You express yourself more honestly than you would in the suburbs where you would be on guard, you know, of who's going to hear you or see you. (Interview, Family 19, 4-30-83, p. 9)

Another respondent enjoyed the freedom to perform biological functions outside. As one said, "Do you want me to tell you . . . or what? I can go outdoors and take a leak. You can't do that in town." (Interview, Family 9,

10-11-82, p. 8). Another husband and wife (Family 19) described mowing their nine acres of land for recreation. It takes them several hours a week and they had two tractors that they used to mow. The wife described themselves as "crazy" to do this but she indicated what it is about this activity that she liked, "I can go out on my tractor and forget the rest of the world" (Interview, Family 19, 4-30-84, p. 34).

Children

The goal of control was not limited to housing and land resources. Some of the nonfarming families discussed the need to provide a good environment for their children to grow up in. The definition of a good environment included a place that allows for supervision and control over activities engaged in by their children.

I think in the country you have . . . and don't take it wrong . . . a little more control over where your kids are and who they associate with . . . and the rural country living, you know pretty much what's going on in schools . . . (Interview, Family 20, 5-7-84, p. 36)

But the other thing is, you always know where your kids are at because, unless you are going to be so permissive that they can just take off on a bike in any direction, there's not that many places for them to go where you don't know where they're at. Usually you take them in a car, and then you go get them . . . and the school bus stops out here at a given time. You know when they're coming home from school. There's no stops in route. There's less chance for them to get into trouble, because just their daily life is more structured. (Interview, Family 18, 4-30-83, p. 8)

The concepts presented here overlapped in many of the discussions. This was evident in some of the quotes used previously, some represent more than one dimension. The woman who mentioned that she did not like the same thing her neighbors did not like is also making a statement related to control. She would like to control how the land around her is used. Belonging was reinforced by teaching behaviors to make children competent in a rural setting. Competency was also related to having a sense of personal control over how resources were managed. Control and belonging were often merged also. Parents wanted more control over the environment in which they were raising their children. The same families that spoke about raising their children in a rural area to learn responsibility and how to work together also spoke about the control they had over the comings and goings of their children.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The stated purpose of this research involved an attempt to discover individual and environmental characteristics that related to residential satisfaction. The goals included elaborating on prior satisfaction literature and developing or expanding a theory of satisfaction. Individual characteristics were grouped into three domains for the purpose of focusing the research questions and analysis. These domains included: cognitive elements, affective elements and reported behavioral elements related to residence. Environmental characteristics included objective and functional attributes of the environment. Rural households were picked as the study population because of the diversity of residential situations. In addition, the researcher was interested in studying a population with which she could be an objective observer.

Research Summary

The study consisted of two phases. The first phase consisted of the analysis of 20 field interviews conducted in a rural township in southwest Michigan. This analysis

revealed several concepts related to rural residence including familism, self-sufficiency and community interaction. These concepts as well as the integrated model presented earlier were used to guide the work of the second phase.

The next phase consisted of reinterviews with five of the original 20 families. These families were chosen because they represented differing characteristics of rural households such as length of residency and agricultural experience.

Ethnographic interviewing techniques were used in gathering information from the families. Sample questions were formulated after the first family had been interviewed. These were not rigidly adhered to however; they only served as guidelines so that topics would be covered adequately.

All interviews were tape recorded. In addition, respondents were asked to draw floor plans of their homes; these were used minimally. Observations of the environment and the interview were noted for all interactions with respondents.

The first two family tapes were transcribed verbatim, the next three interviews were reviewed and notes were made on each questions and response combination. Quotes relevant to the research problem were transcribed in entirety. A color coding system was developed to bracket passages relating to self-sufficiency, community

interaction, housing, family topics, attitudes and statements of control. Important concepts and quotations were then transferred to 3 x 5 cards with colors corresponding to the conceptual ideas represented in color coding.

Following the analysis of the five family case studies the other original interviews were reviewed for evidence relating to the emerging domains. Based on the information obtained in the interviews a new model was developed. In the new model satisfaction is viewed as a secondary formulation based on other family information. Residential satisfaction is viewed as the result of a complex evaluation procedure based on individual and family goals and values. It is suggested that when individuals are asked to indicate satisfaction with the environment they first evaluate the environment in terms of the capability of fulfilling or supporting a goal or a number of goals.

