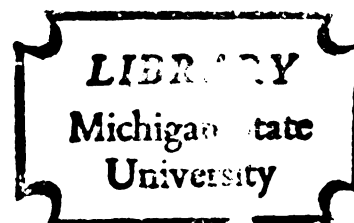


THE IMPACT OF NON-FARM OCCUPATIONS
UPON SELECTED ATTITUDE
CHARACTERISTICS OF FARM RESIDENTS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
ALLAN D. STEEVES
1967



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

THE IMPACT OF NON-FARM OCCUPATIONS UPON
SELECTED ATTITUDE CHARACTERISTICS OF FARM RESIDENTS.

presented by

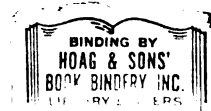
ALLAN D. STEEVES

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology


Major professor

Date Dec 7 67



ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF NON-FARM OCCUPATIONS UPON SELECTED ATTITUDE CHARACTERISTICS OF FARM RESIDENTS

by Allan D. Steeves

Investigated was the degree to which non-farm occupations affected selected attitude characteristics of rural farm residents after age, education and income differences had been controlled.

Data were gathered in two closely coordinated state-wide farm operator surveys in Michigan and Wisconsin during the spring of 1965. Comparability checks with the 1964 Census of Agriculture indicated the Michigan sample to be essentially representative of the same universe while the Wisconsin sample was not. In all, 804 useable interviews were obtained in Michigan and another 425 in Wisconsin. For selected sections of the analysis the two were combined giving an enlarged sample N of 1229. An elaboration of contingency tables analysis was used.

The results indicated 43% of Michigan farm operators were working off-farm 20 or more hours a week at the time of the study. Twenty-two percent of the Wisconsin operators worked off-farm 100 or more days in 1964. In Michigan

another 33% had worked off-farm full time in the past. Indeed 43% of the respondents not presently working off the farm 20 or more hours a week had earned income from off-farm work in 1964. Only 24% of the farm operators had never worked full time off-farm.

Although the study indicated differences between farmers and those who had held off-farm jobs on attitudes toward collectivism, government involvement in agriculture, change orientation and industrial dissatisfaction, these differences largely disappeared after age, education and income variables were controlled. This finding suggests that the distinctive class and status positions of farmers as against those involved in other industries would be more instrumental in explaining attitudinal differences than is the distinctiveness of the occupational setting. The study is also suggestive of the degree of growing interdependence between farm and urban occupational sectors in highly industrialized settings.

THE IMPACT OF NON-FARM OCCUPATIONS UPON
SELECTED ATTITUDE CHARACTERISTICS
OF FARM RESIDENTS

By

Allan D. Steeves

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

1967

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although custom dictates, readers often smile at the consistent form which dissertation authors follow in distributing claim for the modest contributions of their work. This form, with minor variations, acknowledges the understanding of committee members, the tangible support of financial sources, the patience of typists, the emotional support of family members, and terminates exonerating all of the above from any blame for the study's negative qualities. I too have smiled, but find upon reversal of reader-author roles, the custom, often beguiled by me in others, suddenly deemed highly appropriate. Humility is not easily understood until experienced.

For the facilitation of my chairman D. E. Morrison, the encouragement of J. A. Beegle, the critical reasoning of S. F. Camilleri, and the attentiveness of W. H. Form, I am grateful. The value of experience is often not appreciated until its necessity is encountered.

For financial support, the assistance of the Agricultural Experiment Stations at both Michigan State University and the University of Wisconsin in the data gathering stages, and the Canada Council for fellowship support in the latter

stages of analysis and reporting, must be gratefully acknowledged.

My remaining gratitude, I prefer to distribute among my brother John, my Mother, the Almighty and the unmentioned in approximately that order.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Theoretical Framework	4
Variable Structure of the Problem	15
Theoretical Relationships and Hypotheses	31
Recapitulation	33
II. THE EMPIRICAL SETTING	35
Comparative Reward Structures of Agri- culture and Non-Agricultural Industries	35
Occupational Structure of the Rural Farm Residence Category	38
Rates of Multiple Jobholding in Agriculture	40
Summary	43
III. OPERATIONAL STRATEGY	44
Description of the Data	44
Measurement Strategy	48
Appraisal of the Data	57
Analytical Design and Operational Hypotheses	59
IV. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS	65
Reporting Format	65
Analysis and Results	66
Individualism-Collectivism	66
Pro-Government--Anti-Government	75
Change Orientation	83
Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	89
Summary of Results	98

Chap

W

1822

1822

1822

Chapter	Page
V. DYNAMICS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AND THE EXPLANATION OF INCONSISTENCIES	102
Individualism-Collectivism	102
Pro-Government--Anti-Government	110
Change Orientation	117
Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction	122
Reconciliation of Collectivism and Dissatisfaction Themes	128
Summary	136
VI. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	137
APPENDIX A	147
APPENDIX B	162
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	181

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
4.1 Uncontrolled Present-Farmer Collectivism Comparisons	68
4.2 Collectivism: Present-Farmer Off-Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Edu- cation, Income Controlled Simultaneously . .	69
4.3 Uncontrolled "Present," "Past," "Never" Off-Farm Work Comparisons: Collectivism (Michigan Study)	70
4.4 Collectivism: Present, Past, Never Off-Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Edu- cation, Income Controlled Simultaneously . .	72
4.5 Collectivism: Years Off-Farm Work Con- trolled For Years Managing A Farm	73
4.6 Collectivism: Labor Union Membership Con- trolled For Present-Past Off-Farm Work (Michigan Study)	74
4.7 Uncontrolled Present-Farmer Pro-Government Comparisons	76
4.8 Pro-Government: Present-Farmer Off-Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Edu- cation, Income Controlled Simultaneously . .	77
4.9 Uncontrolled "Present," "Past," "Never" Off- Farm Work Comparisons: Pro-Government Orientations (Michigan Study)	78
4.10 Pro-Government: Present, Past, Never Off- Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Education, Income Controlled Simultaneously	80
4.11 Pro-Government: In Agriculture: Years Off- Farm Employment Controlled For Years Managing A Farm Sequentially And Simultaneously	81

Table		Page
4.12	Pro-Government in Agriculture: Labor Union Membership Controlled For Present-Past Off-Farm Work (Michigan Study)	82
4.13	Uncontrolled Present-Farmer Traditionalism Comparisons	84
4.14	Traditionalism: Present-Farmer Off-Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Education, Income Controlled Simultaneously	86
4.15	Uncontrolled "Present," "Past," "Never" Off-Farm Work Comparisons: Traditionalism (Michigan Study)	87
4.16	Traditionalism: Present, Past, Never Off-Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Education, Income Controlled Simultaneously	88
4.17	Traditionalism: Years Off-Farm Work Controlled For Years Managing A Farm Both Sequentially And Simultaneously	90
4.18	Traditionalism: Labor Union Membership Controlled For Present-Past Off-Farm Work (Michigan Study)	91
4.19	Uncontrolled Present-Farmer Dissatisfaction Comparisons	92
4.20	Dissatisfaction: Present-Farmer Off-Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Education, Income Controlled Simultaneously	93
4.21	Uncontrolled "Present," "Past," "Never" Off-Farm Work Comparisons: Dissatisfaction (Michigan Study)	94
4.22	Dissatisfaction: Present, Past, Never Off-Farm Work Comparisons (Michigan Study) Age, Education, Income Controlled Simultaneously	96
4.23	Dissatisfaction: Years Off-Farm Work Controlled For Years Managing A Farm Both Sequentially And Simultaneously	97

3.1

3.2

3.3

3.4

3.5

3.6

3.7

3.8

3.9

3.10

3.11

3.12

3.13

Table		Page
4.24	Dissatisfaction: Labor Union Membership Controlled For Present-Past Off-Farm Work (Michigan Study)	99
4.25	Summary of Results	100
5.1	Collectivism: Present-Farmer Comparisons; Age and Education Sequentially Controlled .	103
5.2	Collectivism: Present-Farmer Comparisons (Michigan Study) Education, Income; Age, Education; Age, Income; Controlled Simultaneously	106
5.3	Collectivism: Present, Past, Never Com- parisons; Age, Education, Income Con- trolled Sequentially	108
5.4	Collectivism: Present, Past, Never Com- parisons (Michigan Study) Education, In- come; Age, Education; Age, Income; Con- trolled Simultaneously	109
5.5	Pro-Government In Agriculture: Present- Farmer Comparisons Age, Education and In- come Controlled Sequentially	111
5.6	Pro-Government In Agriculture: Present- Farmer Comparisons (Michigan Study) Edu- cation, Income; Age, Education; Age, In- come; Controlled Simultaneously	114
5.7	Pro-Government: Present, Past, Never Com- parisons; Age, Education, Income Controlled Sequentially	115
5.8	Pro-Government in Agriculture: Present, Past, Never Comparisons (Michigan Study) Edu- cation, Income; Age, Income; Controlled Simultaneously	116
5.9	Traditionalism: Present-Farmer Comparisons; Age, Education and Income Controlled Sequentially	118
5.10	Traditionalism: Present-Farmer Comparisons (Michigan Study) Education, Income; Age, Education; Age, Income; Controlled Simultaneously	119

31.

32.

33.

34.

35.

36.

37.

38.

39.

40.

41.

42.

Table		Page
5.11	Traditionalism: Present, Past, Never Comparisons; Age Education, Income Controlled Sequentially	120
5.12	Traditionalism: Present, Past, Never Comparisons (Michigan Study) Education, Income; Age, Education; Age, Income; Controlled Simultaneously	121
5.13	Dissatisfaction: Present-Farmer Comparisons; Age, Education and Income Controlled Sequentially	123
5.14	Dissatisfaction: Present-Farmer Comparisons (Michigan Study) Education, Income; Age, Education; Age, Income Controlled Simultaneously	124
5.15	Dissatisfaction: Present, Past, Never Comparisons (Michigan) Age, Education, Income Controlled Sequentially	126
5.16	Dissatisfaction: Present, Past, Never Comparisons (Michigan Study) Education, Income; Age, Education; Age, Income; Controlled Simultaneously	127
5.17	Selected Characteristics of "Present," "Past," And "Never" Sets--Michigan	131

APPENDIX A

1.	Trends In Farm Inputs By Type of Input	148
2.	Selected Measures of Income of Persons 1950 and 1960 By Residence, Sex and Color: United States	149
3.	Earning in 1959 Of Persons In the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, By Occupation and Sex, For the United States: 1960	150
4.	Farms in the U.S. Selling Products Valued At Specific Amounts	151

Table		Page
5.	Farms in Michigan Selling Products Valued At Specific Amounts	152
6.	Farms in Wisconsin Selling Products Valued At Specific Amounts	153
7.	Estimated Number of Farms, Income, and Parity Income Positions of Farms by Eco- nomic Class, 1965	154
8.	Occupation of Employed Labor Force by Resi- dence For U.S.A., Michigan, Wisconsin; 1960	155
9.	Occupation of Employed Males by Residence; 1960	156
10.	Occupation of Employed Males by Residence; 1960	158
11.	Changes in Time Spent At Off-Farm Work by Farm Operators (Nation)	159
12.	Michigan Farm Operators Reporting Off-Farm Work	160
13.	Wisconsin Farm Operators Reporting Off-Farm Work	161

APPENDIX B

1.	Comparative Distributions of Off-Farm Work: 1964 Census of Agriculture and Michigan Survey	163
2.	Comparative Distributions Off-Farm Work: 1964 Census of Agriculture and Wisconsin Survey	163
3.	Comparative 1964 Census of Agriculture and Survey Age Distributions For Michigan and Wisconsin Farm Operators	164
4.	Comparative 1964 Census of Agriculture and Survey Education Distributions For Michi- gan and Wisconsin Farm Operators	165

Table		Page
5.	Comparative 1964 Census of Agriculture and Survey Gross Farm Sales Distributions For Michigan and Wisconsin Farm Operators . . .	166
6.	Individualism-Collectivism: Combined Item-Item Correlations	167
7.	Individualism-Collectivism: Michigan Item-Item Correlations	168
8.	Individualism-Collectivism: Wisconsin Item-Item Correlations	169
9.	Pro-Government--Anti-Government in Agriculture: Combined Item-Item Correlations .	171
10.	Pro-Government--Anti-Government in Agriculture: Michigan Item-Item Correlations .	172
11.	Pro-Government--Anti-Government in Agriculture: Wisconsin Item-Item Correlations	173
12.	Change Orientation: Combined Item-Item Correlations	174
13.	Change Orientation: Michigan Item-Item Correlations	175
14.	Change Orientation: Wisconsin Item-Item Correlations	176
15.	Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction (Alienation): Combined Item-Item Correlations	177
16.	Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction (Alienation): Michigan Item-Item Correlations	178
17.	Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction (Alienation): Wisconsin Item-Item Correlations	179

Figure

1.	Occupational Distribution (Farm Occupations Excluded) of the Employed Labor Force for the U.S.A.; by Rural and Urban Residence: 1960	157
----	--	-----

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Statement of the Problem

In this thesis I investigate the impact of nonfarm work upon selected attitudes of rural-farm residents. The particular attitudes chosen for investigation are (1) individualism-collectivism; (2) pro-government--anti-government; (3) traditionality-modernity; and (4) satisfaction-dissatisfaction. Literature on the problem indicated that important determinants of attitudinal structures measured by non-farm work experience are (1) the more bureaucratic nature of the organization of work in nonfarm settings; and (2) the increased degree of interpersonal contact with those holding more urban-industrial value sets. I shall argue that the effects of these determinants are negligible in highly industrialized settings after age, education and income have been controlled. This argument is based upon theoretical reasoning initiated by theories of "metropolitan dominance" and the "End of Ideology." In aggregate, such an argument is a step toward urging an increased emphasis upon the factors of social organization promoting or inhibiting the integration (rather than segregation) of the rural and urban sectors in highly industrial social systems.

85

86

87

88

89

90

91

92

93

94

95

96

97

98

99

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

Although the impact of industrial technology and the structure of factory organizations upon agrarian workers in settings at all stages of industrial development has been much studied, there is little investigation of the direct attitudinal impacts. The essential issue to which these studies are addressed is the degree to which factory organization and technology alter demographic and ecological patterns of social organization. The predispositional effects are normally inferred only indirectly.

These studies may be characterized by those focussing upon: (1) the study of geographic migration using primarily demographic techniques;¹ (2) the impact of residential background (farm-nonfarm) on rates of mobility (actual or perceived) in the urban-occupational structure;² (3) the analysis

¹See the work cited in Donald J. Bogue, "Internal Migration," The Study of Population, ed. by Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, c1959), 486-509; and J. Allan Beegle, "Population Changes and Their Relationship to Changes in Social Structure," Sociologia Ruralis, 14:3-4 (1964), 238-252.

²Essentially this set of studies may be divided into two sub-sets: (1) those concerned with measuring actual rural-urban rates and their determinants--for example, Seymour Martin Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, XX:3-4 (Sept.-Dec., 1955), 220-228; Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, c1967), 277-294; and (2) those concerned with measuring the barriers to occupational mobility perceived by rural adolescents.

See the work cited in William H. Sewell and Alan M. Orenstein, "Community of Residence and Occupational Choice," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (March, 1965), 551-563; Archie O. Haller and William H. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), 407-411; and

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

129

130

131

132

133

134

135

136

137

138

139

140

of barriers to assimilation of the rural-farm population into urban-industrial structures;¹ (4) the impacts of industrialization and modernization and the changing distribution of resources governed by altered stratification systems;² and finally (5) the study defined in anthropological literature as the "interface problem."³

Walter L. Slocum, "The Influence of Reference Group Values on Educational Aspirations of Rural High School Students," Rural Sociology, XXXII:3 (September, 1967), 269-277.

¹For interesting work taking this sort of approach done in Europe see G. Beijer, Rural Migrants in Urban Setting (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963); For work done in Israel see S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954). For reference to the North American literature in this set see J. Allan Beegle, "Sociological Aspects of Changes in Farm Labor Force," Labor Mobility and Population in Agriculture (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1961), 73-81; Charles Tilly, Migration To An American City (Agricultural Experiment Station and division of Urban Affairs, University of Delaware in cooperation with Farm Population Branch, Economic Research Service, U.S.D.A., April, 1965); also Allan D. Steeves, "A Study of Internal Migration with Specific Reference to the Flow of People From the Atlantic Provinces to Guelph, Ontario" (unpublished M.S.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1964).

²See Clark Kerr et al., Industrialism and Industrial Man (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Neil J. Smelser, Social Change in the Industrial Revolution (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1959); Richard D. Lambert, "The Modernization of the Labor Force," Modernization, ed. by Myron Weiner (N. Y.: Basic Books, 1966); Bert F. Hoselitz, "Interaction Between Industrial and Pre-Industrial Stratification Systems," Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, ed. by Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset (Chicago, Ill.: Aldine, 1966), 177-193.

³See Wilbert E. Moore, Industrialization and Labor (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1951); this approach is also evidenced in the edited volume by Wilbert E. Moore, and Arnold Feldman, Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas (N.Y.: Social Science Research Council, 1960). See also Peter Worsely, The Third World (Chicago,

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

0000

A weakness common to all of these studies is that they do not separate the effects of residence and occupation when inferring predispositional changes.¹ Rather, the effects of altered residence and occupation are confounded and the effects attributed to some combination of both. In this study I address the more restricted question of occupational impact while essentially controlling for rural-farm residence in a highly industrial setting.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study emerges from a synthesis of four distinct areas of sociological interest.

Initially, stimulation was provided by the assertion that urban residential structures marked by high population size, density, and heterogeneous cultural backgrounds have unique effects upon their individual constituents.² Debate

Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, c1964); Manning Nash, Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems (San Francisco, Calif.: Chandler Publishing Co., c1966); Clifford Geertz (ed.), Old Societies and New States (N.Y.: Free Press, c1963); Max Gluckman, Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa (N.Y.: Glencoe Free Press, c1963).

¹Two worthwhile exceptions to this criticism are William A. Faunce and M. Joseph Smucker, "Industrialization and Community Status Structure," American Sociological Review, XXXI:3 (June, 1966), 390-399; and M. Joseph Smucker, "Community Status Systems and Appraisal of Life Conditions" (unpublished paper presented at the Midwest Sociological Association Meetings, April, 1967).

²See Louis Wirth, "Urbanism As A Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-18. Also see Ferdinand Toennies, Community and Association (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955).

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

on precisely what impacts these residential settings have takes place both in rural and urban sociology.¹

Alex Inkeles and others have argued that the industrial work setting, manifested principally in factory and corporate structures, has a universally distinctive impact upon the personality structures of those who work within it, regardless of the cultural context. The resulting model has been described as "Industrial Man" and more recently "Modern Man." They conceive the impact of the industrial setting as a "syndrome" of distinctive characteristics which have a tendency to vary together and develop according to the conditions imposed upon the work environment by technology and factory settings.

The basic Inkeles propositions are that "modern man" incorporates the conditions of his own change into his pattern of activity and that his readiness for change clearly demarcates him from the "traditional" cohort, who depend upon

¹Oscar Lewis asserts that, "It is in the evaluation of the personality of the urban dweller that urban theory has gone furthest afield. It leaps from the analysis of the social system to conjecture about individual personality; it is based not on solid psychological theory but on personal values, analogies, and outmoded physiopsychological concepts. . . . The delineation of the urbanite as blasé, indifferent, calculating, utilitarian, and rational (presumably as a defensive reaction to preserve his nervous system from the excessive shocks and stimuli of city life, suffering from anonymity and anomie, being more conscious and intellectual than his country brother yet feeling less deeply remain mere statements of faith." See "The Folk-Urban Ideal Types," Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (eds.), The Study of Urbanization (N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 496.

1991

1992

1993

1994

1995

1996

1997

1998

1999

2000

2001

2002

2003

2004

2005

2006

2007

2008

2009

2010

2011

2012

2013

2014

2015

learned ways of acting, thinking, and feeling to guide their present and future activity.¹ This variable shall be an important dependent theme in this thesis.

The point of departure of this thesis is that the inverse argument may also apply: Highly industrial settings may be conducive to the adoption of "modern ideologies," regardless of whether the constituents are occupationally involved in highly bureaucratic factory environments. In other words, either characteristic is both necessary and sufficient for the development of attitudinal structures regarded as "modern." This idea suggests that "Industrial Man" may appear in the absence of highly developed industrial factory occupational settings. All that is required is a residential or institutional structure modelled after urban-industrial settings.

A third set of issues to which I address this study emerge from the research literature on social mobility. American studies of social mobility have concentrated primarily upon the study of upward mobility through the occupational structure and simultaneously, but secondarily,

¹The basic theoretical position and operationalization of this work is laid out in the following papers: Alex Inkeles, "Industrial Man," American Journal of Sociology, 66:4 (July, 1960), 1-31; Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of man," in Modernization, Myron Weiner (ed.) (N.Y.: Basic Books, 1938-150); David Smith and Alex Inkeles, "The O.M. Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity," Sociometry, 29:4 (Dec., 1966), 353-377; Alex Inkeles, Becoming Modern (forthcoming).

the

000

the

to

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

through the class structure. In contrast, this study may be conceived as a study of "proletarianization" which is defined as the process of converting land owners and operators to wage earners.¹

The impact of proletarianization upon attitudes, values and beliefs has been of theoretical importance since the time of the industrial revolution and remains so, particularly in the developing nations of the world where private ownership is being rapidly replaced by new forms of corporate ownership. Much of the importance of the process is due to the fact that considerable class, status and prestige has accrued to the owners of land and property in all societies since the inception of property rights and the growth of stable community structures. The relinquishing of this privilege may therefore involve downward mobility in some sense.

The study of "proletarianization" has been ignored by American sociologists. This neglect may be attributed partially to (1) the Marxian overtones; (2) the concentration upon the issue of an "old middle class" in transition rather

¹This definition is essentially the same as that offered by Archibald O. Haller. See his "Urban Economic Growth and Changes in Rural Stratification: Rio de Janeiro, 1953-62" (Paper prepared for and presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Miami, Fla., 1966), p. 2. Haller has, in this definition, essentially followed Alfred Meusel, "Proletariat," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: MacMillan Co., 1933, reprinted September, 1951), pp. 510-518.

than in discontinuity; and finally (3) to the restrictions imposed by the rural-urban cleavage within the discipline of sociology. An emphasis upon continuity rather than discreteness led stratificationists to study the mobility of members of the "old middle class" both intergenerationally and intragenerationally into "the new middle class" comprised of managers and other white collar workers in the tradition of the mythical Horatio Alger.¹

It was a process of proletarianization to which the Russian Revolution of 1917 is frequently attributed. Much labor unrest in many emerging Latin American nations is also attributed to this process. It is out of a combination of dissatisfaction and collectivism that these social movements arise. The predispositions of dissatisfaction and collectivism shall form important dependent themes in this thesis.²

¹For literature on this set of issues see: R. Richard Wohl, "The Rags to Riches Story: An Episode of Secular idealism," in Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.) (Glencoe, Ill.: Illinois Free Press, 1953). Indeed it might well be argued that the cases of downward mobility have been best documented by novelists. See for example: Sinclair Lewis, Babbitt (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company); Bud Schulberg, What Makes Sammy Run (New York: Modern Library, 1952); Arthur Miller, Death of a Salesman (New York: The Viking Press, Campus Books, 1958); John Steinbeck, The Grapes of Wrath (New York: A Bantam Book published by arrangement with The Viking Press, Inc., c1939).

For a review of some of the literature on downward mobility see Harold L. Wilensky and Hugh Edwards, "The Skidder: Ideological Adjustments of Downward Mobile Workers," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), 215-231.

²For a general review of the literature on social mobility up until the end of the 1950's the classic work is Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.:

The collectivism and dissatisfaction of a "proletariat" with rural backgrounds, mediated by conditions of employment insecurity, lack of training, economic deprivation, and social discontinuity, many authors note, often becomes translated into militant extremism.¹

University of California Press, c1959). I believe that this work will now be largely superceded by the work contained in Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The Occupational Structure of the United States (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967).

For the relationship between mobility and attitude changes see Robert K. Merton, and Alice S. Kitt, "Reference Group Theory and Social Mobility," in Class, Status and Power, 1st ed., op. cit., 1953, p. 403; Also Andrezej Malewski, "The Degree of Status Incongruence and Its Effects," Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.) (2nd ed.; New York: Free Press, c1966), pp. 303-308.

For the interpersonal interaction consequences of mobility see Peter Blau, "Occupational Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," American Sociological Review, XXXI (1956), 290-295. Also Richard E. Curtis, "Occupational Mobility and Urban Social Life," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (1959-1960), 296-298.

For some of the structural consequences of occupational mobility, see Gino Germani, "Social and Political Consequences of Mobility," Social Structure and Mobility, in Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Lipset, op. cit., 1966. Also see Ronald Freedman and Amos H. Hawley, "Migration and Occupational Mobility in the Depression," American Journal of Sociology, LV (1949-1950), 171-177.

For an analysis of the rate of flow across stratum boundaries in the U.S.A. see the excellent analysis by Peter M. Blau, "The Flow of Occupational Supply and Recruitment," American Sociological Review, XXX (August, 1965), p. 490.

¹For reference to studies in this vein see John C. Leggett, "Uprootedness and Working Class Consciousness," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII:6 (May, 1963), 682-692 and _____, "Economic Insecurity and Working Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review XXIX (April, 1964), 226-234. Also see Maurice Zeitlin, "Economic Insecurity and the Political Attitudes of Cuban Workers," American Sociological Review, XXXI:1 (February, 1966), 35-51 together with James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin, "Miners and Agrarian Radicalism," American Sociological Review, XXXII:4 (August, 1967), 578-586.

A final set of interests rests on Moore's assertion that social stratification (unequal rewards for social performance) rests on the differential talents of individuals. He argues that "existing systems tend to transform inequality of position into inequality of opportunity." Therefore, "Commitment to a system of rewards based on merit and mobility consistent with talent and training may require the participant to alter the system as well as his place in it."¹

The argument on the differential functional importance of positions fits neatly into the classical debate in economics on the mobility of labor. The essential proposition on mobility of factors of production was developed in terms of the theory of "comparative advantage" first stated by Smith and later elaborated by Ricardo. The argument stems from the classical assumption that the nature of labor was a homogeneous, fluid mass flowing from position to position whenever opportunity costs were not covered.²

The antagonists have argued that labor is rather a heterogeneous non-competing set of status groups with both differential access and restraining barriers to various social positions. It is in the investigation of the

¹Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold Feldman, Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas (New York: Social Science Research Council, c1960), p. 69.

²For a discussion see Harry G. Brainard, International Economics and Public Policy (New York: Henry Holt and Co., c1954), 114-129.

heterogeneity of labor and the barriers restraining mobility that economics and sociology supplement each other.

