

THE KFU: A STUDY IN THE DYNAMICS OF A
VOLUNTARY AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION

by

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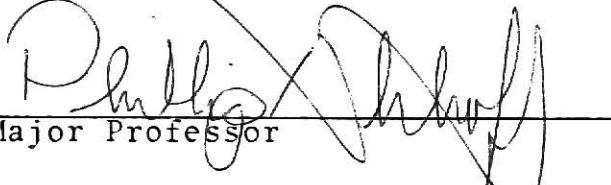
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Chapter One

Introduction

The study of voluntary associations is a comparatively recent one, dating from Arthur Bentley's The Process of Government, published in 1908. Following Bentley's pioneering work, other authors, such as David Truman in The Governmental Process, attempted to clarify and to modify the writings of Bentley. All three of the authors emphasized the role the "group approach" played in establishing the final equilibrium position of the political and economic system. As Bentley stated, "the great task in the study of any form of social life is the analysis of these groups," and he contended, "when the groups are adequately stated, everything is stated. When I say everything, I mean everything."¹

Closely associated with the idea of "group theory" in political science is the concept of pluralism. The original concept of pluralism was conceived by a group of thinkers who philosophically described the role groups played in determining the content of political and economic systems.² Having developed the concept, they failed to pursue the empirical study of the group's "...forms, mutations, and permutations in a scientific spirit."³ As a result, it has been left to the modern

political scientist to undertake the empirical study of groups and become what Latham described as "analytical pluralists."⁴

Prominent authors on voluntary associations have dealt primarily with the group as a singular organism, neglecting the individuals who makeup the association as of trifling importance. Instead, it was the combined interests, attitudes, and pressures of the individuals which warranted study by these authors. The scope of their studies tended to deal with analyzing the effects groups had on the political system and ignored "...what causes groups to organize and act effectively."⁵ Because of this shared attitude, authors such as Bentley and Truman held little regard for the functioning of an association's internal structure. "Organization," according to Truman, "indicates merely a stage or degree of interaction."⁶ Bentley considered formal organization of individuals even less important, holding that they are only a "technique" designed to improve the spirit and efficiency of the group, but which have little effect on the results of the organization's endeavors.⁷

Although past authors on voluntary associations dispel the importance organizational structure plays in an association's success, more recent authors, such as V.O. Key, Harry Eckstein, Mancur Olson, Jr., Grant McConnell, and Harmon Zeigler, do not concur.⁸ These authors point out in their various works how the

organization of voluntary associations has an impact on their effectiveness in attaining goals. As recent history has shown, the highly organized, tightly knit, vested interests have achieved a greater degree of success in their lobbying efforts than the large, unorganized interests. A major factor in the success of these highly organized, tightly knit voluntary associations is that they enjoy a relatively high degree of support from their rank-and-file members. As in the case of most voluntary associations, if they can demonstrate that they indeed enjoy such a level of support, it facilitates their effectiveness in achieving their desired goals.

Support for the associations of today does not manifest itself as Bentley and Truman conceived. Olson states that:

They have assumed that if a group had some reason or incentive to organize further its interest, the rational individuals in that group would also have a reason or an incentive to support an organization working in their mutual interest.⁹

While the above statement may have some credence, it is not the most important reason why members support their association; rather, it is their satisfaction with the organization's benefits. Although satisfaction does not directly equate support, without satisfaction, meaningful support for the association would be low, and its effectiveness would be hampered. As such, satisfaction is a basis for determining the level of support that an

association enjoys, since it does indicate its presence and its relative strength.

The organizational structure of a voluntary association provides a visible focal point for its members, a focal point from which they can gauge their level of satisfaction. Nowhere else in an association can members succinctly view and analyze the process whereby the individual's raw resources are collectively processed to achieve desired goals that produce both individual and collective benefits. As members determine their level of satisfaction with the benefits provided them through the association's organizational structure, they are also establishing a level of support for the association which can be empirically measured by "analytical pluralists."

This paper will explore how the concept of membership satisfaction with the benefits provided through a voluntary association's organizational structure indicates support for that association by examining a sample of the rank-and-file members of the Kansas Farmers Union (K.F.U.). In addition to exploring the concept mentioned, a number of other important "associational dynamics" will be examined in addition to it.

