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ATIVES TESTING FOR AN IDEOLOGY.

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MICHIGAN FARMERS'
PURCHASING COOPERATIVES
TESTING FOR AN IDEOLOGY

by

Verl R. W. Franz

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ABSTRACT

MICHIGAN FARMERS' PURCHASING COOPERATIVES

Testing for an Ideology

by Verl R. W. Franz

The major goal was to test assumptions of various sociologists concerning ideological belief systems as they pertain to modern Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives. In order to study the dynamics of Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives, consideration was given as to whether or not these cooperatives fit the model of a social movement, are committed to a cooperative ideology and/or a business ideology, and whether differential commitment to these ideologies is associated with individual and organizational characteristics.

A review of the literature on the history of cooperatives, on the implications pertinent to the theory of social movements, on ideology, on theory of ideology, on the sociology of knowledge, on belief systems, and on value orientations was made. Hypotheses resulting from these theoretical positions were formulated. Through personal interviews, data were gathered on a random sample of thirty managers, thirty board members, and thirty farmer members of thirty Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives. Questions included pertained to personal information (age, education, training, experience), size of cooperative (based on gross annual sales), and attitudes toward cooperatives in general and toward the respondent's specific cooperative. A sixty-two item questionnaire was used to gather information on the cooperative members' attitudes toward traditional values and beliefs, the free enterprise system, individual opportunity, desire for achievement and success, relationships between and among cooperative membership, overall economic transactions, and on their feelings toward community and social interaction in the community.

The items to test the major hypothesis that an ideology if present would scale were statistically analyzed by the use of various item analysis techniques: the

high-low dichotomy, trace line analysis, and factor analysis methods. Conclusions reached indicate that no discernible and/or significant cooperative ideology or business ideology could be found.

Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives were found not to be typically business-like in values; neither could evidence be found that an unanticipated, underlying cooperative value structure is held by members and leaders.

Past theory has led us to believe that farmers' cooperatives fall within the framework of social movement theory. The results of this study indicate that it may be impossible to demonstrate that a well-defined cooperative ideology exists among Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives.

From this study, it is concluded that if farmers' cooperatives were ever a social movement, they are now, from a value point of view, a mixture of the self-help principles of traditional cooperatives and the consumer service values of modern business beliefs.

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"No man is an Iland, intire of itselfe; every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a Clod be washed away by the Sea, Europe is lesse, as well as if a Promontorie were, as well as if a Mannor of thy friends or of thine owne were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

JOHN DONNE (1573-1631)
Devotions XVII

When one is "over-age in grade" it is all too easy sometimes to wonder "for whom the bell tolls." In retrospect, when I felt I was being "washed away by the Sea," it was my dear family, friends, teachers and fellow graduate students who guided me back "to the maine," who insisted that I am "a peece of the Continent" and who restored my perspective.

If this single work ever represents the culmination of a long arduous journey through "academic land"; if this work will ever make a contribution to being "involved in Mankinde," it will do so only as a result of the fellowship, support, faith and dedication of my friends, family and teachers. To all these people I express humble and grateful appreciation.

I want, first, to extend my appreciation to Mr. M. D. Brownlee and Farm Bureau Services, Inc., of Lansing, Michigan, for their financial support and managerial insight to sponsor this research, as well as the Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station for their administrative support.

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To my wife, Margaret, I can only say "How does one express gratitude for seventeen years of love, trust, faith and confidence"?

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Verl R. W. Franz
1967

TO Margaret

My family

Uncle Louis Wensch and
Aunt Alma Franz Wensch

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and historians have concerned themselves with the birth, growth, and death of social movements for quite some time. Foremost among sociologists are rural sociologists who concern themselves with farmers' cooperatives. Their efforts, while serious and scholarly, are often directed out of historical perspective. The need to study farmers' cooperatives within their historical frame of reference is demonstrated by the following three citations:

There is no doubt that King's idea of cooperation was one of social reform. King does not regard cooperation merely as a means of imposing limits on or exterminating the middleman, or augmenting the productive power of labor. . . . He hopes by means of the cooperative society to transform the structure of our economic life as a whole, and thus liberate labor from subjection to and dependence on capital. It is obvious. . . . that he looks upon the interest of capital and labor as being hostile the one to the other, . . . he (King) considers cooperation the means to be adopted in the conquest of capitalism and its wage system. . . .¹

Although consumers' cooperation on the Rochdale principles was introduced in the United States during the nineteenth century, particularly in the Granger movement and in some labor unions during the latter

¹Cited by A. J. Kress, Ed. Introduction to the Cooperative Movement (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), pp. 10-12. Dr. Hans Miller, Secretary of the International Cooperative Alliance, found a file of twenty-eight numbers of Dr. William King's Brighton Cooperator in the British Museum. He devoted much of the International Cooperative Alliance Yearbook for 1913 to an exposition of King's writings. Miller places King, a contemporary of Robert Owen and a colleague of Ricardo, as the first theorist of the modern cooperative movement. King published the Cooperator some time around 1827.

third of the nineteenth century, the cooperative purchase and distribution of goods was often confused with the cooperative producing and marketing of commodities and in any case the ventures were highly unstable, given to extreme fluctuations of momentary success and utter failure, while the movement itself remained undirected, uncoordinated, and haphazard. Impartial experts and cooperative leaders are generally agreed upon those factors in the American environment which militated against the steady and sturdy growth of consumers' cooperation. The producer orientation of American business, labor, and agriculture is most often cited, and with large validity, as a primary force keeping citizens from recognizing their role as consumers.²

Always his (Miller's) vision has been that cooperatives bring to their members that special initiative, health, and hope that one usually associates with arguments advocating capitalism. He carries the message everywhere that cooperatives are a natural and vital segment of a successful capitalistic private enterprise system.³

Which of these three representative quotations reflects the ideological belief system of modern Michigan farmers' purchasing cooperatives? Does an ideology of this or any kind still persist, and does it order and structure individual and organizational behavior? How do cooperators in Michigan resolve these paradoxical beliefs? An attempt to answer these questions will be the major goal of this thesis.

Two strong ideas are characteristic of United States farmers generally, and Michigan farmers specifically. One is the long

²C. A. Chambers, "The Cooperative League of the United States of America, 1916-1961: A Study of Social Theory and Social Action," Agricultural History, XXXVI, No. 2 (April, 1962), 59-81.

³Written by Vernon R. Alden in the foreword of Raymond W. Miller, A Conservative Looks at Cooperatives (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1964).

standing adherence to freedom of individual choice. The other is the traditional belief that their localities are autonomous and sacred. Farmers' Cooperatives, both producer and consumer, are an expression of these localistic ideas in response to economic conditions.

The early economic development of United States industry and agriculture was primarily local. Small businesses in small cities could not serve farmers adequately, and, even when they could, business transactions between city and farm residents left much to be desired. As mechanization took over the farm, as the size of farm operations increased, the farmer needed elevator and distribution facilities which could not, or would not, be provided by city business interests. The American farmer, somewhat alienated because of a self-sufficient past, responded to economic needs by self help.

The need for supply and distribution facilities when not met by the business community was solved by the development of cooperatives. The American farmer had been accustomed to mutual help principles. He had helped his neighbor raise his barn; the threshing season had brought all neighbors together to complete the harvest; so it was not unusual that he should join with his neighbors to collectively buy seed, corn, or to market cream, and, ultimately in the Midwest, to form elevator cooperatives.

Cooperatives in Michigan were originally organized locally to meet local economic problems. These relatively small organizations

were a response to a need to protect prices for produce, as well as to gain favorable farm supply costs. It was natural that farmers should solve these problems jointly as they had solved others in the past. Kercher wrote in 1941:

It has been in the intimate, neighborly social setting of the hamlet, village, or small town that the cooperatives as a whole have had their firmest roots. Here occupational and other class differences are minor factors, and consequently economic wants are sufficiently commonplace and uniform to be served by a relatively simple institutional structure. Furthermore, the face-to-face contacts of every day life provide the ideal social experience for the development of common understanding and the formation of attitudes of group solidarity so essential to voluntary cooperative effort.⁴

Present day changes in the economic structure of agriculture tend to challenge Kercher's "commonplace and uniform economic wants to be served by a relatively simple institutional structure." The modern farmer must be rational to survive. High cost mechanization, high cost production and distribution, and large, expensive farm operations have demanded that farmers become highly skilled managers with a knowledge of all aspects of the agricultural economic structure. This demand for modern management has placed the Michigan farmer in a conflicting position which is expressed in his attitude toward his cooperative. On the one hand his traditional way of life demands that he be independent in decision but tied strongly to his intimate, face-to-face experiences in his

⁴L. C. Kercher, V. S. Kebker, and W. C. Leland, Jr., Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States, Part I. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941).

own locality with life-long friends and acquaintances who band together cooperatively to meet common and uniform problems. On the other hand he has been caught up by increasing industrialization and mechanization on the farm. He finds he must compete in large markets; he must purchase from nationwide manufacturers and must learn to operate in a business community which is large and complex and adheres to rules unlike any in his local community. He finds his local cooperative inadequate to meet the challenges of modern agriculture, and he finds that he must think about the place of his cooperative in these changing times. What is he most likely to do? Will the Michigan farmer, the cooperative board members, and the cooperative manager accept the fact that they must affiliate in some way with large complex production and distribution systems, or will they hold more tenaciously to their traditional sentiments of localism and individualism?

This thesis is an effort to study the dynamics of Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives in terms of:

1. Whether or not they fit the model of a social movement, especially in respect to the existence of ideological prerequisites.
2. Whether or not members are committed to a cooperative ideology.
3. Whether or not managers are committed to a business ideology.
4. Whether or not differential commitment to ideologies

is associated with individual and organizational characteristics.

Chapter II will include a review of literature on the history of cooperatives. Chapter III will include implications germane to the theory of social movements, ideology, the theory of ideology and the sociology of knowledge, belief systems and value orientations. Conclusions and hypotheses resulting from these theoretical positions will be presented. Chapter IV will include the methodology used, significant variables, analysis of data, tests of hypotheses, and research findings. Chapter V will include the conclusions and their theoretical and empirical implications.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE ON COOPERATIVES

For the most part the published works about cooperatives in general and Farmers' Cooperatives in particular cover a wide range of approaches. Various authors have written from the sentimental and evangelistic point of view, others have been somewhat neutral and objective, while still others have been picayune and empirically sterile. In an effort to recap the literature from an analytical point of view it became necessary to develop a classification system within which to analyze the various approaches and concepts used for the study of cooperatives generally and farmers' purchasing cooperatives specifically.

History of Cooperatives and the Cooperative Movement

The first awareness of works on cooperatives, and possibly the most obvious, were those of a broad historical, partisan nature. These works include historical compilations by non-historians. The authors are loyal partisans who in many cases approached the task as a "labor of love" and were dedicated to being the chroniclers of the "holy history." Probably foremost among the "emotional" doctrinal authors is Voorhis. In his most recent book, American Cooperatives, Voorhis serves up a wide range of fare in cafeteria fashion. He reiterates the glorious past of why and how cooperatives developed; he explores the human motives and "naturalness" of cooperation versus conflict; he explores cooperative health plans,

and reiterates the ancient wrongs of monopoly and big business. In short, his publication is a folksy, popular version of pseudo-cooperative ideology characteristic of the Cooperative League of which he was executive director at the time.

Of the historical treatment of cooperatives, three authors stand out as having produced accurate, well thought out, scholarly works. They are Daniels, published in 1938, Kress in 1941, and Casselman in 1952. Daniels deals with the history of cooperatives in America, while Casselman, a Canadian labor economist, is concerned mainly with consumer cooperatives, the major schools of cooperation, and cooperatives' relations with other institutions such as the state and labor. He does not agree with the commonwealth ideal because it is too utopian but does present a case for the competitive yardstick goal as the only practical approach. Casselman uses the terms co-operatism and cooperativism instead of cooperation or the cooperative movement because these terms better describe the phenomenon as a system of economy, whereas cooperation gives a better indication of the movement as a method or technique.

Daniels presents some significant insight into the historical relationship between consumer and farmer cooperatives. He tries desperately to include farmers' purchasing cooperatives within the framework of consumer cooperatives but in so doing stretches a point which cannot be corroborated by experience, analysis, or reality. His history and certainly his predictions are in error when he says:

As the farmers' purchasing cooperatives keep on moving consumerward, in the process of orientation through which they are now passing, it looks as though they will soon emerge from the twilight zone into the sunlight of consumers' cooperation, there to join forces with urbane cooperatives in the common cause of bringing to all elements of the American people still better standards of living and more of the joy of life.¹

His observations regarding the Farm Bureau are, however, more accurate and to the point. He states:

The principle objective of this organization (the American Farm Bureau Federation) is evidently to shape national policies affecting agriculture, and much of its effort is brought to bear upon influencing Congressional legislation and federal action. As compared with the Grange and the Farmers Unions, the Farm Bureau Federation has more of a business character and viewpoint, and is more pragmatic and less idealistic. As regards cooperation, the national organization is on record as strongly favoring cooperative marketing, and cooperative purchasing of farm supplies in production. But it has not yet taken a definite stand on cooperative distribution of consumers' goods.²

Andrew J. Kress edited a book, Introduction to the Cooperative Movement, which is the most comprehensive, well organized, and best documented analysis available. Kress traces the development of the social philosophy which underlies the cooperative idea from its very beginning in 1798 in England, through its various ideological and organizational phases to 1941, the date of his publication. His excellent analysis of the various movements, cooperative movements that had worldwide implications, deals with all aspects of cooperation expertly and completely: political, economic, medicine

¹John Daniels, Cooperation: An American Way. New York: Covici-Friede, 1938, p. 193.

²Ibid., p. 261.

(health), consumers, producers, marketing, financial, philosophical, international, and statistical. His is the only source which accurately places American farmers' cooperatives in a reasonable ideological and historical perspective. His grouping of the total historical development of cooperatives, his analysis of the ideological underpinning and the relation of consumer cooperatives to farmer cooperatives in the United States far eclipses that of any sociological publication brought to the attention of this author. Kress's work is indeed a classic in the history of cooperatives and as such will be relied upon heavily throughout this thesis.

Three other important works contribute to the historical treatment of American farmer cooperatives. This treatment is not a specific goal of the publications but is a welcome by-product of their efforts. The earliest, Justus Solon Buck's study of the Granger Movement, has sections in which he describes the Grange Agencies, business cooperation (cooperative buying and selling, cooperative stores, manufacturing, banking, and insurance) activities of the Patrons of Husbandry. Hicks, in The Populist Revolt published in 1913, devotes considerable time and effort to farmers' grievances between 1870-1897, which figured significantly in the early rise of farmers' cooperatives and farmers' organizations, which in turn led to the Populist Revolt. A more modern historical treatment has been done by Saloutos in his analysis of Farmer Movements in the South, 1865-1933, reprinted in 1960. While much of his work overlaps Buck's study of the Granger Movement and Hicks's Populist Revolt, Saloutos' contribution is significant

because it deals with causes and reasons for agrarian unrest for that period. It is especially significant in background material for this thesis because he deals with the failure of the Farm Bureau to influence the South.

Another historical publication of significance to this review of the literature is the somewhat partisan history of the Farm Bureau Federation by O. M. Kile, published in 1948. While it is rather partisan, it does give interesting and accurate insight into the issues and philosophy which guided the development of the Farm Bureau. Kile also does well to demonstrate the relationship of the Bureau to the cooperatives' development, especially in the Midwest. He also covers in detail the Bureau's political activities. This work is important to this thesis for two reasons: first, because the data have been collected from Michigan cooperatives affiliated with the Farm Bureau and, second, because it does not deal with the extreme change in approach taken by the Farm Bureau Federation since 1948.

The utopian views of social reformer, Robert Owen, in his New View of Society: or, Essays on the Principle of the Formulation of the Human Character, published in 1813, represents the most liberal root of the cooperative movements--a collectivism conceived and nurtured to counteract the child labor abuses, poverty, degradation, and economic slavery of the industrial worker caught in the Industrial Revolution and Factory System of 18th Century England.

In 1964, in affluent America, a publication brings to full

circle the wide range of approaches to cooperatives. Raymond W. Miller, Harvard Business School Lecturer; President, Public Relations Research Associates, Inc. and World Trade Relations, Inc.; a member of the Board of Trustees of American University; and a member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, has written a book called A Conservative Looks at Cooperatives. His book is dedicated to two great 20th Century "bridge builders of cooperation"--Edward A. Filene (founder of the Credit Union Movement) and Herbert Hoover (twenty-ninth president of the United States). To demonstrate the unusual nature of this publication it may be well to quote Vernon R. Alden, President, Ohio University, who wrote the foreword to Miller's book. In it Alden says of Miller:

Throughout his career, he has been a constant champion for the cooperative cause. . . . Always his vision has been that cooperatives bring to their members that special initiative, health, and hope that one usually associates with arguments advocating capitalism. He carries the message everywhere that cooperatives are a natural and vital segment of a successful capitalistic private enterprise system . . . they represent a step upward toward a more enlightened capitalism.³

In the preface Miller states:

. . . My belief is that a conservative is one who recognizes the need for sensible utilization of the resources available, and that a cooperative is an instrument through which a greater distribution

³Raymond W. Miller, A Conservative Looks at Cooperatives. (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1964), pp. 5-6.

of ownership can be maintained. . . . Cooperatives by definition are the furthest reach from statism; and conservatives, when faced by economic and social problems, try to solve them in voluntary joint effort, going to government for help only as a last resort. . . . Cooperatives and conservatives are ideological twins. . . . My hope is that this book will serve as a statement of my belief that cooperatives are conservative organizations dedicated to individual ownership and to the principles of efficient and enlightened operation.⁴

Historically, thought about the function, purposes, and reasons for cooperative organization has gone from the very far left to the very far right. On the one hand, as Kress and his colleagues point out, the cooperative movement grew out of the utopian community, collectivism, and abusive capitalistic traditions; that it flourished, grew, and was imported to America via Canada as a response to abuses and inequities of early capitalism. On the other hand, As Miller and most American historians purport, the cooperative movement is not only specifically and indigenously American but also rural and farm; and a cooperative is a farm-owned business directed toward meeting farmers' economic needs. It is "ideological twins with conservatives," and a vital segment of a successful capitalistic private enterprise system." These then have been the two poles representing the extremes of thought about the philosophic and ideological background of cooperatives. Even so, up to this point we are still unaware of the true nature of the ideological position of farmer cooperatives as held by the people who manage them and who are members of them. An attempt to gain some insight into this problem is the purpose of this thesis.

⁴Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Sociological Analyses of Cooperatives

For the most part it can be observed that sociological effort in the study of cooperatives has been deficient in the following areas:

1. Very little attention has been paid to the historical perspective.
2. Little work has been done on the historical relationship between consumer and producer cooperative ideology.
3. While sociologists have often referred to the phenomenon as the "cooperative movement" it has not been studied as a social movement.
4. Most sociological work has handled farmers' cooperatives within the framework of farmers' organizations. This in itself is not a glaring fault, but it may have contributed to a lack of interest in ideological issues.
5. Because cooperatives (especially farmers' cooperatives) have not been viewed as a movement, they have not been studied within the broader framework of either the world cooperative movement or the American agrarian movement. Consequently, no adequate, systematic study of cooperative ideology has been made, much less studies which would allow one to observe ideological change over

time, fusion with business ideology or institutionalization into the broader societal "cultural norms." This has been abdicated to essayists, speculative propagandists, and thoughtful historians.

Within the past eight to ten years there have been two attempts to review and organize sociological research done on farmers' cooperatives. These efforts were directed toward developing a research frame of reference and general hypotheses for future guidance and testing. Unfortunately both attempts have been heavily influenced by Taylor's contention that since farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives grew up together they can be researched together.

Wakeley's report to the Rural Sociological Society,⁵ a report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Farmers' Organizations and Agricultural Cooperatives, reflects the influence of Taylor's theoretical approach to conceptually combining farmers' organizations with farmers' cooperatives of all kinds. This is a position held by Taylor since 1933 when he stated that cooperative marketing was the end product of the farmers' movement.⁶ This in itself deserves no criticism

⁵Ray E. Wakeley, "Sociological Research on Farmers' Organizations and Agricultural Cooperatives," Rural Sociology, XXII, No. 3 (September, 1957), 274-280. This is a report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Farmers' Organizations and Agricultural Cooperatives for the Rural Sociological Society. Members of the committee were Carl C. Taylor (chairman), Howard W. Beers, Lowry Nelson, Macklin John, Duane L. Gibson, George M. Beal, and Emory J. Brown.

⁶Carl C. Taylor, Rural Sociology (rev.). (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933), p. 674.

except that it has in some ways stifled the development of theoretical thinking about cooperatives. It has had, as pointed out above, some effect on the treatment of farmers' cooperatives outside of the theoretical realm of the world cooperative movement and restricted them to an ancillary result of econo-political farmer movements.

C. C. Taylor was chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee; Wakeley's report reflects Taylor's early views on how cooperatives should be studied. Wakeley continued to reflect this thinking even until 1961, when he published an article with Beal, to be discussed in detail later, on research on farmer cooperatives in the United States.

According to Wakeley's report the task of the committee was to explore and outline the uses of sociological analysis in investigating the problems of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives in three ways:

1. Definition of the major research units.
2. Consideration of useful sociological frameworks.
3. Description of research areas, with selected illustration of testable hypotheses.⁷

References made to the study of farmers' organizations, per se, have little relevance for this thesis. Therefore, the literature cited from this point forward will be done selectively in terms of farmers' cooperatives, and preferably farmers' purchasing co-operatives. Wakeley's report states (in the section on the definition

⁷Wakeley, op. cit., p. 274.

of research units) that Loomis and Beegle agree with Taylor that cooperatives were organized to right actual or imagined wrongs resulting from the development of the market and price system over which farms had no effective control and to which as individuals they were unable to make any satisfactory adjustment(s).⁸ When compared to farmers' organizations, cooperatives are more economic in function and more limited in scope, and the forms of organization and the techniques of operation are more rigidly specified.⁹ Therefore, the various possible definitions of a cooperative present somewhat different implications for research.

Three basic definitions exist. One, the legal definition--legally a cooperative is what the law says it is. In most cases this restricts or defines the possible scope, range of operations, financial posture, and liability characteristics of the cooperative. The Wakeley report states that this offers no common basis or framework for scientific research. This represents an oversight on the part of the committee because the legal restrictions and privileges placed on and granted to cooperatives have great influence upon their structure, mode of operation, relationship to members, managerial capability, response to competition, capital flow, marketing strategies, and tax obligations. As evidence, the American Institute of Cooperation devotes two sections of its

⁸Ibid., p. 275. Also see C. C. Taylor, 1950, Chapter 29, where he presents this contention in great detail.

⁹Ibid.

annual meeting to these problems: e. g., one section was entitled "Attorneys Working With Co-ops" and another section "Cooperative Accountants."¹⁰

The second definition of a cooperative presented in the Wakeley report was the business definition. This definition, consistent with the conservative historical point of view discussed earlier, purports that a cooperative is merely a business enterprise controlled by a membership corporation instead of a stock corporation and hence is only an alternative organization and method of conducting a business.¹¹ The implication here is that if the "just another type of business" hypothesis were true, cooperatives could be studied within the "theory of the firm" framework placing emphasis on investigation of line-staff relationships, flow charts, marketing strategy, response to competition, leadership, executive succession, and channels of distribution.

The third definition is an economic definition. It describes agricultural cooperatives as participating farm firms joined by agreements to conduct some business deemed essential by the participants. It is a means by which farm firms maximize returns from the farm operation. Thus, the decision to join becomes a management decision.¹²

The Wakeley report states that not all farmers' cooperatives "conduct their affairs for prudential objectives alone . . ." In

¹⁰American Institute of Cooperation, American Cooperation: A Collection of Papers, pp. 151-174, 201-217. 1959.

¹¹Wakeley, op cit., p. 275.

¹²Ibid., pp. 275-276.

such a situation the sociologist may be called upon to make an analysis of the cooperative from the standpoint of competing value systems.¹³

The Wakeley report makes the following suggestions or sociological frameworks for the analysis of human relationships in cooperatives:

1. Problem solving or social action framework--Problems

which call for research relate to the logical steps in problem solving, the rational choices among alternatives, and the application of means-ends analysis to the attainment of chosen objectives.

2. Formal organization framework--Emphasis in the

past has been placed on reasons for joining, on member participation, and on factors affecting participation. Studies of participation have not been fruitful because of the difficulty of measuring both economic and sociological aspects.

Measures of social distance, social status, effectiveness of communication, and functioning of leaders are needed.

3. Ideal type and polar type framework--Measures need

to be developed so that the actual and the ideal can be compared more accurately and completely from both the sociological and the economic points of view.

¹³Wakeley, Ibid., p. 276

4. Ecological framework--The spatial distribution of cooperatives and their members.
5. Social systems framework--"Cultural sub-systems which are composed of persistent patterns of roles and relationships, of structured systems of values, comprise the cultural basis on which groups operate and by which they are related to the social system."¹⁴

The Wakeley report concludes by listing a number of hypotheses which could be tested. Those hypotheses which have some bearing on the degree of cooperative and/or business ideology, the subject of this thesis, will be cited. These are as follows:

A. Group objectives and long-time ends

1. Making or saving money for members is necessary, but it is not a sufficient reason for maintaining an agricultural cooperative.
2. Farmers' organizations or agricultural cooperatives which have only punitive, yardstick, or antimonopoly objectives will decline when need for such objectives is no longer recognized.

B. Personnel maintenance and participation

Farmers identify more closely with farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives than they do with other private businesses

¹⁴Wakeley, Ibid., pp. 276-277.

because they are members and patrons of the former but only customers of the latter.

C. Processes of social interaction and change

Decisions regarding methods of interaction and strategy are more often made by professional or managerial personnel than by the members of the organization.¹⁵

In 1961 Wakeley and Harp broadened their notion of research needs on farmer cooperatives to include social systems; ecological, interdisciplinary, and typological analyses; and social change. Of past research, they noted that:

A majority of the sociological research on farmer cooperatives has been of a problem solving nature, and as such is reflective of the melioristic tradition of rural sociology. Numerous studies on member relations and participation have been carried out over the years. There is a need, however, for research on the genesis and transformation of cooperatives in American society. viewed as a social movement. To date only a few attempts have been made at a typological analysis of social movement. The preceding constitutes a somewhat neglected field of sociological inquiry.

Although research cannot say what the goals and values of the cooperative movement ought to be, it can play a useful role in identifying the values that are actually held by cooperative leaders. It seems clear that there is not just one set of values or principles of cooperation held by persons in positions of leadership but rather that many different viewpoints are held by different individuals and that some of these viewpoints may be out of harmony with others.¹⁶

¹⁵Wakeley, Ibid., pp. 278-279.

¹⁶Ray E. Wakeley and John Harp, "An Overview of Sociological Research on Farmer Cooperatives in the United States," International Archives of Sociology of Cooperation, Paris, France (Summer, 1966), p. 65.

If one were to heed the advice of Wakeley and his associates it would appear that his concern about "conflicting value systems" could be combined with the "identification of values" and the study of the "genesis and transformation of cooperatives viewed as social movements" for fruitful research.

In the absence of adequate longitudinal data on farmers' cooperatives it would appear that the suggestions that cooperatives be studied as a social movement could be approached by studying the degree of commitment on the part of cooperative leaders and members toward cooperative ideology in modern farmers' cooperatives.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE STUDY OF COOPERATIVES

Literature on Social Movements

Departing from the very broad definition of farmers' movements, as outlined above in reference to Taylor, and within the framework of social movements, it is pertinent to address ourselves to the question of whether or not the cooperative movement can in fact be considered within the theoretical frame of social movements in general. Gerth and Mills discuss social movements within the structural context of collective behavior and view this phenomenon.

. . . in terms of the degree of explicit organization: at one end of the scale there are what appear to be purely spontaneous activities; at the other, there is a merging of collective behavior with institutional organization itself . . . there does seem to be a sort of drift exhibited by collective behavior, if it endures beyond the momentary, towards institutionalization. Furthermore, all forms of collective behavior, no matter how momentary, are related to various institutional orders and spheres: they cannot be explained without reference to them. For institutional structures are the precipitants and the foci of collective behavior of every sort; they are the larger frameworks within which such behavior arises and through which it runs its course . . . but this does not mean that collective behavior does not modify the institutional structure.¹

Gerth and Mills, for the sake of classification, conceive of movements, parties, and pressure groups as sub-classes within the general concept of collective behavior.

¹Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1953), p. 428.