In economics, essentially three kinds of impediments to the transfer of labor from agriculture have been considered. They are: (1) unemployment in the non-farm sector; (2) imperfect knowledge in the labor market; and (3) resource fixities in agriculture. The first argument holds that labor mobility from the agricultural sector is tied to the non-agricultural unemployment rate. As the unemployment rate increases, mobility from agriculture will decrease. This thesis was given contemporary importance by Bishop¹ and its most convincing presentation by Perkins and Hathaway.²

¹Entry into some of the better work in this theoretical tradition particularly with respect to labor flows out of agriculture, may be gained through the following materials: C. E. Bishop, "Economic Aspects of Changes in Farm Labor," in Labor Mobility and Population in Agriculture (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1961), p. 36; C. E. Bishop, Farm Labor in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); Bishop also contributed two of the early pieces which pointed out the effect of the non-agricultural industrial structure (particularly the employment rate) upon labor flows from agriculture. See his "Underemployment of Labor in Southeastern Agriculture," Journal of Farm Economics (December, 1954), p. 1151.

²The most recent study which vastly improves the evidence on this subject is that presented by Brian B. Perkins and Dale E. Hathaway, Movement of Labor Between Farm and Non-farm Jobs (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1966), Research Bulletin 13.

Also important in this regard is the following study: Dale E. Hathaway and Arley D. Waldo, Multiple Jobholding by Farm Operators (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, Agricultural Experiment Station Department of Agricultural Economics, 1964), Research Bulletin 5.

The "imperfect knowledge" thesis maintains that communication between non-farm employers and potential employees from the farm sector is poorly developed, introducing inefficiency into the labor market allocation of labor.¹ Finally, the "asset fixities" explanation maintains that an asset is fixed in agriculture when its net earnings are less than its acquisition costs but greater than its salvage value.²

In summary, this study seeks to integrate theoretical interests in the impact of community residence structure, social mobility, and occupational setting on the attitudes, values and beliefs of farm residents in a highly industrial setting.

I therefore choose to follow the work of Donald Bogue who maintains that,

¹The information hypothesis was developed by D. Gale Johnson in the following articles: "Functioning of the Labor Market," Journal of Farm Economics (February, 1951); "Policies and Procedures to Facilitate Desirable Shifts of Manpower," Journal of Farm Economics (November, 1951); and "Labor Mobility and Agricultural Adjustment," in Agricultural Adjustment Problems in a Growing Economy (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1958); and "Policies to Improve the Labor Transfer Process," American Economic Review (May, 1960). For additional information on this hypothesis see Archibald O. Haller and William H. Sewell, "Occupational Choices of Wisconsin Farm Boys," Rural Sociology, XXXII (March, 1967); Seymour Martin Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, XX:3-4 (September-December, 1955), 220-228; R. D. Geschwind and Vernon W. Ruttan, Job Mobility and Migration in a Low Income Rural Community (Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1961), Research Bulletin 730.

²The "fixed assets" hypothesis has been developed by Glenn L. Johnson, "Supply Function--Some Facts and Notions," Agricultural Adjustment Problems in a Growing Economy (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1958), 78.

Within highly industrialized societies, metropolitan structures emerge which exercise an organizing and integrating influence upon the social organization of a broad expanse of territory far beyond its civil boundaries and thereby dominates populations within this area of influence.¹

Traditionally, social distance was closely "tied" to physical distance. In highly industrial settings technology has assisted in "untying" this relationship. Communications systems and transportation systems increasingly remove physical distance and social isolation as a parameter of social organization. Such a position is not new. Durkheim commented:

Territorial divisions are thus less and less grounded in the nature of things, and consequently, lose their significance. We can almost say that a people is as much more advanced as territorial divisions are more superficial. On the other hand, at the same time that the segmental organization is thus effaced, occupational organization comes out of its torpor more and more.²

Thus the urban industrial institutional sphere has been extended to the rural hinterland altering localistic and small community forms of social organization.

¹Probably the classic statement of "Metropolitan Dominance Theory" was by Donald J. Bogue, The Structure of the Metropolitan Community: A Study of Dominance and Subdominance (Ann Arbor: Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, 1950). See also more recent statements by Harold Goldsmith and James H. Copp, "Metropolitan Dominance and Agriculture," Rural Sociology, XXIX (1964), pp. 385-395. Rupert Vance and Sara Smith, "Metropolitan Dominance and Integration," in Hatt and Reiss (eds.), Cities and Society (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

²Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. by George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, c1933), p. 187.

This body of theory may be related in its implications for attitude, value and belief structures of individuals through the work of Daniel Bell, Edward Shils and S. M. Lipset. These authors maintain that ideological differences are largely wiped out in highly developed nations by advanced and universal communication media, elaborate transportation systems, the recession of isolation, the elaboration of national markets, policies, educational systems and other systems of social exchange, that create a structure in which role sets are highly differentiated and intermeshed; thus reducing distinctive cultural value positions through extensive cross-pressuring of the role occupants. Taken to its logical extreme, this theoretical stance suggests that occupational variation has little effect upon ideological differences and predisposition structures between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors in highly industrialized contexts.¹ Indeed it suggests few fundamental differences remain.

This position related to Bogue's idea of urban industrial dominance implies that ideology in urban-industrial settings may be diffused throughout the metropolitan area as well as its hinterland without the direct physical involvement of the individual in the industrial work setting. Such

¹For a brief elaboration of ideas in this area see Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., c1960), pp. 439-456. For a more detailed account see Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

developments in industrial settings are manifested by the decline of a distinctive agrarian institutional structure, which is being replaced by the consolidation of education systems and political regions together with the centralization of service centers as agriculture becomes increasingly commercial and small local communities give way to larger regional exchange systems with urban loci.

Given this theoretical operator, the variable nature of the problem must now be made explicit.

Variable Structure of the Problem

Independent Variable

The central independent variable in this study is "degree of off-farm work contact." Its strategic theoretical importance, has already been explicated. This variable is intended to measure the degree to which farm owner operators have had actual work experience in a non-farm occupational setting.

Control Variables

Many studies have shown that off-farm work is selective for young and for highly educated farm residents. These studies also demonstrate that these persons earn higher net family incomes than the remainder of the farm residence category. Therefore, in order to avoid as much as possible the spurious attribution of variation on the

dependent variables to the independent variable, the decision was made to control age, education and net family income in the design of this study.¹ Empirically these three variables clearly are most systematically related to occupational mobility out of agriculture. Their theoretical bearing must now be discussed in the context of effect upon attitudinal characteristics and the structure of metropolitan dominance.

Education and income are universalistic criteria of evaluation used in role assignment in industrial societies. In contrast to particularistic criteria of evaluation such as age and sex traditionally used to assign role and status

¹Exemplary studies finding a relationship between age and non-farm work among rural-farm residents include: G. S. Tolley and H. W. Hjort, "Age Mobility and Southern Farmer Skill," Journal of Farm Economics, XLV (February, 1963), 31-46; Arley D. Waldo, "The Off-Farm Employment of Farm Operators in the United States" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1962); Karl E. Taeuber, "The Residential Redistribution of Farm Born Cohorts," Rural Sociology, XXXII:1 (March, 1967), 20-36; Don Kanel, "Farm Adjustments by Age Groups, North Central States 1950-1959," Journal of Farm Economics, XLV:1 (February, 1963), 47-60.

Studies finding a consistent relationship between education and non-farm work among rural-farm residents include: Brian B. Perkins, "Labor Mobility Between the Farm and the Nonfarm Sector" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1964); William H. Sewell and Allan M. Orenstein, "Community of Residence and Occupational Choice," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (March, 1965), 551-553; R. D. Geschwind and V. W. Ruttan, op. cit.; and Arley D. Waldo, Ibid.

Studies finding a consistent relationship between net family income and non-farm work among rural farm residents include: Arley D. Waldo, Ibid.; Brian B. Perkins, Ibid.; Arley D. Waldo, "The Impact of Outmigration and Multiple Jobholding Upon Income Distribution in Agriculture," Journal of Farm Economics, XLVII:5 (December, 1965), 1235-1244.

titles

which

these

ment

also

are o

indus

show

these

would

these

form

clear

clear

life

clear

3)

to a

form

would

that

that

they

that

that

duties, universalistic criteria represent the degree to which activities are assigned on the basis of achievement rather than ascription. Universalistic criteria of achievement gain importance in industrial societies and presumably also in industrial agriculture. Since education and income are demonstrably good measures of socio-economic status in industrial structures and socio-economic status has been shown to be to a large extent determinant of many industrial attitudinal characteristics, their control in this problem would appear mandatory in order to avoid as much spurious attribution of variance on the attitudinal variables to "off-farm work contact" as possible.

Age also must be carefully controlled. There is clear evidence that mobility rates decline with age due to differences in (1) education; (2) the differences in the lifetime over which the transfer costs (which may be inflated because of mobility impediments) are to be spread; (3) to the differences in ownership of fixed assets; and (4) to age ceilings on unskilled and skilled labor in the non-farm labor force. It is also clear that younger individuals would be socialized into a more urban-industrial set of values than those who were older. Transition in the institutional structure of agriculture has been its trademark over the last century. In fact Moore indicates that this transition is accelerating through time, if the rate of decline of the agricultural labor force may be used as an

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

and

indicator. He found that for the 19th century, the average annual rate of decline was 0.43, for the period 1900-1950 the annual rate was 0.51, and for 1950-1960 the rate was 0.67.¹ The argument that those who are younger are socialized into a more highly industrial set of values and beliefs implicitly asserts a social lag in the value transition of those who are older and committed to more traditional ways. Let it be explicit here.

Each of these variables is also to a substantial extent instrumental in differentially assigning individuals to interaction sets. Those with higher education and income levels are more likely to interact with others at similar levels. Members of age cohorts associate more closely within the cohort rather than across cohort lines. Differential interaction rates as well as socio-economic status levels lead to differential predispositional structures.

There are of course, a large number of other variables which could conceivably be differentially related to attitude formation. For example, type of farm, major enterprise on farm, organizational memberships, community orientation, etc. In terms of this study, the selection priorities were made on the basis of criteria of theoretical importance and probable empirical power.

¹Wilbert E. Moore, "Changes in Occupational Structures," Social Mobility in Economic Development, Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: Aldine, 1966), p. 203.

Dependent Variables

To this point I have discussed in general terms the impact of the bureaucratic industrial work setting upon the individual; his attitudes, beliefs, and values. Explicitness in the discussion of precisely which attitudes, beliefs, and values, may now no longer be deferred.

The idea was to isolate theoretically relevant as well as pragmatically important predispositional themes which have been important historically and command contemporary investigation. These would be general attitude areas which presumably are altered by involvement in bureaucratic work settings.

i

The first theme to be discussed is individualism-collectivism. It has often been maintained that the farm-owner operator is more individualistic than the factory worker. Crockett has put the argument as follows:

The work setting . . . shifts from one in which most individuals work on their own or in firms of small size to one in which most individuals work in large-scale organizations. Where individuals were previously led to compete occupationally with others, they are now called on to blend their personalities harmoniously with the personalities of others working in the same organization and to fit their efforts co-operatively into the complicated activity through which some group-product is achieved. Changes in occupational structure and work setting, then, alter the terms on which occupational success and upward mobility are widely available. Rather than rewarding the self-reliant, competitive, risk-taking individual

(Riesman's "inner-directed" man) as before, the present social arrangements reward the friendly, affiliative person whose greatest satisfactions are derived from effective performance as a member of a team (Riesman's "Other-directed" man).¹

Whyte has noted this problem in a slightly different context. He asserts that with the ascendancy of the Protestant Ethic, the pursuit of individual salvation through hard work, thrift, and competitive struggle was the heart of the American achievement motive. As industrialization, with its increased secularization proceeded, the Protestant Ethic as a source of motivation receded and the "Social Ethic" ascended. Briefly, the "Social Ethic" asserts that conflict between man and society can be overcome by applying the methods of science to human relations.²

Marx consistently maintained that factory workers (the proletariat) were more "collectivistic" than the peasants; a characteristic which enabled the development of "class-consciousness." He further asserted that this increase in collectivism could be attributed to the work structure of the mills and factories.³ On the other hand,

¹Harry Crockett, "Psychological Origins of Mobility," in Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.) (Chicago, Ill.: Aldine, 1966), p. 306.

²William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1956); 7-8.

³Mitrany maintains that Marx simply chose to overlook the extent of peasant expression of discontent and its effectiveness both historically and in his own contemporary period. See David Mitrany, Marx Against the Peasant (New York: Collier Books, c1961).

he claimed it was difficult to convince the peasant of his "class interests" because: (1) his occupation was ecologically segregative; and (2) the individual family firm nature of peasant holdings introduced competition rather than cooperation.

More recently, Daniel Lerner has stressed the importance of increased empathic ability by those who reside and participate in more urban-industrial settings. Defining empathy as "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation," Lerner continues:

It is the major hypothesis of this study that high empathic capacity is the predominant personal style only in modern society, which is distinctively industrial, urban, literate, and participant. Traditional society is nonparticipant--it deploys people by kinship into communities isolated from each other and from a center; without an urban-rural division of labor, it develops few needs requiring economic interdependence; lacking the bonds of interdependence, people's horizons are limited by locale and their decisions involve only other known people in known situations.¹

In addition to its theoretical relevance, this theme has a good deal of pragmatic importance in the context of the contemporary scene in American agriculture. The increased interest in the extension of industrial labor practices and laws to agriculture, together with adamant demands by groups of farmers for collective bargaining

¹Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), p. 50.

procedures in the pricing of farm products, increases its relevance here.^{1,2}

ii

The second theme is the idea of support or rejection of government regulation or involvement in agriculture. The issue of laissez-faire-socialistic government policy has long been an issue of sociological importance paralleling the "collectivism" issue. Both went hand in hand. With the decline of land-owning aristocracies and feudal lords in all countries experiencing industrialization and the rise of the working classes has come increasing support for governmental regulation and involvement in industrial and business affairs. With this transition also went the transition from monarchy and other autocratic governmental forms to more representative government of a democratic-socialist nature.³

¹For citations to some of the issues here see Denton E. Morrison and Allan D. Steeves, "Deprivation, Discontent and Social Movement Participation: Evidence on a Contemporary Farmers' Movement; the N.F.O.," Rural Sociology (forthcoming).

²An interesting approach to the development of individualistic or collectivistic personality types under different types of agricultural production is developed by Irwin L. Child and Margaret K. Bacon, "Relation of Child Training to Subsistence Economy," American Anthropologist, LXI (February, 1959), 51-63.

³An interesting account of this transition and others is contained in Gerhard Lenski, Power and Privilege (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

The issue of the relation between the institutions of business and industry (economic) and the body politic is no less important in contemporary America. Of particular interest in this thesis is the relation of agriculture to the political institution. The need for a reliable supply of low cost food and fiber is (and has been) of strategic importance to the growth and development of all industrial societies particularly as the labor force shifts into non-agricultural industries. In order to assure the stability of this production, governments in all highly industrialized nations have related distinctively to the agricultural sector. In the U.S.A., the involvement of government in agriculture has had the effect of: (1) maintaining prices above what farmers would have obtained on a "free" market; (2) increasing land values; while (3) diminishing returns to labor; and (4) introducing programs based on production criteria rather than on such criteria as financial need, or the creation of equal opportunity.¹ In short, as Schultz has pointed out, "the behavior of rural people, their representatives and their institutions implies a materialistic bias in favor of plants, land and animals and against people."²

¹For the most complete account of contemporary issues on this subject see: Dale E. Hathaway, Government and Agriculture: Economic Policy in a Democratic Society (New York: MacMillan Company, 1963), pp. 12-13.

²T. W. Schultz, "Underinvestment in the Quality of Schooling: The Rural Farm Areas," in Increasing Understanding of Public Problems and Policies (Chicago, Ill.: The Farm Foundation, 1965).

Interestingly, the dilemma of government in agriculture has been unsatisfactorily resolved in the assessment of all concerned parties. Those in low income positions in agriculture have labelled government farm programs, "Socialism for the rich, laissez-faire for the poor." Social commentators have been antagonistic particularly in the light of the recent emphasis on urban poverty, the development of the poverty program, and the fact that one-half of all people defined as having incomes below the poverty line (\$3,000) reside in rural areas.¹

Those in relatively high income positions in agriculture have campaigned for the operation of the "free market" forces on the basis of two tenets:

(1) They argue that government price support policies tend to maintain a large number of marginal producers who are unnecessary and earn only subsistence incomes;

(2) Secondly, they argue that price support programs tend to decrease the power of the individual in production planning. This position is, of course, embodied most

¹For some comments on this general issue see Michael Harrington, The Other America (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, c1962), p. 60. A more sophisticated treatment of the issue is given by James T. Bonnen, "Rural Poverty: Programs and Problems," Journal of Farm Economics, XLVIII:2 (May, 1966), 452-465; and Dale E. Hathaway, "Some Implications of Continuing Present Farm Price and Income Support Programs" (unpublished paper, 1967).

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

1989

unequivocally by the Farm Bureau Federation and its political lobby in Washington.¹

iii

The third theme "orientation to institutional change," is patterned after the Inkeles theme of "readiness for change."² Essentially it is intended to measure the degree to which farm operators are willing to exchange old institutional arrangements in agriculture for the institutional structure demanded by the industrial system (i.e., efficiency of production, equal returns to factors, etc.). Such is an important variable in any ideological set, for in some sense, it measures the degree to which a population feels it can effectively manipulate its environment rather than the inverse (a characteristic of more "modern" populations according to Inkeles).

¹See Farm Bureau Policies for 1966 (Chicago, Ill.: American Farm Bureau Federation, 1966), pp. 2-5. It should be noted that by and large the ends of all groups in agriculture are essentially the same--equal returns to equal resources in agriculture compared to other industrial sectors. The difference is in beliefs about how these ends may be best attained. Farm Bureau claims without government assistance Farmers' Union and the Grange have supported the extension of government programs as has the N.F.O. generally, although there is a move to believing that limiting production and collective bargaining may be more instrumental in the achievement of this purpose.

²See Alex Inkeles, "What Makes a Man Modern? Theoretical and Methodological Issues." (Prepared for an inter-departmental symposium on "problems on Cross-Cultural Research in Developing Areas," at Michigan State University, May 25-26, 1967.)

This variable takes on particular significance in this study because, generally speaking, many people in agriculture view changes in the industrial structure as depriving agriculture of its former power, authority, and wealth.¹ To the extent this is so, those most involved in the activities of this industrial sector have been predisposed to advocate no change or a return to a past position rather than embrace innovative positions.²

Institutional arrangements which may arouse most nostalgic reaction in agriculture are: (1) the family farm; (2) the free market; and (3) institutions of independent proprietorship and marketing, etc. All of these arrangements have been modified in recent years in American agriculture.

¹In all probability they are correct. Just as Smelser notes that during the 18th century in England, control of capital began to slip from the workman's grasp and came more and more into the control of the master manufacturers in the putting-out system, differentiation has also indisputably increased processor control and diminished "farmer power" in contemporary American agriculture. See Neil J. Smelser, Social Change in the Industrial Revolution (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 59.

²By and large it seems that "farmers" or "peasants" as an occupational group have been more prone to accept reactionary rather than innovative positions. Evidence for this hypothesis might be taken from C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," American Sociological Review, XI (1946), 724-734. Also see Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties (New York: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 109-130. This generalization must be tempered by caution in the light of some extremely innovative positions taken in agrarian politics in many nations. See for example Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1950).

Indications are that the family farm structure of American agriculture is slowly changing with the assistance of an "efficiency oriented low-cost food" government policy; a policy which has received the support of a now urban dominated political structure.

The proverbial free market has long since become oligopsonic or even monopsonistic in that processors have found, and taken advantage of, increasing returns to scale and centralization.¹ This has left a farm producer group which, though numerically high, is in a very weak bargaining position because it produces heterogeneous products. The preference of a highly differentiated processing industry for "large lot" buying of homogeneous quality produce has increasingly operated to increase returns to high volume producers. This, in turn, has resulted in a more corporate form of organization of the former "family farm firm."

High volume, increasingly differentiated production has also enabled large producers to make maximum use of technological innovations as a substitute for labor. The distortion of returns to resources inserted by a government policy--the effect of which is to "over-value" land and "under-value" labor in agriculture--assures "corporate" structure (a form of organization where labor is more

¹See John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State (Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1967).

plentiful--therefore cheaper resource) in industrial agriculture.¹

iv

Finally, I introduce the attitudinal theme of industrial "satisfaction-dissatisfaction (alienation)." This theme is theoretically interesting on two distinct counts. First, sociologists have predominantly viewed those emersed in "gemeinschaft-like" structures as "poor but contented." Seldom have the subjects of conflict, anomie, alienation, or disorganization been discussed in this context.²

¹On this issue see Dale E. Hathaway, "Farmers and the Great Society," Challenge (Nov.-Dec. 1965) and _____, "Agriculture's Status and Potential" (unpublished paper, 1967).

²For the most part, studies of rural communities and small peasant communities tend to view such structures as beautiful, prystine, quaint, and good. Seldom is the conflict and segregation found in these communities ever very well documented. Only recently has this been appearing in the literature. For examples see: Shirley Evelyn McPhee, "Social Organization and Economic Change In A Fishing Community" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1965); George Foster, "Interpersonal Relations In a Peasant Society," Human Organization, XIX (1960-61), 174-178; also "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good," American Anthropologist, LXII (April, 1965), 293-315. Also on this theme see Charles Erasmus, in Heath and Adams (eds.), Contemporary Cultures of Latin America (New York: Random House) 193-199. Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold Feldman, "Preindustrial Forms of Organized Work," Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas (New York: Social Science Research Council, cl960). Probably a particularly key study is: Oscar Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village: Topotzlan, Restudied (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1951). For a more recent dialogue on this issue see the chapters by Lewis and Philip M. Hauser, in Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, The Study of Urbanization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), pp. 496-514.

Secondly, Marxian theory views the "proletariat" as the basis of revolutionary activity primarily because of its ability to express its dissatisfactions. The peasants he viewed as too "stupid" to either be aware of or express their discontents. Yet theorists have often noted that the U.S.A. is in some sense distinctive in that throughout much of its history it has harboured an undercurrent of agrarian radicalism while experiencing a relatively quiescent adaptation of the proletariat.¹

Certainly related to both these themes is the adaptation which the agricultural sector has had to make to the increasing economic and political dominance of the non-agricultural industrial sector. With the technological revolution has come a declining value of labor and declining control of the factors of production by agriculture. Given this trend, one would expect high and increasing rates of dissatisfaction in the agricultural sector as the non-agricultural industrial structure steps into power and agriculture is forced to adapt its activity with an institutional structure that is lagging.

¹I prefer to deal with this issue at more length when I discuss the relationship between "satisfaction-dissatisfaction" and "individualism-collectivism," in the sequel. At present allow me to simply note the following treatment of this issue; Norbert Wiley, "America's Unique Class Politics: The Interplay of the Labor, Credit and Commodity Markets," American Sociological Review, XXXII:4 (August, 1967), 529-541.

These considerations lead one to expect farmers in industrial societies to be more dissatisfied than those who have found non-farm jobs and thus managed to increase their reward and opportunity structures. Farmers prevented from taking this transition because they lack appropriate skills (trapped in agriculture),¹ should be increasingly discontent with their lot as the rewards to labor in agriculture decline relatively and as urban reference units are accepted as increasingly relevant. This theme is also important in light of growing evidence of social disorganization and conditions of anomie in rural areas of industrial America as evidenced by: (1) the growth of a viable farmers' movement;² (2) the comparatively high rates of rural suicide;³ and (3) the

¹See T. W. Schultz, "A Policy To Redistribute Losses From Economic Progress," in Labor Mobility and Population in Agriculture (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1961), pp. 158-168.

²D. E. Morrison, and A. D. Steeves, op. cit.

³On this subject see Widick W. Schroeder and J. Allan Beegle, "Suicide: An Instance of High Rural Rates," Rural Sociology, XVIII:1 (March, 1953). For an interesting replication of this study see Ruth E. Dennis, "Suicide Differentials in Michigan: A Replication" (unpublished M.A. thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1967).

decline of small communities.^{1,2}

Theoretical Relationships and Hypotheses

The basic terms of the thesis have been stated, and their relevance explicated. The theoretical design of the study calls for sequential and simultaneous controls on age, education and income in order that the relationship between "off-farm occupational contact" and the dependent variables (collectivism, pro-government orientation, traditionalism and dissatisfaction) be understood more fully.

The derivation of the relationships expected between the variables based upon the theories of urban-dominance and the "End of Ideology" must now constitute the order of business.

¹See Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960). Ruttan has noted the discontinuity in the mutuality of interest relationship which previously existed between commercial agriculture and the local community through the product market and the market for purchased inputs. Increased economies of scale now make it more economical for large commercial producers to purchase their inputs outside the local community and develop new export markets for their less diversified product. See Vernon W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy in an Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, XLVIII:5 (Dec., 1966), pp. 1116-7.

²Treatment of the process by which high rates of industrial dissatisfaction may be stimulated by feelings of relative deprivation among a farm population increasingly integrated with an urban-industrial structure, but denied to some extent its equal rewards, its link with increased rates of collectivism and social movement agitation where "self-blame" is translated into "structural blame" is expounded in D. E. Morrison and A. D. Steeves, op. cit.

The central hypothesis of this study states that, "Farm residents with high non-farm occupational contact will demonstrate small but consistently greater degrees of support for (1) collectivism, and pro-government involvement in agriculture but lesser degrees of traditionalism and occupational dissatisfaction than those with low levels of off-farm experience. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that these relationships will be largely removed after age, education and income controls have been applied simultaneously, demonstrating that the farm-non-farm occupational setting per se has little unique impact upon these attitudinal characteristics in highly industrial settings.

Secondary relationships between the control and dependent variables lead us to expect that as age increases, collectivism, pro-government support and dissatisfaction will decrease, while traditionalism should increase regardless of non-farm occupational contact.

Thirdly, as education increases, pro-government support increases, while collectivism, traditionalism and dissatisfaction decrease, regardless of non-farm occupational contact. Finally, as income increases, collectivism, pro-government support, traditionalism and dissatisfaction decreases, regardless of non-farm occupational contact.

Theoretical rationale for the direction of these secondary hypotheses is nearly non-existent in this discussion. They are nonetheless important. However, I have

limited the discussion to the impact of these variables upon the attitude characteristics of farm residents achieving varying degrees of off-farm occupational mobility. In this sense, these second order hypotheses are regarded as important over and above their value as controls for their potential explanatory value in describing the impact of institutional characteristics on farm residents in highly industrial settings.