Justification of the Research Problem

Research concerning the area of voluntary associations has been undertaken since Bentley's original work because voluntary associations play a major role in the political

and economic processes of plural societies like that of the U.S.A. Their presence and implications for the processes mentioned date back to James Madison's warning about the "dangerous vice of what he termed 'factions',"¹⁰ and more recently W.O. Keys' statement that "interest groups have existed since the founding of the Republic, yet the great proliferation of organized groups came in the Twentieth century."¹¹ Their abundance, visibility, and influence warrant a study such as this one.

Although many noted authors have directed their research efforts to the study of voluntary associations,¹² their direction has been one that does not emphasize the internal dynamics of the voluntary association. The majority of early research dealt only with describing what constituted a voluntary association and with its impact on political-economic processes.¹³ Early group theory was based on philosophical assertions that went unchallenged for decades until writers such as Mancur Olson, Jr. presented new ideas on what causes associations to form and how important the individual member is to the overall association considering the size of the total group. Still, relatively little research has been directed at studying the attitudes, characteristics, and impact of rank-and-file members on the overall association. This lack of concern for studying the above mentioned areas appears to be a result of the point of view that numbers, i.e., rank-and-file members, seem to be the least important

resource of an association that deserves study. As Harry Eckstein states in Pressure Group Politics:

...the size of the group may itself be reckoned among its resources, although brute size is never likely to be of crucial account. This is partly a matter of the other resources it commands -- its wealth, prestige, whether it has easy access to public opinion and to influential persons.¹⁴

Another reason for this "...lack of emphasis of studying the rank-and-file membership can be attributed to the dominance of elite behavior theories of decision making."¹⁵ Contrary to these views, the determination of "the politically effective size of a group"¹⁶ and the association's basic resource, membership support, can best be obtained by studying the rank-and-file membership.

The study of a voluntary association within a particular state can be extremely important if the primary source of the state's economy parallels the primary interest of the voluntary association. Such is the case in this paper since the K.F.U. is a general agricultural association and the Kansas economy is dominated by agriculture. During each session of the Kansas legislature, a bulk of the legislation considered deals with agriculture, and the K.F.U. is only one of many agricultural associations involved in trying to influence the outcome of agricultural legislation. Even so, there remains a lack of knowledge about: (1) the association in general; (2) the constituency of the association in particular;

(3) the "politically effective size" of the association; and (4) the association's level of representativeness and support.

Although the K.F.U. is a voluntary agricultural association, its selection as the association to be examined in conjunction with the concept previously mentioned was also due in part to its: (1) relative newness, having officially been rechartered in 1974; (2) rank as the second largest general agricultural association in Kansas; and (3) lack of previous study according to its present leadership and a search of the relevant literature. The K.F.U. also offers a relatively unique setting for the exploration of an association's organizational structure because of its structural simplicity. Unlike the other agricultural associations in Kansas which are extremely hierarchal in nature, the K.F.U.'s structure should make it easy for its members to have an accurate perception of it. The final reason for studying the K.F.U. is that it will also be the first state affiliate of the National Farmers Union to be studied within the context of this paper.

In summary, the research topic of developing an empirical measure of group support based on the membership's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided through the association's organizational structure was chosen because it has never been dealt with by any of the previous authors on voluntary associations and because it hopefully

will shed some new light on the area of study chosen known as group theory. The K.F.U. was chosen as the research focus because it represents an important agricultural voluntary association in Kansas and has never been studied before from an academic point of view.

Major Research Questions

Although this paper directs its primary attention towards developing a measure of support for a voluntary association by ascertaining whether or not the rank-and-file members of the K.F.U. are satisfied with the benefits provided by its organizational structure, the paper will also concentrate on developing and presenting a series of corollary "associational dynamics". These corollary "associational dynamics", socio-economic status, ideology, and integration, play an intervening role in the process through which the members develop an overall level of satisfaction with the benefits generated by the organizational structure. As such they are integral components in the process of answering the major research question: What is the present level of support for the K.F.U. among its rank-and-file members? In order to develop these three "associational dynamics" into research questions that will help answer the major research question, the relationship between each of them and the organization's structure must be explored.