A movement attempts to change institutions, from the outside, from the inside, or both. Like institutions, movements are organized enough to permit a turnover of members without loss of identity as movements, and their members are more or less aware of themselves as having common interests and/or principles. It recruits members, usually from selected class and status levels, who are more or less ready to act in certain ways, and it lends to them its orienting aim: in some way to change some institutional setup. Whether based on interest, on principle, or on both, people are united in voluntary associations in a more or less energetic struggle for power, which, so far as the leadership is concerned, means power of an instituted sort for the leaders. . . . Pressure groups are associations which use political means for the promotion of strictly economic, usually class, interests; parties do the reverse; even declared "class parties" use economic means, as well as political, for both economic and political ends.²

Movements are composed of people who are attempting to change their position with reference to the personnel or the structure of institutions. The people involved need not share common values; and they may be quite variously motivated in such a way as to converge or coincide in the movement's direction. But whether or not the people involved are conscious of common ends or are propelled by similar motives is not necessary to their definition as a movement, but must be determined in any given case . . . movements may be located in any one or in several of the institutional orders . . . (and) may also be classified in terms of how far-going their aims may be . . . therefore, in examining a social movement one may first locate it at each phase through which it runs, within institutional orders and spheres, and within classes and status levels--in terms of at least three aspects:

1. Its professed goals and policies, whether they are reformative or revolutionary and what their specific contents are;
2. The recruitment and composition of its members and leaders; and
3. Its objective functions; that is, one must

²Ibid., pp. 438-439.

ask cui bono--to whose benefit does its existence and operation redound?³

Gerth and Mills conclude their treatment of social movements on a methodological note when they say:

We can describe them (anti-capitalistic movements and parties) systematically, as we can describe any movement or party, by examining their (1) ultimate goals and (2) typical ways of attaining them, (3) their immediate expectations and (4) demands, (5) their general conception of history and (6) the organizational levers they would use, (7) their dominant mode of action and (8) the composition of their predominant membership, (9) the types of leaders and staff they have displayed, and (10) their objective political results.⁴

Broom and Selznick, in their discussion of social movements, tend to emphasize the primacy of ideology as a necessary feature in the development of such movements. They also treat their study within the framework of collective behavior and social change, with heavy emphasis on the latter. Like Taylor, they are concerned with felt maladjustments and presumed evils as the impetus of the movement.

In discussing social movements, they state:

For the most part, social change occurs gradually and without design. However, new perspectives and aspirations often generate collective action to combat presumed evils and to institute new ways of life. Sometimes the action is sporadic and temporary, as in the case of isolated uprisings against oppressive conditions. When collective action is more unified and lasting and has certain characteristic features, we call it a "social movement." The main features of a social movement are:

1. A distinctive perspective and ideology. The

³Ibid., pp. 440-441.

⁴Ibid., p. 451.

ideology of a movement provides direction and self-justification; it offers weapons of attack and defense; and it holds out inspiration and hope. Great emphasis is placed on ideology, particularly when other sources of orientation and cohesion are lacking.

2. A strong sense of solidarity and idealism. Membership in a "movement" typically means more to the individual than other affiliations. He is a "dedicated" man and feels part of an idealistic and active enterprise. Idealism plays a role in all movements, political or religious, "progressive" or "reactionary," and it is especially important in the early stages.
3. An orientation toward action. The very word "movement" suggests unconventional methods of appeal, such as street meetings and the sale of propaganda tracts. Small movements can sometimes gain wide attention by dramatic actions, particularly if they involve violence. The stress on action in part reflects the problem of maintaining interest and solidarity. There is a constant need to "give the members something to do" to keep them from slipping away to other interests and involvement is usually made up of a variety of forms and groupings . . . tends to follow a roughly discernible "career," from its origins in unrest to its end in institutionalization.⁵

Turner and Killian suggest four types of movements, based upon the public definition of the movement's relation to the basic value scheme of the society, and accordingly involving the general type of opposition that will be evoked and the access to legitimate channels of action. For example:

<u>Public Definition</u>	<u>Type of Opposition</u>	<u>Means of Action</u>
(1) Respectable-nonfactional	Disinterest and token	Legitimate means
(2) Respectable-factional	Competing movements advocating same general objective	Legitimate means

⁵Leonard Broom and Phillip Selznick, Sociology: A Text With Adapted Readings. (Evanston, Illinois: Row Peterson and Company, 1955), pp. 302-304.

(3) Peculiar	Ridicule and ostracism	Limited access to legitimate means
(4) Revolutionary	Violent suppression	Chiefly illegitimate means ⁶

Hopper suggests a natural history approach to the analysis of social movements and postulates that revolutionary movements pass through four stages in their development. These stages are:

1. The preliminary stage of mass (individual) excitement
2. The popular stage of crowd (collective) excitement and unrest
3. The formal stage of the formulation of issues and formation of publics
4. The institutional stage of legalization and social organization⁷

Smelser distinguishes between norm-oriented and value-oriented movements. The norm-oriented movement he defines as one which attempts to restore, protect, modify, or create norms in the name of generalized belief. Participants may be trying either to affect norms directly or to induce some constituted authority to do so.⁸ Likewise, a value-oriented movement is a collective attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create values in the name of a generalized belief; however, such a belief necessarily involves all the components of action; that is, it envisions a reconstitution of values, a redefinition of norms, a

⁶Ralph H. Turner and Lewis H. Killian, Collective Behavior. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 307-308.

⁷Rex D. Hopper, in R. H. Turner and Lewis H. Killian, Collective Behavior, pp. 310-319.

⁸Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 270.

reorganization of the motivation of individuals, and a redefinition of situational facilities.⁹

In discussing the concept of social movement, Heberle points out that the criteria for defining such a movement are as follows:

1. That a social movement aims to bring about fundamental changes in the social order, especially in the basic institutions of property and labor relationship.
2. That mere similarity of sentiments occurring independently among a large number of people does not constitute a movement, nor does mere imitative mass action. A sense of group identity and solidarity is required, for only when the acting individuals have become aware of the fact that they have sentiments and goals in common--when they think of themselves as being united with each other in action through these sentiments and for these goals--do we acknowledge the existence of a social movement.

In short, Heberle treats social movements as a "kind of social collective" as distinguished from pressure groups, parties, and action groups.¹⁰ Abel views social movements as a mode of pluralistic

⁹Ibid., p. 313.

¹⁰Rudolf Heberle, Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951), pp. 6-9.

behavior--a collective effort occurring within the medium of a community. He points out the importance, in defining a social movement, of including values (ideology) which are a threat to existing values, as well as stressing the opportunity to promote certain values.¹¹

King says that social movements may be distinguished from other phenomena on the basis of the kind of goals to which they are committed --their goal is to change relationships, or norms, or beliefs, or all of these; they employ organization as a means of achieving their goals, and they become formalized to some extent; finally, they may be identified by their geographical scope. Contrary to Abel, King feels that social movements tend to extend beyond single communities or local bonds. His general definition is "a group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behavior, and social relationships." King specifies the relevant elements of social movements to be (1) goals, (2) means, (3) ideology, (4) group cohesion, (5) organization, (6) a status system, and (7) tactics.¹²

In summary, the central theme which runs through writings on social movements is a theme of development. Within the framework of collective behavior, most authors view social movements as a group, aggregate, or collectivity, responding to some maladjustment or felt need for change, resistance, or innovation, and that these collectivities develop, over time, distinctive perspectives, distinctive

¹¹Theodore Abel, "The Pattern of a Successful Political Movement," American Sociological Review, II (April, 1937), 347-352.

¹²C. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1956), pp. 25-38.

ideologies, strong solidarity, strong idealism, leadership roles, and membership roles; these collectivities persist over time, have varying degrees of continuity, are oriented to varying degrees and types of action, can be said to pass through a "life cycle," and ultimately pass out of existence or become institutionalized.

The Place of Ideology in the Study of Farmers' Cooperatives

In retrospect, historical and sociological literature about cooperatives tends to follow two different trends. The historical literature deals almost wholly with the broad longitudinal perspective, with great emphasis placed on the traditional beliefs and counter-beliefs which serve as a basis for social action. The sociological literature tends to take a more pragmatic, horizontal approach, emphasizing in turn structures, ecological systems, and interdisciplinary models. Only when it is pointed out that sociologists have been deficient in using the social movement model for the study of farmers' cooperatives, do they recommend the historical and longitudinal approach. (The "natural history" approach to the study of social movements especially as proposed by Hopper is in fact a longitudinal-historical methodology.) Throughout the published works by sociologists about cooperatives, works in which cooperatives are constantly being referred to as movements, there appear to be many latent references to an underlying belief system and to cooperative values. The inference undoubtedly is to a felt ideology, to a suspected ideological commitment, but is neither rationally nor scientifically defined. This is perhaps because the

concept is, in and of itself, at best, elusive. These ideological inferences are as follows:

1. Cooperatives were organized to right actual or imagined wrongs resulting from the development of the market and price system over which farmers had no control.
2. Cooperatives are merely business enterprises controlled by a membership corporation rather than stockholders. As such, they are only an alternative way for farmers to conduct business.
3. Not all farmers' cooperatives conduct their affairs for prudential objectives alone; some have a strong idealistic orientation and could be studied from the standpoint of competing value systems.
4. Cultural subsystems which are composed of persistent patterns of roles and relationships and of structured systems of values comprise the cultural basis on which groups operate . . .
5. Agricultural cooperatives must have better reasons for existence than being punitive, being a yardstick to measure capitalism against, and being anti-monopoly.
6. Farmers identify more closely with . . . cooperatives than they do with other private businesses . . .
7. It seems clear that there is not just one set of values or principles of cooperation held by persons . . .

8. As compared with the Grange and the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau Federation has more of a business character and viewpoint and is more pragmatic and less idealistic.
9. Evolution may substitute cooperative democracy for the state.¹³

These are but a few of the examples where sociologists have indicated that there seems to be a cooperative ideological value system. The necessity for the ideological consideration in the study of social movements has been pointed out by many. Gerth and Mills state that common values must be determined;¹⁴ Broom and Selznick emphasize the primacy of ideology in the development of social movements;¹⁵ Turner and Killian discuss social movements based upon the public definition of the movement's relation to the basic value scheme of the society;¹⁶ Hopper lists, as one of the stages of development, the formulation of issues;¹⁷ Smelser describes value-oriented movements as a collective attempt to create values in the name of a generalized belief;¹⁸ Heberle points out that a social movement comes into existence when "they think of themselves as being united with each other in action through these

¹³R. Warbasse in 1936, as quoted by A. J. Kress in Introduction to the Cooperative Movement, p. 291.

¹⁴H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, op. cit., pp. 438-439.

¹⁵L. Broom and P. Selznick, op. cit., pp. 302-304.

¹⁶R. H. Turner and L. H. Killian, op. cit., pp. 307-480.

¹⁷R. D. Hopper, in Turner and Killian, op. cit., pp. 310-319.

¹⁸N. J. Smelser, op. cit., p. 313.

sentiments and for these goals";¹⁹ Abel defines social movements as a mode of pluralistic behavior including values which are a threat to existing values, as well as an opportunity to promote certain values;²⁰ and King specifies ideology as one of the seven relevant elements in social movements.²¹

In summary, therefore, there appears to be ample theoretical justification for viewing the social movement phenomena in terms of the degree and type of ideological commitment of the movement's members (participants); that is, if the presence of a well-defined ideology is viewed as an essential element of a social movement and if a given social phenomenon can be or is referred to as a social movement, the converse is the case, viz., that if a social phenomenon is classified as a social movement, a well-defined ideology is present. Then it follows that since farmers' cooperatives are referred to as social movements, it is reasonable to hypothesize that within that movement there exists a well-defined ideology which can be called a Cooperative Ideology. This follows from Wakeley and Harp who stated that "There is a need . . . for research on the genesis and transformation of cooperatives in American society, viewed as a social movement . . . and although research cannot say what the goals and values of the cooperative movement ought to be, it can play a useful role in identifying

¹⁹R. Heberle, op. cit., pp. 6-9.

²⁰T. Abel, op. cit., pp. 347-352.

²¹C. W. King, op. cit., pp. 25-38.

the values that are actually held by cooperative leaders."²² This, in addition to the fact that the 1957 Wakeley report defines farmers' co-operatives in legal, business, and economic terms, and supports the contention that ideology is a legitimate sphere of investigation.

It has been theoretically established that some measure of ideological commitment is a prerequisite to the identification and classification of certain collective behavior as a social movement. Therefore, if we are to try to view Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Co-operatives as a social movement, one way in which this could be done is to attempt to operationalize and measure the degree and/or existence of an ideology as held by leaders and/or members in the hypothesized movement. Since the sociological literature on social movements does not yield useful operational models and since most of what we know to be cooperative ideology comes from historical reviews and "movement" documents, it is necessary to establish a sound theoretical justification to aid in the operationalization of ideology. To do this, as will be demonstrated, it is necessary to consider not only the complex theory of ideology but also its relation to the theory of the sociology of knowledge and belief-value theory, for it is within the frame of reference of social movements as related to ideology in turn related to the sociology of knowledge that the measurement of values becomes the operationalization of ideological commitment within the context of

²²R. E. Wakeley and J. Harp, "An Overview of Sociological Research on Farmer Cooperatives in the United States," International Archives of Sociology of Cooperations, Paris, France (Summer, 1966), p. 35.

social action; that is, value theory will furnish the operational definition which can be justified by showing the logical relationships among values, beliefs, knowledge, and ideology, the latter a prerequisite to defining social behavior as characteristic of social movements.

Norman Birnbaum was the author of Volume IX, Number 2, 1960 issue of Current Sociology, entitled "The Sociological Study of Ideology (1940-60): A Trend Report and Bibliography." In this report he reviewed the theoretical and research trends in ideology for the twenty-year period 1940-60. To discuss these trends he collected a bibliography of 702 sources but classified them into five major categories and forty-five sub-categories. In addition, Birnbaum wrote a short abstract of each publication. He summarized the salient aspects of the trends in the sociological study of ideology in the following manner:

The sociological study of ideology raises, in acute form, some of the most pressing problems of contemporary sociology . . . (It) is at the intersection of the empirical and philosophical components of our discipline.²³

The very diffuseness of the literature points to the continuing problem of an adequate definition of the notion of ideology. For this essay, it suffices to assume that ideologies appear wherever systematic factual assertions about society contain (usually by implication) evaluations of the distribution of power in the societies in which these assertions are developed and propagated. We may suppose that a group generally accepts a view of society consonant with its interests; we need not think that ideologies are consciously fashioned to serve these interests or

²³Norman Birnbaum, "The Sociological Study of Ideology (1940-60): A Trend Report and Bibliography," Current Sociology, IX, No. 2 (1960), p. 91.

that groups are incapable of acting upon beliefs which appear to contradict these interests.²⁴

According to Birnbaum, the sociological study of ideology, since 1940, may be described as follows:

1. Empirical and theoretical work have developed in disjointed fashion . . . There have been no definitive theoretical advances to compare with the work of Karl Mannheim.
2. A revival of Marxist analysis has occurred.
3. The enormous increase in our detailed knowledge of contemporary social structures which has accompanied the widespread utilization of the standard techniques of sociological research has not produced a concomitant enrichment of theory. Rather, some attempts have been made to adjust the scope of the theory of ideology to the limits set by these techniques.
4. The techniques of analysis of the inner structure of ideology originally derived from neo-positivism have become less prominent.²⁵

In a detailed discussion of Mannheim's work, Birnbaum pointed out that:

Mannheim's conception of a total ideology is, in fact, a sociological formulation of the familiar notion of the Zeitgeist. His distinction between ideologies and utopias, the latter opposing new ideas to existing systems of society and thought, the former justifying these systems, contains many inconsistencies. It does insert the problem of historical movement in the analysis of ideology. Mannheim's epistemological "relationism" is surely questionable, but it does have the merit of drawing one of the possible consequences of a sociology of knowledge; it faces up to the problem of a standard of truth by which ideologies may be judged.²⁶

²⁴Ibid., p. 91.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 91-92.

²⁶Ibid., p. 94.

Perhaps we may assert that whereas Mannheim (who was influenced by Weber) generalized the Marxist view of ideology, abandoning class as the sole source of ideologies and replacing it by the total social structure . . . (as well as) a plurality of historical systems in which class was but one component . . . Weber's influence . . . consists of an emphasis on the historical study of large scale structural problems. . .²⁷

Birnbaum points out that the work of James, Veblen, and Dewey, American behaviorists, "clearly provided for the analysis of ideologies as modes of adaption to changing environments, and did not make an abstract conception of science the culmination of intellectual evolution."²⁸

Birnbaum states that the studies of ideology have been concentrated in the following areas:

1. Studies, chiefly psychoanalytic, of psychological processes.
 - a) Some studies established connections between regularities in character formation and the adult acceptance of certain kinds of ideological form and content (culture and personality).
 - b) Studies of personal adjustment to rapid change, disappointed expectations, and personality adjustment, such as Erickson's studies of personal identity, and Bettelheim and Janowitz's work on prejudice, have been done. Bettelheim's study of personality in concentration camps and American studies of "brainwashing" have yielded interesting data on the ideological components of the response of personality to crisis.
 - c) The influence of psychological mechanisms on ideology formation such as The Authoritarian Personality studies.

²⁷Ibid., p. 98.

²⁸Ibid., p. 97.

2. Studies of the structure and effects of mass communication.

- a) Inquiry into the mass media has utilized three techniques: content analysis derived from the history and criticism of literature; the social survey; a formalized analysis of content derived from the philosophy of neo-positivism and modern statistics.
- b) These studies have demonstrated the existence of an intellectual and ideological stratification of modern industrial populations . . . differences of education, associated with differences of occupation, in turn produce differences of experience and taste which are reflected in, and maintained by, the distribution of communications.
- c) A counter-point states that communications are received, interpreted, and utilized in terms of the group's existing, ideological pre-disposition.

3. Studies of the internal structure of ideological systems (including art, myth, and religion).

- a) Levi-Strauss' work on myth "seeks to identify what is essential in social structure. . . He invariably arrives at problems of economic power, and sexuality (kinship) . . . in which myth and psychic structure may be understood as ideological depictions of what Marxism knows as the forces and relationships of production."
- b) The more orthodox sort of work on the History of Ideas has not made any theoretical advance in the analysis of ideology.

4. Studies of class consciousness.

- a) The study of correlations between ideology and political behavior, or their absence, does not necessarily afford conclusive evidence on the depth or potential efficacy of ideologies apparently inconsonant with behavior as observed at any one moment.
- b) Birnbaum criticizes contemporary data on ideology because it is gathered from questionnaires on

large samples. He does relent and agree that there have been advances in index construction and scaling.

- c) On the basis of empirical studies revolutionary proletarian sentiment has indeed not been found in Western Europe and the United States of America.
- d) Many studies overemphasize temporary fluctuations in working-class attitudes and beliefs.
- e) Scattered studies have been made on middle-class consciousness as well as studies of elites, anti-colonial movements, and nationalism.²⁹

Birnbaum concludes his classification of the 1940-60 work on ideology with the categories of (1) studies of the ideological biases of social science and (2) studies of intellectuals. These two categories will not be discussed because they have little bearing on the subject of this thesis.

In summary, Birnbaum defines ideology as a view of society and/or beliefs on the part of groups consistent with their interests and adds that these views of society and/or beliefs arise wherever they (members of groups) become aware of the distribution of power within these groups (societies). This definition intimates the possibility of making an ideological analysis of total societies but does not restrict such analysis to this area. One gets the impression that he is unclear on this point.

In the preface of his translated work of Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia,³⁰ Louis Wirth discusses two vital issues in the study of

²⁹Ibid., pp. 107-108.

³⁰Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, translated from the German by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936).

ideology. His first discussion revolves around the presence of conflicting and anomic norms and beliefs in his contemporary society. He becomes concerned with the general distrust of the validity of ideas, where self-aggrandizement rather than truth are the goals of the intellectuals. His is indeed a world of secularization, social antagonisms, and competition, impinging upon regions heretofore reserved wholly to the disinterested and objective search for truth. He dwells on the difficulties of social scientists in participating in open, frank, and objective inquiry of social ideas. This is difficult because in most societies an inquiry into the most sacred and cherished institutions and beliefs is restricted, i.e., societal norms prescribe what one in fact is allowed to investigate. In addition, it is difficult for social scientists to be objective, i.e., to have no preferences, predilections or prejudices, no biases, no preconceived values or judgments in the presence of facts. One must be aware of the problems and pitfalls in the search for valid social knowledge, especially when one is studying social knowledge (ideas) itself. The second issue, a philosophical-anthropological issue, is addressed to the proposition that "if . . . the social sciences are concerned with objects that have meaning and value, the observer who attempts to understand them must necessarily do so by means of categories which in turn depend on his own values and meanings."³¹ Wirth points out that there has been relatively little attention given by American sociologists to the concrete analysis of interests and values in historical doctrines

³¹Ibid., pp. xx-xxi.

and movements. At this point, Wirth deals with ideology. He reviews what in his judgment is the treatment of the subject by Mannheim. Mannheim, according to Wirth, traces the connection between interest groups in society and the ideas and modes of thought which they hold. He (Mannheim) has shown that ideologies, i.e., "those complexes of ideas which direct activity toward the maintenance of the existing order, and utopias--or those complexes of ideas which tend to generate activities toward changes of the prevailing order--do not merely deflect attention from the object of observation, but also serve to fix attention upon aspects of the situation which otherwise would be obscured or pass unnoticed."³²

He points out that Mannheim, instead of positing a pure intellect, is concerned with the actual social conditions in which intelligence and thought emerge.³³ With this statement, Wirth shows that Mannheim has taken thought, ideas, and values out of the psychological into the sociological because "we must consider the fact that social life . . . is to an overwhelming extent concerned with beliefs about the ends of action."³⁴ Wirth concludes his discussion of the sociology of knowledge and of Mannheim's contribution as seeking "to throw light on the question of how the interests and purposes of certain groups come to find expression in certain theories, doctrines, and intellectual

³²Ibid., p. xxi.

³³Ibid., p. xxii.

³⁴Ibid.

movements."³⁵ He further concludes that the sociology of knowledge needs to have "an adequate understanding of such phenomena (indoctrination) as these will contribute to a more precise conception of the role of ideas in political and social movements and of the value of knowledge as an instrument in controlling social reality."³⁶

The Study of Ideology as a Function of the Sociology of Knowledge

Of the contemporary scholars, Merton is undoubtedly the foremost in the area of the sociology of knowledge. Following from, but critical of, Mannheim, Merton views the study of ideology not as a subject analytically discrete but rather as one of the elements within the general framework of the sociology of knowledge. This point of view, consistent with Mannheim, demands a cumbersome but vital theoretical frame of reference in the study of ideology. If one pays attention only to the contemporary collective behavior literature, he could easily be misled into the false complacency that the study of ideology consists only of the social psychological concern for attitudes and opinions and that these can stand theoretically alone. With this in mind, it becomes imperative that ideology be placed within the sociology of knowledge context. To accomplish this, it is necessary to reconstitute Merton's formulation into what we will call the "old sociology of knowledge" and the "new sociology of knowledge."

³⁵Ibid., p. xxviii.

³⁶Ibid., p. xxix.

Merton's Paradigm for the Sociology of Knowledge--
 "The Relations between Knowledge and
 Other Existential Factors in the Society"³⁷

I. The Old Sociology of Knowledge

- A. The development of a distinct universe of discourse challenges the validity and legitimacy of others. (Hence) reciprocal distrust leads to reciprocal ideological analyses.
- B. Array of interpretations of man and culture
 - 1. Ideological analysis
 - 2. Wissenssoziologie
 - 3. Psychoanalysis
 - 4. Marxism
 - 5. Semanticism
 - 6. Propaganda analysis
 - 7. Parentanism
- C. Verbalization and ideas (deceptive of self and other)
 - 1. Rationalizations
 - 2. Emotive expressions
 - 3. Distortions
 - 4. Folklore
 - 5. Derivations
 - 6. Ideologies
- D. Previously conceived substrata
 - 1. Relations of production
 - 2. Social position
 - 3. Basic impulses
 - 4. Psychological conflict
 - 5. Interests and sentiments
 - 6. Interpersonal relations
 - 7. Residues
- E. The unwitting determinations of ideas by the substrata
 - 1. Distinction between real and illusionary
 - 2. Distinction between reality and appearance

³⁷Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 457-459.

F. Schemes of analysis which tend to discount the face value of statements, beliefs, and idea-systems by re-examining them within a new context which supplies the "real meaning."

1. Indict, secularize, ironicize, satirize, alienate, devalue
2. Myths, illusions, derivations, folklore

G. Not only error or illusion or unauthenticated belief, but also the discovery that truth is socially (historically) conditioned.

II. The New Sociology of Knowledge--"As long as attention was focused on the social determinants of ideology (illusion, myth, and moral norms), the sociology of knowledge could not emerge."

A. Where is the existential basis of mental productions located?

1. Social bases
2. Cultural bases

B. What mental productions are being sociologically analyzed?

1. Spheres
2. Which aspects are being analyzed?

C. How are mental productions related to the existential basis?

1. Causal or functional relations
2. Symbolic or organismic or meaningful relations
3. Ambiguous terms to designate relations

D. Why (are) manifest and latent functions imputed to these existentially conditioned mental productions?

E. When do the imputed relations of the existential base and knowledge obtain?

1. Historicist theories
2. General analytical theories

Merton, according to his paradigm as outlined above, views the unit of analysis of the sociology of knowledge to be "mental productions." While Wirth gives Mannheim credit for taking thought, ideas,

and values out of the psychological into the sociological, it appears that Merton is returning them to the psychological. In any event, he views his paradigm as a means to organize the distinctive approaches to the sociology of knowledge; extreme on the one hand in that thought has no relation to its validity, to the relativist position on the other hand which says that truth is a function of a social basis, that it depends upon consensus and that any culturally accepted theory of truth is as valid as any other theory.³⁸

Merton uses Marx, Scheler, Mannheim (in great detail), Durkheim, and Sorokin to illustrate the utility of his paradigm. The presentation of Merton's analysis will be limited to those sections which directly reflect insight into the concept and formulation of ideology. His ideas with Parsons', Smelser's, and King's will be used to build the theoretical links among the concepts of social movements, ideology, and values, and will provide a framework within which the empirical investigation of Michigan Farmers' Cooperatives and cooperative and business ideologies may be studied.

When attempting to utilize this paradigm, Merton admits the wide diversity of formulations ". . . from the social determination of categorical systems to that of class-bound political ideologies . . ." ³⁹ prevents an all-embracing presentation. He compromises and uses selected writings.

The part of his paradigm of special interest and application to

³⁸Ibid., p. 461.

³⁹Ibid., p. 460.

this thesis is what mental productions are being sociologically analyzed? (The use of this formulation does not constitute acceptance on the part of the author that the "unit of analysis" is "mental productions.") In this connection, Merton discusses the spheres and aspects of mental productions. The spheres are moral beliefs, ideologies, ideas, the categories of thought, philosophy, religious beliefs, social norms, positive science, technology, and the aspects are their selection, level of abstractions, presuppositions, conceptual contents, models of verification, and objectives of intellectual activity.⁴⁰ Merton points out that there is a formal consensus which gives rise to a variety of theories that thought has an existential basis.⁴¹ Within this framework, he discusses the strengths and weaknesses of Marxism, which contends that ideologies are socially (class) located,⁴² that Scheler places cultural data as "ideal" in the realm of ideas and values while "real factors" are oriented toward effecting changes in the reality of nature or society.⁴³ Scheler's position is that these naturalistic theories are in error when they maintain that real factors determine meaningful ideas as well as assuming that the independent variable is one and the same throughout history. Merton feels that Mannheim has extended from Marx the conception of existential bases; Mannheim finds

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 461.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 462.

⁴²Ibid., p. 463.

⁴³Ibid., p. 464.