Recapitulation

In summary the problem to be investigated is the impact of off-farm work contact upon the selected attitude characteristics of farm residents. The theoretical argument has been that the more bureaucratic nature of off-farm work settings together with the increased probability of association with other non-farm people serves to influence attitudinal characteristics. But since non-farm work contact is selective for low age, high education and high income, these variables must be controlled in order that attitudinal variability not be attributed spuriously. Age and attitudes were hypothesized to be related on the basis of different time periods of socialization as well as the changing physical nature of labor with age in an occupation demanding high physical exertion. Education and income essentially are used as measures of socio-economic status. Theoretically those who are both better informed and are rewarded

disproportionately highly for their occupational endeavors would have different attitudinal responses than their complementary set.

Our theoretical calculus based on metropolitan dominance theory and the regress of ideological cleavages (rural-urban) in pluralistic industrial settings led to the derivation of the central hypothesis of no relation between "degree of off-farm work contact" and the selected attitudinal themes after age, education and income characteristics had been controlled.

CHAPTER II

THE EMPIRICAL SETTING

The settings chosen for this study were the states of Michigan and Wisconsin. In both states there is located substantial industrial activity combined with a progressive agriculture. The objective of this short chapter is to point out features of this setting which are crucial to the later development of the problem.

Comparative Reward Structures of Agriculture and Non-Agricultural Industries

Labor is allocated to a substantial extent by the wage structure in highly industrialized structures. Table 1 (Appendix A)¹ shows the rate of decline of labor as a factor of production in American agriculture together with the rising utility of its substitutes.²

¹All table and figure referrals hereafter in this chapter shall be found in Appendix A.

²Solow has defined technological change as equal to the change in output not accounted for by the changes in capital and labor. Using such a measure he calculated that the average growth rate in the non-farm sector was approximately 1.5% annually between 1909-1949 compared to the technological change function in agriculture of approximately 3.49% for the same period. Thus, "technological change in agriculture has been twice as rapid as in the private non-farm

As labor diminishes in utility in agriculture so do its relative rewards. Thus, for the short time period from 1950 to 1960 Table 2 illustrates a proportional decline from .48 to .46 in the income of rural farms compared to urban incomes. This residential disparity also exists in the case of farm occupations for both males and females (Table 3). But differences in age, sex, and education of those employed in agriculture versus those in other industries require that adjustments be made for these factors in order that labor be made comparable. Hathaway¹ adjusted for sex, age, labor capacity, labor force participation, share of labor earnings, purchasing power of money income, income tax payments and value of home produced food at retail prices. On the basis of this calculation, he concluded that per capita income returns in agriculture (based on 1960 census data) ought to be 88% of non-farm levels--up from 70%--a comparable figure for 1950.²

Boyne, analyzing data from the current population surveys (CPS), found that over the period 1948-1960 "the

sector." For a general discussion see Lester B. Lave, Technological Change: Its Conception and Measurement (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 33-57.

¹Dale E. Hathaway, Government and Agriculture (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1963), pp. 33-34.

²D. Gale Johnson, "Labor Mobility and Agricultural Adjustment," E. O. Heady et al. (eds.), Agricultural Adjustment Problems in a Growing Economy (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1958), pp. 163-172.

money income position of farmer and farm manager families had declined relative to other families in the economy. Absolute real incomes have increased only about one-third (15% vs. 41%) as fast as real incomes of all families. In 1960, 75 percent of farmer and farm-manager families were in the lowest 40 percent of income receiving units in the U.S."¹ Although from this data one must conclude that most people employed in agriculture receive lower incomes than those in non-farm industrial sectors, one must investigate the income distribution before asserting the tempting generalization that all do.

Table 4 indicates that returns to firms in agriculture are highly concentrated. Indeed the top 8% of the farms operate 37% of the acreage in farms and sell 50% of the product value while the bottom 44% of the farms own 16% of the land and sell only 5% of the product value.² Tables 5 and 6 indicate the disparities are not as great in Michigan and Wisconsin. In fact Boyne has shown that over the period 1948-1963 "the income distribution for farmer and farm-manager

¹David H. Boyne, "Changes in the Income Distribution in Agriculture," Journal of Farm Economics, XLVII:5 (1965), 1223.

²A similar situation applies in Canada though less so. There, 10% of the farms produce 45% of the product while the bottom 46% of the farms sell only 10% of the product. Those in the top group supplement their incomes by working an average of 5 days off-farm annually, while the bottom group work 76 days annually. See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Series, 5.1, Agriculture, Canada, Bulletin 5.1-1, Table 31, pp. 31-37.

families was greater than for any other occupational group identified by CPS income. Although the concentration declined by 15% over the period, it has in recent years "been about equal to that of other self-employed groups."¹

This evidence suggests that rewards in agriculture flow disproportionately to a few large producers. Indeed, Table 7 solidifies the assertion by indicating that large producers (\$20,000+) more than cover their opportunity costs while smaller producers (the great bulk in terms of numbers) are well below parity.² Such a finding does much to dispel the idea that government support price programs are geared to assisting the small producer.³

Occupational Structure of the Rural Farm Residence Category

A second topic must be addressed--that is the occupational structure of the farm residence category and its similarity or distinctiveness when compared to that of the other residence categories.

¹David H. Boyne, op. cit., 1966.

²The best single discussion of the parity returns position of American farmers is the following: United States Department of Agriculture, Parity Returns Position of Farmers (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Aug., 1967), Senate Document No. 44.

³Dale E. Hathaway, "Some implications of Continuing Present Farm Price and Income Support Programs" (unpublished Paper, 1967).

4

11

A minority (43.6%) of the employed labor force classified as rural farm residents are occupationally classified as farm operators by the U.S. Census (See Table 8). For the male farm residents, 53% of the rural farm category were classified as farm operators (Table 9). More importantly, however, the rural farm residents are uniformly under-represented at the top of the occupational structure (professional, technical and kindred; mgrs. officials and proprietors; clerical and kindred; salesworkers) compared to their urban counterparts. Similarly they are over-represented at the bottom of the occupational structure (craftsmen, foremen, kindred; operatives and kindred; private household). These lead one to conclude that farm residents are predisposed to being in "last hired, first fired" urban occupational categories. In periods of recession and depression rural farm residents are often "twice displaced." The most convincing data here are those marshalled by Perkins where he found a net backflow into agriculture during the 1957-58 recession as well as an underrepresentation of rural farm workers in the higher prestige occupational categories.¹

Worth noting, however, is the fact that the comparative occupational distributions (Fig. 1) follow essentially the same contours indicating a degree of interdependence and

¹Brian Banbury Perkins, "Labor Mobility Between the Farm and Non-Farm Sector" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1964).

the integration of the division of labor.

In Michigan, farmers and farm managers constitute only 34% of the residence category; in Wisconsin, some 48 percent (see Table 8). Secondly, it is noted that 63% of the Michigan rural farm males (Table 9) employed off-farm are in either craftsmen, foremen, kindred; or operatives and kindred categories--occupations carried out in a factory setting. Only 47% of all urban males are in these occupations. The comparable Wisconsin figures are 62% and 47%.

Much of the work done by labor force observers on multiple jobholding is geared to answering two questions: (1) what is the relationship of multiple jobholding to unemployment? (a question of considerable interest to labor unions), and (2) what is the effect of multiple jobholding upon work performance.¹ Little or nothing has been done by these observers on agriculture presumably because it is (for the most part) outside the jurisdiction of the labor unions.

Rates of Multiple Jobholding in Agriculture

Discussions of multiple jobholding in agriculture and data over time have been accumulating from reports on the monthly labor force survey published by the Department of Labor (see Table 10). Despite high rates of off-farm

¹For a review of studies on these questions see Mary Ann Coghill, Moonlighters in Tight Labor Market, Technical Reports Series, Industrial and Labor Relations Library (New York School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, Feb., 1967).

residential mobility over recent decades, Table 10 also indicates increased rates of multiple jobholding among those working in agriculture during the first half of the 1960 decade. This table also indicates agriculture is the secondary employment source among 74% of those multiple jobholders self-employed in agriculture. This table also demonstrates the importance of agriculture as a source of all secondary self-employment.

A second source of data on the off-farm occupational pursuits of farm residents is found in the Census of Agriculture. This data reports on the "rural farm" residence category.¹ A primary problem with the residence classification is that it has led to the confusion of residence and occupation (i.e., not all those classified as rural farm are farmers and vice versa).² The 1964 Census of Agriculture

¹In the 1960 Census, the rural farm population is defined as persons living in rural territory on places of 10 or more acres from which sale of farm products amounted to \$50 or more in 1959 or in places of less than 10 acres from which sales of farm products amounted to \$250 or more in 1959. This definition is essentially the same as that used by the 1959 and 1964 Censuses of Agriculture. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960 General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Final Report PC (1)-1C, pp. xxx-xxxi.

2

Year	Percent living on farms male farmers and farm managers in
	contiguous U.S.
1940	96.1
1950	92.0
1960	82.1

Source: Census of Population Reports 1940, 1950; Census of Population 25% sample of Households, unpublished data for 1960.

defined off-farm work to include "work on someone else's farm for pay as well as all types of non-farm jobs, business, and professions, whether the work was done on the premises or elsewhere. Exchange work was not included."¹ It is upon this definition that the following discussion is based.

Most important in the discussion of multiple jobholding in agriculture is not the small but significant increases in the rate, but the substantial increases in time spent off the farm by those who are so engaged (Table 11).

The extent of multiple jobholding among farm operators and other farm residents in Michigan and Wisconsin in 1964 is shown in Tables 12 and 13. Worthy of note in these tables is the monotonic increasing nature of those reporting off-farm work as economic class of farm changes; and also the increase in time spent off the farm by farm operators as economic class of farm changes. Finally, by comparing Tables 12 and 13 we can compare the two states in rates of multiple jobholding. Given the nature of the industrial structures of the two states, it is not surprising that a great deal more multiple jobholding is found in Michigan than Wisconsin.

Finally, of crucial importance in the argument is the evidence presented in these tables that virtually all off-farm work is non-farm work. For the farm operators

¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964, Statistics for the State and Counties of Michigan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. A4.

14

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45

46

reporting off-farm work in Michigan, between 96-98% of the days were spent at a non-farm job. Comparable figures for Wisconsin ranged from 92-97%.

Summary

In summary, in this chapter I have accomplished three objectives. First, I have discussed the income and reward structure in agriculture relative to other industries, in the context of its function of stimulating the mobility out of agriculture. Secondly I briefly discussed the occupational structure of the rural farm residence category. Finally, the sources of data together with a discussion of the rates and extent of off-farm work by rural farm residents and farm operators were reviewed. This brief "throat-clearing" completed, we may now proceed to a discussion of the operational strategy used in the investigation of the problem of interest herein.

CHAPTER III

OPERATIONAL STRATEGY

The purposes of this chapter are to: (1) describe and assess the quality of the data to be analyzed; (2) present the measurement procedures and discuss their general validity; and (3) restate the theoretical hypotheses in operational form.

Description of the Data

Data from two state-wide (Michigan and Wisconsin) samples of farm operators constitute the empirical basis of this study. These shall now be described.

The Michigan State University Marketing Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University. The principle investigator, Dale E. Hathaway together with collaborators Richard L. Feltner and James D. Shaffer, all of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Denton E. Morrison of the Department of Sociology, were responsible for the conception and design of the study in the fall and winter of 1964-65.

An area probability sample was drawn to yield an approximately 1% sample of Michigan farm operators using the

1964 Census of Agriculture definition.¹

It was decided 22 counties in the state would (1) give approximately the geographic spread desired; and (2) constituted a manageable number of counties in which to supervise interviewers. Counties were randomly selected according to the number of farms each contained. The sample was drawn to include 1200 Michigan farmers after a 20% allowance was made to account for undersampling, refusals, and other possible reasons for not obtaining complete interviews. Field interviewing begun April 12, 1965, was completed during the week of June 7-11, 1965. Finally, 804 useable schedules were obtained.²

¹The 1964 Census of Agriculture defined farm as follows: "Places of less than 10 acres in 1964 were counted as farms if the estimated sales of agricultural products for the year amounted to at least \$250. Places of 10 or more acres in 1964 were counted as farms if the estimated sales of agricultural products amounted to at least \$50. Places having less than the \$50 or \$250 minimum estimated sales in 1964 were also counted as farms if they could normally be expected to produce agricultural products in sufficient quantity to meet the requirements of the definition." Farm operator, for purposes of this study, was defined as the chief decision maker on such units. For definition of "farm" see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964, Statistics for the State and Counties of Michigan, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 2.

²For a fuller discussion see, Dale E. Hathaway, Richard L. Feltner, James D. Shaffer and Denton Morrison, Michigan Farmers in the Mid-Sixties: A Survey of Their Views of Marketing Problems and Organizations, Research Report 54 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, 1966), p. 67.

Secondly, results from the Wisconsin Farm Organization and Marketing Survey conducted by the Department of Rural Sociology in cooperation with the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin, Madison are reported. This study with Professors Donald E. Johnson and W. Keith Warner as principle investigators, was designed primarily to investigate farm organization and cooperative membership together with the marketing practices of Wisconsin farm operators. The sample was drawn to be representative of all Census of Agriculture farm operators in the State of Wisconsin.¹ The universe was derived from the 1964 Wisconsin tax assessor listings of 103,300 farm operators.²

A random 1% sample was selected from this universe and a questionnaire mailed in March 1965. A response rate of approximately 66% was obtained, and a total of 674 useable questionnaires were returned.

Personal interviews were held with those who returned completed questionnaires. Limited financial resources dictated that only a sample of those who responded to the questionnaire be interviewed. For this reason, the following "purposive" sampling process was employed:

¹For definition, see footnote on previous page.

²See Donald E. Johnson and W. Keith Warner, Wisconsin Farm Organizations and Cooperatives: Membership and Patronage (Madison, Wisconsin: Agricultural Experiment Station, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin), Bulletin 581, p. 5.

(1) All respondents who indicated on their questionnaire they were currently members of Farm Bureau, Farmers' Union, Grange, or the National Farmers Organization were eligible for interview;

(2) Of those who did not belong to any of these organizations, half were randomly selected for interview.

On the basis of this sampling procedure, 425 useable interviews with corresponding questionnaires were obtained during the months of May and June 1965, though a small number of call-backs were completed as late as July and August. It is this set of respondents upon which the Wisconsin analysis is largely based.¹

The two studies, closely related in their objectives, were coordinated through the North Central Regional Subcommittee on Farm Organizations. This committee, of which Johnson, Morrison and Warner were members, enabled many of the same questions to be asked on both studies thereby assuring comparability.

For purposes of selected sections of this analysis, the samples have been combined where question and response categories were virtually identical. This procedure allows investigation of the research problem on a sample of farmers in a highly industrial setting with an enlarged sample

¹There were 8 cases in which extended interviews were granted but questionnaires were never completed. These cases have been omitted from this analysis.

($N = 804 + 425 = 1229$) for a more restricted set of questions. Combining the studies allowed taking advantage of the enlarged sample and the increased probability of stability in the results. On the other hand, disadvantages suffered were: (1) the Wisconsin survey was restricted in its measures of off-farm work contact; and (2) it lacked a measure of net family income. Despite these considerations, I concluded it advantageous to proceed with a restricted analysis of the "combined" data.

Measurement Strategy

As described in Chapter I, the independent variable in this analysis is "off-farm work contact." Essentially four measures were employed to capture this variable. The first and most basic measure simply attempts to determine the magnitude and extent to which farmers are presently working at off-farm jobs.¹ This is the only measure of the

¹For the Michigan study this information was analyzed from the question: "Are you presently working 20 hours or more a week off the farm for pay? (Yes or No)."

The comparable Wisconsin question was: "Estimate the number of days you worked off your farm in 1964 (Include all custom work):"

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 0 - none | 4 - 200-299 days |
| 1 - 1-49 days | 5 - 300 or more days |
| 2 - 50-99 days | 9 - no answer |
| 3 - 100-199 days | |

In order to achieve approximate comparability, categories 0 - 2 in the Wisconsin question were recoded 2 and 3 - 5 were recoded to 1. Category 9 was excluded.

independent variable which is common to all three sets of data (Michigan, Wisconsin and Combined).

As can be noted from the questions, 100 or more days off-farm work in 1964 (in the Wisconsin study) was considered equivalent to 20 or more hours a week presently (in the Michigan study).¹

Henceforth, those working 20 hours or more off-farm in 1964 shall be referred to as "presently working off-farm" (presents). Those working less than 20 hours or 100 days off-farm (including none) shall be referred to as "farmers."

It appears from Tables 1 and 2 (Appendix B) that both survey measures tended to underestimate the amount of off-farm work though insignificantly. The Michigan survey estimate was particularly close to the Census estimate.

Three remaining independent variable measures were obtained only in the Michigan study. Former studies have indicated a good deal of occupational mobility both into and out of the farm operator category. As was indicated earlier "occupational mobility effects" were of considerable theoretical interest. This effect is not really captured in the

¹I remark, the Wisconsin question is essentially the same as the question asked in the 1964 Census of Agriculture. The comparability, however, of the Michigan study and Census of Agriculture distribution essentially legitimates the assumption of comparability of the Michigan and Wisconsin measures (See Tables 1 and 2 Appendix B).

above measure. Therefore, a measure to capture the degree of off-farm occupational contact over time was developed.¹

This question allowed a three fold elaboration of occupational contact. Those working off-farm presently were maintained. The "farmer" category however was dichotomized into those presently farming who had worked off-farm full time in the past (PAST) and those presently farming who had never worked off-farm (NEVER). Insertion of the PAST category allows comparison of those who had been in non-farm occupations with those who presently were and those who had never been.

Thirdly, it seems logical to expect the effects of "off-farm work contact" to increase with time spent in such work settings. Therefore, a question to determine this effect when controlled for the effects of years managing a farm allowed for the separation of the effects of the two occupational settings.²

¹This was operationalized in the question Have you ever worked full time at a non-farm job? Yes or No.

²The question asked was: About how many years in all has the head worked full time at a non-farm job, not counting time spent in military service?

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 1. Less than 1 year | 4. 7 - 9 years |
| 2. 1 - 3 years | 5. 10 - 20 years |
| 3. 4 - 6 years | 6. Over 20 years |

In the analysis this variable is dichotomized into less than 10 years and ≥ 10 years. It is controlled for years managing a farm which is dichotomized into < 20 years and ≥ 20 years. The cutting points were determined pragmatically to obtain as equal a distribution of cases as possible.

:

:

5

i

5

二

•

2

2

or

25

42

24

1

上

2

2.

...

25

Finally, a particular theoretical interest was also the impact which labor union membership might have on (1) off-farm mobility and (2) upon the attitudinal characteristics of farm operators. This was of interest primarily from the perspective of the labor union being the chief ideological organization of the "working class."¹ Historically the ideologies of "labor" and "land owners" have been incongruent. Investigation of the resolution of this incongruency among multiple jobholders in American Agriculture might prove theoretically strategic. It was hypothesized that labor union membership would serve to emphasize and accentuate the attitudinal effects of off-farm work contact.²

Control Variables

The questions and categorized responses asked in order to obtain age and education data were precisely the same for both Michigan and Wisconsin studies, both following

¹It should be noted that 43% of the respondents in the Michigan sample qualified as PRESENT, 33% as PAST and 24% as NEVER.

²The question asked was simply "Have you ever been a member of a labor union? (Yes or No). As will be seen in the analysis this is controlled by Past and Present off-farm work to which the analysis is limited. Only 5 farmers who had never worked off-farm claimed labor union membership. This category may therefore be dismissed from this analysis except for comparative purposes.

the 1964 Census of Agriculture questionnaire.¹ Therefore, the survey distributions on these items ought to be directly comparable with the Census distributions.

While the age distribution for the Michigan sample (Table 3 was not significantly different from the Census distribution (5% level), the education distribution did differ significantly (Table 4, Appendix B). Inspection reveals that this is attributable to the slight underestimation in the category of those who had completed 8th grade and an over-estimation of those with 1-3 years of college. On the other hand, the Wisconsin age and education distributions clearly do not correspond to the Census distributions. Tables 3, 4 and 5 (Appendix B) reveal the magnitude of the discrepancies.

Three income measures were obtained in the Michigan study: (1) gross farm income; (2) income from non-farm employment; and (3) net family income. Only the net family income measure was used as a control. However, the gross farm income question was directly comparable with the question on this variable asked in the 1964 Census of Agriculture. Results of the comparative distribution analysis indicate essential similarity between the Michigan and Census

¹In the analysis, responses to "age at last birthday" are trichotomized: Low age - < 45 years;
Medium age - 45-54 years;
and High age - ≥ 55 years.
The "last year of school completed" responses were dichotomized: Low education ≤ 3 years high school;
High education ≥ 4 years high school.

distributions while there are substantial dissimilarities between Wisconsin distributions (see Table B-5).

The gross farm income and off-farm income measures were used in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin study had no measure of net family income.¹ Therefore, there was no income control analysis applied to either the Wisconsin or the combined analyses.

In summary, the comparative analysis of the survey distributions with the Census distributions indicate two points. They are (1) the Michigan study appears to be essentially representative of the same universe as the 1964 Census of Agriculture; (2) the Wisconsin study appears to sample a significantly different universe than the 1964 Census of Agriculture. Both hesitancy and caution must therefore be advised in the generalizability of the Wisconsin results.

¹An attempt to predict the Wisconsin net family incomes from the gross farm and off-farm incomes was made as follows: (1) Michigan gross farm incomes plus off-farm income measures were entered into a regression equation with net family income. Dummy variables and interaction dummy variables were entered into the equation for each category of gross and off-farm income to improve the degree of fit at each level of income. Although we were successful in obtaining the correlation coefficients for the variable matrix, the analysis was abortive when the matrix failed to invert, therefore, failing to give us the regression coefficients. The solution to this problem has not been satisfactorily explained. A set of dummy variables was omitted so as to assure that the matrix was non-singular. The only explanation which I can offer, is that the dummy variables and interaction dummies would not invert in the same matrix.

Dece

ite

one

der

ser

ser

it

ed

re

er

ly

er

OC

re

Is

Is

ce

Dependent Variable Measures

Michigan respondents were given a list of 56 attitude items of forced choice design. They were asked to choose one of the following statements presented on a card:

1. I agree completely;
2. I agree with some reservation;
3. I tend to disagree;
4. I disagree completely;
5. I have no opinion; in response to attitudinal statements read by the interviewer.

Wisconsin respondents were given 57 items of the same response design. Thirty-nine questions which were exactly the same were asked in both studies. Of these, 29 items were included on the constructed combined deck.

In choosing items as measures of the dependent variable themes, 10 persons familiar with the area were asked to rate the items according to which theme (previously defined) they thought it measured and whether it was an (E) Excellent; (V) Very Good; (G) Good; (P) Poor indicator. At least 7 of the 10 respondents rated each item in each theme as at least "Good." This consensus argues for the face validity of the measure.

Issues in the Determination of Item Analysis

By hypothesizing that groups of items measure one central theme, one would hope that items so designed would

inter-correlate highly. Of course, if they correlated perfectly, any one of them would be as useful a measure of the variable as any other (or others) in the designated set. In order to determine the inter-item variability the item sets for each theme in each study were intercorrelated (see Table 9, Appendix B). Although items within sets were more highly correlated than items between sets, this analysis revealed little variance in common among items. The low inter-item correlations suggested therefore the wisdom of analyzing the items separately before collapsing rather than scaling directly. Such a procedure allows for the analysis of item reversals and patterns of consistency as well as the observation of general trends in the data. Although a more cumbersome as well as time consuming procedure, this was the route chosen.

Definition of Dependent Variables

The first theme is "individualism-collectivism." The attitudinal characteristic I am attempting to capture here is the degree to which farm operators view problems in the agricultural sector as best being ameliorated through individual or organized effort. The former view is "individualism"; the latter, "collectivism." The items were given common polarity and those who responded (1) agree completely; or (2) agree with some reservations were labelled "Collectivists"; Conversely, "Individualists" (see Tables 6-8, Appendix B).



The second dependent variable or theme was labelled pro-government--anti-government in agriculture. This theme was kept separate from the first due to its pragmatic importance in contemporary agriculture. As well, support for government programs in agriculture is often viewed as an alternative to collective bargaining as a price control mechanism. I did not wish to confuse the two elements. This theme was defined simply as the degree to which farmers support government price and production control programs in the regulation of agriculture. Tables 9-11 (Appendix B) present the items used in the measurement of this theme together with the item-item correlations. The items were standardized for purposes of analysis to a pro-government response direction. Those who responded; (1) agree completely or (2) agree were labelled "Pro-Government" and conversely-- "Anti-Government."

Change Orientation

This theme is defined as the degree to which the respondents are ready to accept change in present institutional arrangements in the agricultural industry. Those ready to accept change are labelled "Modern"; those unwilling, "Traditional." The items were polarized in the "traditional" direction. Those who responded either agree completely or agree to these terms were designated "Traditionals" and conversely, "Moderns." Tables 12-14 (Appendix B) present the

item-item correlations followed by the indicators used. Finally, a theme intended to measure the degree to which the respondents were satisfied with the institutional structure of the industry was isolated and labelled "Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction (Alienation)." It is intended to be a measure of the relative degree of satisfaction the respondent feels with respect to the industry and its institutional arrangements. It is particularly intended to focus upon the degree to which the farmer feels he obtains legitimate rewards given his skill and resource inputs.

The items were polarized so that those who responded (1) agree completely; and (2) "agree" were labelled "dissatisfied" and conversely, "satisfied." Tables 15-17 (Appendix B) present the item-item correlations followed by the indicators used in the measure.

Appraisal of the Data

It is now time to appraise the data and the measures used in rendering our theoretical ideas operational.

It appears that the Michigan study is essentially representative of all Michigan Census of Agriculture farms at least for the variables of (1) off-farm work; (2) age; (3) education; and (4) gross farm sales. In short, it appears that this study is based upon sound and careful sampling procedure.

The Wisconsin sample, on the other hand, is not representative of Census of Agriculture farms. This may be attributed to either or both of the following factors:

- (1) The Wisconsin tax assessor listings may not represent the same universe as the Census of Agriculture;
- (2) There may have been selectivity in the mail questionnaire response.

As a further note of caution, there may be even further unmeasured distortion introduced through the 2:1 interviewing ratio on farm organization members and non-members in the Wisconsin study. Differences would be introduced here to the extent that farm organization members have distinctive characteristics on the measured variables. Clearly caution is in order when generalizing from the Wisconsin study to the farm operator universe of Wisconsin.

It must be emphasized, however, that I am more interested in casting light upon some theoretically derived hypotheses than in obtaining parameter estimates of the sample universes.