An organization's structure does not take its form solely on the basis of any particular variable. Rather,

the structure an organization adopts is a result of various other associational dynamics (variables) acting as a screen through which various models and forms of organizational structure are filtered. In this filtering process the structural model that is adopted for use becomes a unique variation due to the influence of these various associational dynamics. As Grant McConnell points out, "a deepseated particular ideology will favor certain kinds of organizations,"¹⁷ and as John A. Crampton noted in his study of the National Farmers Union, "a study of the Union's structure is a study in the difficulty of blurring the impact of ideology."¹⁸ Ideology is an important associational dynamic that plays a role in the filtering process and thus must be considered. A major research question for Chapter Two of this paper which concerns ideology is: What is the member's present level of ideological congruency with the stated ideology of the K.F.U., and how might it affect the member's level of satisfaction with the K.F.U.'s organizational structure?

Another important associational dynamic that is a factor in this filtering process is socio-economic status. Harmon Zeigler points out that "...it is therefore to be expected that the membership in an ideological group will be typified by certain class, educational, or income levels."¹⁹ As an indication of the relevance of Zeigler's comment to the K.F.U., it has been pointed out that "the Farmers Union is commonly distinguished from the Farm

Bureau and the Grange as the organization of the farmer who is not well off."²⁰ If this is the case, a voluntary association such as the K.F.U. that consists of those farmers whose socio-economic status is lower than other farmers, must have an association whose organizational structure takes account of that factor.²¹ It is then also important to consider the variable, socio-economic status, as a factor in determining a member's level of satisfaction with the organizational structure. In order to determine its role in answering the major research question, socio-economic status will be the focus of another research question in Chapter Two -- namely: Does a member's level of socio-economic status predispose that member towards accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology?

The last important associational dynamic to be considered in answering the major research question in this paper is the concept of integration. If integration is a principal of organizational structure, as David E. Lindstrom suggests in American Farmers' and Rural Organizations,²² then when an association develops its organizational structure, one of the factors affecting its development will be integration. It appears then that the group experience, and affiliations of an individual are significant in that:

...they produce in their participants certain uniformities of behavior and attitude that must be achieved by the individual if he is to be a completely accepted member of the group.²³

The process of integration is the means whereby the member achieves "certain uniformities of behavior and attitude" and is directly linked to the form of organizational structure an association adopts. It is the organizational structure that provides the various levels of opportunities to members in which to participate and become integrated into the association. The member's overall level of satisfaction with the organizational structure is thus contingent to some intervening degree upon the member's satisfaction with the level of integrative opportunities afforded them by that structure. In order to examine this factor of integration, Chapter Three attempts to answer the research question: What is the member's present level of integration within the K.F.U. and does that level of integration affect support for the organizational structure of the K.F.U.?

After examining the intervening variables that are dealt with in Chapters Two and Three, Chapter Four of this paper will be concerned with identifying, developing, and measuring the member's level of satisfaction with the basic organizational structure of the K.F.U. The research question that will be answered in Chapter Four is: What is the members' present level of support for the K.F.U. based upon their level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the organizational structure?

In Chapter Five all of the previously mentioned variables will be considered together to determine which

one of them has the greatest degree of causality in terms of the member's overall satisfaction with, and support for, the organizational structure. Determination of which variable has the greatest degree of causality will significantly help in attempting to answer the overall major research question and hopefully provide the information necessary to point out which component of this new measure of membership support for a voluntary association might be crucial for future studies.

Research Methods

Research Population and Research Sample

The research population for this study consisted of all those individuals who were members in good standing of the K.F.U., i.e., with dues paid as of January 1, 1976. Thus, the total number of K.F.U. members eligible for inclusion in this study, i.e., the research population, was 5,230. Using the 5,230 members as the research population, 2,000 members were randomly selected to receive a mailed questionnaire. The process of selecting the 2,000 members randomly was achieved by assigning a number, ranging from 0001 to 5,230, to each member in the total population. After the numbers had been assigned, a table of random numbers was used to achieve the selection of 2,000 members. Thus, the 2,000 members selected were the sample population.

Before initiating the process of selecting the 2,000

members to be included in the sample population, two categories of eligible members were deleted from the K.F.U.'s membership rolls. The first category of eligible members left out were those memberships held by various agricultural business institutions, such as cooperatives and feed processors. The second category left out consisted of those having out-of-state addresses. The combined total of the two categories was less than thirty. This procedure was utilized because the study was designed to obtain data from the Kansas family farmer in terms of his relationship to the K.F.U.