"that an organically integrated group conceives of history as a continuous movement toward the realizations of its goals, whereas socially uprooted and loosely integrated groups espouse an historical intuition which stresses the fortuitous and imponderable;"⁴⁴ that is, given the case of multiple group membership we must determine which of these affiliations are crucial in fixing ideas, values, and ideologies. Merton contends that Durkheim shares this position. In sharp distinction, Merton points out that Sorokin's is an "idealistic and emanationist theory which seeks to derive every aspect of knowledge, not from an existential social basis but from varying culture mentalities."⁴⁵

When Merton speaks of the spheres of mental products, he is in fact referring to the various types of knowledge. As he points out, the term knowledge has referred to every type of idea from folk belief to positive science. In order to analyze the significance of these types of knowledge, he points out that late in his writings Engels came to realize that the concept of ideological superstructure included a variety of "ideological forms" which differ significantly and that it is not possible to derive the content and development of belief and knowledge merely from an analysis of the historical situation.⁴⁶ Thus Engels grants natural science and political economy a status distinct from that of ideology.⁴⁷ That is, there is a tendency in Marxism to

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 465.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 466.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 467-468.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 469.

consider natural science as different in relation to the economic base from other spheres of knowledge and beliefs.⁴⁸ Mannheim, according to Merton, places science in no different sphere than ideology because "social position determines the perspective; i.e., the manner in which one views an object, what one perceives in it, and how one construes it in his thinking."⁴⁹ Scheler goes to the other extreme and distinguishes a variety of forms of knowledge, ordered in seven classes: (1) myth and legend, (2) knowledge implicit in the natural folk-language, (3) religious knowledge, (4) mystical knowledge, (5) philosophical-metaphysical knowledge, (6) positive knowledge of mathematics, the natural and cultural sciences, and (7) technological knowledge.⁵⁰ We may feel inclined to quarrel with Scheler's classification, but he postulates that:

The sociological character of all knowledge, of all forms of thought, intuition and cognition is unquestionable . . . (and that) the forms of the mental processes by means of which knowledge is acquired are always and necessarily co-determined sociologically, i.e., by the social structure . . .⁵¹

In fact, is the generation of ideas, a "mental production," and if so do these productions appear out of nothing or do they arise as a response to and because of the social system in which the actor finds himself? Merton's preoccupation with "scientific" or existentially

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 469.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 470.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 470-471.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 471.

based knowledge seems more of an overreaction to Durkheim's relativism and Sorokin's "ideational-sensate" approach to intuition as a source of scientific discovery⁵² than an attempt to answer the question "Does man live by one universal truth alone?" He ignores the logical possibilities that existentially based truth (scientific thought) may, with logic, itself be of a relativistic sociological origin. Scientific ethnocentrism is no less misleading than any other kind.

The theoretical approach (frame) up to this point has been an attempt to link the rural sociological approach to the study of cooperatives with other theoretical formulations. Rural sociologists (see Wakeley, Chapter II, page 19) have intimated that the study of farmer cooperatives has been rather pragmatic and devoid of a sound theoretical basis. He suggests, however, that cooperatives be studied within the theory of social movements. Accepting this cue, the theory of social movements was investigated. The longitudinal requirements for the study of a social movement(s) were beyond the scope of the present study. A potentially fruitful approach, however, was to study cooperatives from an ideological point of view. This was indicated by the reiteration of numerous theoreticians that an essential characteristic of a social movement is a well-defined and well-articulated ideology.

This point being theoretically sound, an investigation of ideological theory was made. It was found that ideology is theoretically handled from many points of view. From one point of view it is regarded as a philosophical-anthropological phenomenon bent on the discussion of the psychic and perceptual nature of man; from another point of view it is

⁵²Ibid., p. 471.

thought to be a study of the social origins of knowledge, existentially derived from the ultimate truth; and finally it is viewed as the social psychological functions of personally and collectively held opinions, feelings, inclinations, attitudes, values, and commitments. Throughout, theoreticians speculate and formulate on the basis of all social scientific dilemmas, e.g., what is the origin of the motivation of man in collective action? Does the movement of man to motivated social and collective action spring from within individuals or does motivated social action originate from social action, i.e., social interaction itself? Also, is it a combination of both?

If man lives by his beliefs and values, if man is, as Becker contends, a valuing animal, the proper study of man, therefore, is to locate the seat of his values and beliefs, hence, his motivated collective behavior. The answer to this global question is hardly the purpose of this thesis. The purpose is, however, a modest attempt to gain some insight into the place of ideology in the study of social movements. To do this, it now becomes necessary to theoretically combine the notion of values with the notion of the sociology of knowledge, within the framework of cooperatives as a social movement and within the context of the sociology of knowledge and the theory of ideology, i.e., to derive value-belief hypotheses. If this is the case, cooperatives can be studied in terms of the commitment of members to the values and beliefs of a hypothesized cooperative movement.

The Relation of Belief Systems and/or Value
Orientations to the Theory of Ideology

As pointed out above, King views an ideology as an essential element of a social movement. He defines ideology as:

1. Written or unwritten justification for the movement's existence.
2. The values and ideals it cherishes.
3. The rules by which participants abide, and the sanctions behind these rules.
4. A negative doctrine stating what the movement is against.
5. The source from which a movement derives its rationale, its doctrine, its course, and its disciplinary principles.
6. Dedication to common aims and values, benefits incidental to the major objectives, negative sanctions, and inspirational leadership.⁵³

When discussing the internal factors in the growth of a social movement King states that:

Since goals are incorporated in ideology, an ideology stands or falls with the goals it encompasses and from which it is largely derived. Values, attitudes, and norms justify and interpret goals; they also reinforce belief in goals and the need for action in their achievement. At the same time, the ideology defines (through norms) and justifies (through values) the kind of action and machinery necessary for the attainment of goals . . . The minimum function of an ideology in a successful movement is to provide a rationale not only for the objectives, but for the tactical and organizational means to those objectives . . . Ideology . . . (is) often codified as a body of tenets closely woven around the central ideas and ideals of the movement . . . ideology is the dogma deduced from goals . . . (and) is a statement of justification for seeking them . . . Ideology relates (more or less logically) the various elements of the movement into a pattern and also relates the movement to its social setting.⁵⁴

⁵³King, Passim, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁴King, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

Parsons deals with the concept of ideology within the framework of non-empirical beliefs and/or (shared) evaluative beliefs within and toward a collectivity. Like King, he defines ideology directly in terms of beliefs and values. It is from this point of view, with others, that we will operationalize ideology for empirical testing.

According to Parsons:

In the context of interaction there is (the) aspect (of) the sharing of beliefs. Beliefs like other elements of culture are internalized as part of the personality of the actor who holds them. That there should be a common belief system shared by ego and alter is in certain respects as important as that the beliefs should be adequate to reality outside the particular interaction system. Because of this duality of functional reference it is not uncommon for cognitive distortions to have positive functions in an interaction system and thus for them to be resistant to correction in terms of pressures of reality.

The primary "pure type" of cognitive orientation, then, is what we may call the system of existential beliefs. It is necessary then to subdivide this category into empirical and non-empirical beliefs. The distinction is simply that ideas or beliefs will be called empirical when, in terms of the major orientations of the cultural tradition of which they are a part, they concern processes which are defined as subject to understanding and manipulation in a pattern of "practical rationality" . . . non-empirical beliefs (are beliefs) concerning subjects which are defined as beyond the reach of the methodology of empirical science or its equivalent in the culture in question.⁵⁵

Parsons deals with collective values and views existential beliefs as parallel to evaluative beliefs. This could be connected with Merton's existential basis of mental products. Parsons ignores the

⁵⁵Talcott Parsons, The Social System. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), pp. 327-329.

mental-productions point of view and deals with the double classification of belief systems. He deals with the need to distinguish between the empirical and non-empirical references as well as existential and evaluative references to the system of action.

In his discussion of the relevance of the evaluative category in social action, he deals with the issue of the relationship of how does man come to know (sociology of knowledge) and how does man come to evaluate (theory of ideology and the value-belief system)? In his explanation of the evaluative process, he shows the operational relationship among beliefs, values, and ideology. Parsons points out that:

When we turn to the evaluative category we may make a parallel distinction. Where the primary reference is empirical we may speak of ideology. The only difficulty with this term is that it refers primarily to the belief system shared by the members of a collectivity, and for some purposes it may in the theory of action be important to speak of this aspect of the belief system of an individual actor. When the individual actor is the point of reference we shall try to avoid this difficulty by speaking of a "personal ideology." Finally, when the primary reference is non-empirical we may when the problems of meaning are of paramount significance speak of religious ideas, as distinguished from philosophical.

According to this view, then, there is a fundamental symmetry in the relations, on the one hand, of science and ideology, on the other of philosophy and religious ideas. In both cases the transition to the evaluative category means a change in the "stake" the actor has in the belief system, it means the transition from acceptance to commitment. The primary question is no longer that of interest in whether a proposition is "true," but, in addition to that, in a commitment to its implications for the orientation of action as such.⁵⁶

Parson's next point emphasizes the evaluative primacy in ideology.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 331-332.

He thus establishes the case for the operationalization of ideology as a belief system.

When we move to the consideration of ideologies we are no longer dealing with cognitive primacy, but with evaluative primacy. It may be noted that it is impossible for there to be a type of belief system where expressive interests have clear primacy, for there the cognitive interest would be subordinated to the expressive and we would have a system of expressive symbols, not of beliefs . . .⁵⁷

An ideology, then, is a system of beliefs, held in common by the members of a collectivity, i.e., a society, or a subcollectivity of one--including a movement deviant from the main culture of the society--a system of ideas which is oriented to the evaluative integration of the collectivity and of the situation in which it is placed, the processes by which it has developed to its given state, the goals to which its members are collectively oriented, and their relation to the future course of events.⁵⁸

Next, Parsons establishes beliefs as a basis of action:

To constitute an ideology there must exist the additional feature that there is some level of evaluative commitment to the belief as an aspect of membership in the collectivity, subscription to the belief system is institutionalized as part of the role of collectivity membership.⁵⁹

But as distinguished from a primarily cognitive interest in ideas in the case of an ideology, there must be an obligation to accept its tenets as the basis of action. As distinguished from a purely instrumental belief there must be involvement of an idea that the welfare of the collectivity and not merely attainment of a particular goal hinges on the implementation of the belief system.⁶⁰

His discussion of the relationship between systems of beliefs and value-orientations as a means to action-dilemmas follows:

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 349.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 350.

Since there must be relative consistency in the value-orientation patterns of a collectivity--though perfect consistency is not possible--this consistency must extend to the system of beliefs which give cognitive meaning to these value-orientations, again imperfectly to be sure. If ideological beliefs and value-patterns are, as assumed, interdependent, relative stability and consistency of the belief system has the same order of functional significance as do stability and consistency of the value-orientation patterns. Hence, there must be a set of beliefs, subscription to which is in some sense an obligation of collectivity membership roles, where the cognitive conviction of truth and "moral" conviction of rightness are merged.⁶¹

Ideology thus serves as one of the primary bases of the cognitive legitimation of patterns of value-orientation. Value-orientation patterns, it will be remembered, always constitute definitions of the situation in terms of directions of solution of action-dilemmas. It is not possible in a given situation to give primacy both to technical competence independent of particularistic solidarities, and to the particularistic solidarity, and so on through the list of dilemmas. So far as this is possible in empirically cognitive terms, an ideology "rationalizes" these value-selections, it gives reasons why one direction of choice rather than its alternative should be selected, why it is right and proper that this should be so.⁶²

And finally Parsons makes the point that if a value-system exists in a collectivity, an ideology exists.

But within the deviant collectivity there is very definitely a value-system and hence an ideology. This ideology will always include a diagnosis of the basis for the break with the main society and its value system.⁶³

In summary, Parsons demonstrates, as do others, that the essential

⁶¹Ibid., p. 351.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid., p. 355.

prerequisite to defining social action (such as deviant collectivities) as evaluative behavior is that a well-defined belief system must be present, internalized, and accepted as the basis of action. As such, within the framework of value-belief theory as derived through the theory of knowledge, ideology, and social movements, the general hypotheses to be tested deal with the commitment to or agreement with differential cooperative-business beliefs on the part of cooperative leaders. This leads to a formulation of the general hypotheses of concern in this thesis.

General Hypotheses

- I. Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives can be viewed as a part of the cooperative social movement; this can be ascertained by the presence of a well-defined cooperative ideology and the concomitant commitment to that ideology on the part of a significant proportion of selected leaders and members.
- II. Under certain circumstances, certain selected cooperative leaders and members will be more highly committed to a business ideology than to a cooperative ideology.
- III. If a high commitment to cooperative ideology is found, cooperatives can be analyzed as a social movement.

IV. If a high commitment to business ideology is found, cooperatives can be analyzed as business organizations.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY, PERTINENT VARIABLES, ANALYSIS OF DATA, TESTS OF HYPOTHESES AND FINDINGS

In 1961-62, 7,110,240 members belonged to 9,039 farmer cooperatives in the United States. Of this number, 3,206, or 35.5 percent of the total, were classified as farm supply cooperatives. Farm supply cooperatives accounted for 3,634,690, or 51.1 percent, of the national membership for that period.¹ The number of marketing cooperatives decreased from 6,519 in 1950-51 to 5,626 in 1961-62, a decline from 64.8 to 62.2 percent of all cooperatives in eleven years. Farm supply cooperatives showed a smaller decrease, from 3,283 to 3,206, for the same period, or a percent of all cooperatives' increase from 32.6 to 35.5 percent between 1950-51 and 1961-62. While in actual numbers supply cooperatives nationally represent only a little over one-third of the cooperatives they accounted for over half the nation's membership. In general, over the twelve-year period, 1950-1962, it can be concluded that:

1. Cooperatives decreased in numbers.
2. Membership in marketing cooperatives declined slightly, from 4.1 million in 1950-51 to 3.4 million in 1961-62.
3. Farm supply cooperative units of operation decreased in numbers but increased in percent of all cooperatives from 32.6 to 35.5.

¹A. L. Gessner, Farmer Cooperative Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, General Report, (April, 1964), pp. 2-8.

4. In terms of membership, farm supply cooperatives increased from 2.9 million in 1950-51 to 3.6 million in 1960-61.
5. The most dramatic change, in the face of drastic reductions in the number and proportion of people engaged in farming, is the real and the percent increase in farm supply membership. Farm supply cooperatives accounted for 40.6 percent of the nation's membership in 1950-51 but this had increased to 51.1 percent in 1961-62.

In the period 1950-51, 10,064 farmer cooperatives did a gross business valued at 10.5 billion dollars with a net value (excluding inter-cooperative business) of 8.1 billion. In the 1961-62 period the number of farmer cooperatives decreased to 9,039 but increased their gross business volume to 17.2 billion and the net to 13.0 billion dollars. Farm supply cooperatives accounted for 20.7 percent, or 1.7 billion, of the net volume in 1950-51, a slight decline to 19.7 percent, but increased in real income to 2.6 billion dollars by 1961-62.²

Michigan Cooperatives

Data collected by the Farmer Cooperative Service show that for the years 1961-62, a total of 225 cooperatives of all kinds did business in the state of Michigan. Of this number, 201 were principally located in Michigan and ninety-nine were exclusively farm supply cooperatives.³

²Ibid., p. 8.

³Ibid., p. 25.

The total number of members in the 201 cooperatives doing business in the state of Michigan was 165,475. Of that number, 83,195 members were members of the ninety-nine exclusively farm supply cooperatives. In the year 1961-62, all cooperatives in Michigan did a gross business of \$481,574,000 and a net business of \$397,020,000. Those cooperatives dealing in farm supplies did a total gross business in farm supplies of 90.7 million dollars and a net of 64.5 million dollars. This does not necessarily mean that this volume of business is represented in the activities of the ninety-nine cooperatives classified as farm supply because cooperative business activities tend to be rather diversified; that is, the 90.7 million dollars of gross volume is represented in the business activity of all cooperatives dealing in farm supplies doing business in the state. In 1961-62, in Michigan this was 164 cooperative enterprises.⁴ The ninety-nine of concern in this thesis would be slightly less, but no data for this group alone are available.

Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives are intrinsically bound up in the elevator business; that is, the function of purchasing cooperatives is to collectively purchase for and resell to its members grain, feed, seed, supplies, and fertilizer in order to minimize the cost of these materials which are needed to run the farm enterprise. The sum of the amount expended by farmers for these items Sorenson calls the Elevator Factors Total. The EFT is that amount of potential business which is and could be transacted by conventional grain elevators.⁵ Since the major business activities of Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives is done in grain,

⁴Ibid., p. 25.

⁵V. L. Sorenson, Elevator Outlook Committee Progress Report. Agricultural Economics Department. (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University), 1961.

feed, seed, supplies, and fertilizer, they, by necessity, must operate for the most part as a grain elevator, and ~~are~~ in competition with grain elevators, and traditionally are organized much like elevators in Michigan.⁶ This indicates that the ninety-nine local cooperatives of interest in this study constitute only about 19 percent of the total elevator population in Michigan. Sorenson publishes no data on the total or individual business volume. He does allude to the fact that small, local elevators are on the decline and are being replaced by larger units necessary for profitable operations as a result of the cost-price squeeze experienced by farm enterprises in the early 1960's.

In summary, the situation of Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives in Michigan in 1961-62 was as follows:

1. Ninety-nine cooperatives operated in Michigan exclusively as farm supply cooperatives.
2. These ninety-nine cooperatives had 83,195 members.
3. All cooperatives did a total gross business in farm supplies of 90.7 million dollars and a net 64.5 millions.
4. In 1958 (no data are available for 1961-62) there were 534 active licensed elevators in Michigan. Over 80 percent of all elevators are non-cooperative elevators.

While cooperatives do, in whole or in part, touch the lives of a large number of farm people in Michigan, if it can be inferred that

⁶Ibid., p. 59.

the business volume of cooperatives is proportional to their incidence in the elevator population, they do not command as large a segment of the farm supply economy as may be believed.

Therefore, the universe of cooperatives of concern in this study is the ninety-nine Farmers' Supply Cooperatives in Michigan.

The Sample

When the sampling decision for this study was made, certain compromises had to be considered to satisfy various requirements of the study, as well as to circumvent some subject enumeration problems. First, it was not possible to obtain a complete listing of cooperative members because of the confidential nature of membership lists; second, up-to-date lists of newly elected officers and board members were sketchy and not reliable; and third, while a list of the ninety-nine purchasing cooperatives was available, turnover among managers made such a list unreliable; therefore, it was decided that the sampling unit must be the cooperative itself. Of the ninety-nine operating Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives in 1961 a simple random sample of thirty was drawn. The precision of this sample of cooperatives applies also to the sample of managers, i.e., the manager of each of the cooperatives drawn in the sample was interviewed.

It was felt that it would be most likely that cooperative leadership would be most committed to whatever values were prevalent in the cooperative; that is, it was felt that the major "ideology carrier" would be the professional managers and the farmers who were on the

cooperative boards. Due to time and financial limitations it was decided that a large sample of board members could not be taken. It was decided that in addition to the cooperative manager one member of the board would be interviewed. The sampling technique used is as follows: each of the cooperatives in the random sample was contacted by telephone to establish its identity and to arrange for an interview with the manager. While these arrangements were being made, the identity of all board members was ascertained, as well as their telephone numbers and the location of their farms. After the interview appointment with the managers was made, one board member for each cooperative was randomly drawn to be contacted by telephone to arrange an interview appointment. A random substitution procedure was devised to replace the board member chosen if he were not available.

To get some indication of the ideological position of farmer members, one farmer member was interviewed from each cooperative sampled. This member was chosen with the aid of the cooperative manager during the telephone conversation. Imaginary concentric circles were drawn around the cooperative location at one-half mile intervals out to ten miles (the average sphere of geographical influence held by a cooperative). These circles were divided into north-east, east-south, south-west, and west-north sectors. The sector north, east, south, west was drawn at random as was the concentric circle distance from the center point. The cooperative manager was then asked the name of the farmer nearest that point who was a member of the cooperative. A random and systematic technique for substitution was used if the sampling point were

confounded by geographical characteristics or if the farmer could not be located by telephone and could not be available for interview on the day the interviewer was in the area.

This sampling technique produced the following results:

TABLE I
PERCENT OF POPULATION REPRESENTED BY THE SAMPLE

Sample Universe: Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperative	Number in Population	Number in Sample	Percent of Population
Managers	99	30	30.3
Board Members	495*	30	6.1
Presidents	(99)	(8)	(25.0)
Other Officers	(198)	(2)	(4.0)
Directors	(198)	(20)	(71.0)
Farmer Members	unknown	30	unknown
Total	-	90	-

*Based on an average of five Board members per Cooperative Board.

Table I shows the relative representativeness of the sample. The cooperative managers' sample is most representative (30.3%), the board members considerably less (6.1%), and the farmer members' sample representativeness unknown.

For each of the thirty cooperatives in the sample, the manager, one member of the cooperative board, and one farmer member were personally interviewed. These interviews were conducted by trained interviewers who traveled to the cooperative office for the manager interview.

The board and farmer members were interviewed at their farms. It took an average of one and a half hours to complete the manager interview and approximately one hour for the board member and three-quarters of an hour for the farm member. Of the ninety persons approached all cooperated and submitted to interview. The manager schedule was most extensive because of the need to gather information about the business operations of the cooperative. Likewise, considerable information was asked of both board and farmer members.

Pertinent Variables and Hypotheses

As discussed in the theory chapters, it is assumed that there will exist on the part of cooperative leaders a differential degree of commitment to cooperative and/or business ideology and that these commitments will vary according to or be dependent upon demographic, attitudinal, and social characteristics of individuals and/or the structure, size, and configuration of the social system (organization) in which they operate. In this regard then, the independent variable will be some measurement or measurements of cooperative and business ideology. The problems of developing reliable and valid indexes of ideology will be discussed in the Construction of Indexes section of this chapter to follow. A discussion of the significant dependent variables follows.

Age: Table II shows the ages of managers, board members, and farmer members. Managers' ages range from 30 to 69, with 62 percent in the 40-59 age group; board members range in ages from 40 to over 70, with 58 percent in the 40-59 bracket; while farmer members show a greater age range than managers and board members. Their age range is from 20 to over 70 years

with only 48 percent in the 40-59 age bracket. This shows, in general, that board members are the oldest group, followed by managers, and that the farmer member group is slightly younger but from a greater age range.

The difference in age between board members and farmer members is quite significant. Table III shows this difference. Farmer members are significantly younger than board members.

TABLE II

PERCENT OF MANAGERS, BOARD MEMBERS, AND FARMER MEMBERS
BY AGE IN THE SAMPLE

Age Grouping	Managers	Board Members	Farmer Members
20-29	-	-	7
30-39	21	-	21
40-49	31	34	38
50-59	31	24	10
60-69	17	28	21
70 or over	-	14	3

TABLE III

DIFFERENCE IN AGE BETWEEN BOARD MEMBERS
AND FARMER MEMBERS IN THE SAMPLE

Age	Board Members	Farmer Members
49 years and less	34%	66%
50 years and more	66%	34%

Education: Table IV shows the years of formal education attained by the people in the sample. The modal educational level for managers is high school graduation; for board members, completion of the eighth grade; and for farmer members there is an equal split between completion

of the eighth and twelfth grades. This indicates that in the case of the managers who are in this sample a younger group than board members but older than the farmer members high school graduation appears to be a selective factor. The board members who are the oldest group with the least range in age have a modal educational level of the eighth grade. The split in educational level among farmer members between eighth grade and high school graduation is a reflection of the wider range of age among that group. Younger farmers have more education than do older ones. (This may be because the younger people have had more opportunity to go to school.) Taken together of those young people in the sample, 36 percent did not go to school beyond the eighth grade and 45 percent did not go beyond the twelfth grade.

TABLE IV

YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION OF MANAGERS, BOARD MEMBERS, AND
FARMER MEMBERS IN THE SAMPLE BY PERCENT

Years of Schooling	Managers	Board Members	Farmer Members
Less than 8th Grade	7	3	0
Eighth Grade	17	41*	38*
Less than High School Graduation	17	21	21
High School Graduation	41*	24	38*
Less than College Graduation	10	10	3
College Graduation	7	0	0

*The modal group

Managers' Experience: Fifty-five percent of the managers in the sample were managers nine years or less, 21 percent were managers from ten to nineteen years, and 24 percent were managers twenty years or more. Table V shows the number of years various managers have held that position in relation to the size of their cooperatives.

Thirty-four percent of all managers in the sample were managers of small cooperatives nine years or less, 14 percent were managers of large cooperatives for twenty years or more. This shows that as the size of the operation increases the more likely it is that the managers will have longer tenure.

TABLE V

YEARS OF MANAGERIAL EXPERIENCE OF MANAGERS BY SIZE
OF OPERATION OF COOPERATIVES IN THE SAMPLE BY PERCENT

Years as Manager	Size of Operation		
	Small	Medium	Large
0 - 9	34	10	10
10 - 19	0	14	7
20 or more	7	3	14

Table VI shows that 42.5 percent (twelve) of the cooperatives in the sample gross less than one-half million dollars per year with two of that group as low as \$60,000. These can be referred to as relatively small cooperatives. Twenty-five percent (eight) gross between five hundred thousand and one million dollars per year. These medium-sized cooperatives represent a fourth of the sample. The small operators seem to be in areas of high competition or low farm potentials. Thirty-two percent (nine) of the cooperatives in the sample gross one million to six million, \$6,250,000.00, and of that group 7 percent (two) are in the

three to six million dollar bracket. These large cooperatives are the financially powerful organizations and represent a large share of the business volume shown in the sample.

TABLE VI
SIZE AND NUMBER OF LOCAL COOPERATIVES BASED ON GROSS
ANNUAL SALES FOR 1960, AS REPRESENTED IN SAMPLE

1960 Gross Annual Sales	Mid-point	Number of Cooperatives in Sample	Percent of Cooperatives in Sample
Small Cooperatives			
\$ 000,000 - \$ 249,000	\$ 124,999	5	17.9
250,000 - 499,999	374,999	7	24.9
Medium Cooperatives			
\$ 500,000 - \$ 749,999	624,999	4	14.3
750,000 - 999,999	874,999	3	10.7
Large Cooperatives			
\$1,000,000 - \$1,249,999	\$1,124,999	1	3.6
1,250,000 - 1,499,999	1,374,999	1	3.6
1,500,000 - 1,749,999	1,624,999	1	3.6
1,750,000 - 1,999,999	1,874,999	1	3.6
2,000,000 - 2,249,999	2,124,999	1	3.6
2,250,000 - 2,449,999	2,374,999	2	7.1

\$3,250,000 - \$6,249,999	\$4,749,999	2	7.1
Mean	\$1,098,213	28*	100.0

*Two managers did not report Gross Annual Sales for their cooperatives.

Totally, the twenty-eight cooperatives accounted for in the sample had gross sales in 1960 of \$28,877,000. Nine of the largest (32.2 percent) account for 73.0 percent of the total sales volume. Assuming that this can be expanded to the ninety-nine local cooperatives in the state, 32.0 percent of them will do 73.0 percent of the total business annually.*

*See Verl R. W. Franz and A. O. Haller, Big and Little Co-ops: Attitudes of People in Locally Owned Cooperatives Toward Mergers with Large Cooperatives, Final Report of Project of Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing, Michigan, February, 1962, for a more complete treatment of these significant dependent variables and their association with "willingness to merge" with larger cooperatives.

Independent Variables

The independent variables of concern as deduced from theory can be viewed as dimensions of the general case of ideology. Operationally, according to Parsons, ideology can be characterized as:

1. A system of beliefs held in common by the members of a collectivity.
2. Beliefs held by members which are deviant from the main culture of the society.
3. A system of ideas (beliefs) oriented to the evaluative integration of the collectivity to the collectively oriented goals and related to future events.
4. Some level of evaluative belief as an aspect of membership.
5. Subscription to a belief system on the part of members as an essential part of the institutionalized role.
6. An obligation on the part of the member to accept the beliefs (tenets) of the collectivity as the basis of action.
7. The members (actors) must accept involvement in the idea that the welfare of the collectivity hinges on the implementation of the belief system.
8. The actors (members) must feel that the welfare of the group is bound up with maintenance of the belief system and its implementations into action.

Therefore, the following general and specific hypotheses derived from propositions are formulated and tested:

Proposition I:

Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives can be viewed as a part of the cooperative social movement; that this can be ascertained by the presence of a well-defined cooperative ideology and that the concomitant commitment to that ideology on the part of a significant proportion of selected leaders and members is present.

General Hypothesis A:

A series of items can be constructed to represent a system of beliefs about cooperatives and that these items, when endorsed by members, are indicators of the latent variable of beliefs about cooperatives; that each of these items is consistently related to the latent variable (i.e., these items will scale or trace) and that values on the latent continuum can be assigned to individuals or groups on the basis of the endorsement of particular items; i.e., individuals or groups can be given a score from low to high dependent upon their relative endorsement (commitment) to the beliefs represented by the items in the scale so endorsed.