Secondly, two words of caution must be offered on our operational procedure with respect to the dependent variables. First, the item-item correlation analysis was conducted with the aid of a missing data routine.¹ For

¹Here I used the routine authored by William L. Ruble and Mary E. Rafter, Calculation of Basic Statistics When Missing Data is Involved (The MDSTAT Routine) (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, January, 1966), Stat. Series Description No. 6.

individual questions, occasionally as many as 300 (of 1237) cases either fell into the "no opinion" category or were missing from the combined program analysis; 200 (of 804) from the Michigan analysis, and slightly over 100 (of 433) in the case of the Wisconsin survey. Since an analysis of this missing data or "no opinion" responses was not conducted, we have no way of knowing its distribution. I can neither say it varied randomly nor non-randomly. I must say that I have no reason to believe the variance in the missing data to be distributed any differently than that in the data analyzed. Secondly, it was largely on the basis of the very low item-item correlations that it was decided not to use scaling techniques on the items in the dependent themes. It may be that this decision was mistaken and that a less cumbersome type of analysis would have been possible had the themes been scaled.

Analytical Design and Operational Hypotheses

Having specified the variables in operational form, I now must specify the relationships between the variables in the same terms. The design chosen in which to couch the analysis must also be specified.

A study design was required which would facilitate investigation of the relationship between "off-farm work contact" and the four dependent variable themes after the variables of age, education and net family income had been

controlled. The ordinal nature of the dependent variable measures limited the sophistication of the analytic model which could be used. Therefore, an elaboration of contingency tables design described by Hyman was chosen.¹

This analytic design allows one to closely investigate the patterns of relationship in each of the items in the themes as well as in aggregate. The simplicity of this design is its primary strength. Its disadvantages are that it is (1) cumbersome, and (2) lacks the clarity of a regression analysis.²

Operational Hypotheses

SET 1

Hypothesis 1: (a) Uncontrolled, the "presents" will be more collectivistic than the "farmers."

(b) After age, education, and income controls have been applied simultaneously, there is no difference in collectivism between the "presents" and the "farmers" which can be attributed to off-farm work contact.

¹This technique is more fully described in Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1965), ch. 6 & 7.

²Despite violation of the assumption of interval measurement, experimental analyses using the regression model were completed on the Michigan data. By and large the results did not differ greatly using this model of analysis from those presented here, using the elaboration of contingency table design.

Hypothesis 2: (a) Uncontrolled the "presents" will be more collectivistic than the "pasts" and the "pasts" than the "nevers."

(b) After age, education and income controls have been applied simultaneously, there is no difference in collectivism between the "presents," "pasts," and "nevers" which can be attributed to off-farm work contact.

Hypothesis 3: The greater the period spent working off-farm, the greater the collectivism after years managing a farm has been controlled.

Hypothesis 4: Labor union membership will increase collectivism among those who have worked (or are working) off-farm.

SET 2 PRO-GOVERNMENT--ANTI-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Hypothesis 1: (a) Uncontrolled, "presents" will be more pro-government in agriculture than "farmers."

(b) After age, education, and income have been controlled, there will be no difference between "presents" and "farmers" on pro-government in agriculture which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

Hypothesis 2: (a) Uncontrolled, "presents" will be more pro-government in agriculture than "pasts" and "pasts" than "nevers."



100

100

100

(b) After age, education and income have been simultaneously controlled, there will be no difference between "presents," "pasts," and "nevers" on pro-government in agriculture which can be attributed to degree of off-farm contact.

Hypothesis 3: After years managing a farm has been controlled, the greater the number of years spent working off-farm, the greater the pro-government support.

Hypothesis 4: Labor union members will be more pro-government in agriculture than non-labor union members who have worked off-farm.

SET 3 DEGREE OF TRADITIONALISM

Hypothesis 1: (a) Uncontrolled, the "farmers" will be more traditionalistic than the "presents."

(b) After age, education and income have been controlled simultaneously, there is no difference in traditionalism which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

Hypothesis 2: (a) Uncontrolled, the "farmers" will be more traditionalistic than the "pasts" and the "pasts" than the "presents."

(b) After age, education and income have been controlled simultaneously, there will be no difference between "presents," "pasts," and

"nevers" on traditionalism, which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

Hypothesis 3: After controlling for years managing a farm, the greater the number of years spent working off-farm, the less the traditionalism.

Hypothesis 4: Among those who have worked off-farm, traditionalism will be less among those who have been labor union members.

SET 4 DEGREE OF DISSATISFACTION

Hypothesis 1: (a) Uncontrolled, "presents" will be less dissatisfied than "farmers."

(b) After age, education, and income have been simultaneously controlled, there will be no difference in degree of dissatisfaction between "nevers," "pasts," and "presents" which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

Hypothesis 3: After years managing a farm has been controlled, the greater the number of years spent working off-farm, the less the dissatisfaction.

Hypothesis 4: Among those who have worked off-farm, dissatisfaction will be greater among those who have been labor union members.

In summary, this discussion has outlined the strategy used in operationalizing the theoretical problem. Data from

two closely coordinated, extensive, state-wide farm operator studies have been described. The operational procedure used in translating the theoretical ideas to empirical variables has been explicated. The results of comparative distributions between the data and the 1964 Census of Agriculture have been presented and discussed briefly in terms of establishing the degree of reliability and generalizability of the data. The item indicators used to measure the dependent themes were discussed and the results of an inter-item correlation analysis presented. Finally, the operational design of the study was presented along with the operationalized hypotheses.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Reporting Format

Evidence on the hypotheses is presented. The themes are treated in the order of: (1) individualism-collectivism; (2) pro-government--anti-government in agriculture; (3) change-orientation; and (4) satisfaction-dissatisfaction with the structure of agriculture. On each theme, the uncontrolled data are presented first, followed by simultaneous age, education and income controls. This analysis is then followed by the sequentially controlled data in Chapter V.

On each of the themes we also look at four approaches to the measurement of the independent variable--"off-farm work contact." Initially presented are the "present"--"farmer" comparisons for the combined deck followed by the similar comparison on the Michigan data with the additional "income" control.

Following this are the comparisons on (1) those presently working off the farm (presents); (2) those who worked off-farm in past (pasts); and (3) those who never worked off-farm (nevers). This analysis is limited to the Michigan study.

A third approach to the measurement of the off-farm effect for each dependent theme also was performed on the Michigan data only. This approach was to look at the length of time worked off-farm in the past. This, in turn, is controlled for years managing a farm. Finally, the impact of labor union membership upon multiple jobholders for each of the themes controlled for whether they are presently working off-farm or had worked off the farm in the past is presented.

Only summary data are presented for each of the themes. Presented are the mean theme index percentage scores. These are calculated by averaging the item percentage scores (X) on the N indicators. The scores on each of the items are summed and divided by N . More elegantly: Mean theme percentage score = $\frac{\sum_{i=1}^N X_i}{N}$. An implicit assumption in using such a measure is that each indicator is an equally good measure of the theme. Though discontent with such an assumption, the benefits of simplicity outweighed the lure of elegance. Although weighting procedures might clarify the results somewhat, it is doubtful that it would alter the basic conclusions.

Analysis and Results

Individualism-Collectivism

Hypothesis 1(a)

Uncontrolled, the "presents" will be more collectivistic than the "farmers."

Table 4.1 demonstrates only minor and inconsistent differences on the uncontrolled analysis of collectivism. The responses varied between 62% and 67% collectivism for all item sets. This does much to dispel the stereotype of farmer individualism at least in the settings under consideration. On the basis of these data, no support for the hypothesis is found.

Hypothesis 1(b)

After age, education and income controls have been applied simultaneously, there is no difference in collectivism between the "presents" and the "farmers" which can be attributed to off-farm work contact.

Table 4.2 indicates a wide range of variation but there seems to be no consistent pattern therein which can be attributed to off-farm work contact. The best we can say here is that it appears extrinsic factors are accounting for this variation. In short, our hypothesis of no relationship appears to be supported.

Present, Past, Never: Hypotheses 2(a) and 2(b)

While the "present" farmer dichotomy was instructive in the analysis of off-farm work contact, there remained substantial numbers reporting off-farm work experience in the past among those who reported they were not presently working off-farm. The "farmer" set was therefore further dichotomized into those who had never worked full time off-farm and those

TABLE 4.1*

UNCONTROLLED PRESENT-FARMER COLLECTIVISM COMPARISONS

	COMBINED STUDY		MICHIGAN STUDY		WISCONSIN** STUDY	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Presents	64	$\frac{1742}{2738}$	65	$\frac{1427}{2204}$	63	$\frac{377}{596}$
Farmers	65	$\frac{3182}{4912}$	67	$\frac{1868}{2790}$	62	$\frac{1301}{2090}$
Sample N	1229		804		425	
No. of Items	7		8		7	
**Item Consistency-- Farmers> Presents	57%		75%		28%	

*N represents the summation over all items. To derive the mean number of cases for each item, simply divide by the number of items. For example, in the Wisconsin study the "present" percentage collectivistic (63%) is calculated on the basis of a mean item $N = 377/7 = 54$ collectivists out of $596/7 = 85$ "presents" for each item. Recall that those identified as "collectivists" are those who strongly agreed or agreed with the attitude statement. This method of presentation has been followed throughout this thesis.

** In the Michigan analysis, 1 item not common to the combined analysis has been included. The Wisconsin items are all exclusive of the other analyses.

*** In the item consistency calculations, the number of "present-farmer" comparisons in which "farmers" had higher percentage scores than "presents" (i.e., Table 4.1) the total number of comparisons is equal to the number of items. In the controlled analysis (i.e., Tables 5.1 and 5.2) the total number of comparisons is equal to the number of items multiplied by number of categories into which the control variable(s) is divided.

11

TABLE 4.2

COLLECTIVISM: PRESENT-FARMER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN STUDY) AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME
CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY*

	Low Education				High Education				
	Low Income %	Low Income N	High Income %	High Income N	Low Income %	High Income N	High Income %	High Income N	
Presents	Low Age (≤ 44)	73	$\frac{8}{11}$	62	$\frac{206}{331}$	64	$\frac{48}{75}$	64	$\frac{384}{600}$
	Medium Age (45-54)	66	$\frac{74}{112}$	65	$\frac{235}{360}$	72	$\frac{36}{50}$	64	$\frac{143}{222}$
	High Age (≥ 55)	65	$\frac{85}{131}$	71	$\frac{137}{194}$	56	$\frac{10}{18}$	61	$\frac{61}{100}$
Farmers	Low Age (≤ 44)	66	$\frac{71}{107}$	75	$\frac{113}{151}$	72	$\frac{214}{299}$	65	$\frac{210}{321}$
	Medium Age (45-54)	69	$\frac{136}{198}$	66	$\frac{137}{209}$	70	$\frac{75}{107}$	57	$\frac{81}{142}$
	High Age (≥ 55)	65	$\frac{507}{775}$	73	$\frac{183}{252}$	63	$\frac{113}{180}$	56	$\frac{37}{66}$

*No. of items = 8.
Sample N = 804.

who had worked full time off the farm in the past. This produced the trichotomous categorization of those who were (1) "Presently" engaged in off-farm work; (2) engaged in off-farm work in the "Past"; and (3) "Never" engaged in off-farm work.

Data were available only for the Michigan sample. The logic of our theoretical position led us to hypothesize that:

2(a) Uncontrolled, the "presents" will be more collectivistic than the "pasts" and the "pasts" than the "nevers"; and:

2(b) After age, education and income controls have been applied simultaneously, there is no difference in collectivism between the "presents," "pasts" and "nevers" which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

Table 4.3 presents the data on hypothesis 2(a). There is no support indicated for the hypothesis. Indeed it is the "pasts" who are most collectivistic. This "unexpected" result shall be followed up in the next chapter.

TABLE 4.3

UNCONTROLLED "PRESENT," "PAST," "NEVER" OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS: COLLECTIVISM (MICHIGAN STUDY)*

	%	N
Present	65	<u>1427</u> 2204
Past	68	<u>1106</u> 1624
Never	65	<u>763</u> 1166

*Sample N = 804

No. of Items = 8

Table 4.4 presents the data on hypothesis 2(b). Here once again we have a fairly wide variation of results, but no consistent relation indicating lack of support for our hypothesis. Tentatively, then, our null hypothesis must be accepted.

Particular caution must be exercised in assessing this result. Particularly in some of the categories of low education-low income, high education-high income, the number of cases is extremely small.

Hypothesis 3

After "years managing a farm" has been controlled, the greater the number of years spent working off-farm, the greater the collectivism.

Table 4.5 would indicate that our hypothesis is unsupported by the data. In fact, neither "years worked off-farm" nor "years managing a farm" appears to influence degree of collectivism in any substantial degree.

Hypothesis 4

Labor union membership will increase collectivism among those who have worked (or are working) off-farm.

Table 4.6 indicates our hypothesis is unsupported. In fact, the reverse hypothesis would seem to receive more support from the data. I shall comment upon this finding at more length in the following chapter.

TABLE 4.4

COLLECTIVISM: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)
AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY*

		Low Education			High Education		
		Low Income %	Low Income N	High Income %	Low Income %	High Income N	High Income N
Presently Working Off-farm	Low Age (≤ 44)	73	$\frac{8}{11}$	62	64	$\frac{48}{75}$	$\frac{384}{600}$
	Medium Age (45-54)	66	$\frac{74}{112}$	65	72	$\frac{36}{50}$	$\frac{143}{222}$
	High Age (≥ 55)	65	$\frac{85}{131}$	71	56	$\frac{10}{18}$	$\frac{61}{100}$
Worked Full-Time Off-farm In Past	Low Age (≤ 44)	69	$\frac{43}{62}$	74	67	$\frac{108}{161}$	$\frac{114}{173}$
	Medium Age (45-54)	69	$\frac{71}{103}$	72	85	$\frac{40}{47}$	$\frac{48}{78}$
	High Age (≥ 55)	68	$\frac{298}{438}$	69	64	$\frac{84}{132}$	$\frac{25}{44}$
Never Worked Full-Time Off-farm	Low Age (≤ 44)	62	$\frac{28}{45}$	77	77	$\frac{106}{138}$	$\frac{96}{148}$
	Medium Age (45-54)	68	$\frac{65}{95}$	55	58	$\frac{35}{60}$	$\frac{33}{64}$
	High Age (≥ 55)	62	$\frac{209}{337}$	78	60	$\frac{29}{48}$	$\frac{12}{22}$

*No. of Items = 8.

Sample N = 804.

TABLE 4.5

COLLECTIVISM: YEARS OFF-FARM WORK CONTROLLED FOR YEARS MANAGING A FARM--
SEQUENTIAL AND SIMULTANEOUS CONTROLS (MICHIGAN STUDY)*

Period of Off-Farm Employment Uncontrolled		Years Managing A Farm Uncontrolled	
	%	%	N
Never Worked Off-Farm	66	66	$\frac{1742}{2649}$
Worked Less than 10 years Off-Farm	66	66	$\frac{1886}{2876}$
Worked ≥ 10 Years Off-Farm	65		$\frac{1550}{2327}$
Simultaneous Controls		Years Managing A Farm	
Work- Non-Work	Years Managing a Farm		N
	< 20	≥ 20	
	%	%	N
Never Worked Off-Farm	66	65	$\frac{303}{456}$ $\frac{511}{782}$ $\frac{602}{899}$
Worked Off-Farm	66	66	$\frac{1439}{2193}$ $\frac{928}{1411}$ $\frac{592}{916}$

* Sample N = 804.

No. of Items = 8.

TABLE 4.6

COLLECTIVISM: LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP CONTROLLED
FOR PRESENT--PAST OFF-FARM WORK
(MICHIGAN STUDY)*

UNCONTROLLED

	%	N
Member of Union	67	$\frac{1532}{2272}$
Non-Member	69	$\frac{944}{1367}$

CONTROLLED FOR PRESENT-PAST OFF-FARM WORK

	Presently Working Off-Farm		Not Presently Working Off Farm	
	%	N	%	N
Member of Labor Union	66	$\frac{929}{1408}$	70	$\frac{603}{864}$
Never A Member of A Labor Union	68	$\frac{443}{650}$	70	$\frac{501}{717}$

*Note: Only those who were Multiple Jobholders or had been Multiple Jobholders in the past were included in this analysis.

**Omitted Items: Do you think farmers can work together to solve the problem through their own organizations?

***Sample N = 804 - "Nevers"
No. of Items = 7.

Pro-Government--Anti-Government

Multiple Jobholder--
Farmer Comparisons

On the basis of some theoretical conjecture and popular notion, there is held to be a positive relationship between individualism and support for laissez-faire government policy. Therefore, it is held the farmer is more supportive of laissez-faire government policy as well as much more individualistic. The relationship is posited as a contingency. As examples, the policy basis of the Farm Bureau is often taken to reflect (and be representative of) farmers' opinions on this matter.

It was largely on this very tentative basis that we were led to hypothesize that: 1(a) Uncontrolled, "presents" will be more pro-government in agriculture than farmers.

Table 4.7 reveals that this hypothesis is uniformly unsupported by the data. On the contrary, it appears that farmers are more pro-government in agriculture than are the "presents" particularly in Wisconsin.

Hypothesis 1(b)

After age, education and income have been controlled, there will be no difference between "presents" and "farmers" on pro-government in agriculture which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

Table 4.8 indicates that after the controls have been applied, substantial variation between comparable "present"

TABLE 4.7
UNCONTROLLED PRESENT-FARMER PRO-GOVERNMENT COMPARISONS

	COMBINED STUDY		MICHIGAN STUDY		WISCONSIN* STUDY	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Presents	37	<u>553</u> 1477	38	<u>388</u> 1030	46	<u>157</u> 343
Farmers	38	<u>1032</u> 2692	39	<u>521</u> 1339	53	<u>645</u> 1209
Sample N	1229		804		425	
No. of Items	4		4		4	
Item Con- sistency-- Farmers> Presents	75%		75%		100%	

*The items in the Combined and Michigan analyses are the same. Items in the Wisconsin analysis are different from those in the other two analyses.

TABLE 4.8

PRO-GOVERNMENT: PRESENT-FARMER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN STUDY) AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME
CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY*

	Low Education			High Education		
	Low %	Income N	High %	Low %	Income N	High %
Presents	40	2 5	43	27	10 37	38
	Low Age (≤ 44)					
					101 269	
Presents	49	23 47	36	20	5 25	32
	Medium Age (45-54)					
					33 103	
Presents	36	21 59	38	62	5 8	40
	High Age (≥ 55)					
					19 47	
Farmers	45	21 47	47	34	47 140	35
	Low Age (≤ 44)					
					53 152	
Farmers	41	41 99	39	44	23 52	29
	Medium Age (45-54)					
					19 66	
Farmers	41	150 365	39	34	30 88	43
	High Age (≥ 55)					
					16 37	

*No. of items = 4.
Sample N = 804.

"farmer" scores remain. However, these differences have no distinct or consistent pattern which could be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact. Therefore it would appear our hypothesis gains some support.

Hypothesis 2(a)

Uncontrolled, "presents" will be more pro-government in agriculture than "pasts" and "pasts" than "nevers."

TABLE 4.9

UNCONTROLLED "PRESENT," "PAST," NEVER" OFF-FARM
WORK COMPARISONS: PRO-GOVERNMENT
ORIENTATIONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)*

	%	N
Present	38	<u>388</u> 1030
Past	39	<u>305</u> 778
Never	38	<u>216</u> 561

*Sample N = 804

No. of Items = 4

Table 4.9 reveals the hypothesis to be unsupported by the data. In fact, there appears to be little or no difference between the categories on degree of pro-government support in agriculture.

Hypothesis 2(b)

After age, education and income have been controlled, there will be no difference between "presents," "pasts," and

"nevers" on degree of pro-government support in agriculture which can be attributed to degree of off-farm contact.

Again there is substantial variation in the controlled data (see Table 4.10), a good deal of which may be contributed by the very low number of cases in some of the cells. We notice, however, that there is no consistency in the variation which can be attributed to off-farm work contact. In short, our hypothesis receives slight though unsatisfactory support.

Hypothesis 3

After "years managing a farm" has been controlled, the greater the number of years spent working off-farm, the greater the degree of pro-government support.

Data presented in Table 4.11 reveals no support for this hypothesis. Given the data, the null hypothesis appears to be more appropriate.

Hypothesis 4

Labor union members will be more pro-government in agriculture than non-labor union members who have worked off-farm.

In this case, the data presented in Table 4.12 would reveal support, though slight. Even after we control for presently or not presently working off-farm, the labor union members remain consistently more pro-government than those

TABLE 4.10

PRO-GOVERNMENT: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)
AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY*

		Low Education			High Education		
		Low Income %	Low Income N	High Income %	Low Income %	High Income N	High Income %
Presently Working Off-farm	Low Age (≤ 44)	40	$\frac{2}{5}$	43	27	$\frac{10}{37}$	38
	Medium Age (45-54)	49	$\frac{23}{47}$	36	20	$\frac{5}{25}$	32
	High Age (≥ 55)	36	$\frac{21}{59}$	38	62	$\frac{5}{8}$	40
Worked Full-Time Off-farm In Past	Low Age (≤ 44)	35	$\frac{9}{26}$	47	31	$\frac{24}{78}$	39
	Medium Age (45-54)	32	$\frac{16}{50}$	42	56	$\frac{13}{23}$	26
	High Age (≥ 55)	42	$\frac{87}{206}$	43	38	$\frac{25}{66}$	35
Never Worked Full-Time Off-farm	Low Age (≤ 44)	57	$\frac{12}{21}$	48	37	$\frac{23}{62}$	29
	Medium Age (45-54)	51	$\frac{25}{49}$	36	34	$\frac{10}{29}$	32
	High Age (≥ 55)	40	$\frac{63}{159}$	35	23	$\frac{5}{22}$	64

*No. of Items = 4.

Sample N = 804.

TABLE 4.11

PRO-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE: YEARS OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT CONTROLLED FOR YEARS
MANAGING A FARM SEQUENTIALLY AND SIMULTANEOUSLY

Period of Off-Farm Employment Uncontrolled			Years Managing A Farm Uncontrolled		
	%	N		%	N
Never Worked Off-Farm	38	<u>278</u> 731	Less than 20 Years	39	<u>479</u> 1238
Worked Less Than 10 Years Off-Farm	39	<u>294</u> 761	Greater than or equal to 20 Years	37	<u>514</u> 1378
Worked $\geq$ 10 Years Off-Farm	37	<u>421</u> 1124			
Simultaneous Controls			Years Managing A Farm		
Work- Non-Work	Years Managing A Farm < 20		< 20 Years		$\geq$ 20 years
	%	N	%	N	
Never Worked Off-Farm	41	<u>86</u> 209	< 10 Years Off-Farm	38	<u>134</u> 353
Worked Off-Farm	38	<u>393</u> 1029	> 10 Years Off-Farm	38	<u>259</u> 676

* Sample N = 804.

No. of Items = 4.

TABLE 4.12

PRO-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE: LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP
 CONTROLLED FOR PRESENT--PAST OFF-FARM WORK
 (MICHIGAN STUDY)*

UNCONTROLLED				
	%	N		
Member Of Union	39	<u>476</u> 1226		
Non-Member	37	<u>278</u> 753		

CONTROLLED FOR PRESENT-PAST OFF-FARM WORK				
	Presently Working Off-Farm		Not Presently Working Off Farm	
	%	N	%	N
Member of Labor Union	39	<u>293</u> 755	39	<u>183</u> 471
Never A Member of A Labor Union	36	<u>127</u> 354	38	<u>151</u> 399

*Note: Only those who were Multiple Jobholders or had been Multiple Jobholders in the past were included in this analysis.

**Omitted Items: None.

***Sample N = 804 - "Nevers"
 No. of Items = 4.

who had (or were presently) worked off-farm but not been members. Summarily, our hypothesis tends to be supported.

Change Orientation

The guiding theoretical orientation for this theme was the Inkeles concept of "modern man" and his ability to accept changing institutional arrangements. This reasoning led to hypothesis 1(a).

Hypothesis 1(a)

Uncontrolled, the "farmers" will be more traditionalistic than the "presents."

Table 4.13 would indicate support for the hypothesis. In the combined study 40% of the "presents" versus 47% of the "nevers" fall into the traditionalistic category. In the Michigan study, using only two items in addition to those used in the combined study, the difference between categories remains approximately the same.

One would expect, however, after age, education and income were controlled, these differences would diminish. In fact, to the extent farmers were well integrated into the industrial structure, one would expect, on the basis of theories of urban-industrial dominance, the differences to wash out completely. The Inkeles model would maintain the differences should remain and that these differences should be attributed to the distinctiveness of the work settings.

TABLE 4.13

UNCONTROLLED PRESENT-FARMER TRADITIONALISM COMPARISONS

	COMBINED STUDY		MICHIGAN STUDY	
	%	N	%	N
Presents	40	$\frac{818}{2029}$	43	$\frac{869}{2016}$
Nevers	47	$\frac{1708}{3646}$	49	$\frac{1263}{2575}$
Sample N	1229		804	
No. of Items	5		7	
Item Consistency-- Farmers>Presents	100%		100%	

On the basis of our guiding notion of urban-industrial dominance, we hypothesized that: 1(b) After age, education and income have been controlled simultaneously, there is no difference in traditionalism which can be attributed to off-farm work contact.

The results presented in Table 4.14 lend support to the hypothesis though admittedly it is tentative. Table 4.14 would tend to indicate that the controls have more to do with "traditionalism" than the work setting. For instance, farmers of low age are consistently more traditional than "presents" of low age after the age and education controls have been applied. However, for the groups of medium and high age it appears that regardless of income level, farmers of low education are consistently more traditionalistic than their "present" counterparts while the inverse assertion obtains for those of high education.

These consistencies noted, and further comment in the next chapter promised, it must be concluded that our hypothesis tends to be supported by this data.

Hypothesis 2(a)

We hypothesized that, uncontrolled the "farmers" will be more traditional than the "pasts" and the "pasts" than the "presents."

Data in Table 4.15 indicate our hypothesis is supported.

TABLE 4.14

TRADITIONALISM: PRESENT-FARMER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN STUDY) AGE, EDUCATION, * INCOME
CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

		Low Education			High Education		
		Low Income %	Low Income N	High Income %	Low Income %	High Income N	High Income %
Presents	Low Age (≤ 44)	45	$\frac{5}{11}$	42	41	$\frac{28}{68}$	$\frac{36}{542}$
	Medium Age (45-54)	45	$\frac{44}{98}$	46	51	$\frac{24}{47}$	$\frac{39}{207}$
	High Age (≥ 55)	50	$\frac{59}{118}$	52	63	$\frac{12}{19}$	$\frac{55}{85}$
Farmers	Low Age (≤ 44)	46	$\frac{46}{100}$	46	47	$\frac{127}{271}$	$\frac{42}{119}$
	Medium Age (45-54)	62	$\frac{117}{188}$	46	49	$\frac{47}{96}$	$\frac{36}{129}$
	High Age (≥ 55)	54	$\frac{383}{713}$	53	55	$\frac{92}{168}$	$\frac{45}{66}$

* No. of Items = 7.
Sample N = 804.