Research Instrument

The research instrument was a mailed questionnaire consisting of five sections and a cover letter, written by K.F.U. President, Dale Lyons, was included. The questionnaire was sent out to the 2,000 in the sample population and 326 or 17 percent of the members sampled returned the questionnaire.

The questionnaires was mailed from the K.F.U. headquarters in McPherson and returned to the same. No mention was made, either in the cover letter supplied by the K.F.U. or in the questionnaire, of the data being used for academic research. This was done in the hopes of gaining the confidence of the respondents since it was felt the sample would be more likely to respond to a K.F.U. sponsored study rather than to a university-based survey. For a detailed examination of the questionnaire and the cover

letter, see Appendix I.

Section one of the questionnaire was devoted to obtaining relevant socio-economic data about the respondents. These data were necessary because of two reasons important to the study. The first was that the nature of the research population was unknown, and the second was that socio-economic data were needed to answer the research question dealing with whether or not socio-economic status predisposes members to accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology and thus organizational structure. Obtaining the socio-economic data was also important because it would allow for the determination of what types of farmers actually belong to the K.F.U. In general, section one contained questions to age, education, farm income, spouses job status, non-farm job status, and area of residency in the state by county.

Section two was devoted to obtaining data about the respondent's farming operation. This section was designed to determine the respondent's specific agricultural status by asking a series of detailed questions concerning the scope and intensity of their present farming endeavor. Section two was, in a sense, then, an extension of section one for the data obtained from section two were combined with those from section one to determine the respondent's level of socio-economic status. In general, questions in section two pertained to farm size, types of farm production, acquisition of land, dollar value farming

operation and equipment, and amount of indebtedness.

Section three was devoted to obtaining data on the respondent's views of the K.F.U.'s organizational structure by means of a series of open-ended and closed-ended attitudinal questions relating to the organizational structure. This section was extremely important for it dealt directly with ascertaining the member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the present organizational structure of the K.F.U., which is the foundation for answering the major research question. In general, questions in this section asked the respondent to rate the effectiveness and efficiency of the organizational structure, to analyze the various costs incurred by the member in receiving the various benefits, to rate the benefits received, and to offer recommendations concerning the organizational structure.

Section four was devoted to asking the respondents to "...respond to some questions and statements about you and your relationship with the Kansas Farmers Union." The data that were obtained from this section provided insight into determining the respondent's level of present integration and his/her satisfaction with that level of integration. In general, the questions and statements in section four pertain to asking the respondent about length of membership, offices and activities participated in, rate of attendance at local meetings, membership in other organizations, and identification of present officers and structure.

The fifth, and final section in the questionnaire was devoted entirely to obtaining data on ideology and public policy. This was achieved by asking the respondent a series of close-ended attitudinal questions on the two subjects, ideology and public policy. The questions in section five provided the information necessary to determine the respondents degree of ideological congruency and whether or not the level of ideological congruency affects the member's level of satisfaction with the organizational structure. In general, questions centered around the areas of family farming, collective bargaining, types of farm programs, corporate farming, and government's role in agriculture.

Data Analysis

In analyzing the data obtained from the responses to the questionnaire, this paper will undertake: (1) to identify which of the variables are independent and dependent; (2) to construct single indices for each of the variables from their respective set of multiple indicators; (3) to gauge the effects of the various independent variables on the dependent variables in an individual fashion; and (4) to establish the effect the independent variables have collectively upon the dependent variable by utilizing a causal model. The points listed above have been ordered in a step-wise manner that should facilitate the analysis and provide answers to the research questions posed.

As pointed out previously, the focus of this study is to determine a voluntary association's level of support based upon the member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the organizational structure of that association. As such, organizational structure is the dependent variable. In order to examine fully this proposition, three possible independent variables, socio-economic status, ideology, and integration have been presented to determine if, in fact, one of these independent variables intervenes in some significant manner with the process whereby a member develops his/her level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the association's organizational structure. However, the three variables just noted as independent variables affecting the dependent variable, organizational structure, will also be analyzed in a format which will view ideology as a dependent variable affected by the independent variable, socio-economic status, and which will also view integration as a dependent variable affected by the independent variables, socio-economic status and ideology.