Operational Hypotheses B:

It is hypothesized that within the overall cooperative ideology there exists the following subsets of variables or indexes:

1. The Competitive Yardstick Index: This is an index of the belief that cooperatives are a means to maximize profits and prices and minimize expenses and costs for the farm operator.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-5	23	If farmers didn't belong to a cooperative, they would not get a fair price for the things they produce.	agree	53	58.8
C-7	24	Cooperatives help to keep down the number of middlemen who make profits off farmers.	agree	69	76.6
C-13	26	Cooperatives help keep down the price of things which the farmer must buy to run his farm.	agree	78	86.6
C-42	36	Farmer cooperative members' first consideration should be in cutting out the middleman's profits on the things they must use.	agree	45	50.0

2. The Anti-Big Business Index: This is an index of the belief that the goals of capitalism as represented by modern large business organizations are not compatible with the goals of cooperatives. The cooperative member consequently views his cooperative as a means to counteract the dominance over and the control of farmers by big business.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-3	22	Without cooperatives a few big businesses would have too much control over farmers.	agree	81	90.0
C-31	32	In the long run cooperatives should become strong enough to have dominant control over business and agriculture.	agree	23	25.6

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-34	33	Most farmers think private business can do the job better than cooperatives.	disagree	45	84.4

3. The Pro-Business Index: This index measures the belief that a business-like operation is most consistent with cooperative goals and that cooperatives are effective only if they are run as a business. Consequently, as farmer-owned businesses cooperatives can best fit the needs of their owners.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-10	25	It is only through co-operatives that farmers can buy and sell in a business-like manner.	disagree	26	28.8
C-53	39	The only successful farmer cooperative is the one that is run primarily in a business-like way.	agree	88	97.8

4. Index of Cooperatives as a Source of Political Power: This index tends to measure the belief that cooperatives' economic position is dependent upon a solidified political power position and that the goals of cooperatives can be met and farmers' interests protected by using them to promote their political views.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-16	27	Cooperatives help the farmer to get the best deal he can out of federal government regulations.	agree	63	70.0

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-23	29	The Farm Bureau would be more effective if it stayed out of politics.	disagree	21	23.3
C-62	43	People in cooperatives should use them to promote their political views.	agree	11	12.2

5. Index of Cooperative Idealism: This index tends to measure the the traditional beliefs about cooperatives. These items encompass beliefs about mutual help, cooperative idealism, open membership, the importance of belonging, democratic participation and altruism. It measures the traditional mutual aid and mutual help values as expressed in the Rochdale principles.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-20	28	A cooperative is the united action of a group of people engaged in a similar enterprise to promote their mutual interests.	agree	86	95.6
C-26	30	Cooperatives do more for large farmers than for small farmers.	disagree	79	87.7
C-27	31	It is the successful farmer who patronizes the cooperative more than the farmer who is having a hard time.	disagree	57	63.3
C-35	34	If a farmer really believes in individualism he would not belong to a cooperative.	agree	47	52.2

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
C-37	35	The trouble with cooperatives today is that there are not enough idealists and liberals in the movement.	agree	31	34.4
C-45	37	Membership in cooperatives should be open to all farmers.	agree	87	96.6
C-48	38	Being a member of a cooperative is more important than buying products from the cooperative for most farmers.	agree	24	26.6
C-56	40	There is more democratic participation in cooperatives now than there has been in the past.	agree	59	65.5
C-59	41	To be a true cooperative land should be owned cooperatively.	agree	10	11.1
C-60	42	For most farm members, the cooperative is just a matter of dollars and cents.	disagree	79	87.7

Proposition II:

Under certain circumstances a significant proportion of selected Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperative leaders and members will be more highly committed to the American Business Ideology than to the Cooperative Ideology.

General Hypothesis A:

If a high commitment to the American Business Ideology is found it would be theoretically and empirically more appropriate to analyze cooperatives within the framework of some theory of the firm.

Operational Hypotheses B:

It is hypothesized that within the general American Business Ideology there exists the following subsets of latent variables or indexes:

1. The Traditional Individualism Index: This is an index which measures the traditional values and beliefs that work and the job are intrinsically good, that the whole benefits if individuals are motivated by self interest and the will to do one's best.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
B-1	1	Everyone wants to do a good job.	agree	69	76.7
B-6	2	Every worker should do his best no matter whom he may hurt in the process.	agree	59	65.5
B-14	4	The good of all will best be served if each individual pursues his self-interest with little interference.	agree	47	52.2
B-41	14	The team is more important than the individual.	disagree	17	18.8

2. The Index of the Centrality of the Free Enterprise System to the American Society: This index measures the beliefs that American business is the personification of the free enterprise system. It is the central influence in economic social rewards and opportunity, and that American business and the free enterprise economy are responsible for America's greatness and success.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
B-11	3	Business creates equality of opportunity and rewards.	agree	83	90.0
B-28	8	A heavy tax on business is bad for the country.	agree	72	80.0

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
B-44	15	American business is singly responsible for our high standard of living.	agree	46	51.1
B-46	16	The reason America is great is because of its unique economic system.	agree	83	90.2

3. The Index of Individual Opportunity, Desire for Achievement, Success, and Upward Mobility: This index measures the belief that opportunity to get ahead is present if one accepts the moral duty to want to get ahead, to work hard, and to succeed. If one accepts these tenets, is competent, and works hard, he will be rewarded with success and upward mobility.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
B-17	5	Everyone has equal opportunity to get ahead.	agree	72	80.0
B-21	6	Everyone has the moral duty to try to make the most of himself.	agree	87	96.7
B-30	9	The incompetent do not succeed very often in business.	agree	83	90.2
B-36	11	Those who work and have ability will be rewarded with success.	agree	79	83.3
B-38	12	The test of reward should be one's ability to contribute to the productive purposes of the company.	agree	86	95.6
B-50	17	If a man fails it is his own fault, and he should be ashamed of himself.	agree	24	26.6

4. The Index of the Definition of the Rigors and Demands of

Managerial Leadership: This index measures the belief in the moral requirement necessary to be a business leader. It specifies that tension is normal, contentment is elusive, that a manager must be sober, punctual, and cheerful and that he must sacrifice his personal life for success, for there is no legitimate excuse for failure.

QX Item No.		Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
B-24	7	A manager in business should have no excuse for failure.	agree	35	38.8
B-40	13	The tensions of business are normal and should be accepted.	agree	84	93.3
B-52	18	If workers are contented the supervisor is not doing his job.	agree	7	2.2
B-55	19	A manager in business should have the virtues of sobriety, punctuality, discipline, avoidance of waste, and cheerfulness.	agree	88	97.8
B-61	21	In business a manager should be willing to sacrifice all leisure and private life.	agree	7	9.8

Proposition III:

Under certain circumstances a significant proportion of selected Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperative leaders and members will exhibit a general belief that cooperatives are alienated by choice and necessity from the main stream of the general economy and society and

that these beliefs exhibit a feeling of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation from the society and economy.

General Hypothesis A:

If a high incidence of alienation is found it would be theoretically and empirically more appropriate to analyze cooperative members within the framework of alienation theory.

Operational Hypotheses B:

It is hypothesized that within the general framework of cooperative members' alienation there exist the following subsets of latent variables or indexes:

1. Index of Cooperative, Economic, and Occupational Normlessness:

This index measures a lack of normative prescription in interpersonal relations between the role sets of manager, board member, and farmer member; that the job of cooperative leader as well as cooperation in general is not clarified, defined, or stable to the role incumbent or external actors with whom they must interact.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
N-2	44	Sometimes I feel that the Board tries to block everything I try to do. *			
		Sometimes I feel that the manager tries to block everything we try to do.**			
		Sometimes I feel that the board and manager try to block everything the members want to do.***	agree	5	5.6

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
N-29	45	When a number of suppliers all present different technical specifications for their products I sometimes don't know what to buy. *			
		When a number of suppliers all present different technical specifications for their products, the board sometimes doesn't know what to buy.**			
		When a number of suppliers all present different technical specifications for their products farmers sometimes don't know what to buy.***	agree	53	58.9
N-39	46	✱ Sometimes in this job, it gets so you can't trust anyone. *			
		Sometimes in this job, as board member, it gets so you can't trust anyone.**			
		Sometimes in farming, it gets so you can't trust anyone.***	agree	14	15.6
N-43	47	Sometimes I feel that this is a "dead end" job without a future. *			
		Sometimes I feel that cooperatives are a "dead end" operation without a future.**			

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
		Sometimes I feel that farming is a "dead end" operation without a future.***	agree	12	13.3
N-47	48	Sometimes I really don't know what co-operatives are trying to accomplish.	agree	23	25.6
N-54	49	Many times this job gets so confusing and demanding that I wonder where I'm at. *			
		Many times this job on the board gets so confusing and demanding that I wonder where I'm at.**			
		Many times farming gets so confusing and demanding that I wonder where I'm at.***	agree	37	41.1

*Asked of Managers only.

**Asked of Board Members only.

***Asked of Farmer Members only.

2. Index of Powerlessness Over Economic Transactions: This index measures the general feeling of powerlessness over the largeness of economic organizations, the complexity of the economy, the unpredictability of fluctuations in supply, demand, and prices, and the helplessness of cooperatives when they must do business with city people, large suppliers, and producers.

QX						
Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed	
P-8	50	I get the impression that big city people with whom we do business try to take unfair advantage of us* **				
		I get the impression that big city people with whom the cooperative does business try to take advantage of it.***	agree	31	34.4	
P-12	51	The present-day economy is so big and complex that local businesses like this cooperative don't have a place any more.	agree	85	94.4	
P-15	52	When you deal with suppliers would you say that you usually are in a position to deal on your terms. *				
		When your cooperative deals with suppliers would you say that it usually is in a position to deal on its own terms. ** ***	disagree	41	45.6	
P-32	53	The bigger a supplier gets the more we are at his mercy.* **				
		The bigger a supplier gets the more the farmer is at his mercy. ***	agree	49	54.4	
P-49	54	Sometimes it gets almost impossible to follow the fluctuations in supply, demand, and prices.	agree	66	73.3	

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
P-51	55	In the long run a co-operative manager doesn't have much to say about his operation.	agree	9	10.0
P-58	56	The big producers can pretty well control the supply and distribution of products.	agree	58	64.4

3. Index of Isolation from Social Interaction in the Community:

This index measures the feeling of social deviance on the part of co-operative leaders. Items deal with the feeling of being rejected by the community, by friends, and by outsiders. One item is addressed to the feeling of isolation from non-cooperative job opportunities on the part of managers.

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
S-4	57	I participate in many community activities.	disagree	27	30.0
S-9	58	I have very few really close friends in this community.	agree	14	15.6
S-18	59	The job which would be the best promotion for me would be to become a branch manager for some larger company. *			
		The job which would be the best promotion for a cooperative manager would be to become a branch manager for some larger company. ** ***	agree	58	64.4

QX Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Endorsed Response	f Endorsed	% Endorsed
S-19	60	Most of the time the supplier representatives who call on me don't give a darn about me as a person; all they are after is a sale. *			
		Most of the time the supplier representatives who call on our cooperative don't give a darn about us as people; all they are after is a sale.** ***	agree	22	24.4
S-22	61	When my family and I moved to this community it took a long time before people accepted us. *			
		I am not very well accepted in this community.** ***	agree	7	7.8
S-25	62	I would like to live in most any other community than this one.	agree	5	5.6

Test of Hypotheses

The test of the operational hypotheses (outlined above) can be accomplished by establishing some measure of internal consistency within the items which were thought to make up a series of subsets of variables within the general case of an ideology. That is, the hypothesis will obtain if after utilizing some technique of item analysis it can be established that the items so hypothesized are reliable indicators of the latent variable of beliefs about specific aspects of cooperatives,

business, and society. To test this hypothesis the item analysis technique of Trace Line Analysis was used.

Copp presents Trace Line Analysis as an extension of Lazarsfeld's concept of latent structure. A trace line is a curve resulting when the percentages of subjects endorsing an item at different points on the latent variable continuum are plotted. In Trace Line Analysis the presumption is that the proportion of subjects endorsing an item will monotonically increase as the strength of the latent variable increases if the item is a consistent indicator of the latent variable. Thus, when items monotonically related to the latent continuum are combined in a scale, the number of items endorsed is taken as an indication of the subject's position on the latent variable continuum. This scheme of measurement is based on probability rather than on the summation of standard units of measurement. As the number of items in a scale increases, the precision with which a subject can be located on the latent continuum increases. The resulting scale is ordinal in nature.⁷ This method was used because it represents the most rigorous criterion for item analysis. Twenty-two items were anticipated to measure five subsets or underlying continuum of cooperative ideology.

Cooperative Ideology

Proposition I:

Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives can be viewed as a part of the cooperative social movement; that this can be ascertained by the

⁷James H. Copp, Trace Line Analysis, An Improved Method of Item Analysis (unpublished. Department of Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University, February 9, 1959), pp. 19.

presence of a well defined cooperative ideology and that the concomitant commitment to that ideology on the part of a significant proportion of selected leaders and members is present.

General Hypothesis A:

A series of items can be constructed to represent a system of beliefs about cooperatives and that these items, when endorsed by members, are indicators of the latent variable of beliefs about cooperatives; that each of these items is consistently related to the latent variable (i.e., these items will scale or trace) and that values on the latent continuum can be assigned to individuals or groups on the basis of the endorsement of particular items; that is, individuals or groups can be given a score from low to high dependent upon their relative endorsement (commitment) to the beliefs represented by the items in the scale so endorsed.

Operational Hypotheses B:

It is hypothesized that within the overall cooperative ideology there exists the following subsets of variables or indexes:

1. The Competitive Yardstick Index consisting of items C-5, C-7, C-13, and C-42. (See Appendix B)
2. The Anti-Big Business Index consisting of items C-3, C-31, and C-34. (See Appendix C)
3. The Pro-Business Index consisting of items C-10, C-33, and C-53. (See Appendix D)
4. The Index of Cooperatives as a Source of Political Power consisting of items C-16, C-23, and C-62. (See Appendix E)

5. The Index of Cooperative Idealism consisting of items C-20, C-26, C-27, C-35, C-37, C-45, C-48, C-56, C-59, and C-60 (See Appendix F)

All five subsets were subjected to Trace Line Analysis and were found not to trace. Therefore, Hypothesis I, B, 1-5 did not obtain. Based on this evidence and within the frame of reference of these items, no valid latent variables of beliefs about cooperatives were constructed.

It was felt at this point that either no valid measure of cooperative ideology existed or that instead of the five sub-indexes the twenty-two items may be measuring a general Popular Cooperative Ideology.⁸ When the items with low marginals (less than 10% and more than 90% endorsed) were discarded, the remainder were tested for the Popular Cooperative Ideology; they were found not to trace. It was then felt that some of the items may have traced in different fashions; namely, an Index of Orientation Toward Economic Democracy and Cooperatives made up of Items 35, 37, 48, 56, 60, 26, and 27 may exist. (See Appendix F) After being analyzed, they were also found not to trace. Likewise, what we thought may be an index of Favorability Toward Economic Goals of Cooperative, including items 13, 34, 7, and 5, was found not to trace, with the possible exception of item 13. (See Appendix G) The other index, which was called the Index of Orientation Toward Economic Democracy, made up of items 26, 27, 56, and 60, was also found to be inadequate to meet the Trace Line Analysis criteria. (See Appendix H)

American Business Ideology

Nineteen items were anticipated to measure four subsets or underlying continua of American Business Ideology.

⁸The author is indebted to Professor Copp of Pennsylvania State University for his insight and encouragement in establishing this formulation.

Proposition II:

Under certain circumstances a significant proportion of selected Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperative leaders and members will be more highly committed to the American Business Ideology than to the Cooperative Ideology.

General Hypothesis A:

If a high commitment to the American Business Ideology is found, it would be theoretically and empirically more appropriate to analyze co-operatives within the framework of some theory of the firm.

Operational Hypotheses B:

It is hypothesized that within the general American Business Ideology there exist four subsets of latent variables or indexes:

1. The Traditional Individualism Index consisting of items B-1, B-6, B-14, and B-41. (See Appendix I)
2. The Index of the Centrality of the Free Enterprise System to the American Society consisting of items B-11, B-28, B-44, and B-46. (See Appendix J)
3. The Index of Individual Opportunity, Desire for Achievement, Success, and Upward Mobility consisting of items B-17, B-21, B-30, B-36, B-38, and B-50. (See Appendix K)
4. The Index of the Definition of the Rigors and Demands of Leadership consisting of items B-24, B-40, B-52, B-55, and B-61. (See Appendix L)

Each of these subsets were item analyzed using the Trace Line Analysis. After the Trace Line Analysis had been completed for all of

the sub-indexes, it was found that none of the items traced satisfactorily. This led to the belief that there may be within all nineteen items a general Free Enterprise Creed latent variable. After rejecting all items whose marginals did not represent at least 10 percent or exceeded 90 percent endorsement there remained eight items. These included items 1, 6, 14, 17, 24, 28, 36, and 44, the Free Enterprise Creed A. (See Appendix M) A second trace line analysis was performed on items 1, 6, 14, 17, 24, 36, 44, and 50 and was labeled Free Enterprise Creed B. (See Appendix N) The final Trace Line Analysis was computed on items 1, 14, 17, 24, and 50. (See Appendix O) At this point it was felt that these items were tending to measure an Index of Individualism. It was found, however, that none of these items gave a true trace line and hence did not constitute a scale.

With these findings in mind it was decided to subject all items to a less stringent mode of analysis; therefore, the traditional item analysis was used where one point was arbitrarily given for each item endorsed and each item was tested for its power to discriminate the high-low dichotomy of the array of total crude scores. The Chi squared test of independence was employed. From the business ideology items it was found that four items were discriminatory--items 1, 14, 17, and 50. They were all significant at the .01 level or greater. This index appeared to be measuring the underlying variable of Moralistic Individualism.

Of the twenty-two cooperative ideology items analyzed with this method it was found that only three items discriminated on the high-low dichotomy of the array of crude scores and these were C-5, C-7, and C-13.

It was felt that this index was measuring an underlying variable of Economic Control Over Costs and Prices and was not associated with any of the more idealistic elements of cooperative ideologies. In an effort to test this proposition further, the Index of Economic Control Over Costs and Prices was correlated with independent characteristics of the cooperative leaders. No significant relationships were found.

Likewise, the business ideology index of Moralistic Individualism was correlated with other cooperative variables. No significant relationships were found.

Proposition III:

Under certain circumstances a significant proportion of selected Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperative leaders and members will exhibit a general belief that cooperatives are alienated by choice and necessity from the main stream of the general economy and society, that these beliefs exhibit a feeling of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation from the society and economy. Proposition III was used to generate the General Hypothesis III A and the Operational Hypothesis III B.

General Hypothesis A:

If a high incidence of alienation is found it would be theoretically and empirically more appropriate to analyze cooperative members within the framework of alienation theory.

Operational Hypotheses B:

It is hypothesized that within the general framework of cooperative members' alienation there exist three subsets of latent variables or indexes.

1. Index of Cooperative, Economic, and Occupational Normlessness consisting of items N-2, N-29, N-39, N-43, N-47, and N-54. (See Appendix P)

2. Index of Powerlessness Over Economic Transactions consisting of items P-15, P-32, P-49, and P-58. (Items P-8, P-12, and P-51 were not included because of low and/or high marginals.) See Appendices Q and R)

3. Index of Isolation from Social Interaction in the Community consisting of items S-4, S-9, S-22, and S-25. (See Appendix S)

These subsets were subjected to the Trace Line Analysis in various combinations. No valid latent trace lines could be ascertained.

Therefore, it was concluded, based on these items, subsets, and instruments used, and using the Trace Line Analysis method to test the validity of these instruments, that the hypotheses that were generated from Propositions I, II, and III could not be upheld. As such it can be concluded that:

1. Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives cannot be viewed as a part of the cooperative social movement because a well defined cooperative ideology is not present among a significant proportion of selected leaders and members.

2. A significant proportion of selected Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperative leaders and members are not committed to the American Business Ideology and that the analysis of cooperatives, within the framework of some rational theory of the firm, would be more theoretically and empirically appropriate.

3. A significant proportion of selected Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperative leaders and members do not exhibit a general belief

that cooperatives are alienated by choice and necessity from the main stream of the general economy and society and that beliefs of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation from the society and the economy do not exist significantly.

In short, on the face of it, it appears that the complex formulation of hypotheses taken from the theories of social movements, ideology, sociology of knowledge, and values cannot be tested by these data.

But scientific inquiry is not for the faint of heart. Assuming that the author understood the theory, contrived a reasonably valid instrument, and utilized reasonable precision and diligence in all aspects of the scientific process, the alternative question arises--what explanation can be forwarded to account for results contrary to established theory?

Reformulation of Hypotheses Through Factor Analysis

Cattell pointed out that the scientific method deals with four kinds of order: (1) constant association of properties; (2) an invariable sequence; (3) numerical relations; and (4) relations among constructs, i.e., order among theoretical entities abstracted (inferred) from observed phenomena.⁹ He states that historically when scientists have attempted to establish one of the four types of order the law that had been expected to be found may have been stated before the observation of events in some cases, while in others the observations were made first and a law was sought to fit them later. He views the latter (i.e., the observation of orderly covariation) as an ideal compromise between the two, for

⁹Raymond B. Cattell, Factor Analysis: An Introduction and Manual for the Psychologist and Social Scientist. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, p. 12.

then the observed covariation may lead to many possible hypotheses.¹⁰

Cattell presents factor analysis as a technique useful to the study of covariation as it occurs naturally. As such, when using factor analysis, it is not necessary, but it is sufficient to hypothesize that some structure lies in the observations and that the technique will demonstrate how certain variables can be viewed together because they behave, statistically, in the same way. That is, factor analysis helps to delineate new, independent, underlying factors which account for their grouping together.¹¹ In this sense, Cattell's factor analysis can be regarded as "factor synthesis," or at least variable synthesis, for although it analyzes out the distinct factors at work among the variables, it also groups the variables together in ways which permit one to synthesize new entities.¹² These new entities considered as variables can be used as "hypothetical causes, intervening constructs, or independent influences."¹³

Since all of the hypotheses generated from theory about cooperatives, business, and cooperative alienation did not obtain, it seems logical to follow Cattell's advice that in their absence it is sufficient to hypothesize that some structure lies in the observations taken from farmer members and leaders in Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives. Formally then, a factor analysis of the sixty-two items of concern in this thesis could yield a delineation of the pertinent factors or variables within the item response universe. To this end the data were factored.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹²Ibid., p. 15.

The data were factored using the Michigan State University Computer Laboratory FANOD 1 Factor Analysis Program for the CDC 3600. The output of this program includes eigenvalues, the Varimax factor loadings, the proportion of the total variable represented by each rotated factor, the "observed communality" of each test (the proportion of variance of each test accounted for by the factors), the means, standard deviations, and the correlation matrix.¹⁴ (For correlation matrix, see Appendix A)

The Kiel-Wrigley criterion for number of factors to be rotated was not used. In view of the small N of 90, the trace line results, and the large number of variables (62), the number of factors to be rotated was arbitrarily fixed at three.¹⁵ Following are the three principal factors evident after the Varimax rotation.

If it is sufficient to hypothesize that some value structure lies in the observations (items responded to by Michigan Farmers Purchasing Cooperative members and leaders), the factors resulting from the Varimax solution could help to delineate new, independent, underlying variables. In short, if a new underlying structure of values is discovered, new concepts can be formulated as hypothetical causes, intervening constructs, or independent influences.

Figure 1 shows the first factor which resulted from the Varimax rotation. The items in Factor 1 are reproduced showing their questionnaire and matrix identification (see Appendix A), as well as their factor loadings. Because of the large number of items in the matrix and because of the small percent of variance (6%) accounted for by

¹⁴Michigan State University Computer Laboratory, MSC, East Lansing, Michigan, CISSR Program, Description 1, October 7, 1963, p. 1. See also Harry H. Harman, Modern Factor Analysis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 3.

Figure 1. Factor I (6% of Variance of 62 x 62 Matrix)

Qx Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Factor Loading
C-27	31	It is the successful farmer who patronizes the cooperative more than the farmer who is having a hard time.	.55
P- 8	50	I get the impression that big city people with whom we do business try to take unfair advantage of us.	.47
C-31	32	In the long run cooperatives should become strong enough to have dominant control over business and agriculture.	.45
C-62	43	People in cooperatives should use them to promote their political views.	.45
C- 5	23	If farmers didn't belong to a cooperative, they would not get a fair price for the things they produce.	.43
B-52	18	If workers are contented the supervisor is not doing his job.	.43
S-19	60	Most of the time the supplier representatives who call on me don't give a darn about me as a person; all they are after is a sale.	.42
P-32	53	The bigger a supplier gets the more we are at his mercy.	.41

each of the three factors only those items with a factor loading of .40 or greater were viewed as significant items in the factor. This also eliminated doublets except in the case of C-5 in Factors I and III and B-41 in Factors II and III.

When the items in Factor I are examined it can be discerned that they represent such diverse values as type of farmers who patronize co-operatives, anti-big-city-people impressions, cooperative dominance over business and agriculture, promotion of political views through cooperatives, membership to get fair prices, worker-supervisor relations, and fear of being controlled by large suppliers. As such it is difficult to conceptualize or identify a unified theme which runs through these items. It appears to be impossible to attach an identifying name to this cluster of items in any meaningful way. Therefore, Factor I does not seem to identify an underlying structure; i.e., there seems to be no logic as to why the subjects' responses to these items are interrelated.

The items which occur in Factor II (see Figure 2) do not reflect generally a business value structure. They do reflect, at best, what could be called a moralistic achievement orientation. But since Factor II accounts for only 6% of the variance of the matrix it is doubtful whether this factor represents an identifiable structure of values.

Figure 3 shows that the items which go to make up Factor III, with the exception of item B-41, seem to be structuring values about the economic necessity of farmer cooperatives. The value expressed does not appear to be stronger or more complex than the need to belong to a trade association may be. It certainly does not appear to reflect a strong ideological base about cooperatives.

Figure 2. Factor II (6% of Variance of 62 x 62 Matrix)

Qx Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Factor Loading
B-38	12	The test of reward should be one's ability to contribute to the productive purposes of the company.	.66
B-17	5	Everyone has equal opportunity to get ahead.	.59
B-21	6	Everyone has the moral duty to try to make the most of himself.	.45
B- 1	1	Everyone wants to do a good job.	.43
B-41	14	The team is more important than the individual.	.42
S-25	62	I would like to live in most any other community than this one.	-.42
B-50	17	If a man fails, it is his own fault, and he should be ashamed of himself.	.41
B-40	13	The tensions of business are normal and should be accepted.	.40

Figure 3. Factor III (6% of Variance of 62 x 62 Matrix)

Qx Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Factor Loading
C- 7	24	Cooperatives help to keep down the number of middlemen who make profits off of farmers.	.64
C- 3	22	Without cooperatives a few big businesses would have too much control over farmers.	.58
C-34	33	Most farmers think private business can do the job better than cooperatives.	-.54
C-13	26	Cooperatives help keep down the price of things which the farmer must buy to run his farm.	.50
C-26	30	Cooperatives do more for large farmers than for small farmers.	-.48
C- 5	23	If farmers didn't belong to a cooperative, they would not get a fair price for the things they produce.	.45
B 41	14	The team is more important than the individual.	.40

Figure 4 shows the items which have communalities (h^2) greater than .30. These are the variables with the largest amount of variances shared with other variables. They are, therefore, the most reliable, valid, and discriminating items in the 62 x 62 matrix. All of these items except one occur in Factors II and III. Only C-27 occurs in the primary Factor I.

Figure 4. Variables With Communalities (h^2) Greater Than .30

Qx Item No.	Matrix No.	Item	Factor
B-17	5	Everyone has equal opportunity to get ahead.	II
B-38	12	The test of reward should be one's ability to contribute to the productive purposes of the company.	II
B-41	14	The team is more important than the individual	III
B-50	17	If a man fails, it is his own fault and he should be ashamed of himself.	II
C-3	22	Without cooperatives, a few big businesses would have too much control over farmers.	III
C-5	23	If farmers didn't belong to a cooperative, they would not get a fair price for the things they produce.	III
C-7	24	Cooperatives help to keep down the number of middlemen who make profits off of farmers.	III
C-13	26	Cooperatives help keep down the prices of things which the farmer must buy to run his farm.	III
C-26	30	Cooperatives do more for large farmers than for small farmers.	III
C-27	31	It is the successful farmer who patronizes the cooperative more than the farmer who is having a hard time.	I

In summary, therefore, the factor analysis of these data does not clearly demonstrate or delineate new, independent, underlying relationships. As such, the factor structure does not permit one to assume that there is a factor synthesis which groups the variables together in ways which permit the postulation of new entities. In short, there are no new entities which can be considered as hypothetical causes, intervening constructs, or independent influences.

In summary, it can be concluded that:

1. Traditional theory has not in this case provided adequate hypotheses to establish contemporary Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives as a defineable social movement because no discernible and/or significant cooperative ideology exists.

2. No discernible and/or significant business ideology can be found; consequently, it would be difficult to conclude that Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives are typically business-like.