TABLE 4.15

UNCONTROLLED "PRESENT," "PAST," "NEVER OFF-
FARM WORK COMPARISONS: TRADITIONALISM
(MICHIGAN STUDY)

	%	N
Present	43	<u>869</u> 2016
Past	48	<u>718</u> 1495
Never	50	<u>545</u> 1080

Hypothesis 2(b)

After age, education and income have been controlled simultaneously, there will be no difference in traditionalism which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact. Although there are a wide range of differences indicated in Table 4.16, some of which must probably be attributed to the low number of cases in a few of the cells, the data lack consistency across "present," "past," "never" categories. In short, on the basis of this data, some support for the hypothesis must be concluded.

Hypothesis 3

After controlling for "years managing a farm," the greater the number of years spent working off-farm, the less the traditionalism.

TABLE 4.16

TRADITIONALISM: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)
AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY*

		Low Education			Low Income			High Income			High Income		
		%	N	%	%	N	%	%	N	%	%	N	%
Presently Working Off-farm	Low Age (≤ 44)	45	$\frac{5}{11}$	42		$\frac{126}{298}$	41		$\frac{28}{68}$	36		$\frac{198}{542}$	
	Medium Age (45-54)	45	$\frac{44}{98}$	46		$\frac{158}{346}$	51		$\frac{24}{47}$	39		$\frac{80}{207}$	
	High Age (≥ 55)	50	$\frac{59}{118}$	52		$\frac{88}{170}$	63		$\frac{12}{19}$	55		$\frac{47}{85}$	
Worked Full-Time Off-farm In Past	Low Age (≤ 44)	48	$\frac{29}{60}$	44		$\frac{42}{95}$	49		$\frac{70}{144}$	39		$\frac{59}{152}$	
	Medium Age (45-54)	62	$\frac{59}{95}$	43		$\frac{53}{123}$	45		$\frac{18}{40}$	46		$\frac{31}{67}$	
	High Age (≥ 55)	52	$\frac{214}{414}$	54		$\frac{74}{136}$	56		$\frac{68}{122}$	45		$\frac{21}{47}$	
Never Worked Full-Time Off-farm	Low Age (≤ 44)	42	$\frac{17}{40}$	50		$\frac{21}{42}$	45		$\frac{57}{127}$	46		$\frac{60}{130}$	
	Medium Age (45-54)	62	$\frac{58}{93}$	51		$\frac{36}{70}$	52		$\frac{29}{56}$	26		$\frac{16}{62}$	
	High Age (≥ 55)	56	$\frac{169}{299}$	51		$\frac{49}{96}$	52		$\frac{24}{46}$	47		$\frac{9}{19}$	

*No. of Items = 7.

Sample N = 804.

The data presented in Table 4.17, though the differences are admittedly not great in magnitude, are convincing in their consistent support of the hypothesis. Traditionalism increased for years managing a farm and decreased consistently as years of off-farm work increased.

Hypothesis 4

Among those who have worked off-farm, traditionalism will be less among those who have been labor union members.

Table 4.18 indicates the data consistently support this hypothesis.

Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction

Hypothesis 1

Uncontrolled, "presents" will be less dissatisfied than "farmers."

Data presented in Table 4.19 lend support to this hypothesis. I find both the magnitudes and the consistency of the results convincing.

Hypothesis 1(a)

After age, education and income have been simultaneously controlled, there will be no difference in degree of dissatisfaction between the farmers and presents which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

The results of the analysis, presented in Table 4.20 appear to lend partial support to this hypothesis. Although

TABLE 4.17

DEGREE OF TRADITIONALISM: YEARS OFF-FARM WORK CONTROLLED FOR YEARS MANAGING
A FARM BOTH SEQUENTIALLY AND SIMULTANEOUSLY*

Period of Off-Farm Employment Uncontrolled			Years Managing A Farm Uncontrolled		
	%	N		%	N
Never Worked Off-Farm	51	<u>723</u> 1421	Less than 20 Years	44	<u>1055</u> 2416
Worked Less than 10 Years Off-Farm	46	<u>716</u> 1539	Greater than or equal to 20 Years	50	<u>1332</u> 2682
Worked > 10 Years Off-Farm	44	<u>948</u> 2138			
Simultaneous Controls			Years Managing A Farm		
Years Managing A Farm					
Work- Non-Work	< 20 %	N	< 20 Years %	≥ 20 Years %	N
Never Worked Off-Farm	50	<u>208</u> 419	43	<u>301</u> 703	<u>415</u> 836
Worked Off-Farm	42	<u>847</u> 1997	42	<u>546</u> 1294	<u>402</u> 844

* Sample N = 804.

No. of Items = 8.

1

TABLE 4.18

DEGREE OF TRADITIONALISM: LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP
 CONTROLLED FOR PRESENT--PAST OFF-FARM WORK
 (MICHIGAN STUDY) *

UNCONTROLLED				
	%	N		
Member of Union	44	<u>1053</u> 2379		
Non-Member	48	<u>710</u> 1476		

CONTROLLED FOR PRESENT-PAST OFF-FARM WORK				
	Presently Working Off-Farm		Not Presently Working Off-Farm	
	%	N	%	N
Member of Labor Union	42	<u>610</u> 1458	48	<u>443</u> 921
Never A Member of A Labor Union	47	<u>332</u> 708	49	<u>378</u> 768

*Note: Only those who were Multiple Jobholders or had been Multiple Jobholders in the past were included in this analysis.

**Omitted Items: None.

***Sample N = 804 - "Nevers"
 No. of Items = 8.

TABLE 4.19

UNCONTROLLED PRESENT-FARMER DISSATISFACTION COMPARISONS

	COMBINED STUDY		MICHIGAN STUDY	
	%	N	%	N
Presents	64	<u>1562</u> 2422	70	<u>2014</u> 2885
Nevers	72	<u>3125</u> 4358	74	<u>2749</u> 3691
Sample N	1229		804	
No. of Items	6		10	
Item Consistency-- Farmers > Presents	67%		80%	

1

1

TABLE 4.20

DISSATISFACTION: PRESENT-FARMER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN STUDY) AGE, EDUCATION, *
INCOME
CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

		Low Education			High Education		
		Low %	Low Income N	High %	Low %	High Income N	High %
Presents	Low Age (≤ 44)	94	$\frac{16}{17}$	78	75	$\frac{73}{97}$	72
	Medium Age (45-54)	77	$\frac{110}{143}$	76	74	$\frac{49}{66}$	72
	High Age (≥ 55)	82	$\frac{140}{170}$	81	77	$\frac{20}{26}$	73
Farmers	Low Age (≤ 44)	86	$\frac{121}{141}$	73	69	$\frac{270}{389}$	70
	Medium Age (45-54)	83	$\frac{228}{276}$	72	82	$\frac{111}{135}$	66
	High Age (≥ 55)	80	$\frac{827}{1028}$	76	76	$\frac{183}{241}$	76
							95

*No. of Items = 10.
Sample N = 804.

there are differences between "farmers" and "presents" they lack both consistency and persuasion. One might, on the basis of this data, choose to suspend judgement. This alternative is completely possible given the data quality and limited number of cases. I shall, however, accept the hypothesis as stated.

Hypothesis 2(a)

Uncontrolled, "farmers" will be more dissatisfied than the "pasts" and the "pasts" than the "nevers."

TABLE 4.21

UNCONTROLLED "PRESENTS," "PAST," "NEVER" OFF-
FARM WORK COMPARISONS: DISSATISFACTION
(MICHIGAN STUDY)

	%	N
Present	70	<u>2022</u> 2885
Past	75	<u>1596</u> 2127
Never	74	<u>1160</u> 1564

As can be observed from Table 21, our hypothesis is not completely supported. Though the "nevers" are more "dissatisfied" with the institutional structure of agriculture, than the "presents," it is the "pasts" who are most dissatisfied. Though the differences are small, the data suggest

revision of the hypothesis. This subject shall be dealt with in detail in the next chapter.

Hypothesis 2(b)

After age, education and income have been simultaneously controlled, there will be no difference in degree of dissatisfaction between "presents," "pasts," and "nevers" which can be attributed to degree of off-farm work contact.

Data in Table 4.22 I would choose to interpret as supportive of this hypothesis. Although there are broad variations, some of which may be attributed to the low number of cases in some of the cells, by and large there is no consistent pattern in the results suggesting that degree of off-farm work contact makes any distinctive contribution to degree of dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the institutional structure of agriculture.

Hypothesis 3

After "years managing a farm" has been controlled, the greater the number of years spent working off-farm, the less the dissatisfaction.

The data in Table 4.23 tend to support the hypothesis with the exception of those who had worked off-farm less than 10 years but had been farming greater than 20. Seventy-eight percent of these respondents are dissatisfied, more than either of the other categories who had managed a farm

TABLE 4.22

DISSATISFACTION: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER OFF-FARM WORK COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)
AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY*

		Low Education			High Education		
		Low %	Low Income N	High %	Low %	High Income N	High %
Presently Working Off-farm	Low Age	82	14 17	72	308 426	68 97	513 780
	Medium Age	72	103 143	71	350 491	44 66	189 291
	High Age	75	128 170	75	193 256	17 26	87 122
Worked Full-Time Off-farm In Past	Low Age	80	66 82	72	98 135	130 208	149 225
	Medium Age	80	113 141	69	116 169	48 59	67 97
	High Age	81	468 577	79	151 192	138 175	49 67
Never Worked Full-Time Off-farm	Low Age	76	45 59	66	38 58	114 181	128 186
	Medium Age	81	109 135	66	68 103	56 76	46 85
	High Age	83	375 451	79	108 136	50 66	19 28

*No. of Items = 10.

Sample N = 804.

TABLE 4.23

DISSATISFACTION: YEARS OFF-FARM WORK CONTROLLED FOR YEARS MANAGING A FARM BOTH SEQUENTIALLY AND SIMULTANEOUSLY*

Period of Off-Farm Employment Uncontrolled			Years Managing A Farm Uncontrolled		
	%	N		%	N
Never Worked Off-Farm	75	<u>1530</u> 2050	Less than 20 Years	70	<u>2417</u> 3468
Worked Less than 10 Years Off-Farm	73	<u>1593</u> 2169	Greater than or equal to 20 Years	76	<u>2908</u> 3836
Worked ≥ 10 Years Off-Farm	71	<u>2202</u> 3085			

Simultaneous Controls			Years Managing A Farm			
Work-Non-Work	Years Managing A Farm		< 20 Years		> 20 Years	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Never Worked Off-Farm	71	<u>423</u> 596	76	<u>686</u> 1006	78	<u>907</u> 1163
Worked Off-Farm	69	<u>1994</u> 2872	76	<u>1308</u> 1866	73	<u>894</u> 1219

* Sample N = 804.

No. of Items = 10.

for 20 years or more. I have no particularly applicable explanation for this inconsistency at this time.

Hypothesis 4

Among those who have worked off-farm, dissatisfaction will be greater among those who have been (or are presently) labor union members.

Data presented in Table 4.24 clearly do not support our hypothesis. In fact they are more supportive of the reverse hypothesis though the magnitude of the differences are not great. We shall have occasion to return to this data in the following chapter.

Summary of Results

Table 4.25 presents, in summary form, the degree to which our theoretical position was successful in predicting the empirical outcomes. It is obvious that in the case of only the change orientation theme were we completely successful in predicting the outcomes. Though the support, on this theme, is modest in most cases, its consistency is convincing.

These results lend credence to the explanation that traditionalism found in the rural farm residence category must be attributed more to age, education or income but not to the work setting per se, at least in the highly industrialized settings of Michigan and Wisconsin.

TABLE 4.24

**DISSATISFACTION: LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP CONTROLLED
FOR PRESENT-PAST OFF-FARM WORK
(MICHIGAN STUDY)***

UNCONTROLLED				
	%		N	
Member of Union	77		<u>2105</u>	
			2724	
Non-Member	79		<u>1309</u>	
			1653	

CONTROLLED FOR PRESENT-PAST OFF-FARM WORK				
	Presently Working Off-Farm		Not Presently Working Off-Farm	
	%	N	%	N
Member of Labor Union	76	<u>1271</u>	79	<u>834</u>
		1666		1058
Never A Member of A Labor Union	76	<u>610</u>	82	<u>699</u>
		797		856

*Note: Only those who were Multiple Jobholders or had been Multiple Jobholders in the past were included in this analysis.

**Omitted Items: C-4 If you quit farming this year, do you think you could make more, about the same, or less from nonfarm work than you cleared from all sources last year? (LESS)

M-4 Do you feel that you had a satisfactory income from farming last year, taking into account your labor and investment? (Those responding NO)

***Sample N = 804 - "Nevers"
No. of Items = 8.

TABLE 4.25

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

	COLLECTIVISM HYPOTHESES	PRO-GOVERNMENT HYPOTHESES	TRADITIONALISM HYPOTHESES	DISSATISFACTION HYPOTHESES
Present-Farmer Comparisons				
(a) Uncontrolled	0	-	+	+
(b) Simultaneously Controlled	+	+	+	+
Present-Past-Never Comparisons				
(a) Uncontrolled	0	0	+	0
(b) Simultaneously Controlled	+	+	+	+
Years of Off-Farm Work	0	0	+	+
Labor Union Membership	-	+	+	-

+ Indicates hypothesis receives some support.

0 Indicates hypothesis receives no support and the null hypothesis is indicated.

- Indicates hypothesis receives no support and the reverse hypothesis is indicated.

On the remaining three themes we have gone astray with some degree of consistency. Where no differences were predicted for the simultaneously controlled hypotheses, we were correct on all themes. It was where we hypothesized differences that we encountered static from the data. For the present-farmer comparisons, the data indicate the null hypothesis would be more appropriate for collectivism. Reversal of our hypothesis for pro-government is suggested.

For the uncontrolled "present," "past," "never" comparisons our hypotheses erred for all themes but "traditionalism." In each case the null hypothesis was suggested.

The data also suggest the null hypothesis would have more appropriately described the relationship between years off-farm work and the two themes of collectivism and pro-government.

The labor union membership hypotheses failed us completely in the cases of collectivism and dissatisfaction. In both cases, the reverse of the theoretically derived hypothesis is suggested.

These areas of lack of fit between theory and data are addressed in section two of the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

DYNAMICS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AND THE EXPLANATION OF INCONSISTENCIES

The first objective of this chapter is clear. Although we hypothesized relationships between off-farm work contact and the dependent variables in the uncontrolled cases, we hypothesized no relationships after age, education and income had simultaneously been controlled. Undiscussed was the way in which these variables operated to "wash-out" the relationship. This topic shall be addressed in the first part of this chapter.

Although we were able to muster partial support for 15 of the 24 hypotheses, there were 9 cases where no support was suggested. Indeed, in 3 of these cases the reverse hypothesis was suggested. A second objective of this chapter is to explain, or at least comment on, possible reasons for this non-support and its implications for the theoretical position constructed.

Individualism-Collectivism

First let us look at collectivism. Table 5.1 reveals that in each study, degree of collectivism, though

TABLE 5.1

COLLECTIVISM: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS (COMBINED STUDY) AGE AND
EDUCATION SEQUENTIALLY CONTROLLED*

	AGE CONTROLLED			EDUCATION CONTROLLED		
	Lo. Age %	Med. Age N	Hi. Age %	Lo. Ed. %	Hi. Ed. N	
Presents	62 1333	67 572 851	64 357 554	65 958 1468	62 791 1270	
Farmers	66 1201 1833	63 766 1217	65 1215 1862	66 2000 3034	63 1182 1878	

*Sample N = 1229 No. of Items = 7 Item Consistency-- Age = 48%
-Farmers > Presents Education = 43%

MICHIGAN STUDY*

	AGE CONTROLLED			EDUCATION CONTROLLED			INCOME CONTROLLED		
	Lo. Age %	Med. Age N	Hi. Age %	Lo. Ed. %	Hi. Ed. N		Lo. Inc. %	Hi. Inc. N	
Presents	64 646 1017	66 488 744	66 293 443	65 745 1139	64 682 1065		66 261 397	64 1166 1807	
Farmers	69 608 878	65 429 656	66 834 1259	68 1139 1675	65 730 1115		67 1108 1649	67 761 1141	

*Sample N = 804

No. of Items = 8

Item Consistency--
-Farmers > Presents

Age = 62%
Education = 62%
Income = 62%

slightly greater among the low age "farmers" than low age "presents," is inconsistently affected by age. In fact age seems to have little effect upon collectivism at all.

For education, the relationship is somewhat different. For both the combined and Michigan studies, increased education consistently diminishes degree of collectivism among both farmers and presents. In the Wisconsin study, the effect is precisely the reverse and equally unequivocal. In all cases the item consistency is low.

For the Michigan study, income seems to have little effect upon collectivism though farmers are slightly more collectivistic at both low and high income levels than the presents.

In Table 5.2, we have controlled the variables two at a time. This table alters the implied null conclusions from Table 1 interestingly. Here we note that at low age levels farmers of low education are consistently more collectivistic than "presents" of low education. Similarly low income farmers are more collectivistic than low income presents. In both cases (both education and income) this relationship diminished with age. Though the same relationship obtains in the low age category for those of high education and again for high income, it is reversed for these respondents at medium age levels and appears to obtain again at high age levels.

TABLE 5.2

COLLECTIVISM: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)* EDUCATION,
INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION; AGE, INCOME; CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

	AGE CONTROLLED				INCOME CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Age %	Age N	Med. Age %	Age N	Hi. Age %	Age N	Lo. Inc. %	Inc. N	Hi. Inc. %	Inc. N	
Presents	Lo. Ed.	62	$\frac{214}{342}$	65	$\frac{309}{472}$	68	$\frac{222}{325}$	66	$\frac{167}{254}$	65	$\frac{578}{885}$
	Hi. Ed.	64	$\frac{432}{675}$	66	$\frac{179}{272}$	60	$\frac{71}{118}$	66	$\frac{94}{143}$	64	$\frac{588}{922}$
	Lo. Ed.	71	$\frac{184}{258}$	67	$\frac{273}{407}$	67	$\frac{681}{1010}$	66	$\frac{706}{1063}$	71	$\frac{433}{612}$
Farmers	Hi. Ed.	68	$\frac{424}{620}$	63	$\frac{156}{249}$	61	$\frac{153}{249}$	69	$\frac{402}{586}$	62	$\frac{328}{529}$
	Lo. Inc.	65	$\frac{56}{86}$	68	$\frac{110}{162}$	64	$\frac{95}{149}$				
Presents	Hi. Inc.	63	$\frac{590}{931}$	65	$\frac{378}{582}$	67	$\frac{198}{294}$				
	Lo. Inc.	70	$\frac{285}{406}$	69	$\frac{211}{305}$	65	$\frac{611}{938}$				
Farmers	Hi. Inc.	68	$\frac{323}{472}$	62	$\frac{218}{351}$	69	$\frac{220}{318}$				

*Sample N = 804 No. of Items = 8 Item Consistency-- } Ed. & Inc. = 66%
-Farmers > Presents Age & Ed. = 65%

With education and income controlled, Table 5.2 appears to support the assertion that status inconsistencies (low education, high income or vice versa) are more collectivistic than their comparable sets particularly among farmers but also among high education--low income presents.

Table 5.3 reveals a singularly interesting result. With age, education and income controlled sequentially, it is the "Pasts" who are consistently the most collectivistic. From the last chapter it may be recalled this was also true of the uncontrolled result. This finding bears more inspection.

Table 5.4 reveals that this pattern of result is maintained for the simultaneous results taken two at a time but is particularly apparent for the medium age category on both education and income. Inconsistencies in this pattern are located in the low and high age categories at high income and education levels. The explanation for these inconsistencies is not apparent. Clearly, this pattern is unexpected given our theoretical position. It shall be discussed at greater length in the sequel.

Two reasons may account for the lack of support for the collectivism theme among those presently working off-farm. First, the items have to do with collectivism in agriculture and in particular, collective bargaining. It may be that those currently working off-farm, having gained more labor union experience, may have become convinced that it would be inappropriate to generalize these mechanisms to agriculture.

TABLE 5.3

COLLECTIVISM: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN) AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME
CONTROLLED SEQUENTIALLY

AGE CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Age %	N	Med. Age %	N	Hi. Age % N
Present	64	<u>646</u>	66	<u>488</u>	66 <u>293</u>
		1017		744	443
Past	68	<u>345</u>	70	<u>253</u>	67 <u>508</u>
		504		359	761
Never	70	<u>263</u>	59	<u>176</u>	65 <u>326</u>
		374		297	498
EDUCATION CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Education %	N		Hi. Education %	N
Present	65	<u>745</u>		64	<u>682</u>
		1139			1065
Past	69	<u>687</u>		66	<u>419</u>
		989			635
Never	66	<u>451</u>		65	<u>311</u>
		686			480
INCOME CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Income %	N		Hi. Income %	N
Present	66	<u>261</u>		64	<u>1166</u>
		397			1807
Past	68	<u>644</u>		68	<u>462</u>
		943			681
Never	66	<u>463</u>		63	<u>289</u>
		706			460

Sample N = 804

No. of Items = 8

TABLE 5.4

COLLECTIVISM: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)*
 EDUCATION, INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION; AGE, INCOME;
 CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

		AGE CONTROLLED			INCOME CONTROLLED		
		Lo. Age		Hi. Age	Lo. Inc.		Hi. Inc.
		%	N		%	N	
Present	Lo. Ed.	62	214	65	309	68	222
			342		472		325
	Hi. Ed.	64	432	66	179	60	71
Past	Lo. Ed.	72	123	70	165	68	399
			675		272		118
	Hi. Ed.	66	222	70	88	62	109
Never	Lo. Ed.	69	61	62	125	66	176
			334		173		425
	Hi. Ed.	71	202	55	68	58	41
			286		124		70
Present	Lo. Inc.	65	56	68	110	64	95
			86		162		149
	Hi. Inc.	63	590	65	378	67	198
Past	Lo. Inc.	68	151	74	582	67	294
			223		150		382
	Hi. Inc.	69	194	68	142	66	570
Never	Lo. Inc.	73	134	64	209	62	126
			183		100		191
	Hi. Inc.	68	129	54	155	74	229
			191		76		368
					142		127

*Sample N = 804
 No. of Items = 8

It is therefore plausible that while they might support labor union collectivism, they would be negative to collective procedures in agriculture. Secondly, they may be convinced that if collective bargaining were introduced in agriculture and worked, most of the increased costs would be in all probability passed on to consumers. Thus conflicts of interest may play a role in the explanation of the response of those presently working off-farm.

Pro-Government--Anti-Government

Half our hypotheses with respect to pro-government support in agriculture received some support. It is hoped that further inspection of the data might cast some light upon the reasons for non-support of the remainder, possibly enabling correction and explanation.

Table 5.5 reveals our dilemma. Though we hypothesized that the presents would be more pro-government in agriculture, there seems to be little or no difference between farmers and presents in the combined and Michigan studies with age, education and income controlled sequentially. The effects of all three variables in these two studies are parallel for both sets.

Although age appears to have little effect on the relation, increased education diminishes pro-government support with some unequivocalty in the combined and Michigan studies and among farmers (but not presents) in the Wisconsin study.

TABLE 5.5

PRO-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS AGE,
EDUCATION AND INCOME CONTROLLED SEQUENTIALLY*

COMBINED STUDY									
	AGE CONTROLLED			Hi. Age			EDUCATION CONTROLLED		
	Lo. Age	Med. Age	Hi. Age	Lo. Ed.	Med. Ed.	Hi. Ed.	Lo. Ed.	Med. Ed.	Hi. Ed.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Presents	39	35	38	39	31	36	39	31	36
	718	460	299	798	679		798	679	
Farmers	38	38	38	41	682	34	41	682	34
	990	670	1032	1664	1028		1664	1028	

*Sample N = 1229 No. of Items = 4 Item Consistency-- { Age = 50%
-Farmers > Presents Education = 50%

MICHIGAN STUDY*									
	AGE CONTROLLED			EDUCATION CONTROLLED			INCOME CONTROLLED		
	Lo. Age	Med. Age	Hi. Age	Lo. Ed.	Med. Ed.	Hi. Ed.	Lo. Inc.	Med. Inc.	Hi. Inc.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Presents	39	36	39	40	35	35	36	66	38
	183	123	82	215	541	489	181	849	
	474	346	210						
Farmers	38	39	40	41	333	35	39	312	38
	154	124	243	804	535		791	548	
	409	321	609						

*Sample N = 804 No. of Items = 4 Item Consistency-- { Age = 42%
- Farmers > Presents Education = 50%
Income = 50%

TABLE 5.5--Continued

WISCONSIN STUDY*									
	AGE CONTROLLED				EDUCATION CONTROLLED				
	Lo. Age %	Med. Age %	Hi. Age %		Lo. Ed. %	Hi. Ed. %			
Presents	45	46	48	26 54	45	88 195	47	69 148	
Farmers	52	55	53	167 316	56	428 758	48	217 451	

Table 5.6 reveals an interesting finding. At low education levels and low income levels regardless of age, farmers are consistently more pro-government in agriculture than the "presents." This is just the reverse of what we had hypothesized.

Table 5.7 discusses the results for the present-past-never comparisons. Here it may be seen that there is little difference between the work categories. Age and income have little or no impact on pro-government in this case. However, increasing education clearly diminishes pro-government support.

Table 5.8 reveals that our earlier finding of more pro-government support at low education and income levels among farmers than presents is step-wise. That is, when the "pasts" are extracted from the farmer group they take a position more supportive of pro-government than the "presents" but less than the "pasts" at all age levels except at high age and income levels where they are more supportive than either of the other two categories.

Once again, there is considerable ambiguity in the results at the high education and income levels.