Revised Integrated Model

Family members have both individual and group goals which guide the way residential resources are used. These goals are appropriate to the life cycle position, the cognitive and affective characteristics of the individual, the behaviors engaged in by the individual as well as other domains that interface with residential decisions. These goals are not static but change over time. For

example, early in the life cycle of their family the Figers added more bedroom space for their growing children. At the time of the interviews their children were adults, the family was expanding through marriage and the Figers needed more space for entertaining them. Many of the statements made by respondents in this study indicated that some thoughts overlapped between cognitive and affective states.

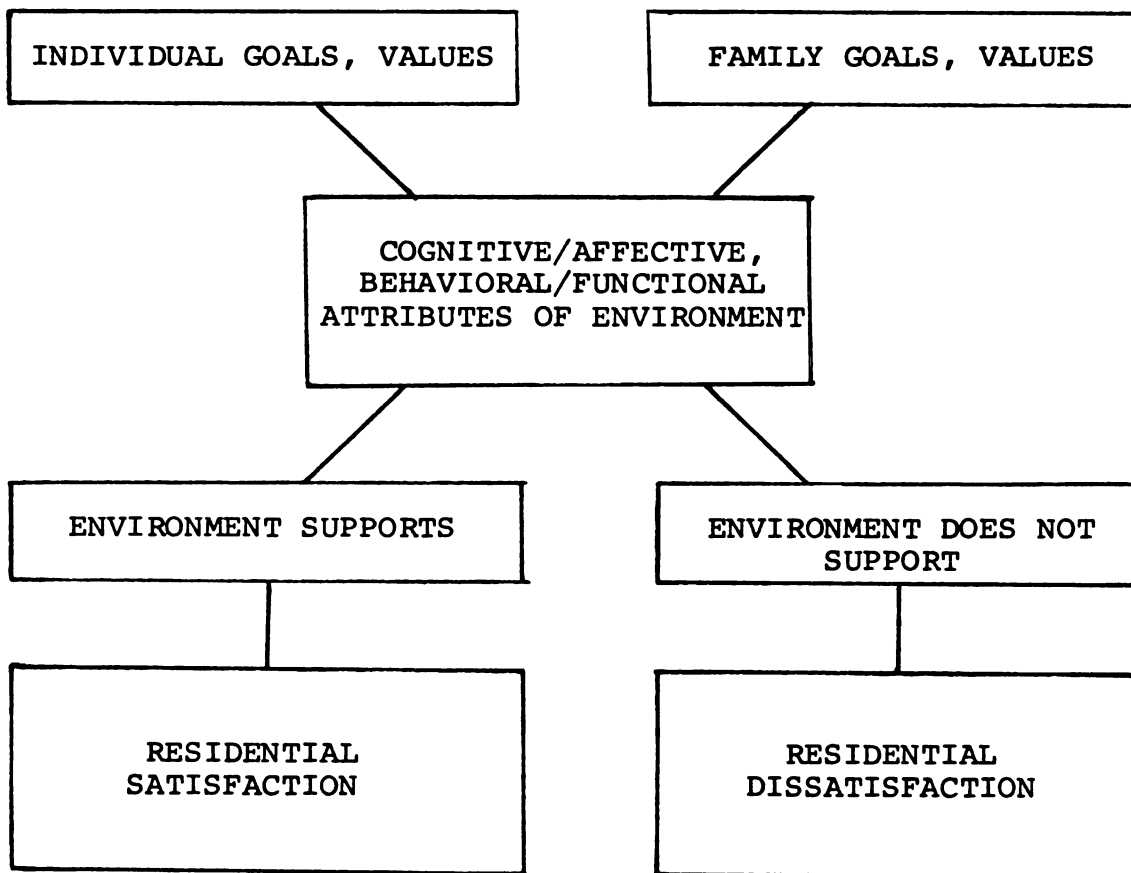


Figure 2. Revised Integrated Model of Residential Satisfaction

The way in which the residential environment supports goals can be influenced by cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions. The cognitive dimension of how an environment supports or fulfills a goal seems to affect satisfaction. Mr. Calvin's perception that city water tasted "nasty" (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 23) was based on sensory information from drinking the water and a cognition of what water should taste like.