3. Finally, as the factorial study shows, there is no evidence to indicate that, based on sixty-two value items, there exists an unanticipated underlying value structure held by members and leaders of contemporary Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives.

In conclusion, therefore, it can be stated that the following interpretations are possible. Using contemporary Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives as a case in point:

1. It is likely that American Farmers' Cooperatives are not in fact true cooperatives because a discernible, significant ideology does not exist.

3. Cooperatives need not be studied any differently than any other social-economic social system.

4. It would probably be more fruitful to study farmer organizations apart and separate from farmer cooperatives.

5. Historically, sociologists, psychologists, economists, and historians have written about and interpreted Farmers' Cooperatives within the framework of social movement theory. One characteristic that identifies a social phenomenon as a social movement is its well-defined cooperative ideology. The results of this study indicate that it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish the fact that a well-defined cooperative ideology exists among selected leaders of the Michigan Farmers Purchasing Cooperative. Therefore, using the social movement model to study Farmers' Cooperatives is at best tentative and speculative.

(Note: A score was computed for each respondent in terms of each of the three factors involved (see Factor I, page 95; Factor II, page 97; and Factor III, page 98). The scores were cross tabulated with a sequence of variables such as age, father's occupation, education, length of time with present cooperative, size, sales, profit of cooperative, attitude toward manager's job, choice of type of supplier, composition of the board, attitude toward merger, size and type of farm, brand of products used, and favorable attitude toward own cooperative. The three factors constituted the independent variables for the purpose of this study (see page 65). The Chi squared test of association was used to test relationships. In all cases, the χ^2 values did not approach a reasonable degree of significance to warrant a non-chance interpretation.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Historically, cooperatives have been regarded as a grass-roots movement to rectify the wrongs suffered by consumers and/or industrial workers by an "evil" capitalistic system. As such the cooperative movement in its early stages was a response to the results of industrialization and urbanization. Cooperatives which developed in the rural sector of western culture were a response to the serf-like status of the agrarian, in relation to the emerging industrial worker. In any event cooperatives had their origin in Europe, especially in England, as a response to the abuses of capitalism and its factory system. These abuses included sweatshop working conditions, uprooting, dismal underpayment for labor and child-labor practices.

The fundamental ideology, if one existed, was built around the value system which said that man need not be the victim of the economic system which abused employees as a material aspect of the means of production. The hope was that man could, through cooperative, peaceful, and evolutionary processes, become part owner in the mode of production, and develop an economic system which guaranteed managerial democracy, broad-based equalitarian ownership, and utopian distribution of the fruits of his labor. This last element of the ideology, "utopia now," seems to have had the greatest appeal for the followers of "co-operative movements." Utopianism was indeed the underpinning of the historical approach to the cooperatives and the "Cooperative Movement."

As the migration of industrial workers followed East-to-West,

and as European and British people began to migrate to Canada and the United States the cooperative idea naturally migrated with them, and diffused. As an example, the Robert Owen Utopian Communities of 1799 in England and the Charles Fourier Community of 1843 became the Rappite Community in New Harmony, Indiana, the Northern American Phalanx in Red Bank, New Jersey, and the Brook Farm Society in New England.

Out of the utopian community ideal there tended to develop the fundamentally anti-capitalism and pro-Fabian socialistic school of thought. Except for isolated farmers cooperatives, such as the Connecticut River Valley Farmers Marketing Cooperative in 1804 and the first associated dairy cooperative in New York in 1851, the cooperative movement idea remained primarily one of anti-capitalism, especially in Canada. This fact is demonstrated in the cooperative commonwealth school in Canada which persists even today in the Province of Saskatchewan and remains relatively influential.

The diffusion of the cooperative idea, then, came from Europe via the utopian community tradition, through Canada, and ultimately diffused to the United States. With the exception of farmers' marketing and producers' associations, the primary interest of the cooperative idea in the United States became rural. Historically, the rurality of the cooperative ideal seemed to have been powerful enough to influence most rural sociologists' treatment of farmers' cooperatives. One gets the impression that rural sociologists tend to neglect the historical diffusion of the cooperative idea and view it almost completely as a North American phenomenon.

At best, the history of thought about farmers' cooperatives in the United States switched from an anti-capitalism point of view to one of

economic self-dependence for farmers caught in the price-squeeze which exaggerated the difference between what they needed to run their farm enterprise and the price they got for their produce. The reality of this situation seems to be greatly neglected by most sociologists. Until the early twenties the farm enterprise in the United States was very much a subsistence-type enterprise; consequently, the marketing cooperative became an effort on the part of farmers to create a counter-monopoly against the wholesaler and the retailer. The efforts of farmers' cooperatives were toward the competitive yardstick ideal. This school of thought attempted to keep the capitalist honest and was in reality an effort to monopolize, or at least to control, the production of food stuff which would guarantee fair prices for their produce. To demonstrate the legitimacy of the farmers cooperative activities after 1932 the New Deal made as a part of its total program the encouragement of farmers' cooperatives of all types and in a sense legalized and legitimized the cooperative enterprise. At best, farmers' cooperatives then became a New Deal type business operation.

It was not until after World War II that the Farm Bureau became extremely anti-New Deal, anti-government, and pro-capitalistic. At present, the sympathies and/or "ideologies" of modern farmers' cooperatives are more in accord with the business, capitalism, and free enterprise philosophies and less with the traditional anti-capitalism ideals which generated the Rochdale principles.

In summary, based on a search of the historical and sociological literature on farmers' cooperatives, we can conclude that it is not surprising that we should be concerned about the theoretical frame-of

reference used in studies of modern cooperatives. Also it is not surprising that we should be concerned with the legitimacy of approaching the study of modern cooperatives from a social movement point of view.

In the scientific community, it is not enough to say that what scholars in the past have done does not seem reasonable. Instead it behooves the social scientist to test these hypotheses in the arena of the empirical phenomenon. To do this, we must first be aware of what has gone before and how our intellectual forefathers came to believe as they did. In the course of this study it became necessary to approach the problem from where it had been approached by many of the giants in the field. This obviously leads to the study of social movement theory, and since in this thesis we were concerned primarily with testing the proposition that we can study farmers' purchasing cooperatives as a social movement we needed to isolate social movements definitionally. When reviewing the literature it became obvious that one of the common prerequisites for classifying a phenomenon as a social movement was the presence of a well-defined ideology.

Since it is very difficult, if not impossible, to operationalize the concept of ideology, it was necessary to look to the theory of ideology for possible guidance to operationalization of that concept. In reviewing the literature on ideology it soon became apparent that much of it dealt with the notion of how man comes to know his environment. Obviously this required that the literature on the sociology of knowledge be perused in order to deal with the problem of knowing and believing as a function of an ideological base. This phase might be called the sociology of the knowledge of ideologies, i.e., how do

collectivities tend to know, embrace, and believe certain things about the relationship between themselves and the external world. King, Parsons, and others have helped to make this transposition from the knowledge and ideology theoretical sphere to one of values and/or beliefs.

Consequently, it was felt that it was legitimate to assess the absence or presence of a cooperative ideology based on the operationalization of empirical items which would tend to measure the values which participants place on various aspects and ideas in relationship to membership in the cooperative society as well as in society in general.

Data were gathered on a sample of managers, board members, and members of Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives who were asked to respond to a variety of statements hypothesized to measure relative commitment to the ideologies and/or values and beliefs represented by these empirical items. As was pointed out and presented in Chapter IV, keeping in mind the limitations of the sixty-two items, the limitations of the sample, and the limitations of a variety of statistical techniques used to analyze the data, the following conclusions were made.

- (1) As far as we know there does not seem to exist at this time among the leaders and members of Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives a well-defined ideology about cooperatives as a social movement or as a discreet belief pattern which would differentiate farmers' purchasing cooperatives from any other kind of socio-economic enterprise.

- (2) As far as we know, based on this study, we cannot

state that leaders of Michigan Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives hold a strong belief in what has been considered by sociologists and business researchers to be a strong traditional business belief system.

- (3) As far as we know, based on this study, we cannot say that the leaders of Michigan Purchasing Cooperatives have any degree of isolation and dissonance which would separate them from the general population. That they do not feel any more isolated or alienated from the society as a whole than other members of the population of comparable nature.
- (4) Based on our study, we can conclude that the theory of social movements does not seem to be an adequate and/or appropriate frame of reference for the study of purchasing cooperatives, especially in Michigan, and that we might infer that it is an inappropriate frame of reference for the study of modern cooperatives in the United States. In short, it is doubtful that cooperatives do exist generally in the United States which resemble in any degree the traditional anti-capitalistic, anti-industrial, pro-utopian tradition.
- (5) Our evidence seems to indicate that it might be a fallacy on the part of sociologists to pursue this line of research, especially if they persist in treating farmers' cooperatives theoretically in the

same light as they treat farmers' movements. If we were to assume, as do most modern sociologists, that farmers' cooperatives and farmers' movements are one and the same, we could then infer, based on this research, that farmers' movements also could not be fruitfully researched from a social movement point of view.

On the whole, we can assume that farmers' cooperatives as a social movement either did not exist throughout the historical development, which is not demonstrable empirically, or that if they did exist as a social movement, they have now entered a new sphere of ideological commitment which could not be identified in this study. If these points are legitimate, it is possible that if farmers' cooperatives were ever a social movement they have passed on into an institutionalized state and have in fact, from a value point of view, blended somewhere between the self-help principles of traditional cooperation and the social service values of modern business beliefs.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A. Correlation matrix for the 62 selected items

Question- naire Item No.	Matrix No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B- 1	1	1.0000									
B- 6	2	.0979	1.0000								
B-11	3	.0361	.0518	1.0000							
B-14	4	.2613	.0089	-.0287	1.0000						
B-17	5	.4227	.3127	.2563	.3229	1.0000					
B-21	6	.0442	.1263	-.0540	.0705	.0554	1.0000				
B-24	7	.1706	.0987	.0617	-.0127	.1336	.0213	1.0000			
B-28	8	-.1445	-.1283	-.0413	.0221	-.1225	-.0927	-.0568	1.0000		
B-30	9	.0361	.0518	.2254	-.1948	-.1502	-.0540	.1468	.0624	1.0000	
B-33	10	.0725	.2344	-.0010	.0499	.2521	.0997	.1334	-.2053	.1170	1.0000
B-36	11	.1954	-.0563	.1450	-.0173	.3057	-.0696	.2280	-.0170	-.1082	.1362
B-38	12	.2637	.0704	.3401	.2254	.2849	-.0396	.1720	-.1078	-.0630	.0645
B-40	13	-.0420	.1815	.4217	.0120	.1892	.1978	.1217	-.0220	.0891	.1434
B-41	14	.2706	.2477	.1781	-.0637	.2373	-.0891	.2101	.0427	.2841	.2056
B-44	15	-.0139	.1799	.2140	.1771	.1478	-.1817	.1419	-.1001	-.0349	-.0226
B-46	16	.1341	-.0355	-.0842	.2203	.0530	.1772	.0617	.0624	-.0842	.1170
B-50	17	.1547	.2257	.0817	.1745	.1889	.1123	.3952	.1132	.1755	.1048
B-52	18	.0620	.1233	.0843	.1116	.0483	.0540	.1941	.0416	.0843	.1193
B-55	19	.0949	.0496	-.0433	.1574	.1065	-.0277	.1205	.1133	-.0433	.1524
B-57	20	-.0442	.0047	.0540	.0538	-.0558	.0341	-.0213	.0931	.0540	-.0997
B-61	21	.0620	.1233	-.0706	.1947	.0483	.0540	.0238	-.0621	.0843	.1193
C- 3	22	.0791	.0702	.0418	.0517	-.0818	-.0612	.1139	.1111	.1800	-.0315
C- 5	23	-.0339	.0598	.0104	-.0305	.0105	.0961	.2960	.0902	.0947	-.0222
C- 7	24	-.0558	.0979	.1341	-.0542	.0364	.0442	-.0448	.1838	.1341	.0725
C-10	25	.0040	.0496	.0935	.1189	.1497	-.0184	.0449	.1963	.0020	.0529
C-13	26	-.0770	-.0316	-.0010	.0499	-.1351	-.0764	-.0611	.1897	-.0010	-.1689
C-16	27	-.0743	-.0663	.1718	.0533	-.0416	-.1217	.0746	-.0243	.1718	-.1311
C-20	28	.0088	.1839	-.0630	-.0985	-.1118	.2609	-.0492	.0270	-.0630	.0645
C-23	29	-.1301	.0683	-.0361	.0543	-.0362	-.0438	.0990	-.0525	.0620	.0027
C-26	30	-.1950	-.0151	-.2717	-.1186	-.1397	.0691	-.0889	.1018	-.0181	.1535
C-27	31	.0706	.1487	.0372	.0048	.0889	.0063	.1918	.2001	.0372	-.0265
C-31	32	.1427	.2104	.0752	.1524	.1161	-.0331	.0551	.1020	-.0199	.0957
C-34	33	-.0531	-.0758	.0101	.0423	-.0031	.0802	-.1535	-.0918	.0101	-.0850
C-35	34	.0545	.0847	.1945	.0242	.1678	-.0701	.2407	.0333	.2776	.1401
C-37	35	.1904	.1477	.0421	.1063	.1568	.1382	.1695	-.0346	.1288	.1072
C-42	36	.0789	.0703	.2074	.2891	.1907	.0616	.1139	.0554	.0415	-.0318
C-45	37	-.1025	-.0039	-.0540	.1944	.0554	-.0351	.1483	-.0927	-.0540	-.0764
C-48	38	.0953	.1728	-.0121	.0236	.1273	.1123	-.0687	.1132	-.0121	-.0381
C-53	39	.0949	.0496	-.0433	-.1441	-.0781	-.0277	-.0339	-.0750	.5190	.1524
C-56	40	.0295	.1945	.2178	-.0133	.0139	.1208	.1164	-.0229	.1311	.0250
C-59	41	.1116	.2565	.1026	.0550	.0961	.1310	.2255	-.1767	.1026	.1453
C-60	42	-.1474	-.0686	-.0222	.0862	-.0472	-.0498	.0610	.0890	.1441	.0592
C-62	43	.2060	.1276	.1085	-.0507	.1098	.0691	-.0889	.1018	.1085	-.0395
N- 2	44	.0189	.0734	-.1109	.0376	.0065	.0445	.0055	.1212	.0701	.0993
N-29	45	.0197	.1073	.0947	.1051	.2873	-.0297	-.0746	.1467	.0104	-.0222
N-39	46	.0920	.2466	.0101	.1037	.0720	.0802	.1608	-.0918	.1245	.1767
N-43	47	-.1698	-.1968	-.0077	-.0829	-.2774	-.1091	-.1788	.1145	.1143	-.0245
N-47	48	-.0379	-.0040	.0752	.0504	-.0713	-.0331	.2642	-.0890	.0752	.0233
N-54	49	-.1135	.0516	-.0037	-.0831	.0014	-.0919	-.0821	.0340	.0893	-.0329
P- 8	50	.0683	.0827	.0360	.2722	.2032	.0043	-.0984	.0119	-.1386	.0318
P-12	51	.1335	.1757	-.1109	.0376	.1253	.0445	.1049	.1212	.0701	.0993
P-15	52	.0826	.0529	-.0675	.2497	.2000	.1701	.0026	-.1005	.0153	-.1318
P-32	53	.1284	.0413	-.1823	-.0264	.0736	-.1697	.1804	.2676	-.0176	.0685
P-49	54	.1426	.1975	.0129	.1778	.1190	-.1119	.1205	.0126	-.1747	-.0332
P-51	55	-.0787	.0856	-.1800	.0964	.0815	-.1446	.1137	-.1112	-.1800	.1372
P-58	56	.1264	-.0354	.1790	-.0305	.0105	-.1555	.2033	.1467	.0194	-.2149
S- 1	57	-.1113	.1323	.2346	-.2515	.0963	.0000	.1291	-.1765	-.0292	.0449
S- 9	58	-.0720	.0320	.0016	-.1130	-.0196	.0764	-.0036	.0475	.1196	-.0106
S-18	59	.1472	.1632	-.0374	.1739	.1113	.1415	.0551	.0347	-.0374	-.0153
S-19	60	.0359	.0671	-.0121	.1242	.0042	.1123	.1375	.1132	-.0121	.0334
S-22	61	-.0361	.0360	.0843	-.2207	-.0533	.0540	.0238	.0416	.0843	.0013
S-25	62	-.0955	-.0488	.0433	-.0071	-.1071	.0266	-.1198	.0756	.0433	-.1521

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1.0000											
.2492	1.0000										
-.0997	.3748	1.0000									
.3401	.1718	.0991	1.0000								
.1778	.2205	.1841	-.0176	1.0000							
.1450	-.0630	.0891	.0722	.0481	1.0000						
.1483	.1303	.1613	.1627	.2883	.0817	1.0000					
.1082	-.1389	-.0891	.1401	.0351	.0843	.2943	1.0000				
.1737	.3324	-.0406	.1194	.0029	-.0433	.0912	.0433	1.0000			
-.1194	-.2600	.0491	-.0691	-.0664	.0540	.1677	.1772	-.3909	1.0000		
-.0184	.0625	.0772	.0341	-.0479	-.0706	.2943	-.0851	.0433	-.0540	1.0000	
-.0115	-.0716	.0591	.1232	-.0299	.1800	.1175	.0969	-.0510	.0618	.0969	1.0000
.3776	-.0707	-.0423	.0008	.0862	.1790	.1463	.1585	-.1257	.0290	-.0104	.3990
.2756	-.1187	.0634	.2035	.0387	.1341	.0359	.0620	-.0832	.1021	-.0361	.3418
.0882	.0186	-.0262	.1199	.0839	.1850	.0591	-.0933	-.0703	-.1186	-.0018	.2126
.1362	-.0889	-.1100	.0441	-.0226	.2350	-.0381	.0013	-.0618	.0764	-.1167	.3901
.1260	.0944	.0198	-.0060	.0388	-.0092	.0110	.0092	-.0989	.1217	-.0813	.0244
-.0800	-.0467	-.0576	.0341	-.1034	.1388	.1303	.0625	-.0331	.0404	.0625	-.0716
.0456	.1191	-.0628	.1320	.0665	.0620	.0238	-.0622	.0831	-.1021	.0358	.0089
-.0680	-.2487	-.3086	-.0800	-.1102	-.1447	-.0716	.1448	.0569	-.0696	.0177	-.2149
.1231	-.0620	.0093	.0745	.0631	.1179	.0094	.2051	-.0435	.1138	-.0370	.2278
.2189	.0027	.0547	.1526	.2672	.1703	.1652	.2103	.0882	.1755	-.1704	.1105
-.1205	.0928	.1151	-.2628	.1132	-.1043	-.0504	-.1245	.0651	-.0793	-.1245	-.4698
.1531	.0981	.0772	.2343	.1343	.1115	.1779	.2204	-.0066	-.0535	-.0287	.0963
.0646	.0477	.1984	.2401	.0298	.1288	.1821	.3043	-.0454	.2501	-.0426	.0931
.0341	.2160	-.0002	-.0284	.3113	.0415	.3520	.0413	.1506	.0619	-.0417	.1113
-.0696	.2609	.1987	-.0891	.0660	-.0540	.1123	-.1772	-.0277	.0341	.0540	-.0612
.0716	.0084	-.0401	-.0298	.0873	.0817	.1478	.1065	.0912	.0277	-.0812	-.0499
-.0562	-.0331	-.0406	.1194	.0029	-.0433	.0912	.0433	-.0224	.0288	.0433	.2007
.2191	.0656	.0808	.1161	.0629	.1311	.0806	.0426	-.1119	.1379	.0426	.0618
-.0842	.0759	.0942	.0801	.0628	.1026	.0268	.0294	.0533	-.0660	.1614	-.1182
-.0771	-.2016	.0179	-.1669	.0652	-.1053	.0101	.1051	.0104	-.0750	.0219	-.1633
.0356	-.0841	-.0366	.0067	-.0423	-.0181	.1587	.1448	.0569	.3090	.1448	.0112
-.0577	.0524	.0646	.1167	-.2484	-.1109	-.1464	-.0701	.0361	-.0445	-.0701	.0804
.0329	-.0707	.1388	.2315	-.1396	-.0739	.0952	.0741	.0273	.1549	-.0947	-.0527
.0666	.0928	-.0078	.1288	.0519	.0101	.0881	.2188	.0651	-.0793	-.0101	.0413
-.1526	-.0736	-.1573	-.1442	-.0740	-.1300	-.0887	-.1140	.0596	-.0725	-.1140	.0218
-.0143	.1263	-.0477	-.0425	.1653	-.1149	.0500	.1152	.0882	.0331	-.0750	-.3139
-.0243	.0753	.0483	-.0473	.0261	-.0037	.0950	.0877	-.0235	.0919	.0037	-.0900
.0563	.0427	.0064	-.0084	.1478	.0360	.0389	.2262	-.0496	.1260	.0516	.1638
-.0577	.0524	.0646	.1167	.0429	.0701	.0729	.1109	.0361	-.0445	.1109	.0804
.2050	-.0193	-.0236	-.1285	.2251	.0158	.2555	.1506	-.0137	.0789	.0673	-.0668
.1354	.0190	-.2447	.1287	-.0020	.0158	.0976	.0156	.1645	-.0789	-.2344	.0670
-.0716	-.0080	-.1610	-.0985	.1140	.0129	.0229	.1753	.0795	-.0277	-.1064	.1339
.1246	.0711	-.0592	-.1232	.1038	-.1800	-.0334	-.0973	.0497	-.0618	-.0973	-.1363
.1019	-.0707	-.0423	.0008	.1314	.0104	.1463	.1585	.0273	.1549	-.1791	-.1280
.0960	.0763	.0950	.0203	.0631	-.1172	.0534	-.0587	-.1058	.1313	-.0587	.0788
.1532	-.0640	-.1434	.0368	-.1040	.0016	.1099	.1170	.0618	-.0764	-.0010	.1371
.0025	.0526	.1110	.0139	.0984	.0487	.0627	-.1348	-.0421	.1154	-.1348	-.0540
.0820	.0084	-.0401	-.1581	.0370	-.0121	.2046	.1065	.0912	.1677	.2005	.0338
-.0184	.0625	.0772	.1401	-.0479	-.2255	.0126	-.0851	.0433	-.0540	-.0851	-.0414
-.1739	-.3338	.0407	-.3123	-.1542	.0433	-.0914	-.0441	-.4888	.3926	-.0441	.0504

Appendix A. Correlation matrix for the 62 selected items (contd.)

Question- naire Item No.	Matrix No.	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
C- 5	23	1.0000									
C- 7	24	.3933	1.0000								
C-10	25	.2834	.1780	1.0000							
C-13	26	.2989	.3715	.1923	1.0000						
C-16	27	.1923	.0976	-.1175	.2139	1.0000					
C-20	28	.0388	.0088	.1376	-.0889	-.1409	1.0000				
C-23	29	-.0195	-.1301	-.0618	.0027	.0175	-.0084	1.0000			
C-26	30	-.0331	-.2752	-.0132	-.2325	-.1260	.0805	.1150	1.0000		
C-27	31	.3515	.2431	.2798	.0966	.0703	.0429	-.0194	.1407	1.0000	
C-31	32	.1790	.1427	.1324	.1682	-.0055	-.2445	-.0822	-.0628	.2439	1.0000
C-34	33	-.1398	-.1980	-.0706	-.3465	-.1199	.0928	.1260	.2141	-.1962	-.1108
C-35	34	.1663	.1070	.0775	.0136	.0439	-.2256	.0510	-.0173	.2118	.2556
C-37	35	.1959	.2452	-.0124	-.0910	.1319	.0477	.0294	-.1355	.1695	.0970
C-42	36	.1580	.2365	.2452	.0946	.1697	.0003	-.0261	-.1700	.0784	.0764
C-45	37	-.0297	-.1025	-.1550	.0997	.2839	-.0396	.1025	-.3090	-.1142	-.0331
C-48	38	-.0069	.0359	.0591	.0334	-.1534	.0084	.0832	.0051	.1255	.2228
C-53	39	.1804	.2734	.0959	.1524	.0655	-.0331	.0831	-.1737	.1030	.0882
C-56	40	.1815	.3039	-.0384	.0910	.1217	-.0473	-.0839	.0648	.2540	.1160
C-59	41	-.1358	-.0556	-.0692	.0448	.0000	-.0957	.1396	-.1322	.0334	-.0452
C-60	42	.0332	-.0421	.0066	.0592	.0682	-.0935	.0421	.0771	-.0104	-.0648
C-62	43	-.0331	.0456	.1365	.0570	.0220	.0805	-.1256	.2751	.2726	.0927
N- 2	44	.0054	.0189	-.0479	-.0387	.1587	.0524	.2104	.2058	-.0713	-.0308
N-29	45	-.1475	.0730	.0842	-.1507	-.0047	-.1803	-.1262	-.0331	-.0274	-.0282
M-39	46	-.0775	.0193	-.1382	.0024	.0806	-.0564	.0535	-.0666	.0049	.1000
N-43	47	-.0710	.0620	-.0335	.0684	-.0284	-.0736	.0155	-.0463	-.1406	-.1548
N-47	48	-.0799	-.2789	-.1487	-.1940	-.1166	-.1209	.2792	.0927	-.0039	.0072
N-54	49	-.0630	-.0072	-.1973	.0313	.0689	-.1430	.2731	.0243	.1159	.0664
P- 8	50	.2729	.1789	.2604	.1648	.0156	.0427	-.1787	.0149	.2779	.1652
P-12	51	-.0931	-.0957	-.0479	-.3145	.0526	.0524	.0957	.0578	.1174	-.0308
P-15	52	.0841	-.0229	.0077	-.0683	.0632	-.1276	-.0300	.0674	.0094	.1802
P-32	53	.1878	.1284	.1893	.1320	.0341	.0190	.0826	.1370	.1640	.1266
P-49	54	.0579	-.0950	.1073	-.0332	-.0110	.1139	.2139	.1485	.1375	.1229
P-51	55	.1280	.0089	.1964	-.0738	-.0242	.0711	.1667	.1016	.2045	.1441
P-58	56	.0362	.0730	-.0155	.1062	.1923	-.0707	-.0729	-.1021	.0440	.1790
S- 4	57	.2714	.2231	.0868	.1120	.1544	.0763	.0557	-.0960	-.0209	.0362
S- 9	58	.1508	.1521	.0172	.0793	-.2136	-.0640	.1473	.0398	-.0964	-.1681
S-18	59	-.0672	.1472	-.1287	.1160	.1460	.0526	.1799	-.0729	-.0883	.1886
S-19	60	.0952	.0953	.1699	-.0381	-.0986	.1303	.0238	.0051	.2233	-.0076
S-22	61	-.0947	.0620	-.0933	-.2348	-.0813	.0625	-.1603	-.1089	-.1985	-.1704
S-25	62	.1259	.0833	.0699	.0625	.0990	.0322	-.0828	-.0569	.1906	.0850

33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
1.0000											
-.1036	1.0000										
-.1264	.1725	1.0000									
.0002	.0667	.1856	1.0000								
-.0906	-.1941	.0085	.0616	1.0000							
.1574	.0269	.0771	.1006	-.0277	1.0000						
-.1427	.1445	.1119	.1506	-.0277	.0912	1.0000					
-.0652	.1530	.0184	.0464	-.1379	-.0244	-.1119	1.0000				
-.0541	.1571	.0329	.0000	.0660	-.0531	.0533	.0410	1.0000			
.2174	-.0862	-.1427	-.0445	-.0498	-.1410	.0104	-.0433	.2597	1.0000		
.0270	.1184	.0064	.1694	-.3090	.0820	.0569	.2065	-.1322	-.1268	1.0000	
.0301	-.0379	.0223	-.1455	.0445	-.0367	.0361	-.1235	-.0860	-.0651	-.0903	1.0000
-.0775	.1211	.2431	.0677	-.1555	-.0579	.0273	.0400	-.1358	-.1027	.1737	.0054
-.0992	.1419	.1296	.1227	.0802	.0881	.0651	.1908	.1409	.1558	-.0666	-.1036
.1025	-.1132	-.0864	.1311	.0730	-.0148	.0596	-.1183	-.0349	.0396	-.1461	-.0944
.1702	.1027	.0438	.0255	.1088	.1076	-.0844	.0628	.1169	.0885	.0150	-.1420
.0058	.2631	.1639	.0900	-.0919	.0441	.1290	.1181	.0554	-.1023	.1617	.0871
-.1818	.1961	.2432	.3040	-.1263	-.0139	.1088	.1477	-.0329	-.0720	.2290	-.0737
.0301	-.0379	.0223	-.0485	.0445	.0729	.0361	-.1235	.0682	-.0651	-.0903	.1529
.2231	.0629	.0663	.1116	-.0785	.1546	-.0137	-.0196	-.0396	.0954	.2036	-.1244
.0233	-.1078	.0736	.2453	-.0454	.1480	.1645	-.0736	-.0318	.0835	.0689	.1244
-.0185	.0236	.1329	.0504	.0281	.2503	-.0908	-.0803	-.0268	-.0101	-.0048	.1464
.1636	-.0967	-.0155	-.0372	.0618	.0504	.0497	-.0618	.0000	.2378	-.1246	-.0808
.0471	.1211	.1959	.1129	-.1555	-.1090	-.1257	.0872	.1516	.2142	.2426	-.0931
.1087	.0630	.1313	.1885	.0000	.0534	.0540	.0165	-.0501	.0000	.0478	-.0342
-.0019	.1767	.0250	.0948	-.4518	-.0330	.0618	.1733	-.0445	.1310	.0398	-.0996
.1188	-.0816	.2056	.2076	.1415	.1148	.1142	.0355	-.1225	-.1201	.0679	.2181
.0188	-.0233	.1821	.1509	-.0277	.2046	.0912	.1331	.1067	.0605	.2354	-.1464
-.0101	-.0287	.1310	-.1247	-.1772	-.0812	.0433	.1293	-.1026	.0219	-.1089	-.0701
.1440	-.1443	.0459	-.0004	.0266	.0792	.0225	.1121	-.0534	.1412	-.0569	-.0371

Appendix A. Correlation matrix for the 62 selected items (contd.)