A note of caution must be inserted into this interpretation of these pro-government results. Only 4 items were used in the theme measure. These items revealed farmers more pro-government than presents in only about 50% of the comparisons. Although these results are suggestive

TABLE 5.6

PRO-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)*
 EDUCATION, INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION; AGE, INCOME;
 CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

	AGE CONTROLLED				INCOME CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Age %	Lo. Age N	Med. Age %	Med. Age N	Hi. Age %	Hi. Age N	Lo. Inc. %	Lo. Inc. N	Hi. Inc. %	Hi. Inc. N	
Presents	Lo. Ed.	43	$\frac{72}{168}$	39	$\frac{85}{218}$	37	$\frac{58}{155}$	41	$\frac{46}{111}$	39	$\frac{169}{430}$
	Hi. Ed.	36	$\frac{111}{306}$	30	$\frac{38}{128}$	44	$\frac{24}{55}$	28	$\frac{20}{70}$	36	$\frac{153}{419}$
Farmers	Lo. Ed.	46	$\frac{54}{117}$	40	$\frac{82}{203}$	41	$\frac{197}{484}$	41	$\frac{212}{511}$	41	$\frac{121}{293}$
	Hi. Ed.	34	$\frac{100}{292}$	36	$\frac{42}{118}$	37	$\frac{46}{125}$	36	$\frac{100}{280}$	34	$\frac{88}{255}$
Presents	Lo. Inc.	28	$\frac{12}{42}$	39	$\frac{28}{72}$	39	$\frac{26}{67}$				
	Hi. Inc.	40	$\frac{171}{432}$	35	$\frac{95}{274}$	39	$\frac{56}{143}$				
Farmers	Lo. Inc.	36	$\frac{68}{187}$	42	$\frac{64}{151}$	40	$\frac{180}{453}$				
	Hi. Inc.	39	$\frac{86}{222}$	35	$\frac{60}{170}$	40	$\frac{63}{156}$				

*Sample N = 804 No. of Items = 4 Item Consistency-- { Ed. & Inc. = 56%
 Farmers > Presents { Age & Ed. = 50%

TABLE 5.7

PRO-GOVERNMENT: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN) AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME
CONTROLLED SEQUENTIALLY

AGE CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Age		Med. Age		Hi. Age	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Present	39	<u>183</u>	36	<u>123</u>	39	<u>82</u>
		474		346		210
Past	38	<u>89</u>	38	<u>65</u>	41	<u>151</u>
		237		173		368
Never	38	<u>65</u>	40	<u>59</u>	38	<u>92</u>
		172		148		241

EDUCATION CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Education		Hi. Education			
	%	N	%	N		
Present	40	<u>215</u>	35	<u>173</u>		
		541		489		
Past	41	<u>192</u>	36	<u>113</u>		
		466		312		
Never	42	<u>141</u>	34	<u>75</u>		
		338		223		

INCOME CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Income		Hi. Income			
	%	N	%	N		
Present	39	<u>66</u>	38	<u>322</u>		
		181		849		
Past	39	<u>174</u>	40	<u>131</u>		
		449		329		
Never	40	<u>138</u>	36	<u>78</u>		
		342		219		

Sample N = 804
No. of Items = 4

TABLE 5.8

PRO-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN STUDY)* EDUCATION, INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION;
AGE, INCOME; CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

		AGE CONTROLLED				INCOME CONTROLLED			
		Lo. Age		Med. Age		Hi. Age		Lo. Inc.	
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Present	Lo. Ed.	43	72 168	39	85 218	37	58 155	41	46 111
	Hi. Ed.	36	111 306	30	38 128	44	24 55	28	20 70
Past	Lo. Ed.	43	32 75	37	43 115	42	117 276	40	112 282
	Hi. Ed.	35	57 162	38	22 58	37	34 92	37	62 167
Never	Lo. Ed.	52	22 42	44	39 88	38	80 208	44	100 229
	Hi. Ed.	33	43 130	33	20 60	36	12 33	34	38 113
Present	Lo. Inc.	28	12 42	39	28 72	39	26 67		
	Hi. Inc.	40	171 432	35	95 274	39	56 143		
Past	Lo. Inc.	32	33 104	40	29 73	41	112 272		
	Hi. Inc.	42	56 133	36	36 100	41	39 96		
Never	Lo. Inc.	42	35 83	45	35 78	38	68 181		
	Hi. Inc.	34	30 89	34	24 70	40	24 60		

*Sample N = 804

No. of Items = 4

with respect to the way in which changing occupational commitments alter (and may alter) support for government farm policies, they should not be extended.

In any case, these results may serve to caution those who would generalize as I hypothesized.

Change Orientation

It was in the change orientation theme that we achieved greatest success in matching theory and data. Lest our success be misleading, let us take a closer look.

Table 5.9 reveals the farmers more traditional than the "presents" after age, education and income controls have been applied sequentially. While increasing age also increases traditionality, increasing education and income decreases it. One might ask if the education and income effects are additive or entirely interactive.

Table 5.10 reveals that even after the education effects have been removed, increasing income reduces traditionality.

The insertion of the age control does not appear to distort the relation between education, income and the degree of off-farm contact.

Tables 5.11 and 5.12 support our hypothesis that the relation is largely step-wise. Interpretive caution must however be exercised in Table 5.12. Here it must be noted that at medium and high age levels the high education

TABLE 5.9

TRADITIONALISM: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS, AGE, EDUCATION AND
INCOME CONTROLLED SEQUENTIALLY

COMBINED STUDY*

	AGE CONTROLLED						EDUCATION CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Age		Med. Age		Hi. Age		Lo. Ed.		Hi. Ed.			
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Presents	36	$\frac{357}{977}$	40	$\frac{259}{641}$	49	$\frac{202}{411}$	43	$\frac{471}{1094}$	37	$\frac{347}{935}$		
Farmers	42	$\frac{569}{1336}$	46	$\frac{414}{904}$	52	$\frac{725}{1406}$	50	$\frac{1142}{2265}$	41	$\frac{566}{1381}$		

*Sample N = 1229 No. of Items = 5 Item Consistency--
-Farmers > Presents { Age = 67% Education = 80%

MICHIGAN STUDY*

	AGE CONTROLLED						EDUCATION CONTROLLED						INCOME CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Age		Med. Age		Hi. Age		Lo. Ed.		Hi. Ed.		Lo. Inc.		Hi. Inc.					
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N				
Presents	39	357 919	44	306 698	52	206 399	46	480 1048	40	389 968	48	172 361	42	697 1655				
Farmers	45	355 790	48	290 606	52	618 1179	52	811 1563	45	452 1012	52	792 1536	45	471 1039				

*Sample N = 804 No. of Items = 7 Item Consistency--
-Farmers > Presents { Age = 81% Education = 79%
Income = 64%

TABLE 5.10

TRADITIONALISM: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)* EDUCATION, INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION; AGE, INCOME; CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

	AGE CONTROLLED				INCOME CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Age %	N	Med. Age %	N	Hi. Age %	N	Lo. Inc. %	N	Hi. Inc. %	N	
Presents	Lo. Ed.	42	$\frac{131}{309}$	45	$\frac{202}{444}$	50	$\frac{147}{295}$	48	$\frac{108}{227}$	45	$\frac{372}{821}$
	Hi. Ed.	37	$\frac{226}{610}$	41	$\frac{104}{254}$	57	$\frac{59}{104}$	48	$\frac{64}{134}$	39	$\frac{325}{834}$
	Lo. Ed.	46	$\frac{109}{237}$	51	$\frac{196}{381}$	54	$\frac{506}{945}$	54	$\frac{536}{1001}$	49	$\frac{275}{562}$
Farmers	Hi. Ed.	44	$\frac{246}{553}$	42	$\frac{94}{225}$	48	$\frac{112}{234}$	48	$\frac{256}{535}$	41	$\frac{196}{477}$
	Lo. Inc.	42	$\frac{33}{79}$	47	$\frac{68}{145}$	52	$\frac{71}{137}$				
Presents	Hi. Inc.	38	$\frac{324}{840}$	43	$\frac{238}{553}$	52	$\frac{135}{262}$				
	Lo. Inc.	47	$\frac{173}{371}$	58	$\frac{164}{284}$	54	$\frac{475}{881}$				
Farmers	Hi. Inc.	43	$\frac{182}{419}$	42	$\frac{136}{322}$	51	$\frac{153}{298}$				

*Sample N = 804

TABLE 5.11

TRADITIONALISM: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN) AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME
CONTROLLED SEQUENTIALLY*

AGE CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Age %	N	Med. Age %	N	Hi. Age % N
Present	39	<u>357</u> 919	44	<u>306</u> 698	52 <u>206</u> 399
Past	44	<u>200</u> 451	46	<u>151</u> 325	51 <u>367</u> 719
Never	46	<u>155</u> 339	49	<u>139</u> 281	54 <u>251</u> 460

EDUCATION CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Education %	N	Hi. Education %	N	
Present	46	<u>480</u> 1048	40	<u>389</u> 968	
Past	50	<u>461</u> 923	45	<u>257</u> 572	
Never	55	<u>350</u> 640	44	<u>195</u> 440	

INCOME CONTROLLED					
	Lo. Income %	N	Hi. Income %	N	
Present	48	<u>172</u> 361	42	<u>697</u> 1655	
Past	50	<u>438</u> 875	45	<u>280</u> 620	
Never	54	<u>354</u> 661	46	<u>191</u> 419	

*Sample N = 804
No. of Items = 7

TABLE 5.12

TRADITIONALISM: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)*
 EDUCATION, INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION; AGE, INCOME;
 CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

		AGE CONTROLLED			INCOME CONTROLLED		
		Lo Age	Med. Age	Hi. Age	Lo. Inc.	Hi. Inc.	
		%	%	%	%	%	N
Present	Lo. Ed.	42	45	50	48	45	372
		131	202	288	147	108	45
		309	444	295	227	227	821
Past	Hi. Ed.	37	41	57	59	39	325
		226	104	104	64	64	325
		610	254	104	134	134	834
Past	Lo. Ed.	46	47	52	51	48	169
		71	102	288	292	292	48
		155	218	550	569	569	354
Never	Hi. Ed.	44	46	47	48	42	111
		129	49	79	146	146	42
		296	107	169	306	306	266
Never	Lo. Ed.	46	58	55	56	51	106
		38	94	218	244	244	51
		82	163	395	432	432	208
Never	Hi. Ed.	46	38	51	48	40	85
		117	45	33	110	110	40
		257	118	65	229	229	211
Present	Lo. Inc.	42	47	52	71		
		33	68	52	137		
		79	145	137			
Present	Hi. Inc.	38	43	52	135		
		324	238	52	262		
		840	553	262			
Past	Lo. Inc.	48	57	53	282		
		99	77	53	536		
		204	135	536			
Past	Hi. Inc.	41	44	52	95		
		101	84	52	183		
		247	190	183			
Never	Lo. Inc.	44	58	56	193		
		74	87	56	345		
		167	149	345			
Never	Hi. Inc.	47	39	50	58		
		81	52	50	115		
		172	132	115			

*Sample N = 804

No. of Items = 7

"nevers" are consistently the least traditional with the "pasts" next and the "presents" most traditional. This reversal also appears consistently in the high income and age controls.

This reversal may be important, in that it apparently catches the nostalgia with which many of those working off-farm view the passing of the "family farm." It may indicate that socialization and the view of the farm as a good place to retire, may exceed the impact of the work setting in accounting for the results. Such an interpretation is, of course, little more than speculation--the magnitude of the differences is obviously not great. The pattern is, however, suggestive.

Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction

To the dissatisfaction theme, we now turn. Table 5.13 indicates that the farmers are consistently more dissatisfied than the presents after age, education and income controls have been applied sequentially for both the combined and Michigan studies.

Age, education and income have clear parallel effects on the two work categories--increasing age, increased dissatisfaction; while increasing education and income decreased dissatisfaction.

Table 5.14 suggests that the degree to which farmers are more dissatisfied than "presents" may be attributed to

TABLE 5.13

DISSATISFACTION: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS; AGE, EDUCATION
AND INCOME CONTROLLED SEQUENTIALLY

COMBINED STUDY*									
	AGE CONTROLLED			Hi. Age			EDUCATION CONTROLLED		
	Lo. Age	Med. Age	Hi. Age	Lo. Ed.	Med. Ed.	Hi. Ed.	Lo. Ed.	Med. Ed.	Hi. Ed.
	%	N	%	%	N	%	%	N	%
Presents	62	<u>727</u> 1172	63	482	72	353 490	69	902 1308	59 1114
Farmers	64	<u>1039</u> 1611	70	759	79	1326 1669	77	2075 2702	63 1050 1656

*Sample N = 1229 No. of Items = 6

Item Consistency-- { Age = 61%
-Farmers > Presents Education = 75%

MICHIGAN STUDY*									
	AGE CONTROLLED			EDUCATION CONTROLLED			INCOME CONTROLLED		
	Lo. Age	Med. Age	Hi. Age	Lo. Ed.	Med. Ed.	Hi. Ed.	Lo. Inc.	Med. Inc.	Hi. Inc.
	%	N	%	%	N	%	%	N	%
Presents	66	<u>873</u> 1320	69	686	74	425 574	72	374 519	69 1640 2366
Farmers	68	<u>768</u> 1134	72	623	80	1358 1692	77	1712 2210	70 1037 1481

*Sample N = 804 No. of Items = 10

Item Consistency-- { Age = 57%
-Farmers > Presents Education = 70%
Income = 55%

TABLE 5.14

DISSATISFACTION: PRESENT-FARMER COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)* EDUCATION,
INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION; AGE, INCOME; CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

	AGE CONTROLLED				INCOME CONTROLLED				
	Lo. Age %	Age N	Med. Age %	Age N	Hi. Age %	Age N	Lo. Inc. %	Hi. Inc. %	
Presents	Lo. Ed.	73	$\frac{322}{443}$	71	$\frac{453}{634}$	75	$\frac{321}{426}$	$\frac{245}{330}$	$\frac{72}{1173}$
	Hi. Ed.	66	$\frac{581}{877}$	65	$\frac{233}{357}$	70	$\frac{104}{148}$	$\frac{129}{189}$	$\frac{66}{1193}$
Farmers	Lo. Ed.	74	$\frac{247}{334}$	74	$\frac{406}{548}$	81	$\frac{1102}{1356}$	$\frac{1176}{1445}$	$\frac{73}{793}$
	Hi. Ed.	65	$\frac{521}{800}$	68	$\frac{217}{317}$	76	$\frac{256}{336}$	$\frac{536}{765}$	$\frac{66}{688}$
Presents	Lo. Inc.	72	$\frac{82}{114}$	70	$\frac{147}{209}$	74	$\frac{145}{196}$		
	Hi. Inc.	68	$\frac{821}{1206}$	69	$\frac{539}{782}$	74	$\frac{280}{378}$		
Farmers	Lo. Inc.	67	$\frac{355}{530}$	79	$\frac{326}{411}$	81	$\frac{1031}{1269}$		
	Hi. Inc.	68	$\frac{413}{604}$	65	$\frac{297}{454}$	77	$\frac{327}{423}$		
*Sample N = 804	No. of Items = 10				Item Consistency-- -Farmers > Presents				{ Ed. & Inc. = 50% Age & Ed. = 52%

their inferior education and income positions rather than to the work setting per se.

After income and education have been controlled, the low income farmers are still considerably more dissatisfied than their low income "present" counterparts. However, at high income levels, the discrepancy is completely erased. This finding seems to underline the degree to which low income farmers feel they do not receive parity incomes, as indeed they do not.

Table 5.15 reveals much the same pattern that we found in the collectivism results. With few exceptions, the "pasts" are more dissatisfied than either the "presents" or "nevers" as in the case of collectivism. The departure from the collectivism result pattern is that the "nevers" are consistently more dissatisfied than the "presents," a pattern not altogether clear in the case of collectivism. (See Tables 5.3 and 5.4).

Table 5.16 reveals the pattern holds for both education sets and the low income set through all age levels with few inconsistencies. At high income levels the pattern is less clear. After both education and income controls have been applied simultaneously the pattern remains.

The second pattern suggested by Table 5.15 is elaborated in Table 5.16. At low age levels it is not at all clear that "nevers" are more dissatisfied than the "presents." As age increases, it becomes more apparent until at high age

TABLE 5.15

DISSATISFACTION: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS
(MICHIGAN)* AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME
CONTROLLED SEQUENTIALLY

AGE CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Age		Med. Age		Hi. Age	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Present	66	<u>873</u> 1320	69	<u>686</u> 991	74	<u>425</u> 574
Past	68	<u>443</u> 650	74	<u>344</u> 466	80	<u>806</u> 1011
Never	67	<u>325</u> 484	70	<u>279</u> 399	80	<u>548</u> 681

EDUCATION CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Education		Hi. Education			
	%	N	%	N		
Present	73	<u>1096</u> 1503	66	<u>918</u> 1382		
Past	78	<u>1012</u> 1296	70	<u>581</u> 831		
Never	79	<u>743</u> 942	66	<u>413</u> 622		

INCOME CONTROLLED						
	Lo. Income		Hi. Income			
	%	N	%	N		
Present	72	<u>374</u> 519	69	<u>1640</u> 2366		
Past	78	<u>963</u> 1242	71	<u>630</u> 885		
Never	77	<u>749</u> 968	68	<u>407</u> 596		

*Sample N = 804
No. of Items = 10

TABLE 5.16

DISSATISFACTION: PRESENT, PAST, NEVER COMPARISONS (MICHIGAN STUDY)*
 EDUCATION, INCOME; AGE, EDUCATION; AGE, INCOME;
 CONTROLLED SIMULTANEOUSLY

		Lo. Age			AGE CONTROLLED			Hi. Age			Lo. Inc.			INCOME CONTROLLED		
		%	N		%	Med. Age	N	%	N		%	N		%	N	
Present	Lo. Ed.	73	322	71	453	75	321	74	245	72	851					
			443		634		426		330		1173					
	Hi. Ed.	66	581	65	233	70	104	68	129	66	789					
Past	Lo. Ed.	76	164	74	229	80	619	81	647	74	365					
			217		310		769		800		496					
	Hi. Ed.	64	279	74	115	77	187	71	316	68	265					
Never	Lo. Ed.	71	83	74	177	82	483	82	529	72	214					
			117		238		587		645		297					
	Hi. Ed.	66	242	63	102	73	69	68	220	64	193					
			367		161		94		323		299					
Present	Lo. Inc.	72	82	70	147	74	145									
			114		209		196									
	Hi. Inc.	68	821	69	539	74	280									
Past	Lo. Inc.	68	1205	80	782	80	378									
			290		200		752									
	Hi. Inc.	69	247	69	183	77	200									
Never	Lo. Inc.	66	159	78	165	82	425									
			240		211		517									
	Hi. Inc.	68	166	61	114	77	127									
			244		188		164									

*Sample N = 804

No. of Items = 10

levels it is clear for both low and high education and low and high income levels.¹

After both education and income have been controlled simultaneously, the pattern largely disappears² suggesting that age is the factor doing the "damage."

Such a pattern of results suggests that farmers are becoming increasingly aware of the benefits of pension plans, retirement funds, and medical care plans provided in the rewards to those in other industries but not to those in agriculture. The pattern takes on added pragmatic import when one views the disproportionate number of "older" farmers.

Reconciliation of Collectivism and Dissatisfaction Themes

Finally, although we have commented upon the similar pattern of the findings in both the collectivism and dissatisfaction themes, we have not reconciled our surprise that our uncontrolled "past-present-never" and labor union hypotheses went unsupported in both cases. How might such a pattern be explained?

¹Note that in the case of the medium age category the pattern is true only of low education and income whereas it is reversed for the high education and income categories.

²Notwithstanding the low education-low income exception which might be attributed to the imperfection of the control itself.

When theory is not supported by data, the analyst must choose among three alternatives to: (1) reject the theory on the basis of his data; (2) reject his data as inaccurate, inappropriate or too limited, and maintain his commitment to the theory; or (3) reject the model of analysis relating the two as inappropriate. Here I shall choose the second alternative of too limited data. My choice necessitates that additional data be brought to bear in order that this pattern may be explained.

In the cases of both the collectivism and dissatisfaction themes the "pasts" were both most collectivistic and most dissatisfied across all controls. Though the magnitudes of the differences may not be great in many cases, the consistency of the result is convincing. We must look at other characteristics of these categories to explain this finding.

In Chapter 1 we suggested that as returns to labor decrease relatively in agriculture and increase in industry, increasing numbers of people are "trapped" in agriculture due to: (1) the lack of skill generalizability between sectors; (2) age and education; and (3) fixed assets in agriculture. If we conceive of our "past" group as being a set who experienced substantial off-farm work in the past, then we may also surmise that this group also realize and feels most strongly the inequality of returns to labor in agriculture versus industry and therefore is likely to feel most

deprived relatively, both in real money terms and in terms of the adoption of an increasingly urban reference unit.¹

This category hypothetically may represent those with high aspirations together with limited qualifications and likelihood of their attainment in the non-farm sector due to inferior education or skill levels. On the other hand it may be that the "present" category is able to successfully compete in the non-farm sector and is therefore more satisfied while to the "never" category perhaps the aspirations are less relevant and their greater success and investment in agriculture dictates their satisfaction.²

Table 5.17 reveals that such an explanation has some merit. This table indicates that the "pasts" have clearly less education, are older and have managed a farm for a greater number of years than the presents. They have had more of both military experience during World War II and labor union membership but have smaller farms than their "never" peers but less labor union membership than the "presents."

¹On this topic see Igolima T. D. Amachree, "Reference Group and Worker Satisfaction: Case Studies of Worker Satisfaction Among Nigerian Factory Workers" (Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1967).

²For a paper dealing with a similar set of issues see Denton E. Morrison and Allan D. Steeves, "Deprivation, Discontent and Participation in a Social Movement (the N.F.O.," Rural Sociology (forthcoming).

TABLE 5.17
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF "PRESENT," "PAST" AND "NEVER" SETS-MICHIGAN

Characteristic	Presently working off-farm %	N	Working in past %	N	Never worked off-farm %	N	Contingency coefficient
Years off- farm work							
None	10	33	0	0	100	191	.693
3 yrs.	9	31	35	94			
4-9 yrs.	15	51	23	62			
10 yrs.	66	223	42	113			
% less than 55 yrs. of age	78	341	47	269	54	192	.285
% having completed 3 yrs. high school or less	54	340	65	269	61	192	.098
% having total acreage of less than 100 (includes pasture and diverted land)	58	342	44	268	23	193	.307
% having military service during World War II	26	341	19	264	8	188	.172
% having been or presently being labor union members	67	340	54	268	3	193	.459
% thinking they could earn greater or equal incomes than from all sources last year if they quit farming	79	321	64	228	48	168	.260

TABLE 5.17--Continued

Characteristic	Presently working off-farm %	N	Working in past %	N	Never worked off farm %	N	Contingency Coefficient
% feeling they earned satisfactory income from agriculture last year	31	339	31	265	31	193	.003
% expecting to continue farming until retirement barring unexpected illness	78	340	87	269	90	193	.148
Gross farm income less than \$5,000	73	$\frac{241}{328}$	47	$\frac{121}{259}$	28	$\frac{52}{186}$	.375
1964 Income from non-farm sources	2	7	48	127	69	129	
Under \$3,000	16	52	39	101	25	47	
\$3,000-\$5,000	19	64	6	17	3	6	.623
\$5,000-\$7,400	41	136	4	11	1	2	
\$7,400 +	21	70	2	6	1	2	
Net family income	16	52	48	124	52	96	
Under \$3,000	16	51	23	59	21	39	
\$3,000-\$5,000	30	98	17	44	18	34	.418
\$5,000-\$7,400	38	125	12	31	8	15	
\$7,500 +							
Political Preference	34	113	31	79	28	50	
No. pref.	41	134	48	123	60	107	.160
Republican	24	81	20	52	12	22	
Democratic	1	2		1	0	0	
Other							

It is the economic sector however, in which this set appears to be at the greatest disadvantage. Small farm size and low gross farm incomes indicate they receive lower incomes from this sector. But while presently not working off-farm, more than half this group (51%) had received earnings from off the farm in 1964. It appears that this off-farm income makes their net family income approximately equal to the farmers who had never worked off-farm. This, to some extent at least, overlooks the capital gains which accrue to the "nevers" from their greater investments in property. It is here then that the "pasts" meet their greatest deprivation. It would appear that this is the set which accounts for the largest proportions of those returning to agriculture annually.¹

One may be pressing the case slightly by suggesting that this set, with their lower education, higher age and great mobility are those most likely to be entering jobs most "susceptible" to the "twice displaced" faux pas. It also appears that in an industrial sector where labor unions are strongly organized, automation is increasingly taking

¹Brian B. Perkins, op. cit., located a backflow into agriculture of 12.5% annually while encountering an outflow of approximately 14.1% annually using old Age National Social Security records. Extrapolating from Table 5.17 the comparable backflow in this study is in the range of 24% of the total sample. Note that 43% of those not presently working off-farm 20 or more hours a week had earned income from off-farm sources in 1964. Only 16% of the total sample had never worked off-farm either part-time or full-time.

over, and the wage rate is high (assuming skills), these people are most likely to encounter barriers to the free flow of labor into industry. Therefore, their increased dissatisfaction as well as collectivism is reinforced by the inequities of the reward structure to labor in agriculture, as assessed by those who have taken on an urban-industrial set of values but have not been successful in establishing themselves off-farm occupationally.¹

It appears that the "presents" 66% of whom have worked off-farm 10 years or more have by contrast been successful in not only establishing themselves securely in the non-farm labor force but also have found considerable satisfaction both "real" and "felt" by so doing.

It is the "past" set therefore, which is most truly mobile, for both occupational sectors remain both important and relevant to their occupational welfare. To the "presents," the occupational relevance of the farm has recessed; it has become only an investment, a home, and a recreation opportunity. They have successfully combined the best of both rural and urban worlds. To the farmer who has not worked full-time, the non-agricultural sector is a less relevant

¹Clearly those who had worked off-farm in past are the short-term mobilities. While 98% of those presently working off-farm had also earned income from off-farm sources in 1964, 52% of the "past" category had also worked off-farm during that year as well. This clearly suggests instability in the off-farm sectoral employment of this set (see Table 5.17) and employment stability in the former ("present") set.

reference unit. It is in the "past" category that the ambiguities, alienation, and cross pressures of occupational mobility give rise to feelings of dissatisfaction and collectivism. This is the set which most clearly feels the restrictions to the free flow of labor from farm to the non-farm labor force.

An implication of this suggested explanation is that job insecurity rather than contact per se, accounts for the high levels of collectivism and dissatisfaction of the "pasts." To the extent labor union membership increases non-farm job security among the presents (who have higher rates of membership), union membership reduces rather than increases collectivism and dissatisfaction among farm residents thus accounting for the error in our hypotheses in this area. To the extent unions follow policies of exclusion (such as closed shop and minimum education requirements) they create discontent and form barriers to off-farm mobility.