The concepts that are represented by the four variables mentioned are discussed in the literature²⁴ as being highly complex in nature. This complexity can be attributed to the fact that numerous descriptions of each concept are found in many texts which differ as to the proper or correct descriptions of the concept being discussed, i.e., integration, as described differently by Lindstrom, Truman, Crampton, etc. Because these concepts

are complex, one cannot adequately measure them through the use of any single indicator. Instead, in the process of operationalizing the concepts, a series of multiple indicators was selected for use in order to measure the concept under consideration. The problem that arises with multiple indicators is that, unless some type of summary measure is used to represent them collectively, their value is minimized because each independent indicator must be separately tabulated with all the other indicators of the dependent variable. In order to alleviate this problem and gain maximum use of the multiple indicators, the construction of indices is justified.

The creation of indices in political research serves a twofold purpose. The first is a result of the desirability to use multiple indicators of a concept in order to attain maximum reliability and validity in its measurement. In order to devise a single unit of measurement for a concept based on multiple indicators, an index is an appropriate measurement devise. The second purpose of an index is that it allows for the relatively accurate determination of the status of a collective group of respondents on numerous variables. The particular construction process for each of the four variables will be discussed individually as they appear in the study.

The relationship that will be examined in this study are summarized in Figure 1.1 which indicates the chapters within which the various variables are considered as

either independent or dependent with the arrow always pointing in the direction of the dependent variable. Each of these relationships will be presented for examination through the method of contingency table analysis, i.e., crosstabulation. "Crosstabulation is a joint frequency distribution of cases according to two or more classificatory variables."²⁵ By presenting the relationships in a joint frequency distribution, they can be statistically analyzed by applying certain tests in order to determine whether or not a significant relationship exists. The statistical tests to be used in the cross-tabulations are: (1) chi square; (2) Goodman's and Krushall's gamma; and (3) Kendall's Tau-beta.

Figure 1.1

The variable inter-relations to be explored
in Chapters II, III, and V

| <u>Chapter II</u> | | <u>Chapter III</u> | |
|-----------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|
| SES | Id. | SES | Int. |
| | | Id. | |
| <u>Chapter V</u> | | | |
| | Id. | | |
| SES | | Org. Benefits | |
| | Int. | | |
| SES = Socio-economic status | | Int. = Integration | |
| Id = Ideology | | Org. Str. = Satisfaction with | |
| | | Organizational | |
| | | Structure Benefits | |

Chi square is a statistical test that determines whether or not the variables are statistically independent. As Barbara Smith et al. states in Political Research Methods, "this nominal statistic only tacitly tells whether one variable is related to another, and it does not tell anything about the direction."²⁶ Chi square allows one to evaluate the frequencies that have been obtained in terms of determining whether or not they "differ significantly from those which would be expected under a certain set of theoretical assumptions."²⁷ Because of its diffuse range, specially zero to infinity, chi square's usefulness lies in the area of establishing if there are any relationships warranting further analysis between variables.

Gamma and tau-beta are the next statistical tests to be used and they indicate that the level of data which is being analyzed is of an ordinal nature. Through the process of transforming the various nominal and ordinal sets of multiple indicators for each of the four major variables into indices of high, medium, and low categories, the ordinal level data requirement for use of these two statistical tests have been met. Gamma will be the first measure of association considered.

Gamma is a measure of association between two ordinal variables; it measures the predictability of the order on one variable from the knowledge possessed concerning the order on a second variable. Through the

use of gamma, the strength of the association between variables may be outlined differently than is the case with chi square, because of gamma's proportional reduction in error, P.R.E., interpretation. A P.R.E. statistical test, such as gamma and tau-beta, is based on the assumption that one can improve the predictability of the dependent variable by an increase in knowledge of the independent variable. Thus, it reduces error. Gamma ranges from -1.0 through 0 to +1.0.

Tau beta is also an applicable measure of association for variables measured at the ordinal level. Its usefulness is also accentuated by its P.R.E. interpretation, but, unlike gamma, it is the most stringent of the ordinal measures of association. This measure of association is more stringent than gamma because it takes into account all pairs that are tied on both the independent and dependent variables.²⁸ As a result of this consideration, tau beta always yields the lowest numerical relationship in comparison to the other ordinal measures. Tau beta also ranges from -1.0 through 0 to +1.0.