Question- naire Item No.	Matrix No.	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
N-29	45	1.0000									
N-39	46	-.0152	1.0000								
N-43	47	-.0710	.1025	1.0000							
N-47	48	.0236	.1702	.0702	1.0000						
N-54	49	.1656	.1299	.1941	.1695	1.0000					
P- 8	50	.0354	-.0528	.0599	-.2101	.0904	1.0000				
P-12	51	.0054	.0301	-.0944	-.0308	-.1095	-.1758	1.0000			
P-15	52	.0387	.1001	-.0963	.0268	-.0140	.1821	.1677	1.0000		
P-32	53	.0064	.2079	.0964	.0243	.0140	.0526	-.0703	.0303	1.0000	
P-49	54	-.0442	.1201	.0148	.0653	.0068	.1727	.0367	-.0035	.1546	1.0000
P-51	55	.0527	.1636	-.0215	.1441	-.0601	.0702	-.0808	.0670	.2305	.2008
P-58	56	.1738	-.0775	-.0046	.0755	.2570	-.0121	-.0931	.0841	.0971	.0069
S- 4	57	-.1118	-.0864	-.0691	-.1258	-.0157	.2151	-.1370	.0316	.1104	.0534
S- 9	58	.0864	.0852	.0253	.0491	.1608	-.0316	-.0996	.0685	.1218	-.1095
S-18	59	.1672	.0552	-.0946	-.0756	.0965	-.0177	.1175	.0909	.1867	.0420
S-19	60	-.1600	.0881	-.0148	.1652	-.0577	.1446	.1825	.1546	.0976	.0797
S-22	61	.1585	.1044	.0080	-.0750	.0037	-.1231	-.0701	-.0993	.0156	-.0126
S-25	62	.1259	-.0640	-.0585	-.0879	.1762	-.1094	-.0371	-.1381	-.0141	.0913

55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
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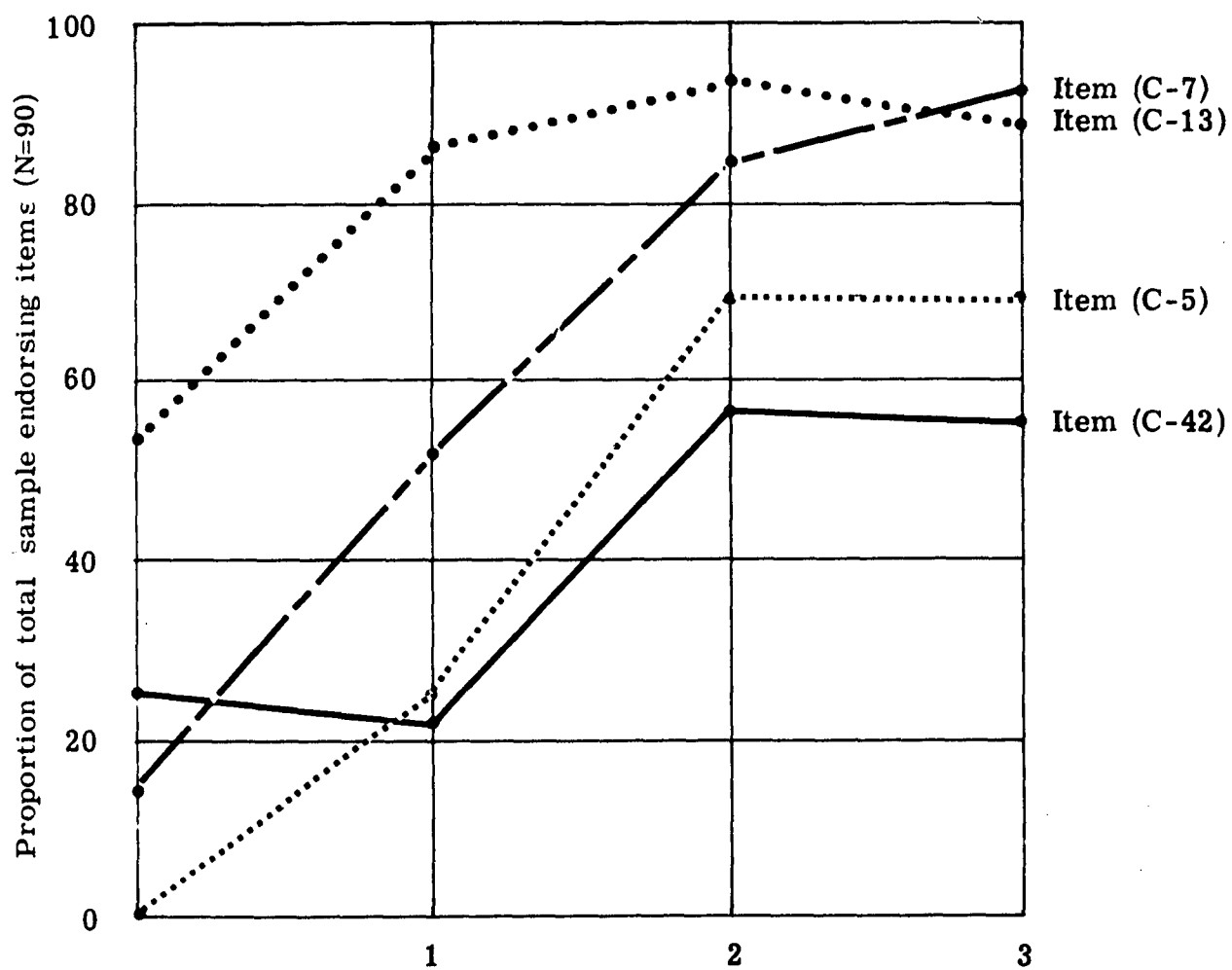
1.0000							
-.0225	1.0000						
.0788	-.0160	1.0000					
-.1372	-.0420	.0895	1.0000				
.1305	.1203	.0978	-.1158	1.0000			
.1341	.0442	.0001	.1099	-.0415	1.0000		
.0410	.0741	.0293	.1170	-.1348	.0126	1.0000	
.2003	.1259	.1068	-.0619	.1977	-.0914	-.0441	1.0000

Appendix A-1. Questionnaire Items Included in the Correlation Matrix

Questionnaire Item No.	Matrix No.	Item
B-1	1	Everyone wants to do a good job.
B-2	2	Every worker should do his best no matter whom he may hurt in the process.
B-11	3	Business creates equality of opportunity and rewards.
B-14	4	The good of all will best be served if each individual pursues his self-interest with little interference.
B-17	5	Everyone has equal opportunity to get ahead.
B-21	6	Everyone has the moral duty to try to make the most of himself.
B-24	7	A manager in business should have no excuse for failure.
B-25	8	A heavy tax on business is bad for the country.
B-26	9	The incompetent do not succeed very often in business.
B-31	10	The "law of supply and demand" is real and works in business transactions.
B-32	11	Those who work and have ability will be rewarded with success.
B-35	12	The test of reward should be one's ability to contribute to the productive purposes of the company.
B-40	13	The tensions of business are normal and should be accepted.
B-41	14	The team is more important than the individual.
B-44	15	American business is singly responsible for our high standard of living.
B-46	16	The reason America is great is because of its unique economic system.
B-50	17	If a man fails it is his own fault, and he should be ashamed of himself.
B-52	18	If workers are contented the supervisor is not doing his job.
B-55	19	A manager in business should have the virtues of sobriety, punctuality, discipline, avoidance of waste, and cheerfulness.
B-57	20	A manager in business should work "day and night" so lesser men will show themselves worthy by copying him.
B-61	21	In business a manager should be willing to sacrifice all leisure and private life.
C-3	22	Without cooperatives a few big businesses would have too much control over farmers.
C-5	23	If farmers didn't belong to a cooperative, they would not get a fair price for the things they produce.
C-7	24	Cooperatives help to keep down the number of middlemen who make profits off farmers.
C-10	25	It is only through cooperatives that farmers can buy and sell in a business-like manner.
C-13	26	Cooperatives help keep down the price of things which the farmer must buy to run his farm.
C-16	27	Cooperatives help the farmer to get the best deal he can out of federal government regulations.
C-21	28	A cooperative is the united action of a group of people engaged in a similar enterprise to promote their mutual interests.
C-23	29	The Farm Bureau would be more effective if it stayed out of politics.
C-26	30	Cooperatives do more for large farmers than for small farmers.
C-37	31	It is the successful farmer who patronizes the cooperative more than the farmer who is having a hard time.
C-31	32	In the long run cooperatives should become strong enough to have dominant control over business and agriculture.
C-34	33	Most farmers think private business can do the job better than cooperatives.
C-35	34	If a farmer really believes in individualism he would not belong to a cooperative.
C-37	35	The trouble with cooperatives today is that there are not enough idealists and liberals in the movement.
C-42	36	Farmer cooperative members' first consideration should be in cutting out the middleman's profits on the things they must use.
C-45	37	Membership in cooperatives should be open to all farmers.
C-48	38	Being a member of a cooperative is more important than buying products from the cooperative for most farmers.
C-53	39	The only successful farmer cooperative is the one that is run primarily in a business-like way.
C-56	40	There is more democratic participation in cooperatives now than there has been in the past.
C-59	41	To be a true cooperative land should be owned cooperatively.
C-60	42	For most farm members, the cooperative is just a matter of dollars and cents.
C-62	43	People in cooperatives should use them to promote their political views.
N-2	44	Sometimes I feel that the board tries to block everything I try to do.
N-29	45	When a number of suppliers all present different technical specifications for their products I sometimes don't know what to buy.
N-31	46	Sometimes in this job it gets so you can't trust anyone.
N-43	47	Sometimes I feel that this is a "dead end" job without a future.
N-47	48	Sometimes I really don't know what cooperatives are trying to accomplish.

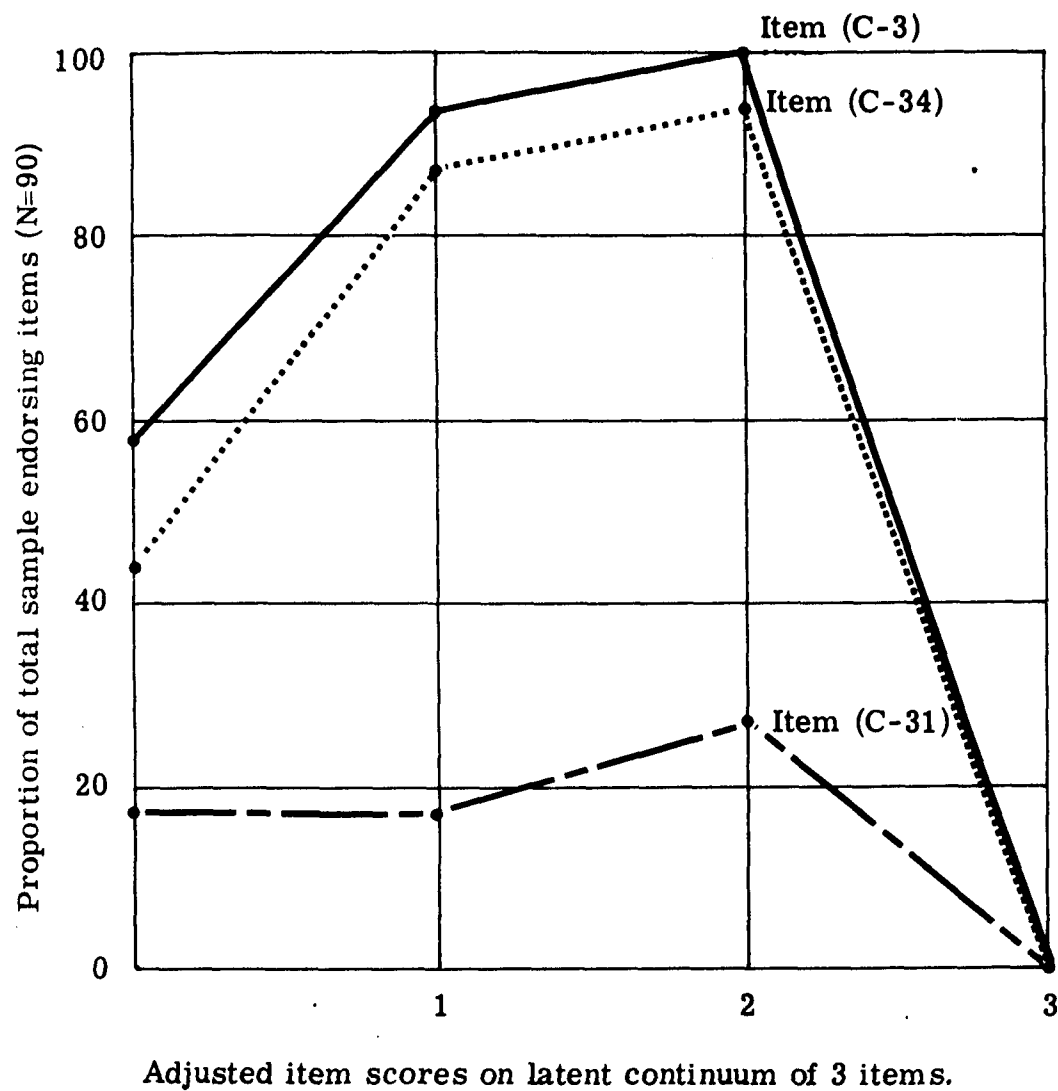
Question- naire Item Matrix		
No.	No.	Item
N-54	49	Many times this job gets so confusing and demanding that I wonder where I'm at.
P- 3	50	I get the impression that big city people with whom we (the cooperative) do (does) business try to take advantage of us (it).
P-12	51	The present-day economy is so big and complex that local businesses like this co-operative don't have a place any more.
P-15	52	When you (your cooperative) deal (deals) with suppliers would you say that you (it) usually are (is) in a position to deal on your (its) terms.
P-32	53	The bigger a supplier gets the more we are (the farmer is) at his mercy.
P-49	54	Sometimes it gets almost impossible to follow the fluctuations in supply, demand, and prices.
P-51	55	In the long run a cooperative manager doesn't have much to say about his operation.
P-53	56	The big producers can pretty well control the supply and distribution of products.
S- 4	57	I participate in many community activities.
S- 9	58	I have very few really close friends in this community.
S-10	59	The job which would be the best promotion for me (a cooperative manager) would be to become a branch manager for some larger company.
S-19	60	Most of the time the supplier representatives who call on me (our cooperative) don't give a darn about me as a person (us as people); all they are after is a sale.
S-22	61	When my family and I moved to this community it took a long time before people accepted us.
S-25	62	I am not very well accepted in this community.
		I would like to live in most any other community than this one.

Appendix B, A Trace Line Plot of the Competitive Yardstick Index
composed of Items C-5, C-7, C-13, and C-42.

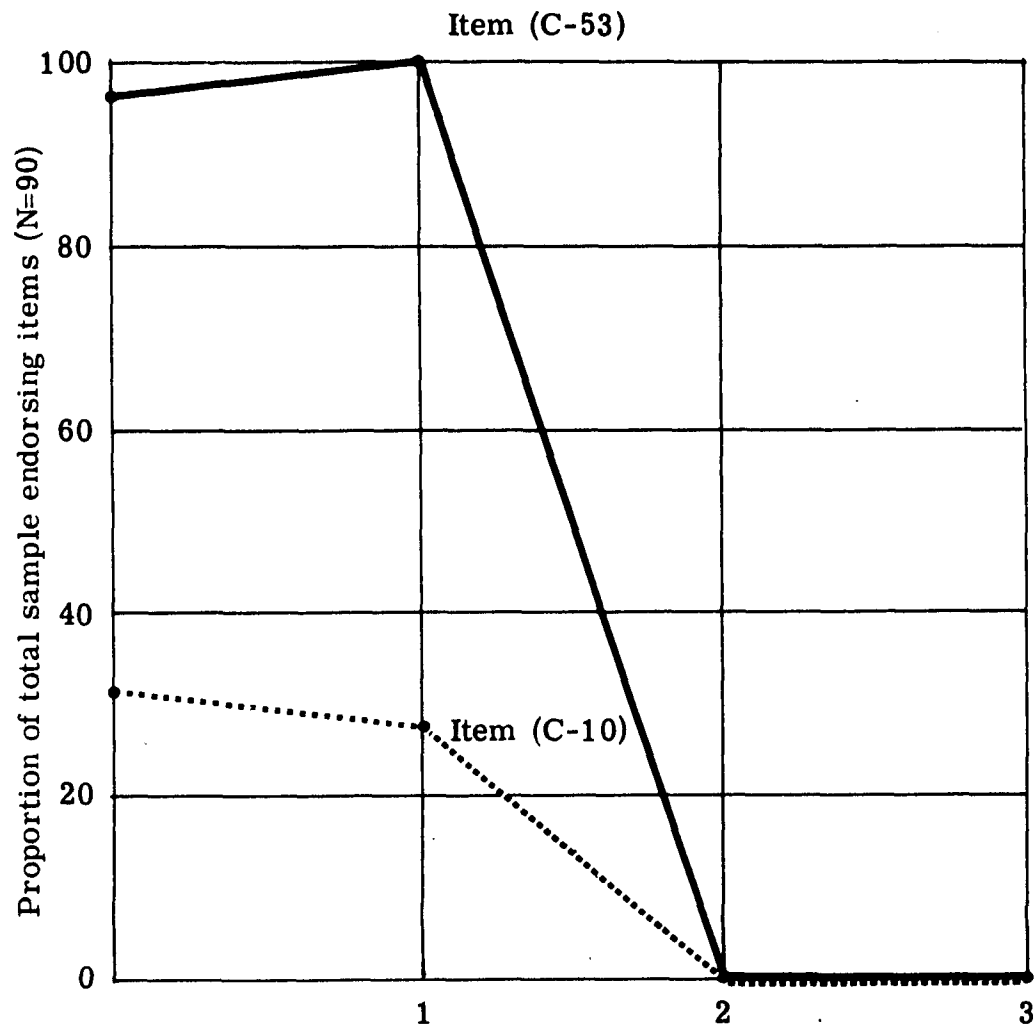


Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 4 items.

Appendix C, A Trace Line Plot of the Anti-Big Business Index composed of Items C-3, C-31, and C-34.

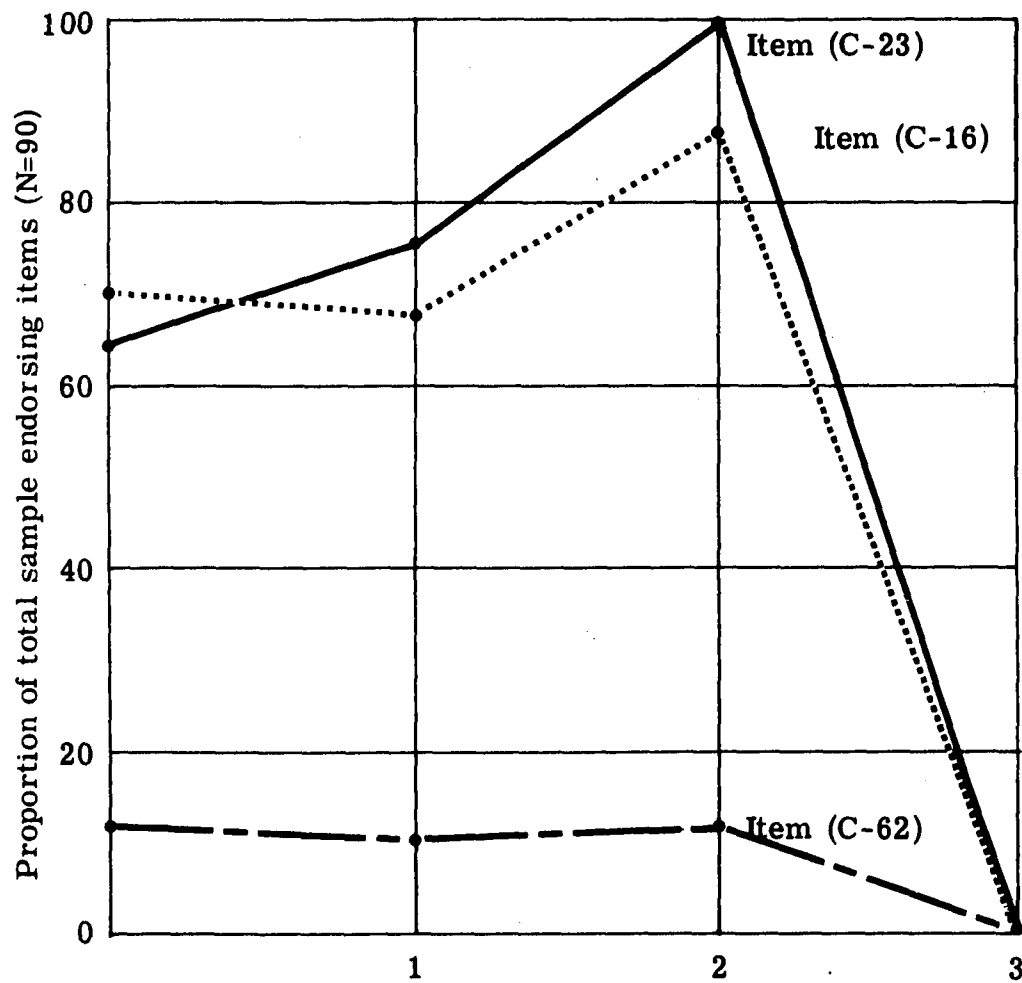


Appendix D, A Trace Line Plot of the Pro-Business Index consisting of Items C-10 and C-53.



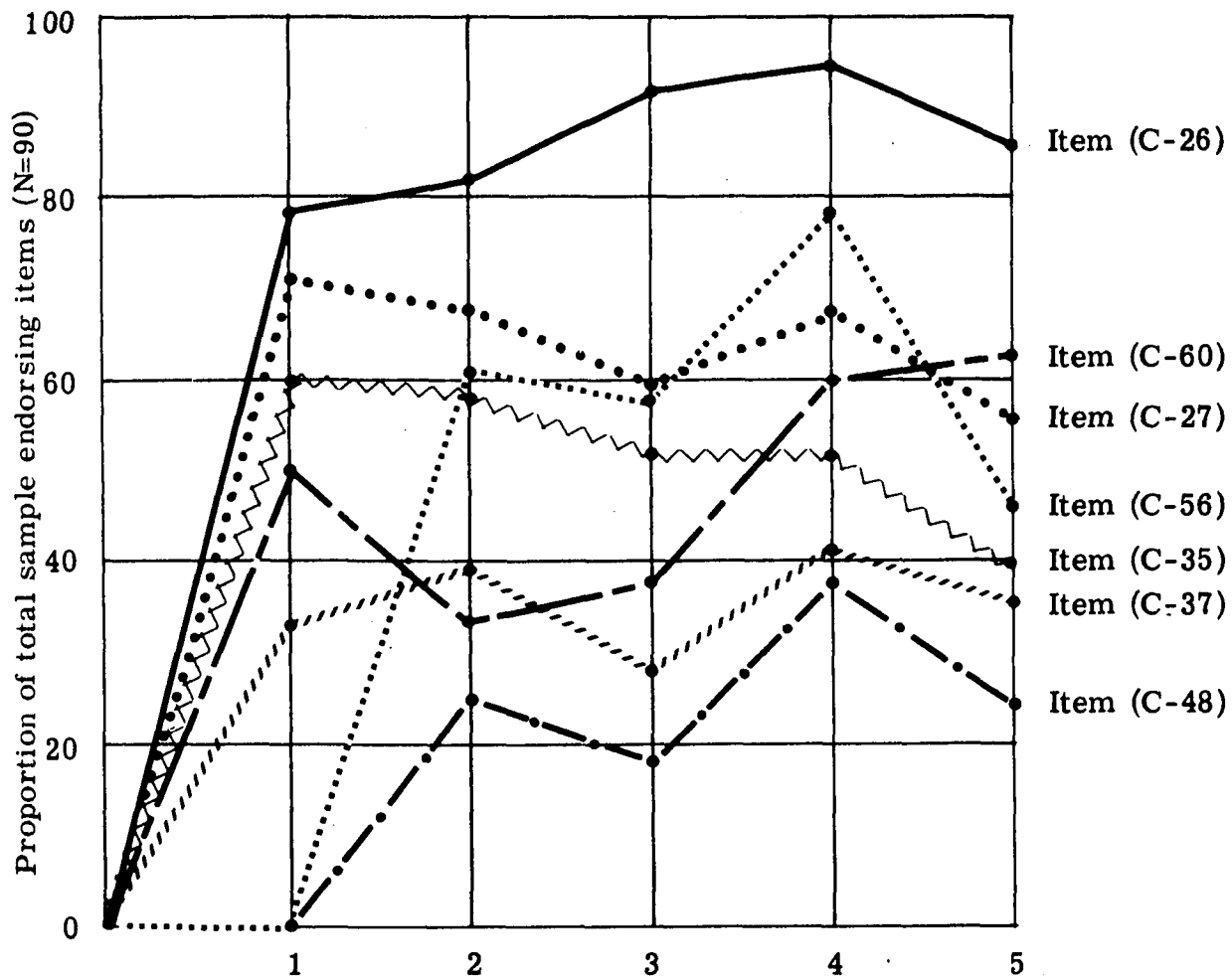
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 2 items.

Appendix E, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Cooperatives As a Source of Political Power consisting of Items C-16, C-23, and C-62 .