As a result then of the unsupported hypotheses the original theoretical position must be rejected at least for the themes of collectivism and dissatisfaction. The position stated that after age, education and income were controlled, off-farm work contact would have no bearing on these themes.

The reconstructed argument suggested from the data is that indeed the original argument may hold for those securely employed in one sector or the other. However, for those

who are experiencing insecurity of employment, are "marginal" in both sectors and are oscillating continuously between farm and non-farm employment, both high rates of collectivism and dissatisfaction are found. This position suggests that insecurity of employment rather than "off-farm work contact" per se increases collectivism and dissatisfaction.

Summary

In summary, this chapter has presented and elaborated upon the patterns behind the results presented in the former. Secondly, the similar patterns in the data on the collectivism and dissatisfaction themes have been rejected and hopefully to some extent, reconciled with explanation.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The principle conclusion emerging from this analysis is that degree of off-farm work contact has little effect upon the four attitudinal themes individualism-collectivism; pro-government--anti-government; change orientation and satisfaction-dissatisfaction with the institutional structure of agriculture that cannot be explained by the effects of distinctive age, education and net family income characteristics among farm residents. This would seem an important finding in the light of substantial theoretical thinking indicating that the (1) distinctive small firm nature of the family farm system and (2) the ecological segregation of the farm operator from other occupational groups tends to maintain a distinctive set of attitudes, values and beliefs among farm operators. At least among farm residents this hypothesis does not appear to be supported by this data after age, education and income characteristics have been controlled.

It would be an error to over-generalize this conclusion. Only the farm residence population has been examined here. It could very well be (indeed probably is the case) that urban factory workers (for example) might have

different attitudinal responses than those living on farms. But here we have shifted the argument from occupation to residence--from farm vs. factory to rural farm vs. urban residence. On this subject this thesis casts little light. It would, however, appear that the effect of community of residence could have considerable impact upon the attitudinal characteristics of its residents. Indeed, Blau and Duncan are able to persuasively demonstrate this point. Their data would indicate that place of origin influences occupational achievement more than place of residence. They show that, " . . . migrants from rural to urban places are more successful than the rural men they leave behind, which reflects both selection and superior opportunities in cities, but less successful than other residents of large cities, an inferiority almost wholly explained by their inferior background and preparation."¹

On the other hand, Blau and Duncan find that after the effects of lower educational attainment and lower occupational status of their fathers have been accounted for, the residential difference between the occupational attainments of men originating on farms, "is too small to make it worthwhile to postulate appreciable effects of discrimination in the job market against men with farm background or

¹Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), pp. 268-269.

handicaps due to the problem of assimilation to the urban environment.¹ Such a finding would seem to reflect the general tenor of our conclusion.

Blau and Duncan neatly summarize by stating,

The community in which a man is raised, just as the race or ethnic group into which he is born, defines an ascriptive base that limits his adult occupational chances. Migration, however, partly removes these ascribed restrictions on achievement by enabling a man to take advantage of opportunities not available in his original community. . . . selective migration strengthens the operation of universalistic criteria of achievement, and the trend toward increasing selectivity in migration manifests an extension of universalism in our occupational structure.²

Data presented herein indicate that a partial alternative to migration is occupational mobility. The large amount of non-farm work in which farm residents engage indicates that transportation systems and physical distance are decreasingly effective barriers to occupational diversification. This development would indicate that rural communities are decreasingly farm communities.

Another important consideration here is the concentration of the rural farm population itself closer to metropolitan areas. Hathaway, Beegle and Bryant report that "slightly less than 82 percent of all rural-farm persons in the United States reside either within SMSA (standard

¹Ibid., p. 292.

²Ibid., p. 275.

Metropolitan Statistical Area) counties or within 100 miles of an SMSA."¹

Combinatorially this data would indicate that the increasing occupational heterogeneity of rural communities may act as a mechanism for integrating the farmer into the larger occupational structure. For instance studies by both Donahue and Henkel and Fuguitt demonstrate that part-time farmers visited more with people who had non-farm occupations than did full-time farmers.² In addition, Donahue's study together with this study (Table 17, Ch. 5) indicate that increased off-farm contact is related to a significant alteration in political attitudes.³

These changes in interaction patterns among farm people in highly industrial settings make it dubious that their social relations may be classified as "gemeinschaft" in the sense that Toennies intended. It would appear with the increased mobility in rural areas both occupationally and geographic, together with the nature of

¹Dale E. Hathaway, J. Allan Beegle and Keith Bryant, "Rural America" (forthcoming 1960 Census monograph), Chap. 2.

²George A. Donahue, "Socio-Economic Characteristics of Part-Time and Full-Time Farmers in the Twin Cities Area," Journal of Farm Economics, XXXIX (Nov., 1957), 984-992; and Ronald E. Henkel and Glen V. Fuguitt, "Nonfarm Occupational Role Involvement and the Visiting Relationships of Farmers," Rural Sociology, XXVII:1 (March, 1962), 53-63.

³See also Arthur Kornhauser et al., When Labor Votes (New York: University Books, c1956), p. 43. In none of these studies has age, education or income differences been controlled.

industrial agriculture, that relations may be equally rural and "gesselschafts" in the sense of becoming increasingly instrumental. Indeed Gans characterized relations between his "urban villagers" as *gemeinschaft*.¹ An implication of this thesis is that we may also have the "village urbanite." Thus size of community together with density of population and the *gemeinschaft-gesellschafts* typology appear to become "untied" in urban industrial settings.

ii

Secondly, it appears that the substantial short-term mobility in and out of the farm sector creates a good deal of job insecurity and dissatisfaction. Indeed our data fairly clearly indicated this set ("pasts") were both most dissatisfied and collectivistic even after age, education and income controls had been applied. This finding suggests the curvilinear effect of off-farm work where those who have been working off-farm long periods of time together with those who have never worked off are most "satisfied."² The "oscillating" set which is in transition are those most collectivistic and dissatisfied. Theoretically the difficulty of this

¹Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

²That many factory workers combine or wish to combine their jobs with farm work was noted by Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 82-93.

transition is accentuated by the problems of moving across this stratum boundary in terms of the "social distance" between farm and other occupations.¹

iii

Thirdly, this study suggests that farmers are considerably impaired in terms of age and education for work in non-farm industrial sectors, even if they desired. It also suggests that universalistic criteria of social class and status are as important in explaining differences in the attitudinal characteristics of "farmers" as they are among other farm residents. This points to the decreasing relevance of particularistic evaluation criteria which traditionally applied in agriculture.

iv

More pragmatically, this study has served to document the extent of mobility into and out of agriculture in some detail. In particular, this study indicates that in Michigan there may be an annual "out-in" turnover of as many as one quarter of the farm operators annually. In addition it illustrates that 43% of the farm residents were working off the farm at the time of the study while another 33% had worked off-farm full time in the past. Only 24% of the total had "never" worked full-time off-farm. Such a result clearly

¹See Blau and Duncan, op. cit., 67-80.

suggests that if one wished to facilitate mobility out of agriculture, one would perhaps do better to detain those who have already left rather than attempting to appeal to those who may leave. The primary problem this study suggests is the retention and accomodation of the mobilite by the non-agricultural structure rather than the problem of convincing people they should move out of agriculture. The problem may be one of "too much" rather than "too little."

Study of the mobility patterns from farm to non-farm jobs although it may become an historical topic as fewer people enter the labor force with farm backgrounds, has a good deal of import at present. The Blau-Duncan study indicates that "over one-quarter of the OCG (Occupational Changes in a Generation) population--12 million out of 45 million--had fathers who were farmers, farm managers, farm laborers or farm foremen (at respondents age of 16). Three-quarters of these--9.3 million men--had taken up non-farm residence by 1962.¹

v

This study indicates clearly that the census residence category "rural farm" must be used with a good deal of discretion. Certainly to use it as an occupational indicator would be misleading and perhaps wrong.

¹Ibid., p. 279.

Indications from this study are that there is substantial support for collective bargaining procedures in agriculture stimulated by high rates of dissatisfaction with the income position of farmers. This study also points out that those likely to be most vocal in this area are those who are clearly on their way out of agricultural production. They are already working part of the year off-farm. Since attempts to enforce collective bargaining require control of substantial proportions of the product, a good deal of difficulty would be predicted.

On the other hand, with large numbers leaving agriculture, the production control of various commodities falls into a smaller number of hands by default. It is through this mechanism, that collective bargaining in agriculture is likely to become a reality.

Support for government in agriculture diminished with income and education although it was favored more by farmers than "presents." To the extent large farmers are more likely to account for increasing proportions of total production in the future and have disproportionate political power in congressional lobbying, it would not appear to auger well for the present government program of price supports.

viii

Though it is clear that younger farmers are more hesitant to support change in the institutional structure of agriculture than those of equal age who are working off-farm, it is also indicated by this data that at high age levels those working off the farm are most supportive of traditional institutional arrangements. Such a finding is indicative of the conflicts of interest which may be stimulated by the changing occupational structure of the rural farm residence category.

ix

The primary limitation of this study is the lack of occupational data on those who were working off-farm. This is a fundamental problem in most studies in this area. It may be, indeed probably is, the case that mobility into occupational roles variously positioned in the occupational structure has differential impact upon the attitudinal characteristics of farmers.

Although this study was not designed to investigate this differential impact, this is an important area for future research endeavor.

Secondly, the altered occupational structure of the rural farm residence category indicates that the relation between physical distance and social distances may be undergoing rapid change in rural areas. Such an assertion



suggests that a political structure based on the traditional rural-urban dichotomy may be decreasingly rational. Indeed in political arenas such as poverty, education and medical services it would seem advantageous to be thinking in terms of regional rather than civil areas. This is another area of research suggested as a result of the large amount of occupational interdependence located between the rural farm and urban residence categories.

Finally, it would appear that the primary factor in the exclusion of rural farm people from high occupational participation is the inferiority of education received in rural areas. Strategic inquiry might be made into why rural educational systems appear to lag.

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

TRENDS IN FARM INPUTS BY TYPE OF INPUT
(United States; Selected years, 1940-1964)
(1940 = 100%)

Year	Total Inputs	Real Estate	Fertilizer	Labor ¹	Farm Machinery
1940	100	100	100	100	100
1950	104	105	243	74	205
1955	105	109	321	63	236
1956	104	108	325	59	236
1957	102	109	336	54	238
1958	102	109	346	52	236
1959	105	109	389	51	240
1960	104	109	393	48	238
1961	104	109	414	46	231
1962	104	110	443	44	231
1963	105	110	504	43	236
1964 ²	106	111	554	41	240

¹Includes total man hours of hired and operator and family labor used in agricultural production.

²Preliminary.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Changes in Farm Production and Efficiency, Statistical Bulletin #233, Revised July 1965.

TABLE 2

SELECTED MEASURES OF INCOME OF PERSONS 1950 and 1960 BY RESIDENCE,
SEX AND COLOR: UNITED STATES

Selected Measures	Total		Rural-Farm		Rural Non-Farm		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
Median income of persons (in dollars)								
Total	2434	4103	1029	1357	1339	2098	458	731
White	2572	4319	1137	1441	1489	2283	533	826
Nonwhite	1341	2273	584	909	577	778	311	367
Income Ratios								
Total 1960/ 1950	1.69	-	1.32	-	1.57	-	1.60	-
Nonwhite/ white	.52	.53	.51	.63	.39	.34	.58	.44
Rural-Farm/ Urban								
Total	-	-	-	-	.48	.46	.37	.48
White	-	-	-	-	.51	.48	.40	.50
Nonwhite	-	-	-	-	.33	.28	.41	.33
Rural-Nonfarm/ Urban								
Rural-Nonfarm/ Urban	-	-	-	-	-	-	.74	.73
White	-	-	-	-	-	-	.75	.74
Nonwhite	-	-	-	-	-	-	.56	.45
							.61	.58
							.62	.61
							.45	.49

149

SOURCE: Dale E. Hathaway, J. Allan Beegle, and Keith Bryant, Rural America, (Forthcoming 1960 Census monograph), Chapter 8.

1

TABLE 3

EARNINGS IN 1959 OF PERSONS IN THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE,
BY OCCUPATION AND SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1960*

	MALE	MEDIAN (in dollars)	of ECLF	FEMALE	MEDIAN (in dollars)	of ECLF
Experienced Civil Labour Force (ECLF)	44,290,905	4,621	100	20,160,461	2,257	100
Professional, Techni- cal, Kindred	4,473,317	6,619	143.2	2,609,448	3,625	160.6
Farmers and Farm Managers	2,198,371	2,169	46.9	73,064	836	37.0
Managers, Officials, Proprietors (ex- cluding farm)	4,603,093	6,664	144.2	683,003	3,355	148.6
Clerical and Kindred	3,061,319	4,785	103.5	6,052,316	3,017	133.7
Sales Workers	2,963,141	4,987	107.9	1,507,149	1,498	66.4
Craftsmen, Foremen, Kindred	8,844,021	5,240	113.4	249,579	2,927	129.7
Operatives and Kindred	9,036,163	4,299	93.0	3,398,337	2,319	102.7
Private household	59,967	1,078	23.3	1,566,344	684	30.3
Service workers (ex- cluding priv. house)	2,641,497	3,310	71.6	2,711,944	1,385	61.4
Farm Laborers and Foremen	1,119,881	1,066	23.1	136,969	602	26.7

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Detailed Character-
istics, U.S. Summary Final Report PC(1) - ID U.S. Government Printing Office,
Washington, D.C. 1963, Table 208, p. 1-553.

TABLE 4

FARMS IN THE U.S. SELLING PRODUCTS VALUED AT SPECIFIC AMOUNTS*

Those Selling Products Valued at (dollars)	Number of Farms		Total area of Farms		Total value of agricultural products sold	
	Number	% Down	Acres	% Down	000,000	% Down
Total Farms	3,707,973	100	1,123,378,059	100	30,625	100
20,000	312,501	8.4	418,192,076	37.2	15,299	49.9
10,000-20,000	483,004	13.0	214,906,689	19.1	6,705	21.9
2,500-10,000	1,271,558	34.3	307,076,824	27.3	6,998	22.9
All Other Farms	1,640,910	44.3	183,202,470	16.4	1,623	5.3

* Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1959, Statistics for the Nation and States of the U.S.A., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962, Vol. 2, Chap. XI, pp. 1212-3 and 1220-1.

TABLE 5
FARMS IN MICHIGAN SELLING PRODUCTS VALUED AT SPECIFIC AMOUNTS*

Those Selling Products Valued at (dollars)	Number of Farms		Total area of Farms		Total value of agricultural products sold	
	Number	% Down	Acres	% Down	\$	% Down
Total Farms	93,504	100	13,598,992	100	766,394,156	100
20,000	9,436	10.1	3,137,834	23.1	368,148,202	48.0
10,000-20,000	13,374	14.3	2,905,098	21.4	189,339,144	24.7
2,500-10,000	31,146	33.3	4,442,651	32.7	167,308,413	21.8
All Other Farms	39,548	42.3	3,113,409	22.9	41,598,397	5.4

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964, Statistics for the State and Counties of Michigan, 1:13, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 35.

TABLE 6

FARMS IN WISCONSIN SELLING PRODUCTS VALUED AT SPECIFIC AMOUNTS

Those Selling Products Valued at (dollars)	Number of Farms		Total Area of Farms		Total Value of agricultural Products Sold	
	Number	% Down	Acres	% Down	\$	% Down
Total Farms	118,816	100	20,377,572	100	1,098,557,035	100
20,000	9,598	8.1	3,255,510	16.0	361,140,634	32.9
10,000-20,000	28,417	23.9	6,222,211	30.5	393,797,854	35.8
2,500-10,000	52,195	43.9	8,211,350	40.3	310,444,067	28.3
All Other Farms	28,606	24.1	2,688,501	13.2	33,174,480	3.0

* Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964 Statistics for the State and Counties of Wisconsin, 1:14, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 35.

TABLE 7

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FARMS, INCOME, AND PARITY INCOME POSITIONS
OF FARMS BY ECONOMIC CLASS, 1965* (NATION)

	Farms with sales						All Farms
	\$40,000 and over	\$20,000 to \$39,999	\$10,000 to \$19,999	\$5,000 to \$9,999	\$2,500 to \$4,999	Less than \$2,500	
Number of farms (thousands)	148	313	584	533	330	1,466	3,374
Percentage distribution (percent)	4.4	9.3	17.3	15.8	9.8	43.4	100.0
Cash receipts percentage distribution (percent)	38.5	22.2	21.7	10.3	3.2	4.1	100.0
Realized net farm income (million dollars)	2,351	3,326	3,909	2,117	809	1,597	14,109
Parity income gap, assuming a 5-percent return to farm operators' assets, and \$2.61 per hour returns to operator and family labor (million dollars)	-294	-402	688	1,552	1,214	4,964	7,722
Indicated percentage change in realized net income required to achieve parity of returns	-13	-12	+18	+73	+150	+311	+55

Source: Vernon W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy In An Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, 48:5, Dec. 1966, p. 1114.

TABLE 8

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE BY RESIDENCE FOR U.S.A., MICHIGAN, WISCONSIN; 1960*

	U.S.A.		MICHIGAN		WISCONSIN	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
	Percent	Farm	Percent	Farm	Percent	Farm
Professional, Technical, Kindred	12.5	9.5	12.5	9.0	12.0	7.4
Managers, Officials, Proprietors						
(excluding farm)	9.1	6.2	7.6	4.7	8.0	3.8
Clerical and Kindred	16.8	11.0	15.3	11.6	15.8	11.7
Sales Workers	8.0	5.9	8.1	4.6	8.4	4.2
Craftsmen, Foremen, Kindred	13.7	14.0	15.1	16.9	14.9	13.9
Operatives and Kindred	18.0	27.1	21.7	31.1	21.7	32.4
Private Household	2.7	4.6	2.2	3.1	1.7	3.8
Service Workers						
(excluding private household)	9.2	7.5	9.1	8.0	9.2	8.8
Laborers Except Farm & Mine	4.5	7.7	3.8	5.8	4.1	7.6
Occupation not reported	5.5	6.5	4.5	5.2	4.2	6.3
Sub-Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9
	47,044,089	1,918,418	2,053,114	89,653	965,956	68,693
Farmers & Farm Managers		43.6		33.6		47.7
Farm Laborers & Foremen		15.6		9.6		20.0
TOTAL	47,390,395	4,701,443	2,057,894	157,779	971,573	212,502

* Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Detailed Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Final Report PC(1)-1D, Table 203, pp. 1-534-539; Michigan, Final Report PC(1)-24D, Table 121, pp. 24-480-485; and Wisconsin, Final Report PC(1)-51D, Table 121, pp. 51-386-391.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED MALES BY RESIDENCE; 1960*

	U.S.A.			MICHIGAN			WISCONSIN		
	Urban	Percent	Rural Farm	Urban	Percent	Rural Farm	Urban	Percent	Rural Farm
Professional, Technical, Kindred Managers, Officials, Proprietors (excluding farm)	12.2		5.5	12.1		4.7	11.3		3.3
Clerical and Kindred	12.0		8.4	9.7		6.1	10.5		5.3
Sales Workers	8.3		5.1	7.4		4.9	7.5		4.3
Craftsmen, Foremen, Kindred Operatives and Kindred	8.1		4.9	7.5		3.5	7.8		3.4
Private Household	20.1		22.0	21.6		24.7	21.9		21.7
Service Workers	19.9		31.5	25.8		38.0	25.2		40.1
(excluding private household)	.1		.2	.1		.1	.1		.1
Laborers Except Farm & Mine	7.1		3.7	6.2		4.2	5.9		3.3
Occupation not reported	6.7		12.0	5.4		8.5	5.8		11.7
Sub-Total	5.2		6.7	4.2		5.3	4.0		6.6
Farmers & Farm Managers	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		99.9
Farm Laborers & Foreman	30,558,297		1,183,427	1,403,111		59,493	639,304		42,641
TOTAL	30,866,337		3,721,231	1,407,270		121,831	644,362		164,336

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Final Report PC (1)-1D, Table 203, pp. 1-534-539; Michigan, Final Report PC (1)-24D, Table 121, pp. 24-480-485; and Wisconsin, Final Report PC (1)-51D, Table 121, pp. 51-386-391.

FIGURE 1

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION (FARM OCCUPATIONS EXCLUDED) OF THE EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE FOR
FOR THE U.S.A.; BY RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENCE: 1960

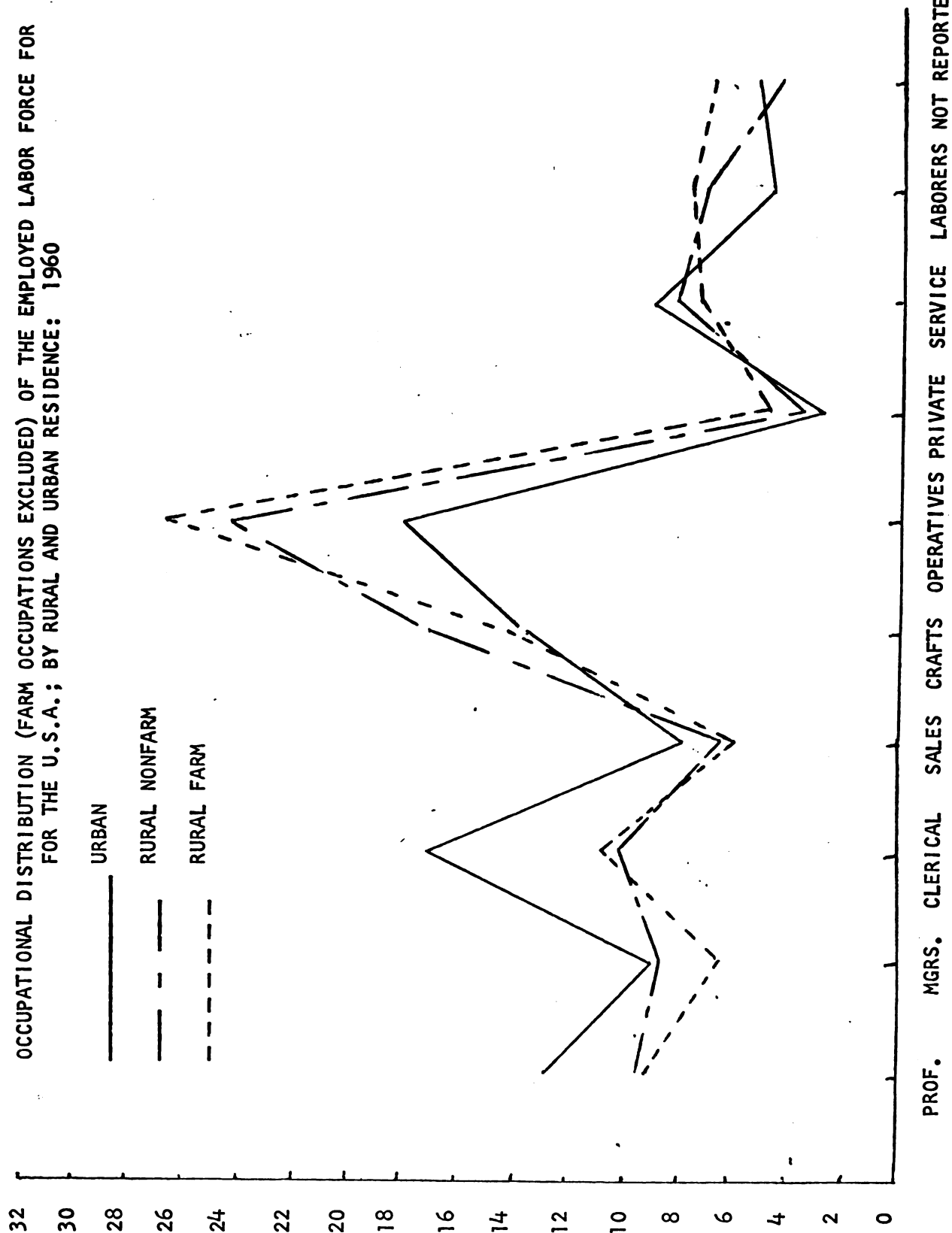


TABLE 10
MULTIPLE JOBHOLDERS (M.J.H.) in AMERICAN AGRICULTURE (numbers in thousands)

Number em- ployed in agriculture (M.J.H. + others)	Number of M.J.H. in agriculture	%	Self em- ployed in agriculture primary & 2ndary	M.J.H. who are self- employed in			2ndary job self- employment in agriculture	%	2ndary self- employment of all 2ndary self- employment
				agriculture	on primary job.	%			
1965 ¹	5,128	416	8.1	3,165	218	6.9	619	19.6	51.6
1964 ²	5,007	406	8.1	3,083	230	7.5	616	20.0	52.5
1963 ³	5,178	386	7.5	3,227	195	6.0	637	19.7	50.9
1962 ⁴	5,428	364	6.7	3,267	210	6.4	469	14.4	47.4
1959 ⁵	4,811	321	6.7	3,268	199	6.1	519	15.9	55.9

1. Forrest A. Bogan and Thomas E. Swanson, "Multiple Jobholders in May 1965," Monthly Labor Review (Feb. 1966) or Special Labor Force Report No. 63, Calculated from Table 2, p. 149.

2. Harvey R. Hamel and Forrest A. Bogan, "Multiple Jobholders in May 1964," Monthly Labor Review (March 1965) or Special Labor Force Report No. 51 (Table 5, p. 271).

3. Forrest A. Bogan and Harvey R. Hamel, "Multiple Jobholders in May 1963," Monthly Labor Review (March 1964) or Special Labor Force Report No. 39 (Table 3, p. 5).

4. Jacob Schiffman, "Multiple Jobholders in May 1962," Monthly Labor Review (May 1963), or Special Labor Force Report No. 29 (Table 3, p. 518).

5. Gertrude Bancroft, "Multiple Jobholders in December 1959," Monthly Labor Review (Oct. 1960), or Special Labor Force Reports No. 9 (Table A, p. A-5).

9. Bogan and Swanson (1., p. A-2) define multiple jobholders for purposes of this data as follows: "Employed persons who (a) had jobs as wage or salary workers with two employers or more; (b) were self-employed and also held a wage-salary job; (c) worked as an unpaid family worker but also had a secondary wage or salary job."

TABLE 11
CHANGES IN TIME SPENT AT OFF-FARM WORK BY FARM OPERATORS
(NATION)

Year	% farm operators working off-farm one day or more	Year	% farm operators working off-farm 100 days or more
1929	33.0%	1929	11.5%
1944	27.0%	1944	23.0%
1954	50.0% (approx.)	1954	28.5%
1959	46.2% (comparable definitions)	1959	31.6%
1964		1964	

- Sources: (1) H.G. Halcrow, "Part-time Farming," U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Agriculture 1954, Vol. 13, Part 9, Chap. 8.
- (2) 1959 figures calculated from U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Agriculture: 1959, Vol. 1, Parts 1-48, Table 17, various pages (Excludes operators of abnormal farms).
- (3) 1944 figures taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Agriculture: 1954, Vol. 11, Chap. XI, Table 4, p. 1168.