The cognitive-affective dimensions of goal attainment were difficult to discern during the interviews. It is suggested that there are people who can more easily reveal affective responses to the residential place and others who are more reticent in this arena. However, it was apparent that many individuals do have emotional responses to how the environment supports a goal. Mrs. Calvin preferred to buy furniture from auctions because she had an appreciation for used items, she stated she liked things with "character" (Interview, Family 15, 5-1-84, p. 17). Mr. Figer wanted to surround himself with space but he preferred that the land be wooded rather than open. Respondents from family 19 preferred open land and mowed seven acres of field every week.

More than one dimension of influence may be taken into account in the support of a behavior. When Mrs. Hall spoke of the children's rooms she implied that it was not enough that a room was provided for the support of behavioral activities but indicated that it should also

look "nice," e.g., bedspread and curtains "coordinate" (Interview, Family 7, 5-17-84, p. 17) which related to a cognition of what "nice" means.

It is thought that these dimensions are then weighted by the individual making the evaluation and it is then determined what is satisfactory and what is not. In a family decision about residential place this weighting can be very important. Even though two or more individuals in a family have the same goal, differing perspectives or evaluations based on cognitive, affective or behavioral dimensions can cause one to rate an environment as unsatisfactory and another to rate it as satisfactory. This is one of the problems with prior residential satisfaction studies; usually only one member provided a satisfaction rating for the environment all lived in.

A discussion of this model would not be complete without a discussion of the goals themselves. The family formulates all sorts of goals in relation to its residence. The goals may be minor and non-support of these goals may be little more than an annoyance to family members. In the Hall family, Julie stated that Alan would like the piano and organ out of the dining room but this was of little consequence in the evaluation of the residence. Goals of great importance to individuals or families have the ability to create great dissatisfaction when not supported. Mr. Hall indicated that he had a goal of expanding his dairy operation but he could not get money to expand at his

present location. This goal had great importance to him and his family and may force the family to move to another location in the future.

Three family goals have been identified in the present study. These goals were belonging, competency and control. The manifestations of these goals differ from family to family but characteristics of these goals are apparent in many of the families interviewed. This list is not considered complete by any means, further development needs to be done to elaborate these goals or to find other goal domains. For example, two areas that were not analyzed in this study relate to the role of work as it affects residential satisfaction, and the changing attitudes of immigrants over time as they live in the environment.

Integration With Past Satisfaction Research

The grounded theory emerging in this research is compatible with and supports past research on residential satisfaction. Each of the three major goals discerned in this research will be discussed as it related to the literature.

Belonging

A goal of belonging may be reflected by variables measuring satisfaction with the social interaction or group identity in a neighborhood. In both Weidemann, et al. (1982), and Galster and Hesser (1981), satisfaction was correlated with the perception of homogeneity in the

neighborhood. Onibokun (1976) found that those with higher educational attainment and perceived higher social class were less satisfied with their residence in a public housing development. These variables may reflect a measurement of group identification in those particular environments. If so, those who felt that others were not in the same social class group could experience dissatisfaction. Rent and Rent (1978) and Gruber et al. (1983), reported those with friends in the neighborhood expressed more satisfaction with the environment. Weidemann et al. (1982), found that those satisfied with the social interaction available in their public housing development were more satisfied with their residence.

Control

The goal of control may be related to many aspects of satisfaction literature. The finding that adult single parents were less satisfied with their environment has been mentioned by Galster and Hesser (1981) and Onibokun (1976). Most single parent families are headed by women and these families also tend to be in the lowest income groups. The lack of control over housing and neighborhood decisions as well as other economically based decisions could explain some of this dissatisfaction. Safety aspects of the environment were related to satisfaction in studies by Ahlbrandt and Brophy (1976) and Weidemann et al. (1982). It may be that people who perceive of themselves as less safe may also feel less control over the environmental

situation and thus experience less residential satisfaction. Ownership of residence has been positively correlated with satisfaction in studies by Lane and Kinsey (1980) and Morris, Crull and Winter (1976). People who own their homes have more control to make adjustments to their residence.

Competency

The goal of competency is not easily discerned in this literature. This may be a goal more related to rural residents. Since most of the satisfaction studies have been accomplished in an urban setting, this concept may not be reflected in past literature.

Implications For Future Research

As with other research efforts this study generates more questions than it answers. Possible research directions include verification, elaboration and application of the final model of residential satisfaction.

Verification

The goal of this research was to discover hypotheses or theory related to residential satisfaction. While the methodology used in this effort was appropriate for this goal, the results of this study can not be generalized beyond the families presented here.