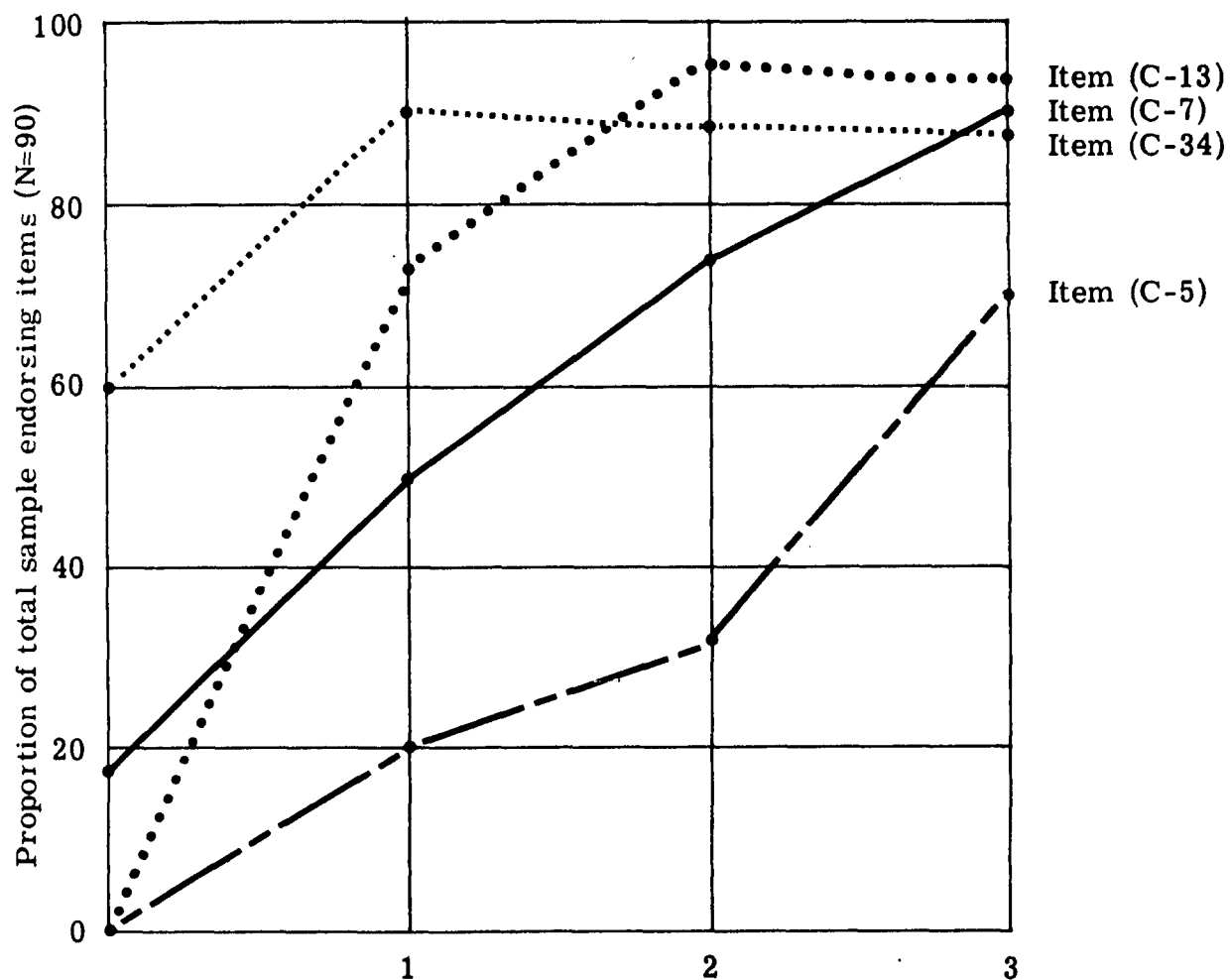
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 3 items.

Appendix F, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Cooperative Idealism consisting of Items C-20, C-26, C-27, C-35, C-37, C-45, C-48, C-56, C-59, and C-60. (Items 20, 45, and 59 had marginals below 10% or above 90%)



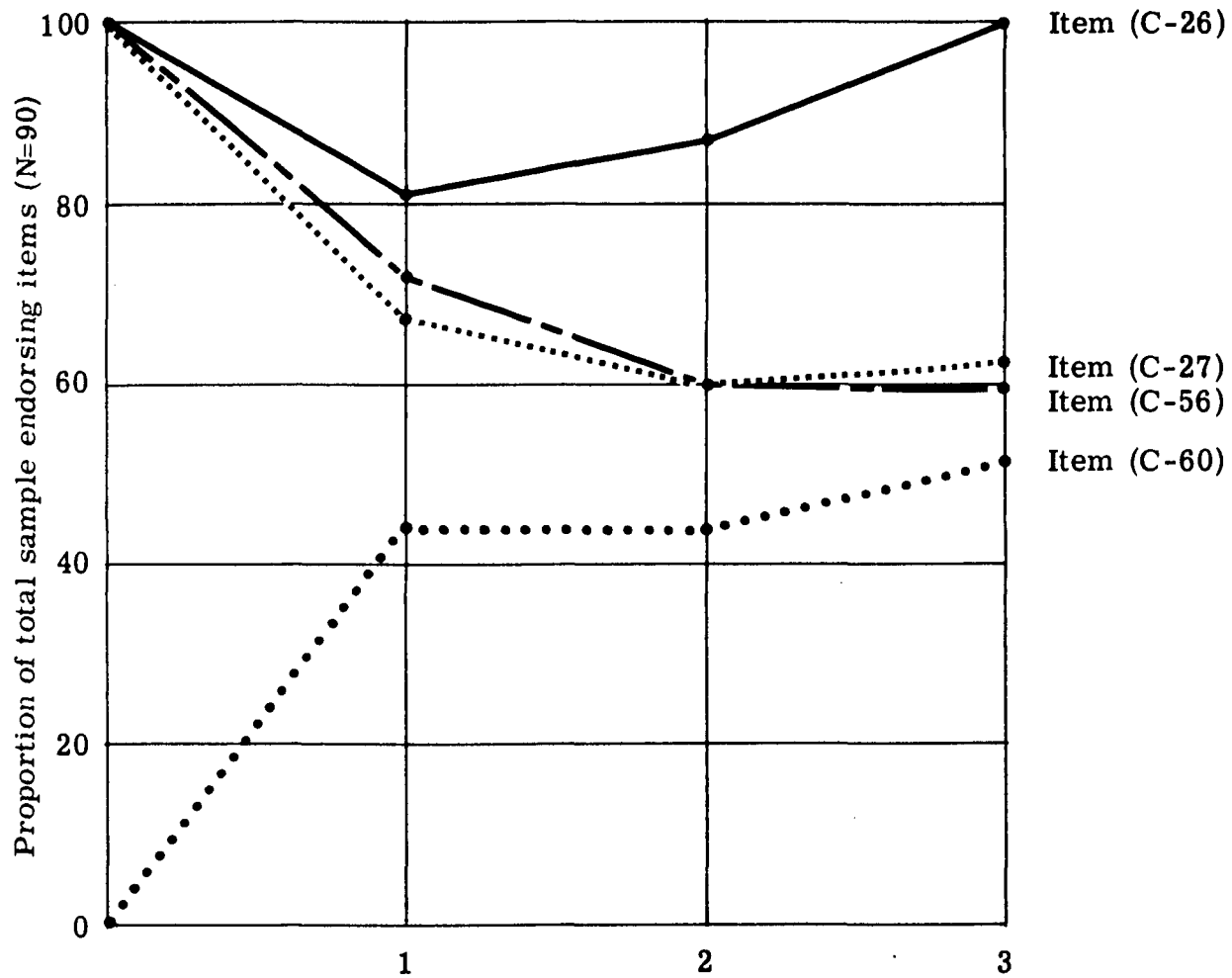
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 7 items.

Appendix G, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Favorability Toward Economic Goals of Cooperation consisting of Items C-13, C-34, C-7, and C-5.



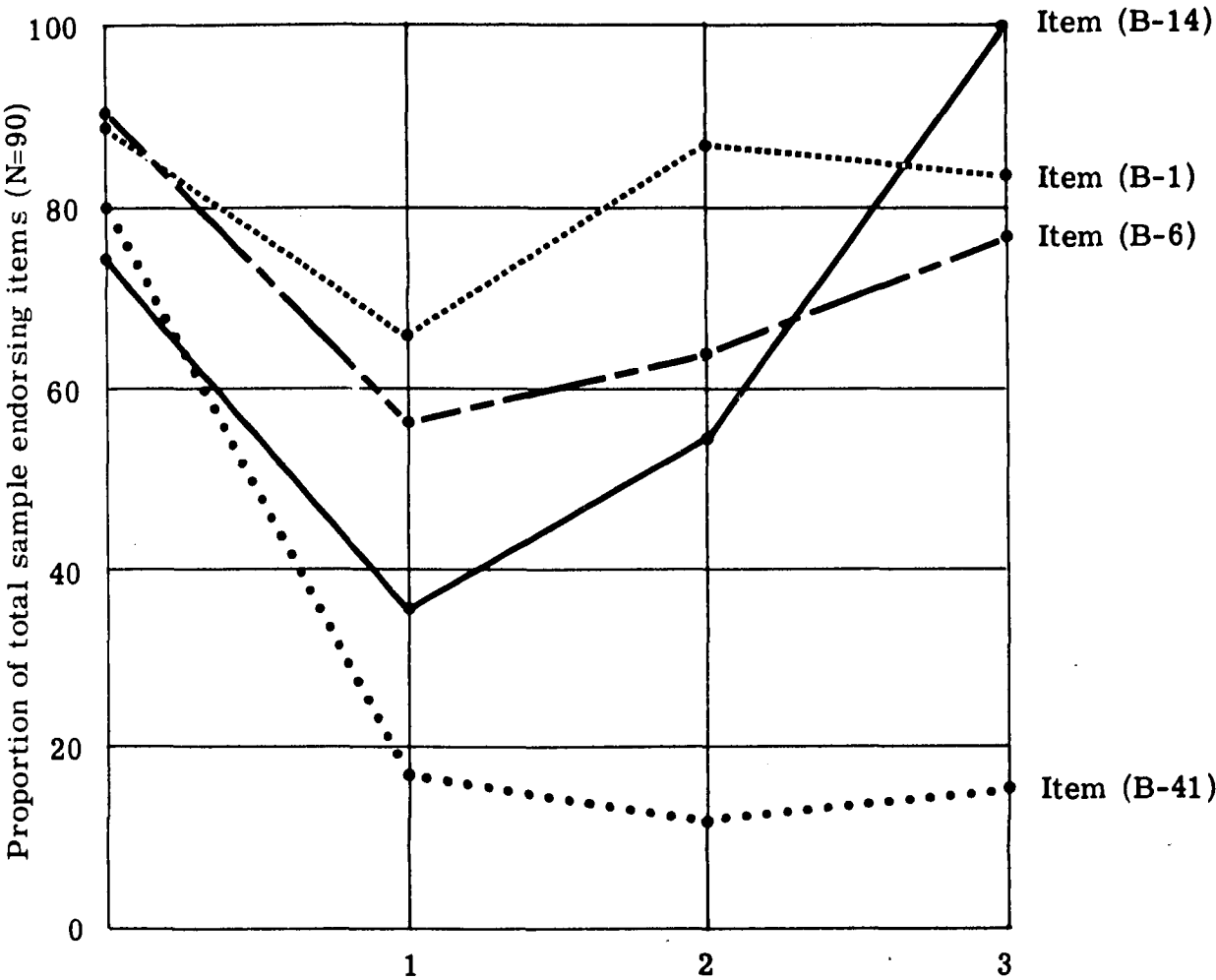
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 4 items.

Appendix H, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Orientation Toward Economic Democracy consisting of Items C-26, C-27, C-56, and C-60.



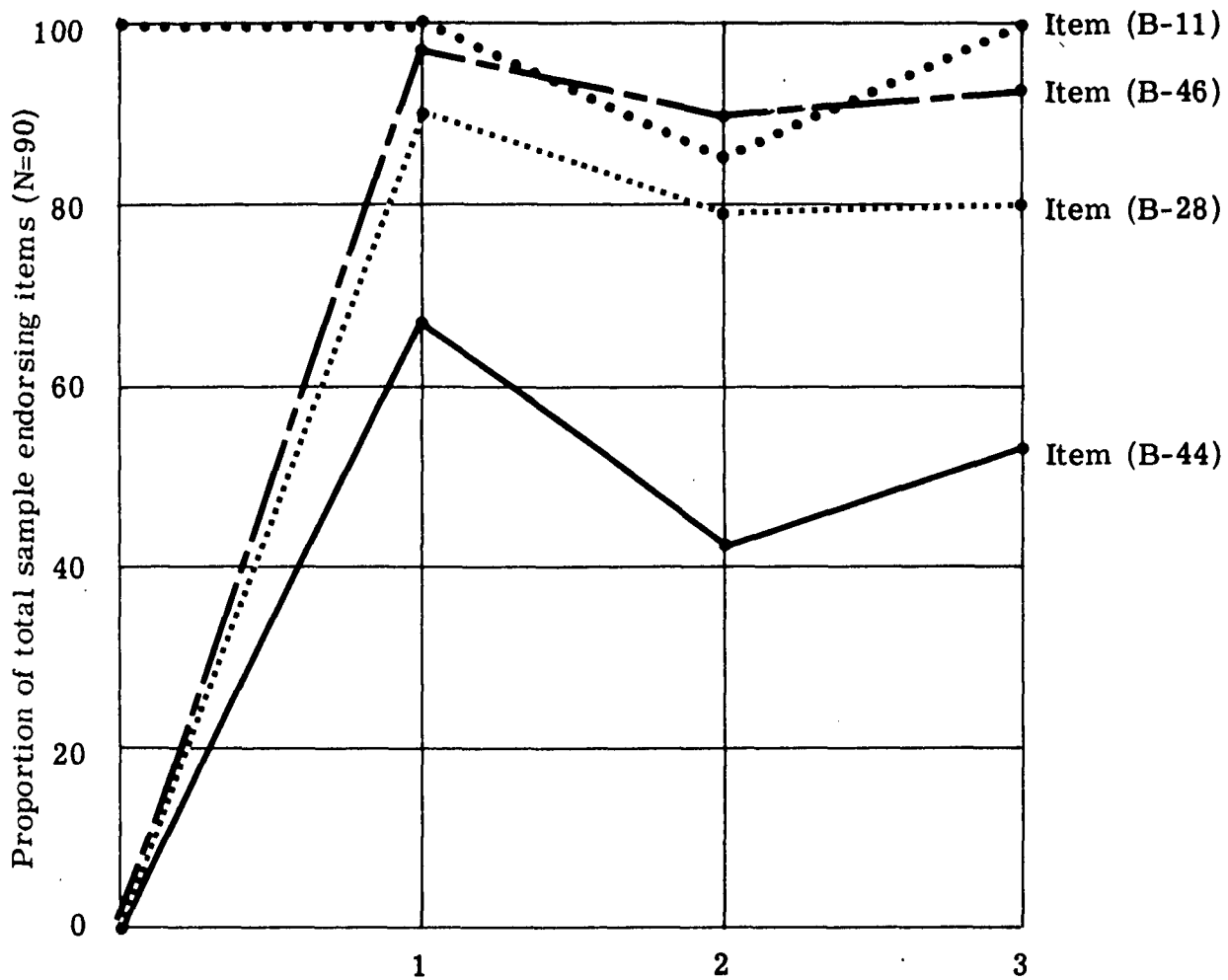
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 4 items.

Appendix I, A Trace Line Plot of the Traditional Individualism Index consisting of Items B-1, B-6, B-14, and B-41.



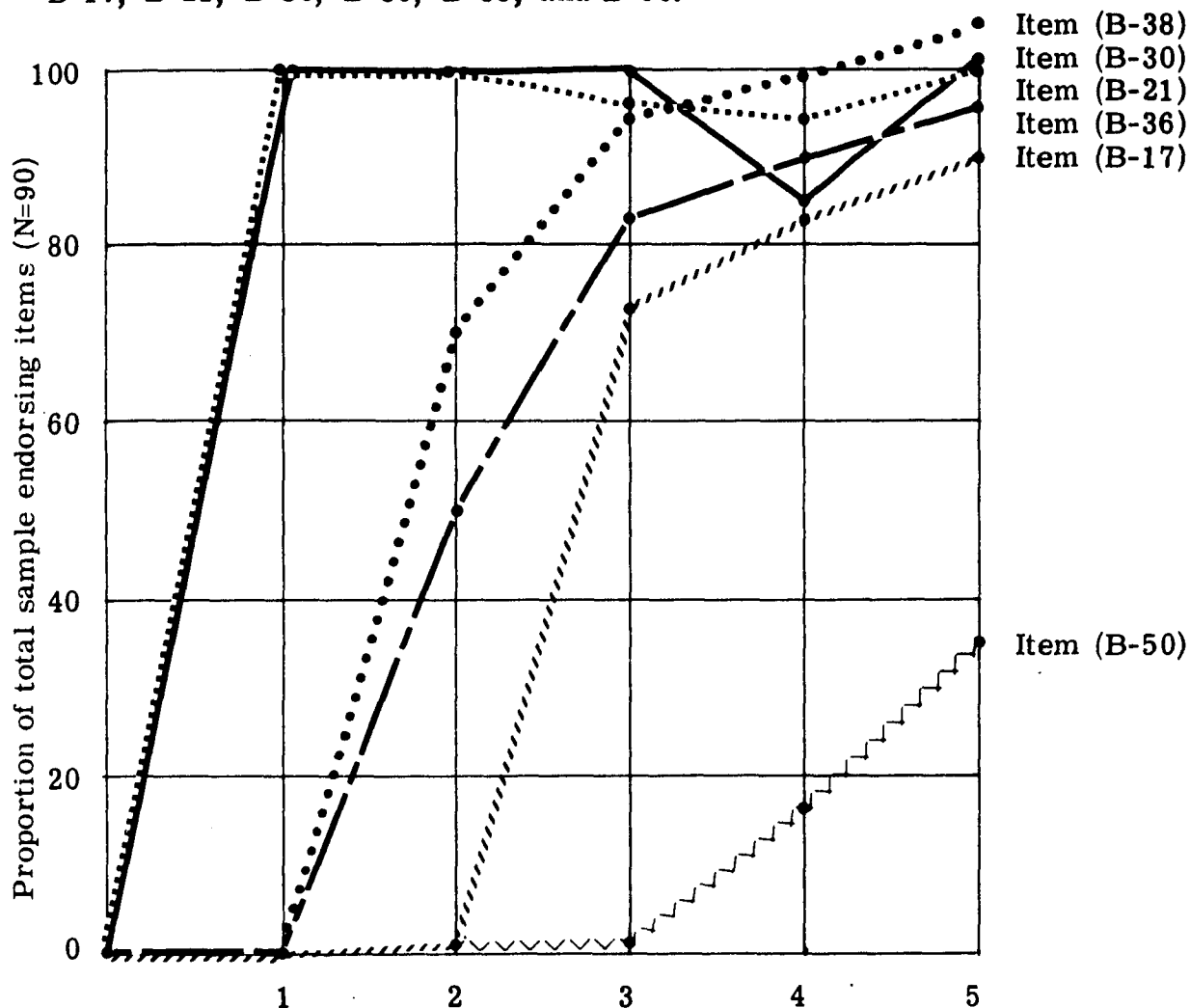
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 4 items.

Appendix J, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of the Centrality of the Free Enterprise System to the American Society consisting of Items B-11, B-28, B-44, and B-46.



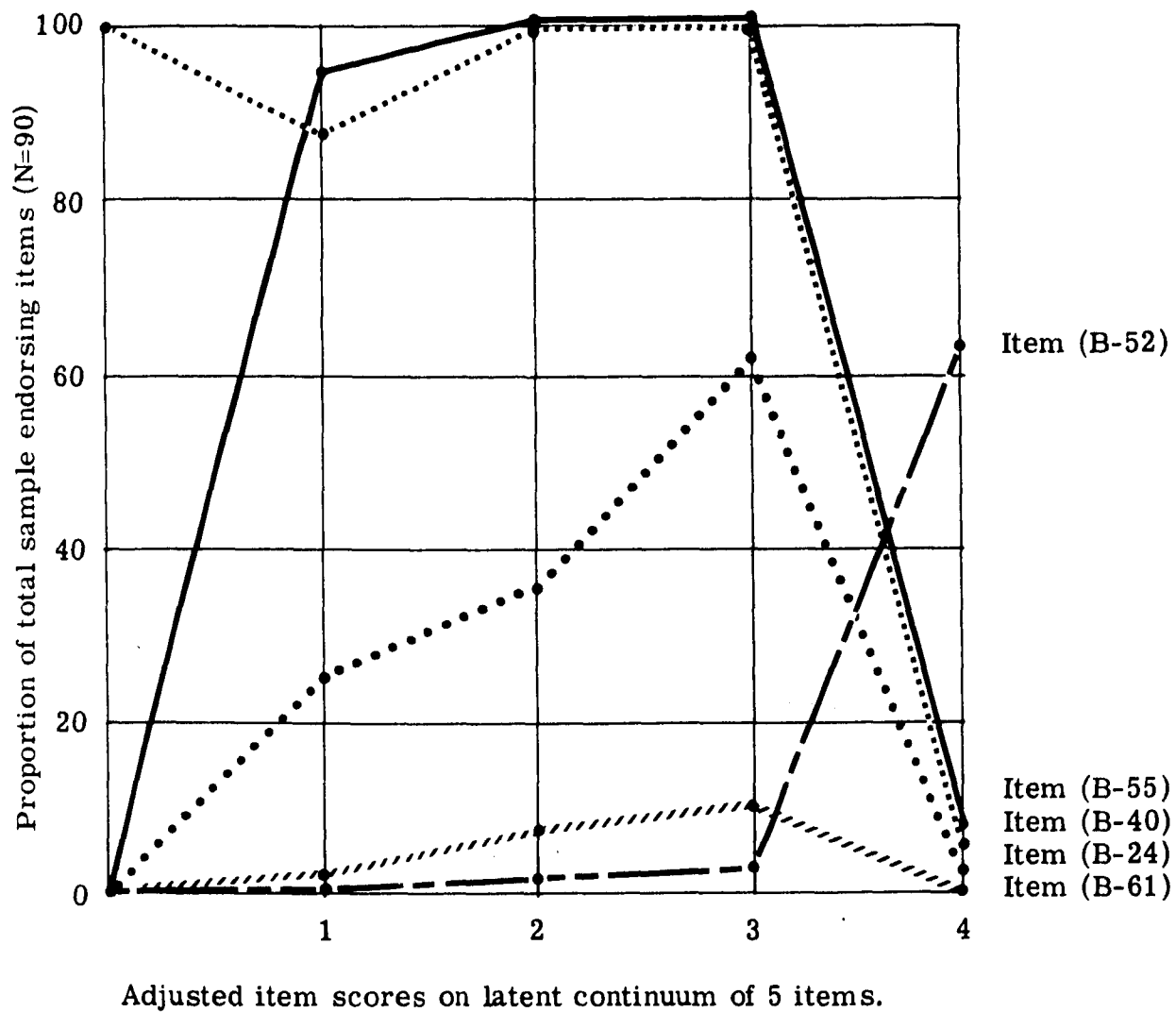
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 4 items.

Appendix K, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Individual Opportunity, Desire for Achievement, Success and Upward Mobility consisting of Items B-17, B-21, B-30, B-36, B-38, and B-50.

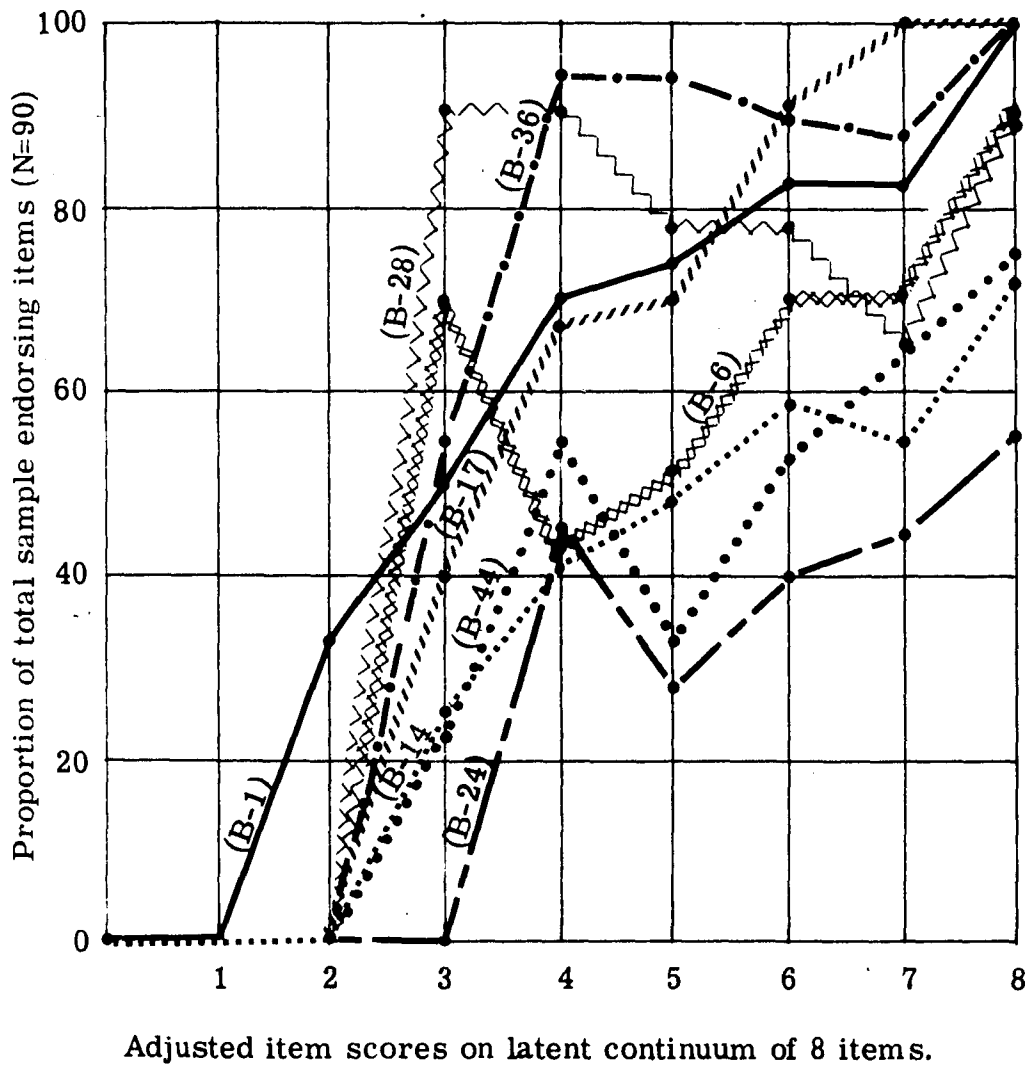


Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 6 items.

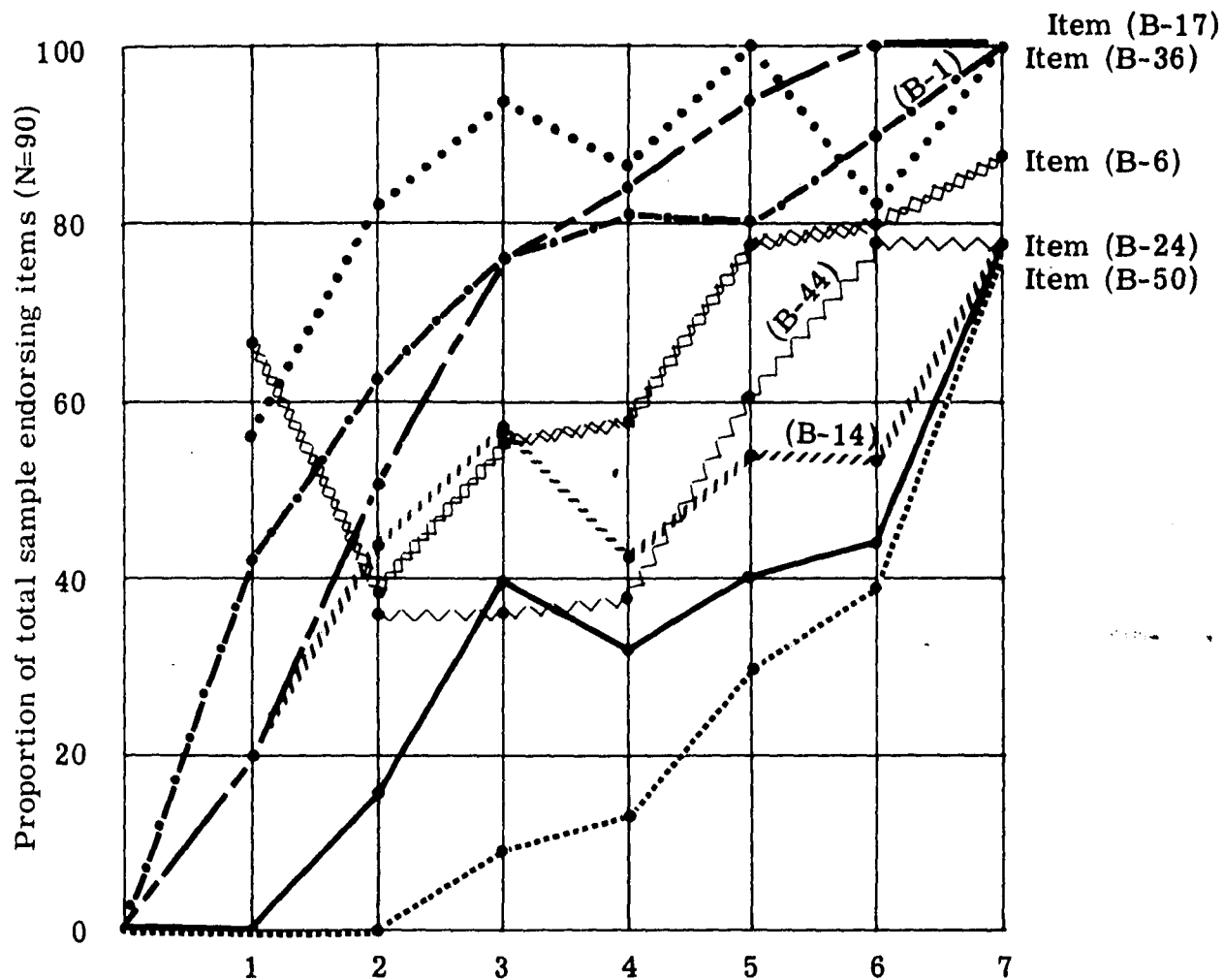
Appendix L, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of the Rigors and Demands of Leadership consisting of Items B-24, B-40, B-52, B-55, and B-61.