TABLE 12
MICHIGAN FARM OPERATORS REPORTING OFF-FARM WORK*

	Total. All Farms		Commercial Farms Classes 1-3		Commercial Farms Classes 4-6		Others Part-Time, Retirement Abnormal	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
ALL FARMS	100	93,504	100	22,810	100	37,377	100	33,317
Farm Operators Reporting								
Off-farm Work	56.1	52,438	33.1	7,561	52.0	19,435	76.4	25,442
0-99 Days	11.8	11,053	18.4	4,199	15.8	5,906	2.8	948
100 Days	44.3	41,385	14.7	3,362	36.2	13,529	73.5	24,494
Percent of days spent at NON-farm job	97.7		96.0		97.6		98.0	
OTHER PERSONS IN FARM HOUSEHOLD WORKING OFF-FARM								
Number of farm operators reporting		29,785		7,252		11,876		10,657
Persons in household with off-farm job (other than operator)	100	41,201	100	10,309	100	16,089	100	14,803
0-99 Days	49	20,385	58	6,036	47	7,562	46	6,787
100 Days	51	20,816	42	4,273	53	8,527	54	8,016
Percent of days spent at NON-farm job	94.0		95.1		93.7		93.7	

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964 Statistics for the State and Counties of Michigan, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.: 1967, Table 17, pp. 38-39.

TABLE 13

WISCONSIN FARM OPERATORS REPORTING OFF-FARM WORK*

	Total All Farms		Commercial Farms Classes 1-3		Commercial Farms Classes 4-6		Others Part-Time, Retirement, Abnormal	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
ALL FARMS	100	118,816	100	38,015	100	57,896	100	22,905
Farm operators reporting								
Off-farm Work	42.5	50,546	25.4	9,665	42.8	24,756	70.4	16,125
0-99 Days	15.3	18,195	17.3	6,576	18.5	10,689	4.1	930
100 Days	27.2	32,351	8.1	3,089	24.3	14,067	66.3	15,195
Percent of days spent at								
NON-farm job	95.5		92.2		94.8			96.8
OTHER PERSONS IN FARM HOUSEHOLD WORKING OFF-FARM								
Number of farm operators								
reporting		36,895		11,749		18,060		7,086
Persons in household with								
off-farm job (other than								
operator	100	51,140	100	16,960	100	24,914	100	9,266
0-99 Days	54.1	27,692	62	10,518	52	12,847	47	4,327
100 Days	45.9	23,448	38	6,442	48	12,067	53	4,939
Percent of days spent at								
NON-farm job	89.8		87.3		90.0			92.7

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964 Statistics for the State and Counties of Wisconsin, "U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.: 1967, Table 17, pp. 38-39.

APPENDIX B

TABLE 1.

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS OF OFF-FARM WORK: 1964 CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE AND MICHIGAN SURVEY

	Work Off-Farm 100 Days or More	Not Working Off-Farm 100 Days or More	Total Excluding Abnormal Farms
1964 Census of Agriculture	41,377 (44%)	52,096 (56%)	93,473
1965 Michigan Survey	342 (43%)	458 (57%)	800

$$x^2 = .7738$$

$$d.f. = 1$$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964, Statistics for the State and Counties, Michigan, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, Table 17, pp. 38-39.

TABLE 2

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS OF OFF-FARM WORK: 1964 CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE AND WISCONSIN SURVEY

	Work Off-Farm 100 Days or More	Not Working Off-Farm 100 Days or More	Total Excluding Abnormal Farms
1964 Census of Agriculture	32,343 (27%)	86,421 (73%)	118,764
1965 Wisconsin Survey	149 (22%)	516 (78%)	665

$$x^2 = 7.9951$$

$$d.f. = 1$$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964, Statistics for the State and Counties, Wisconsin, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, Table 17, pp. 38-39.

TABLE 3
COMPARATIVE 1964 CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE AND
SURVEY AGE DISTRIBUTIONS FOR MICHIGAN
AND WISCONSIN FARM OPERATORS

Age	MICHIGAN*		WISCONSIN**	
	Census Percent	Survey	Census Percent	Survey
24 or less	1.8	1.4	1.6	2.1
25-34 yrs.	10.4	12.1	11.6	14.3
35-44	21.8	21.1	23.5	30.0
45-54	27.3	27.4	27.9	26.7
55-64	21.9	20.4	21.6	19.2
65 or more	16.8	17.6	13.8	7.7
Total (abnormal farms omitted)	100.0 93,473	100.0 802	100.0 118,764	100.0 621
$\chi^2 = 5.92$ d.f. = 5 $\chi^2 = 96.45$ d.f. = 5				

*U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964, Statistics for the State and Counties, Michigan, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, Table 17, p. 36.

**Ibid., Statistics for the State and Counties, Wisconsin, Table 17, p. 36.

TABLE 4

COMPARATIVE 1964 CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE AND SURVEY
EDUCATION DISTRIBUTIONS FOR MICHIGAN AND
WISCONSIN FARM OPERATORS

Education	MICHIGAN*		WISCONSIN**	
	Census Percent	Survey	Census Percent	Survey
7 yrs. or less	10.5	10.5	14.3	12.3
8th grade	35.1	32.5	43.3	39.6
1-3 yrs. high school	17.3	16.4	12.0	13.0
4 yrs. high school	28.7	29.7	24.5	26.1
1-3 yrs. college	5.3	8.2	3.7	7.1
4 yrs. college or more	3.1	2.7	2.2	1.8
Total (abnormal farms omitted)	100.0 93,473	100.0 801	100.0 118,764	99.9 616

$$\chi^2 = 16.8 \quad \text{d.f.} = 5$$

$$\chi^2 = 24.74 \quad \text{d.f.} = 5$$

*Ibid., Michigan, Table 17, p. 36.

**Ibid., Wisconsin, Table 17, p. 36.

TABLE 5

COMPARATIVE 1964 CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE AND SURVEY GROSS
FARM SALES DISTRIBUTIONS FOR MICHIGAN
AND WISCONSIN FARM OPERATORS

GROSS FARM SALES	MICHIGAN*		WISCONSIN**	
	Census Percent	Survey	Census Percent	Survey
\$2,499 or less	42.2	37.6	24.0	14.7
\$2,500-\$4,999	16.5	15.9	16.4	15.7
\$5,000-\$9,999	16.8	19.0	27.6	30.7
\$10,000-\$19,999	14.4	16.3	24.1	28.3
\$20,000-\$39,999	7.5	8.7	6.5	8.9
\$40,000 or more	2.6	2.5	1.4	1.7
Total (abnormal farms omitted)	100.0 93,473	100.0 773	100.0 118,764	100.0 605
$\chi^2 = 5.52^{***}$ d.f. = 5 $\chi^2 = 36.7$ d.f. = 5				

*Ibid., Michigan, Table 17, pp. 36-37.

**Ibid., Wisconsin, Table 17, pp. 36-37.

*** χ^2 in Tables 3, 4 and 5 has been calculated using the following formula:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^k \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

where O_i = observed number of cases categorized in i th category

E_i = expected number of cases in i th category under H_0

directs one to sum over all (k) categories.

Source: Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1956),
43

TABLE 6

INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM: COMBINED ITEM-
ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6
C1						
C2	.11					
C3	.13	.30				
C4	.04	.21	.18			
C5	.06	.16	.14	.09		
C6	.16	.22	.23	.08	.14	

ITEMS

- C1 It would be to the farmers' advantage to gain control of one of the large retail food chains.
- C2 The producers cannot make their bargaining power felt and will always be forced to yield unless they can and do cut off the available supply to the processors.
- C3 Farmers must get together in bargaining associations to deal with processors and retailers.
- C4 If you want to solve agriculture's problem it's the production and marketing system as a whole that needs to be changed not just the practices of the individual farmers.
- C5 Farmers must reduce the total amount of products going to market if they are going to receive a higher price for those products.
- C6 Buyers of farm products who sign a contract with a bargaining association should not be allowed to buy farm products from farmers who do not belong to the bargaining association.

*Added in the final analysis was the item: "Do you think farmers can work together to solve the major farm problem (respondent defined in immediately preceding question) through their own organization?" (% responding "yes").

TABLE 7

INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM: MICHIGAN ITEM-
ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	M1
C1							
C2	.09						
C3	.12	.23					
C4	.06	.22	.16				
C5	.01	.17	.18	.11			
C6	.13	.19	.23	.06	.13		
M1	.01	.22	.23	.09	.39	.19	

ITEMS

- C1 It would be to the farmers' advantage to gain control over one of the large retail food chains.
- C2 The producers cannot make their bargaining power felt and will always be forced to yield unless they can and do cut off the available supply to the processor.
- C3 Farmers must get together in bargaining associations to deal effectively with processors and retailers.
- C4 If you want to solve agriculture's problems it's the production and marketing system as a whole that needs to be changed not just the practices of the individual farmers.
- C5 Farmers must reduce the total amount of products going to market if they are going to receive a higher price for those products.
- C6 Buyers of farm products who sign a contract with a bargaining association should be allowed to buy farm products from farmers who do not belong to the bargaining association.
- M1 In order to be effective bargaining associations that attempt to gain higher prices for farmers must be able to control the output that individual farmers market.

TABLE 8

INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM: WISCONSIN ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	W1	C3	W2	W3	W4	W5	C4	C5	W6	W7	C6
C1													
C2	.16												
W1	.12	.21											
C3	.17	.42	.21										
W2	-.01	.06	.10	-.01									
W3	.07	.18	.11	-.25	.20								
W4	.04	-.23	.06	-.23	.20	.38							
W5	.01	-.15	-.02	-.17	.18	.41	.54						
C4	.00	.21	.15	.22	.06	.09	-.03	.08					
C5	.14	.15	.31	.08	.12	.21	.13	.13	.06				
W6	.14	.24	.13	.29	.04	-.12	-.11	-.02	.17	.05			
W7	.03	.19	.16	.39	.16	.12	.12	.08	.14	.19	.13		
C6	.08	.25	.19	.22	.08	.03	-.08	-.02	.14	.15	.14	.19	

ITEMS:

- C1 It would be to the farmers advantage to gain control of one of the large retail food chains.
- C2 The producers cannot make their bargaining power felt and will always be forced to yield unless they can and do cut off the available supply to the processor.
- C3 Farmers must get together in bargaining associations to deal effectively with processors and retailers.
- C4 If you want to solve agriculture's problems it's the production and marketing system as a whole that needs to be changed, not just the practices of the individual farmer.
- C5 Farmers must reduce the total amount of products going to market if they are going to receive a higher price for those products.
- C6 Buyers of farm products who sign a contract with a bargaining association should not be allowed to buy farm products from farmers who do not belong to the association.
- W1 In order to be effective bargaining associations that attempt to get higher prices for farmers must be able to control the output that individual farmers market.
- W2 Farming should be an occupation where farmers are completely independent with respect to economic decisions.
- W3 When farmers try to bargain collectively, they are disrupting the market system and preventing it from giving them a fair price.
- W4 It will never be possible to organize farmers to make collective bargaining successful.
- W5 Collective bargaining will never be possible in agriculture because different commodity interests will never agree with each other in order to present a united front to present to the buyers and processors.
- W6 Farmers have just as much right to price their products and insist on getting that price as anyone else in the economy.
- W7 If their situation is to improve farmers must gain more control of processing and retailing of farm products.

TABLE 9

PRO-GOVERNMENT--ANTI-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE:
COMBINED ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	C3
C1			
C2	.14		
C3	.04	-.02	

ITEMS

- C1 Farmers cannot count on government assistance in solving their marketing and price problems. (inverted)
- C2 Federal marketing orders should be expanded to cover more Michigan products.
- C3 Government estimates of crop production and of livestock receipts tend to strengthen the position of the buyers and weaken the position of the farmers in farmer marketing arrangements. (inverted)

Note: Added in the final analysis on the Michigan and Combined analyses was the item "Would you favor state or federal legislation which would authorize and enforce joint efforts to promote products, control quality and restrict level of production marketed?" Yes No D.K.
(% Yes)

TABLE 10
 PRO-GOVERNMENT--ANTI-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE:
 MICHIGAN ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	c1	c2	c3
c1			
c2	-.11		
c3	.08	-.01	

ITEMS

- C1 Farmers cannot count on government assistance in solving their marketing and price problems. (inverted)
- C2 Federal marketing orders should be expanded to cover more Michigan products.
- C3 Government estimates of crop production and of livestock receipts tend to strengthen the position of the buyers and weaken the position of the farmers in farmer marketing arrangements. (inverted)

TABLE 11

PRO-GOVERNMENT--ANTI-GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE:
WISCONSIN ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	W1	W2	W3	W4	C3	W5
C1								
C2	-.16							
W1	.31	-.17						
W2	-.06	.29	-.06					
W3	-.13	.30	-.20	.21				
W4	.21	-.16	.48	-.13	-.21			
C3	-.01	.01	.08	.10	.12	.15		
W5	-.20	.42	-.21	.37	.32	-.12	.16	

ITEMS

- C1 Farmers cannot count on government assistance in solving their marketing and price problems. (inverted)
- C2 Federal marketing orders should be expanded to cover more Wisconsin products.
- C3 Government estimates of crop production and livestock receipts tend to strengthen the position of the buyer and weaken the position of the farmers in farmer bargaining arrangements. (inverted)
- W1 Government price programs pose a serious threat to the freedom of the farmer. (inverted)
- W2 Farmers need price programs but only until a better solution is found.
- W3 Farmers will always need about the same type of price program as they have now.
- W4 Government price programs are actually the cause of the present price problems.

ITEMS (Con't.)

W5 Farmers will always need government price programs but a different type than they now have.

Note: W4 was removed from the final analysis due to programming oversight.

TABLE 12

CHANGE ORIENTATION: COMBINED ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
C1					
C2	.07				
C3	-.03	-.16			
C4	-.03	.12	-.12		
C5	-.06	.15	-.11	.28	

ITEMS

- C1 The replacement of family farms by large-scale farms using hired labor would have undesirable economic and social consequences for the nation.
- C2 Entry into farming ought to be restricted to young men with farm backgrounds.
- C3 Farmers should raise all the crops and livestock possible as long as there are hungry people..
- C4 Farmers ought to appreciate farming as a good way of life and be less concerned about their cash incomes.
- C5 Farmers should be primarily concerned with producing farm products and let someone else worry about marketing problems.

TABLE 13

CHANGE ORIENTATION: MICHIGAN ITEM-ITEM
CORRELATIONS

	C1	M2	C2	C3	M1	C4	C5
C1							
M2	.06						
C2	.05	.04					
C3	.04	.06	.12				
M1	.13	.02	.17	.04			
C4	-.01	.02	.17	.12	.05		
C5	-.06	.09	.17	.16	.01	.28	

ITEMS

- C1 The replacement of family farms by large-scale farms using hired labor would have undesirable economic and social consequences for the nation.
- C2 Entry into farming ought to be restricted to young men with farm backgrounds.
- C3 Farmers should raise all the crops and livestock possible as long as there are hungry people.
- C4 Farmers ought to appreciate farming as a good way of life and be less concerned about their cash income.
- C5 Farmers should be primarily concerned with producing farm products and let someone else worry about marketing problems.
- M1 A farm organization should have only operating farmers as elected officers.
- M2 It is more important that farm people earn satisfactory incomes than it is to maintain the family farm system.
(inverted)

TABLE 14
CHANGE ORIENTATION: WISCONSIN ITEM-ITEM
CORRELATIONS

	C1	W1	W2	C2	C3	W3	C4	C5
C1								
W1	.14							
W2	.14	.08						
C2	.03	.17	.19					
C3	-.02	.09	.15	.10				
W3	.18	.13	.08	.14	.14			
C4	-.08	.03	.10	.05	.13	-.03		
C5	-.10	.06	.04	.12	.02	.04	.30	

ITEMS

- C1 The replacement of family farms by large-scale farms using hired labor would have undesirable economic and social consequences for the nation.
- C2 Entry into farming ought to be restricted to young men with a farm background.
- C3 Farmers should raise all the crops and livestock possible as long as there are hungry people.
- C4 Farmers ought to appreciate farming as a good way of life and be less concerned about their cash income.
- C5 Farmers should be primarily concerned with producing farm products and let someone else worry about marketing problems.
- W1 It is more important that farm people earn satisfactory incomes than it is to maintain the family farm system. (inverted)
- W2 One reason why we hear so much about crime and corruption today is because our nation is becoming so urbanized.
- W3 A farm organization should have only operating farmers as elected officers.

TABLE 15

SATISFACTION-DISSATISFACTION (ALIENATION) :
COMBINED ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	C3	C5
C2	.28			
C3	.21	.26		
C5	.22	.17	.16	
C6	.12	.21	.13	.09

ITEMS

- C1 The situation in farming today is so confusing that it is hard to tell what the future of farming in this country will be.
- C2 Today farmers can't really do much to determine the way things turn out for them.
- C3 Farm prices are largely determined by large processors and retailers.
- C5 If you want to solve agriculture's problems it's the production and marketing system as a whole that needs changing not just the practices of the individual farmers.
- C6 We shouldn't waste our time on discussions of the farm problem which don't offer clear solutions.

Note: Added in the final analysis was the item; "If you quit farming this year, do you think you could make more, about the same, or less from non-farm work than you cleared from all sources last year?" (Those responding LESS)

TABLE 16

SATISFACTION-DISSATISFACTION (ALIENATION) :
MICHIGAN ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	C3	C5	C6	M1	M2	M3
C1								
C2	.22							
C3	.22	.23						
C5	.25	.13	.12					
C6	.12	.21	.12	.07				
M1	.18	.14	.27	.10	.00			
M2	-.07	-.12	-.05	-.07	.06	-.09		
M3	.07	.08	.06	.04	.11	.12	.01	

ITEMS

- C1 The situation in farming today is so confusing that it is hard to tell what the future of farming in this country will be.
- C2 Today farmers can't really do much to determine the way things turn out for them.
- C3 Farm prices are largely determined by large processors and retailers.
- C5 If you want to solve agriculture's problems, it's the production and marketing system as a whole that needs to be changed not just the practices of the individual farmer.
- C6 We shouldn't waste our time on discussions of the farm problem which don't offer clear solutions.
- M1 Large supermarket chains tend to use their buying power to hold down farm prices.
- M2 On the average, farmers are faring as well as city workers in terms of income at the present time.

M3 Consumers ought to pay enough for food to enable farmers to have an income equal to non-farm workers.

Note: Added in the final analysis were the items: (1) "If you quit farming this year, do you think you could make more, about the same, or less from non-farm work than you gained from all sources last year?" (Those responding LESS) and; (2) "Do you feel that you had a satisfactory income from farming last year, taking into account your labor and investment; (1) Yes (2) No. (Those responding NO).

TABLE 17

SATISFACTION-DISSATISFACTION (ALIENATION):
WISCONSIN ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	C1	C2	W1	C3	C5	W2	C6
C1							
C2	.38						
W1	.22	.16					
C3	.24	.30	.23				
C5	.17	.25	.14	.24			
W2	.16	.30	.10	.11	.13		
C6	.12	.21	.08	.15	.12	.18	

ITEMS

- C1 The situation in farming today is so confusing that it is hard to say what the future of farming in this country will be.
- C2 Today farmers can't really do much to determine the way things turn out for them.
- C3 Farm prices are largely determined by large processors and retailers.

- C5 If you want to solve agriculture's problems, it's the production and marketing system as a whole that needs to be changed, not just the practices of the individual farmer.
- C6 We shouldn't waste our time on discussions of the farm problem which don't offer clear solutions.
- W1 Large supermarket chains tend to use their buying power to hold down farm prices.
- W2 One reason why we hear so much about crime and corruption today is that our nation is becoming so urbanized.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beijer, G. Rural Migrants in Urban Setting. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1963.
- Beegle, J. Allan, "Population Changes and Their Relationship to Changes in Social Structure," Sociologia Ruralis, 14:3-4. (1964), 238-252.
- Bell, Daniel. The End of Ideology. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.
- Bendix, Reinhard and Lipset, Seymour Martin eds. Class, Status and Power. 2nd ed. New York: The Free Press, c1966.
- Bishop, C. E. Farm Labor in the United States. New York: Columbia University Press, c1967.
- Blau, Peter M. and Duncan, Otis Dudley. The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley and Sons, c1967.
- Bogue, Donald J. "Internal Migration," The Study of Population. Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, c1959.
- _____. The Structure of the Metropolitan Community: A Study of Dominance and Subdominance. Ann Arbor: Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, 1950.
- Bonnen, James T. "Rural Poverty: Programs and Problems," Journal of Farm Economics, XLVIII:2 (May, 1966), 452-465.
- Boyne, David H. "Changes in the Income Distribution in Agriculture," Journal of Farm Economics, XLVII:5 (1965), 1213-1224.
- Durkheim, Emile. The Division of Labor in Society. Translated by George Simpson, New York: The Free Press, c1933.

- Eisenstadt, S. N. The Absorption of Immigrants. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.
- Faunce, William A. and Smucker, Joseph M. "Industrialization and Community Status Structure," American Sociological Review, XXXI:3 (June, 1966), 390-399.
- Form, W. H. and Geschwender, James. "Social Reference Basis of Job Satisfaction: The Case of Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, XXVII:2 (April, 1962), 228-237.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. The New Industrial State. Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1967.
- Gans, Herbert. The Urban Villagers. New York: The Free Press, 1962.
- Geertz, Clifford, ed. Old Societies and New States. New York: Free Press, 1963.
- Gluckman, Max. Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa. New York: Glencoe Free Press, 1963.
- Haller, Archibald O. "Urban Economic Growth and Changes in Rural Stratification: Rio De Janeiro," Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Miami, Florida, 1966.
- _____ and Sewell, William H. "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, XLII (January, 1957), 407-411.
- Harrington, Michael. The Other America. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1962.
- Hathaway, Dale E. Government and Agriculture. New York: MacMillan Company, 1963.
- _____, et al. Michigan Farmers in the Mid-Sixties. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, 1966. Research Report 54.
- _____, Beegle, J. Allan, and Bryant, Keith. Rural America. 1960 Census Monograph, forthcoming.

- _____ and Waldo, Arley D. Multiple Jobholding by Farm Operators. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, Agricultural Experiment Station and the Department of Agricultural Economics, 1964. Research Bulletin 5.
- Hoselitz, Bert F. "Interaction Between Industrial and Pre-Industrial Stratification Systems," Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development. Edited by Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine, c1966.
- Hyman, Herbert. Survey Design and Analysis. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1965.
- Inkeles, Alex. "Industrial Man," American Journal of Sociology, 66:4 (July, 1960), 1-31.
- Johnson, Donald E. and Warner, W. Keith. Wisconsin Farm Organizations and Cooperatives: Membership and Patronage. Madison, Wisconsin: Agricultural Experiment Station, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, 1966. Bulletin 581.
- Kerr, Clark et al. Industrialism and Industrial Man. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Lave, Lester B. Technological Change: Its Conception and Measurement. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, c1966.
- Legett, John C. "Economic Insecurity and Working Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review. XXIX (April, 1964), 226-234.
- _____. "Uprootedness and Working Class Consciousness," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII:6 (May, 1963), 682-692.
- Lenski, Gerhard. Power and Privilege. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.
- Lerner, Daniel. The Passing of Traditional Society. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958.
- Lewis, Oscar. "The Folk-Urban Ideal Types," The Study of Urbanization. Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. Agrarian Socialism. Berkeley California: University of California Press, 1950.

- _____. Political Man. New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc., c1960.
- _____. "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, XX:3-4 (Sept.-Dec., 1955), 220-228.
- _____. and Bendix, Reinhard. Social Mobility in Industrial Society. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, c1959.
- McPhee, Shirley Evelyn. "Social Organization and Economic Change in a Fishing Community." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1965.
- Mitrany, David. Marx Against the Peasant. New York: Collier Books, c1961.
- Moore, Wilbert E. and Feldman, Arnold, eds. Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas. New York: Social Science Research Council, c1960.
- _____. Industrialization and Labor. Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, c1951.
- Morrison, Denton E. and Steeves, Allan D. "Deprivation, Discontent and Social Movement Participation: Evidence on a Contemporary Farmers' Movement; the N.F.O," Rural Sociology (forthcoming).
- Nash, Manning. Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Co., c1966.
- Petras, James and Zeitlin, Maurice, "Miners and Agrarian Radicalism," American Sociological Review, XXXII:4 (August, 1967), 578-586.
- Perkins, Brian B. and Hathaway, Dale E. Movement of Labor Between Farm and Non-farm Jobs. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station and the Department of Agricultural Economics, 1964. Research Bulletin 13.
- Reiss, Albert J., Jr., ed. Occupation and Social Status. New York: The Free Press, c1961.
- Ruttan, Vernon W. "Agricultural Policy in an Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, 48:5 (Dec., 1966), 1100-1120.

- Sewell, William H. and Orenstein, Alan M. "Community of Residence and Occupational Choice," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (March, 1965), 551-563.
- Smelser, Neil J. Social Change in the Industrial Revolution. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1959.
- Slocum, Walter L. "The Influence of Reference Group Values on Educational Aspirations of Rural High School Students," Rural Sociology, XXXII:3 (September, 1967), 269-277.
- Smith, David and Inkeles, Alex. "The O.M. Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity," Sociometry, 29:4 (Dec., 1955), 353-377.
- Steeves, Allan D. "A Study of Internal Migration with Specific Reference to the Flow of People from the Atlantic Provinces to Guelph, Ontario." Unpublished M.S.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1964.
- Stein, Maurice R. The Eclipse of Community. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Tilly, Charles. Migration to an American City. Agricultural Experiment Station and Division of Urban Affairs, University of Delaware in Cooperation with Farm Population Branch, Economic Research Service, U.S.D.A. April, 1965.
- Toennies, Ferdinand. Community and Association. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955.
- Waldo, Arley D. "The Impact of Outmigration and Multiple Jobholding Upon Income Distribution in Agriculture," Journal of Farm Economics, XLVII:5 (December, 1965), 1235-1244.
- Whyte, William H., Jr. The Organization Man. New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1956.
- Wilensky, Harold L. and Edwards, Hugh. "The Skidder: Ideological Adjustments of Downward Mobile Workers," American Sociological Review, XXIV:2 (April, 1959), 215-231.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism As A Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, 44 (July, 1938), 1-18.
- Worsely, Peter. The Third World. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1964.