Verification procedures would involve several types of replication. One type involves a verification of the proposed theoretical framework. Does this theory of goal achievement complement other satisfaction formulations?

Specific hypotheses may be formulated to test the theory as well as the domains of control, competency and belonging. One problem with this research may be operationalization of variables especially in the domain of belonging.

It is also suggested that results of this research be verified using another methodology. Residential satisfaction has traditionally been studied using survey techniques. Langer and Rodin (1976) used an experimental manipulation in their study of perceived control in nursing home patients. Both types of methodology could increase generalizability through more representative sampling techniques and the ability to manipulate data statistically.

Elaboration

The results presented here need to be elaborated. First is the theoretical model complete or are there other possible formulations? What other factors should be considered? Secondly, are the domains of control, competency and belonging unique to rural populations or are they concepts that apply to urban or suburban residents as well? Finally research is needed to determine other goals of importance to the family in relation to their residential place.

If the support of goals is an important consideration in residential satisfaction then the study of individual goals versus family goals is another area of

possible work in the future. When does an individual goal take precedence over the family goal? These are only a few of the possibilities for further exploration.

Application

If this theory of goal support in residential satisfaction is correct, one of the implications is that the physical environment alone does not necessarily generate satisfaction. If an individual feels a lack of control in his or her environment does this adversely affect other areas of the residential or life experience? How much control is enough control? This may be highly individualized. The goal of control should be studied in populations with little perceived control over their environment. Institutionalized elderly populations have been studied by Langer and Rodin (1976) and Rodin and Langer (1977). They performed an experimental manipulation and tried to instill a sense of control in one group of patients and a sense of being cared for in another. Results indicated that the group with a sense of control was more active and happier than the cared for group.

Competency can be related to control in much the same way. A person who is competent in the environment does have mastery of a sort. This concept could also be explored with special populations. How do the handicapped view their competency in the environment? How are environments perceived when they do not support an individual's goal for independence?

Finally, how can the environments support the shared warmth and communication for a group of individuals whether they be friends or family? The families in this study indicated that family interaction could be accomplished in a number of ways: through work spaces, outdoor places and community gatherings. By looking at the residential environment as being composed of intersecting parts we may learn new ways to promote this most human of goals.

The outcome of this research suggests future avenues for building a theory of satisfaction. Perhaps people evaluate their environment based on goals and values of the individual or family unit. The goals can be based on behavioral needs: a place to sleep, a place to work. The goals may be based on complex and abstract values: a place of belonging, a place of contentment. Many forms of information may be involved in this evaluation including individual thoughts and attitudes as well as characteristics of the physical environment. It is unknown whether people evaluate environments based on values any differently than an environment based on behavioral needs. Furthermore, how would this theory pertain to new or novel environments for the individual? How do people make decisions about future residential environments as meeting their goals and values? These areas need to be explored to delineate a theory of satisfaction more completely.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

There are some drawbacks to the use of the techniques for data collection and analysis presented here that should be briefly mentioned. One of the biggest concerns to the researcher was the use of mechanical recording equipment. Both phases of this study had difficulties of one kind or another with this equipment. These difficulties consisted of poor quality of the recording, equipment failure and intrusiveness or reactivity of the measures. A field researcher has no control over the environment in which recording is done. Tapes can be made unintelligible by repetitious, extraneous noise from small children, animals or mechanical appliances. Portions of the tape can be lost in this manner. Another problem happens due to equipment failure, some of it under the control of the researcher, some not preventable. In this study there were problems of both types in both phases of the study. These problems included dead batteries in the recorder, lack of outlets to plug adaptors into, errors in the operation of the recorder such as failure to push the record button, failure to release the pause button or failure to turn on the recorder, and failure to flip the

tape at the end of a side. There can be problems with the tapes also. Defective tapes may fail to work well or jam in the recorder, tapes will demagnetize on contact with some electrical appliances and failure to break the nonrecord tabs on recorded tape can cause erasures.