Appendix M, A Trace Line Plot of the Free Enterprise Creed- A, consisting of Items B-1, B-6, B-14, B-17, B-24, B-28, B-36, and B-44.

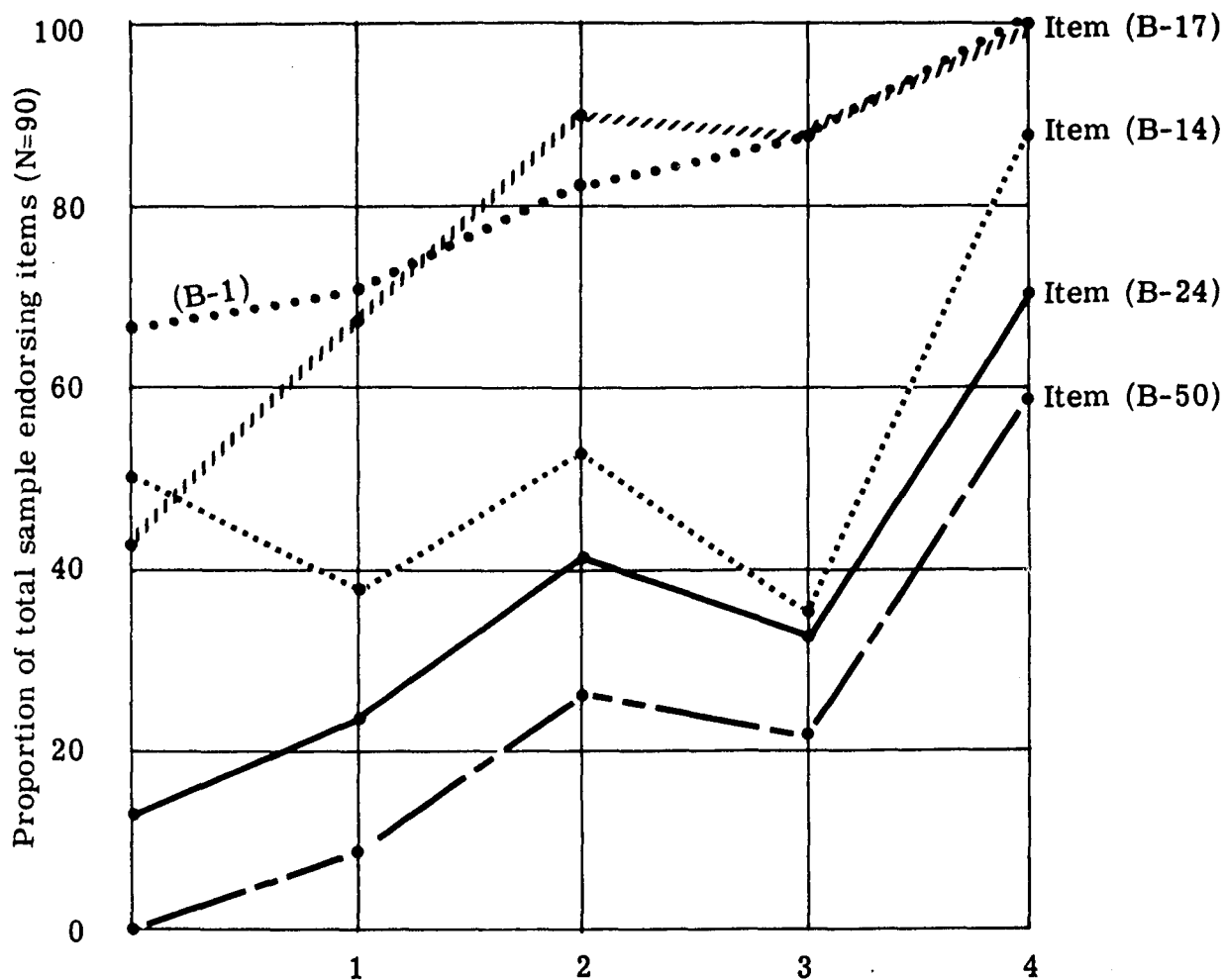


Appendix N, A Trace Line Plot of the Free Enterprise Creed - B, consisting of Items B-1, B-6, B-14, B-17, B-24, B-44, and B-50.



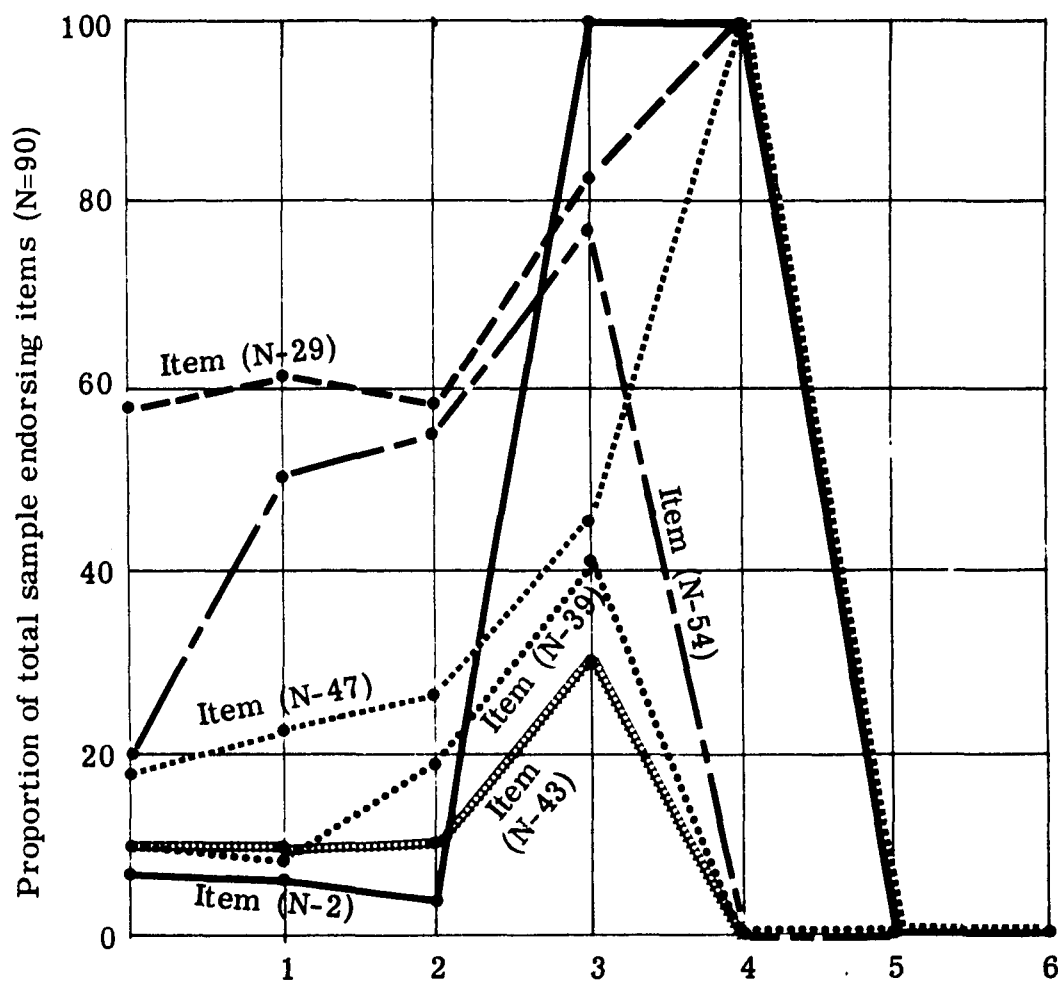
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 8 items.

Appendix O, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Individualism consisting of Items B-1, B-14, B-17, B-24, and B-50.



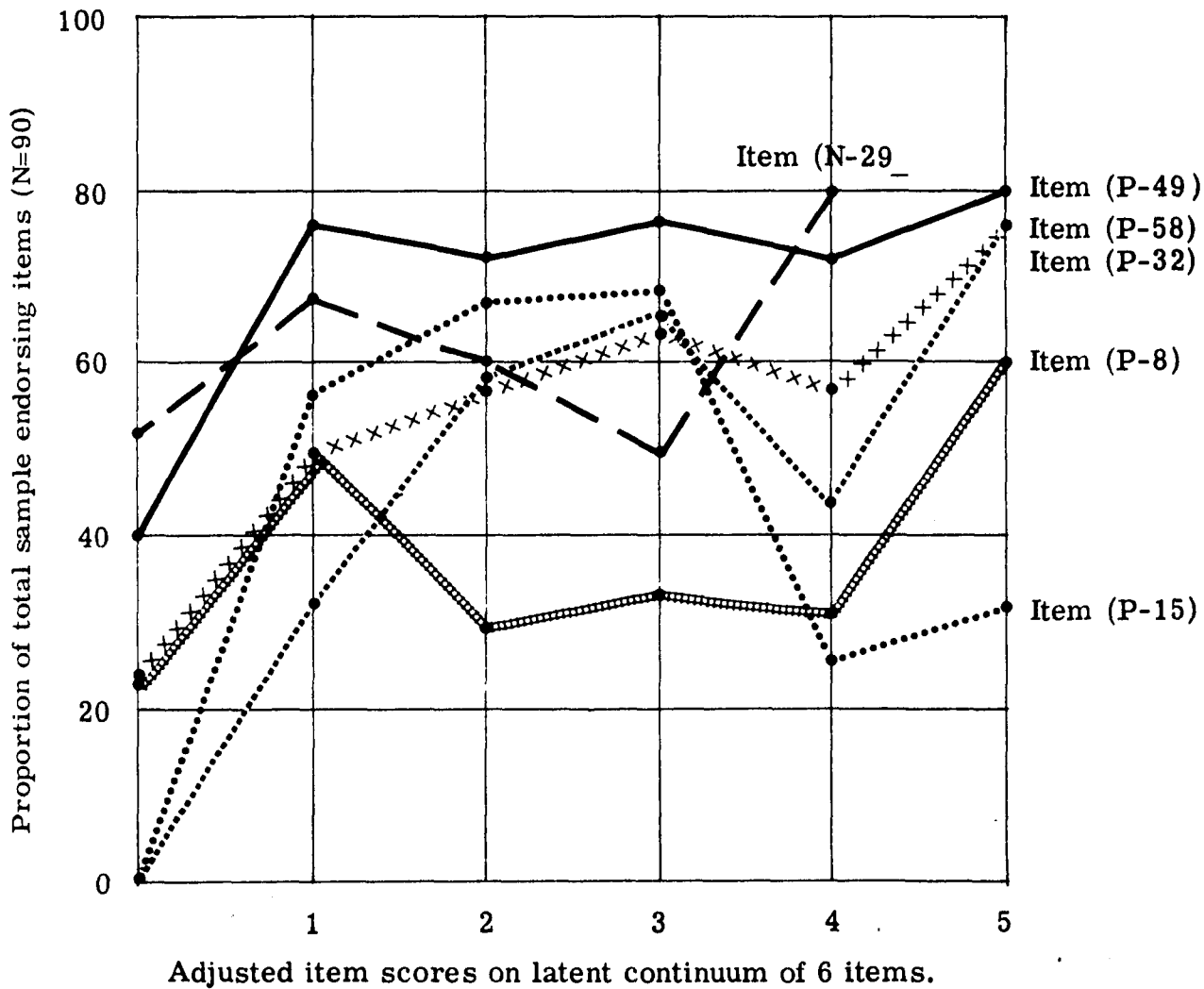
Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 5 items.

Appendix P, Index of Cooperative Economic and Occupational Normlessness
consisting of Items N-2, N-29, N-39, N-43, N-47, and N-54.

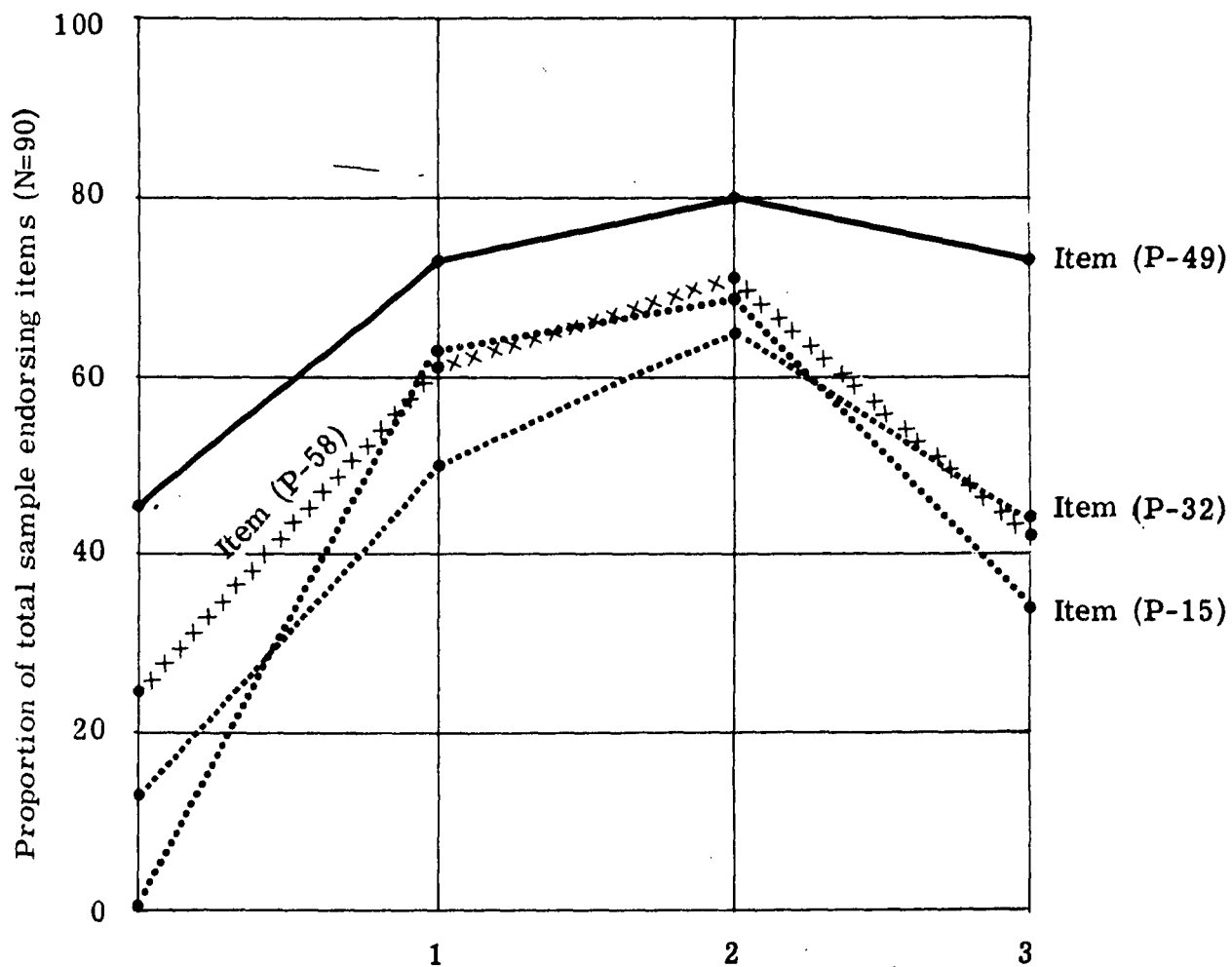


Adjusted item scores on latent continuum of 6 items.

Appendix Q, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Economic Powerlessness-A, consisting of Items P-8, P-15, P-32, P-49, P-58, and N-29.



Appendix R, A Trace Line Plot of the Index of Economic Powerlessness - B, consisting of Items P-15, P-32, P-49, and P-58.



Appendix S, Index of Isolation from Social Interaction in the Community consisting of Items S-4, S-9, S-22, and S-25.

A Trace Line Plot was not drawn because of the low marginals. Ex:

<u>Item</u>	<u>% Endorsed</u>
S-4	30.0
S-9	15.6
S-22	7.8
S-25	5.6

Appendix T, The Interview Schedule Used*

Michigan State University
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Michigan Cooperative Study

Manager, Board Member, Farmer Member Schedules
For interviewer use only:

Interviewer's name: _____
Date of interview: _____
Interview started: _____
" terminated: _____

Sample Number: _____
Book Number: _____
Schedule Number: _____

Respondent: (M, B, F)

Cooperative name: _____
Town: _____
Respondent's name: _____
Check one:
Manager _____
Board Member _____ (Present
Office _____)
Farmer Member _____

PERSONAL INFORMATION

In this section we would like to get some information about you as a person and about your activity with the Co-op.

1. What is your age (to nearest birthday)? _____
2. What is your marital status:
 - 2.0. Widower _____, and have been for _____ years.
 - 2.1. Divorced or legally separated for _____ years.
 - 2.2. Single _____
 - 2.3. Married and have been for _____ years.
- 2b. Sex: Male _____ Female _____
3. What was your father's occupation (or that of the person who reared and supported you for most of your pre-working life)?

Interviewer: Get a complete description such as "owned and operated a 250-acre farm while he worked as a mechanic in a stamp plant 3 miles away, which employed 200 people who lived in a small town of 2,000 located in the rocky farm land area of southern, northern Michigan").

4. Estimate the largest amount of total income which your father received during any one calendar year.

_____ Less than \$2000	_____ \$6000 to \$6999
_____ \$2000 to \$2999	_____ \$7000 to \$7999
_____ \$3000 to \$3999	_____ \$8000 to \$8999
_____ \$4000 to \$4999	_____ \$9000 to \$9999
_____ \$5000 to \$5999	_____ \$10,000 to \$11,999
	_____ \$12,000 or more
5. What was your grandfather's occupation? _____

*Three separate interview schedules were used. Different and variations of questions were asked of managers, board members, and farmer members. For economy of space, the three schedules were collapsed into one schedule. Items which differed are coded: M-Manager, B-Board Member, F-Farmer Member. If not coded, the item was the same for all three samples.

6M. What was the last year of school that you completed? (Circle one)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

6BF. How many acres do you farm? _____

Do you own all of this acreage? Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

If no, how many acres do you own: _____

Acres rented or leased _____

Other _____

Don't know _____

What are the major types of farming you do?

7M. Of the courses you took in school, which ones do you feel gave you the kind of knowledge which serves you best in your present job?

1. High school _____ 2. College _____

7E. What kind of training do you think a man should have before you would recommend him for a job as Co-op manager?

7F. Can you tell me something about the type and size of the farms in this area?

18M.

20B. Type of farming (dairy, fruit, wheat beans) Proportion of farmers of this type.

8BF. Would you encourage a young man to seek employment with a local cooperative engaged in the same type of business as this cooperative?

Yes _____ No _____ If yes, why? _____

If no, why? _____

9+. Of the major products and supplies which are handled by your Co-op, would you tell me what products you use most often? (Probe for feed, seed, and farm supplies.)

19M.

20B.

List product:

Brand Name:

Others: _____

OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION: JOB HISTORY

We would like to know about the kinds of jobs you have had in the past and how you got into management. Let's start with your present job. How long have you been with this co-operative? Years _____ Months _____.

(Interviewer: code the years worked on each job by marking a 1 for each year on that job; start with and include present job. Code a 2 for each year on the job before the present one, a 3 for the one before that, etc.)

10M. Year	11M. Past Employer (by type of business). Start with present job and work back. How long have you been a Co-op manager here?	12M. Code Job Sequence	13M. What was your job title; i.e., what kind of work did you do?	14M. 15M. How did you feel about your past jobs? Do you think they were necessary experience in preparing for your present job? <u>Yes</u> <u>No</u> <u>Why</u>	16M. What types of training and experience do you think would have been better background for your present job (if any)?
1961					
1962					

Comments:

17M. Now I would like to get more information about your operation, especially in relation to competition.

What do you consider to be the trading area; i.e., how far around your store do you consider the best area to be in terms of service and location of your patrons? Here is a map of your area, would you draw a line around your location which shows where your customers are located?

20M. Of the products listed in 19M, could you estimate the percent of mark-up which you get? _____

21M. Which of these do you feel are best received by your patrons? (Check best received) Read list back to respondent one at a time and record mark-up.

<u>% Mark-up</u>	<u>Dollar Value</u>	<u>Best Received</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

22M. What is the total dollar value of all these items which you purchased in the last fiscal year?

\$ _____

23M. What is the total dollar volume of all products purchased for the last fiscal year?

\$ _____

24M. How much of this are products which you buy from farmers and resell?

\$ _____

25M. Generally, how would you say this cooperative stands in relation to the competition in this area?

Size:

_____ It's larger than the competition.
 _____ It's about the same as the competition.
 _____ It's smaller than the competition.
 _____ Don't know.

Gross Sales:

- ☐ Its gross sales are much higher.
☐ Its gross sales are about the same.
☐ Its gross sales are much lower.
☐ Don't know

Net Profit:

- ☐ Its net profit is much higher.
☐ Its net profit is about the same.
☐ Its net profit is much lower.
☐ Don't know.

- 26M. In regard to the gross market in your area for things which you process and sell, could you estimate the total amount spent by farms annually in this area for:
(if respondent doesn't know, code blanks DK (don't know)).

<u>Product</u>	<u>Total Amount Spent Annually</u>	<u>What Proportion of That Market Do You Get?</u>
Feed	_____	_____
Seed	_____	_____
Grain	_____	_____
Fertilizer	_____	_____
Farm Supplies	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____

- 27M. Considering the facilities of your Co-op, do you feel you are (it is) getting your
23B. (its) share of the market?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If no, what share do you think you (it) should have? _____%

If no, do you have any sale or market programs planned which you (it) hope will get the share of the market you (it) desire(s)? Yes ☐ No ☐

What type of program(s) have you (they) planned? _____

How long will it take you (them) to accomplish these programs? _____

We would like to know how you feel about your (the Co-op manager's) job: Here are some statements about the manager's job. Some people agree with them, while others disagree. As I read them to you, please tell me if you agree or disagree with each statement.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
28M. A good cooperative manager is one who gets offers for		
10BF. better jobs.	_____	_____
29M. A good cooperative manager is one who devotes his life to		
10BF. one cooperative.	_____	_____
30M. Being a Co-op manager is more important than just having		
10BF. a job.	_____	_____
31M. A Co-op manager is disloyal if he accepts a job with a		
10BF. big company.	_____	_____
32M. A good Co-op manager should take time on the job to read one		
10BF. or two Cooperative trade journals	_____	_____
33M. A good Co-op manager should go to state and regional meet-		
10BF. ings for Co-op managers regularly.	_____	_____
34M. All things considered, a good Co-op manager gets better		
10BF. information by talking to other managers than by talking	_____	_____
to his Co-op members.		

35M. From whom do you expect the best quality for the fairest price

11BF. when you deal with them:

Large Cooperatives

Large privately owned suppliers

Local suppliers

Don't know

Which Ones

36M. A Co-op manager (A Cooperative) should purchase all of his (its)

12BF. supplies from large cooperatives because:

_____ He (They) believe(s) in the cooperative idea.

_____ Cooperatives must support each other to survive.

_____ He (They) get(s) the best price in the long run.

_____ He (They) get(s) the best service in the long run.

_____ (If) None of the above (why or why not)? _____

_____ Don't know.

_____ Other.

37M. A Co-op manager (A cooperative) should buy the same type of product from more

BF13. than one supplier because:

_____ He (It) can play one against the other and get the best deal.

_____ His (Its) customers benefit from a variety of brands.

_____ This is the way a good manager should act (BF: This is the way a good business should operate.)

_____ Don't know.

_____ Other.

38M. As the manager of this cooperative, how would you say you are considered by the community?

14BF. How do you think the manager of your cooperative is considered by the community?

_____ A very important part of the community.

_____ An important part of the community.

_____ Not a very important part.

_____ Not important at all.

_____ Don't know.

_____ Other.

39M. How active would you say your board members are in the affairs of the Co-op?

15BF. How active would you say most members are in the affairs of the Co-op?

_____ Very active

_____ Fairly active

_____ Not very active

_____ Not active at all

40M. Would you say that all of the interests of various sections of the membership

16BF. are equally represented by your board?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Don't know

Which interest groups are over represented? _____

Which are under-represented? _____

41M. Is there a harmonious atmosphere among the board members or is there consider-
17BF. able bickering and strife?

☐ Harmonious
☐ Strife
☐ Don't know

42M. If you were picking the board would you pick these men or different ones?
18BF.

☐ Same
☐ Different
☐ Don't know

If different, what type of men would you pick? _____

43M. Are there one or two men on the board whom you use to "sound out" before you
present a new idea or program to the board?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

If yes, do these men usually help you to see the idea to the other board members?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

If yes, can you think of some examples? _____

44M. Would you say that one or two men on the board tend to influence the rest on
19BF. most issues?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

M. If yes, are they usually the ones you "sound out?"

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

B. If yes, would you say that you are one of those who influences others?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

If no, what type of person usually influences others? _____

20F. Do you think the board and the manager don't pay enough attention to the wishes
of the membership?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

Some people believe that today's competition makes it hard for a local Cooperative to survive by itself. These people think that big organizations of Co-ops may be the answer.

1. We would like to know how you feel about this. As things stand now, are you for or against this Co-op becoming part of a larger Cooperative?

_____ For _____ Against _____ Don't know

- a. If for, (1) why are you for it? _____

(2) is there any particular large Co-op you'd favor joining up with?

_____ Yes _____ No

If yes, which one? _____

- b. If don't know (1) please explain: _____

(2) is there any particular Co-op your local Co-op should consider joining up with? _____

- c. If against (1) why are you against it? _____

(2) under what conditions would you consider changing your mind? _____

(3) is there any large Co-op you'd consider joining up with? _____

(Ask the following forced-choice questions regardless of his favorable or unfavorable response.)

- (4) Here are a set of conditions co-op people might take into account if they had to consider whether this Co-op should join up with a larger one. Which of these make you think more favorably about it?

Managers:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
If the salary would be higher.	_____	_____
If there would be a better chance of getting ahead.	_____	_____
If there would be good fringe benefits (such as retirement plan etc.).	_____	_____
If I could be sure of keeping this job.	_____	_____
If I could keep control over the operation.	_____	_____
If I were to be relieved of some of the pressures of this job.	_____	_____
If the farmer members would be for it.	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

Board Members:

If the board could keep a say in the decisions affecting the local Co-op.	_____	_____
If the service would be better.	_____	_____
If the patronage would be higher.	_____	_____
If prices would be lower.	_____	_____
If the farmer member would be for it.	_____	_____
If the manager would be for it.	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

Farmer Members:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
If the service would be better.	_____	_____
If the patronage would be higher.	_____	_____
If the prices would be lower.	_____	_____
If the manager would be for it.	_____	_____
If the board would be for it.	_____	_____
If the farmer members could retain some control over the question.	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

(5)M Which of the following would make you think more unfavorably about it?

If the board would be against it.	_____	_____
If the farmer members would be against it.	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

B If the rest (or most) of the board would be against it.	_____	_____
If the farmer members would be against it.	_____	_____
If the manager would be against it.	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

F If the board would be against it.	_____	_____
If the manager would be against it.	_____	_____
If the other farmer members would be against it.	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

46M. You undoubtedly have many salesmen calling on you to solicit business. How many different salesmen call on you in an average week?

No. _____

47M. Do you feel that there are too many salesmen calling on you?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

48M. Would you say that salesmen are your major source of information on the technical aspects of products?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

If no, where do you get the technical information necessary to make a decision to buy? _____

49M. Would you say that most salesmen spend too much time with "small talk?"

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

If yes, would you rather have a salesman tell you about his product and leave in a hurry?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

50M. Do you think there is such a thing as "sales personality?"

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

- 51M. Do you think a salesman should be aggressive in the way he approaches you to make a sale?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

If no, should he be low pressure? _____

- 52M. What are the sales techniques used by salesmen which are most likely to get you to buy his product?

- 53M. Do you ever accept special favors from salesmen (like letting him buy you meals, etc.)?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

If yes, does this influence you to buy from him? _____

If no, why not? _____

- 54M. Do you think a salesman's job is an easy one?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

If yes, why? _____

If no, why? _____

- 55M. Do you feel that your job as manager is more difficult than that of a salesman?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Don't know

If yes, why? _____

If no, why? _____

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