While the mechanical aspects of taping can be frustrating, of more concern is the effect that taping has on the respondent. It has been said that respondents forget that the tape is going and just respond naturally and honestly to questions. This researcher disagrees with this position. This researcher believes it is true that some respondents 'forget' that the tape recorder is on; it may also be the case that these people really don't care if their answers are recorded or not. This researcher believes there are other respondents who will be aware of the tape and perhaps somewhat guarded because of it. In one interview when the husband made a very graphic remark about a behavior he could engage in outside, his wife quickly reminded him that he was on tape and had better watch himself. On two occasions in the series of reinterviews the researcher noticed that the families visually relaxed after the tape recorder was shut off. Both families seemed to want to continue talking once the tape was off. In both cases the interview lasted an additional 10 to 15 minutes. This raises questions of reliability. One way to test this might be to record at alternating interviews and verify important information on and off tape.

A comment should be raised about the researcher as a reactive measure. Occasionally when talking to a family, a respondent would make a comment similar to "Don't you agree?" or "Watch it, she's analyzing you." The researcher has to think about his or her role with the respondents and how it affects the way they respond. The informant that sees the researcher as a housing specialist may respond differently to her than an informant who sees her as an interested stranger.

The presence of others at the interview or contacts with more than one interviewer should be considered carefully. Another researcher was present on one of the phase two interviews; she had participated on an earlier interview with this family. This was not fully considered until afterwards. The effect of having another person on the interview is unknown, but any effect could be minimized by planning ahead. It would have been possible to schedule another noninterview meeting with the family in order to bring the other researcher.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

NUMBER CODES FOR THE ORIGINAL 20 INTERVIEWS

1. Demographics
2. Household Farm Experience
3. Occupations
4. Parent's Current Influence
5. Children
6. Land Tenure and Use
7. Farm Operation
8. Enterprises
9. Disposition of Production
10. Bookkeeping
11. Share, Trade, Barter
12. Household Production
13. Income
14. Housing
15. Government Farm Programs
16. Sources and Needs for Information
17. Hearsay
18. Goals and Aspirations
19. Values and Attitudes
20. Knowledge of Kellogg Biological Station
21. Neighborhood and Community Involvement
22. Pleasures and Satisfactions
23. Problems, Frustrations, and Solutions
24. Vacations and Recreations
25. Perceptions of the Future

APPENDIX C

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APPENDIX C

LETTER TO FIVE FAMILIES

April 8, 1984

Dear Mr. & Mrs.

My name is Carol Barrett. I'm a student at Michigan State University in the department of Human Environment and Design. For the past year and a half I've participated in a project at M.S.U. The main purpose of the project is the development of a Rural Resource Center in southwest Michigan. You may recall being interviewed for that project about a year ago. At that time you were asked questions about your life in the country. Your answers were very helpful and I'm wondering if you would be willing to help again.

I'm collecting information about housing characteristics with rural families. I'm interested in the kinds of homes people live in, the sorts of changes that have been made to the houses, how different rooms are used for family activities like eating, watching TV and entertaining. I'm also interested in what people like and don't like about their houses. Would you like to make some changes in your house or would you like to move to a new home?

More people are moving to rural areas today, have you noticed this in your own community? Does this affect the way you feel about your home? These are the kinds of questions I'll be asking when I come to speak to you. Your answers will be very important to me.

I will be contacting you by telephone in about a week to set up a time convenient for you. I hope you'll find the project is interesting and will agree to talk to me. Let me emphasize that your participation is completely voluntary and you can terminate the interview at any time. Also the information you give me will be kept absolutely confidential. I will never identify your answers as being specifically yours.

If you have any questions feel free to call me collect at 313-632-5446 or save them until I call you. My advisor, Dr. Bonnie Morrison, will also be happy to answer any questions you have about the project. You can reach her at 517-353-3717. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Carol Barrett

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

TYPES OF QUESTIONS

How did you initially come to live in this house?

If purchased, what were you looking for when you bought this house?

Ask family to draw floor plans.

What were houses like where family members grew up?

How does this house differ with that house (those houses)?

How is it similar?

Are there special spots in the house? What makes them special?

If alone in the house where do family members spend time?

Where do family members spend time together?

What's important to have in a house?

What does a house absolutely need?

Where do family members eat in the house? sleep?
entertain? recreate?

Are there seasonal differences in how the house is used?

What things have changed in the house since the family has lived here?

What other things would family like to change?

What is the community like?

How many close friends live in this neighborhood?
Community?

How many relatives live in this neighborhood? Community?

What makes a community a good place to live?

What makes this community a good place to live?

What's not good about this community?

What changes have occurred in the township over the last several years?

Do these changes affect the way you feel about the township?

What kinds of things do you or other family members do outside?

Do you spend more time outside or inside? Why?

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