As a part of the analysis in chapter five of this study, a causal model will be developed and presented in order to examine further the interrelationships among the four major variables examined -- namely, socio-economic status, ideology, integration, and organizational structure. Implicit in the motivation to develop a causal model around the four major variables is the underlying need of research in political science to be ultimately concerned

with cause. "Specifically, a need exists for theories which are testable in terms of various and cumulative interactions between and among the various relevant variables, i.e., through the use of a causal model."²⁹ The causal model provides the research tool with which one can determine the causality between variables. Given the nature of the data used in this study, the causal model will provide a means by which it will be possible to gain considerable understanding of a given set of interrelationships by making causal inferences on the basis of knowledge about which model best fits a given set of empirical data.

Conclusions

Following the introductory chapter of this paper, Chapter Two will begin with a discussion of the role ideology plays in a voluntary association and will then investigate the possibility of ideological predisposition based upon socio-economic status. Prior to the analysis of the relationship between ideology and socio-economic status, a general survey of the member's characteristics will be discussed. Chapter Three concentrates on establishing what integration is, and how it plays a major role in the functioning of a voluntary association. The analysis of this chapter will explore the possibility of how integration, socio-economic status, and ideology affect each other in relation to the member's level of

satisfaction with the K.F.U.'s ideology and degree of integration.

Chapter Four is devoted to answering the major research question presented in the paper. The chapter will begin by discussing the concept of organizational structure and its possible measurement through the member's level of satisfaction with the various types of benefits it produces. The remainder of the chapter will focus on analyzing the results obtained from creating an index of organizational structure based upon the member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the K.F.U.'s organizational structure. Chapter Five will begin with an analysis of which of the three independent variables, discussed in Chapter Two and Three, accounts for the greatest influence in a member determining his/her level of satisfaction with the benefits of the organization's structure, the dependent variable. Following this analysis, the case for developing and using a causal model to enhance the analysis of the major research question will be discussed. The causal model will then be developed and the results will be analyzed in terms of attempting to make causal inferences from the model used about the variables involved. Chapter Five will conclude with a presentation and discussion of the major conclusions found in this study and their implications for the K.F.U. and voluntary associations in general.

The design of this paper is such as to facilitate the

full examination of the major research question by affording a chapter by chapter development of the various independent variables to be related to the dependent variable presented last. This format allows for a complete assessment of what the variables are, how they affect the association's existence, why they are important variables to be considered in answering the major research question, and to what extent do they account for the answer to the research question posed. The stepwise design of this paper will also aid the reader in making critical assessments of the results found.

Chapter One Footnotes

1. Arthur F. Bentley, The Process of Government (Evanston, Ill.: Principia Press, 1949), pp. 208-209.
2. Earl Latham, The Group Basis of Politics (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952), p. 9.
3. Ibid., p. 10.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 122.
6. David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951), p. 36.
7. Bentley, The Process of Government, p. 442.
8. See V.O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, 5th ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), Chaps. 2-6; Harry Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), Chap. 1; Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action. Chaps. 1, 2, and 5; Grant McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), Chaps. 2, 3, 6, and 7; and Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), Chaps. 1, 2, 3, and 8.
9. Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, p. 127.
10. Harmon Zeigler, "Interest Groups in the States," in Politics in the American States, ed. Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965), p. 102.
11. V.O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, p. 128.
12. See footnote number eight for a substantial list of the authors and their works on interest groups.
13. See primarily Bentley's The Process of Government, and Latham, The Group Basis of Politics.
14. Harry Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics, p. 34.
15. Robert Eye, "Cohesion and Divisiveness in the Kansas Livestock Association" (unpublished Masters Thesis, Kansas State University, 1976), p. 1.

16. Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics, p. 34.
17. Grant McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy, p. 113.
18. John A. Crampton, The National Farmers Union (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 189.
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20. Crampton, The National Farmers Union, p. 55.
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22. See David E. Lindstrom, American Farmers' and Rural Organizations (Champaign, Ill.: The Garrard Press, 1948), p. 406 for a full discussion of this point.
23. Truman, The Governmental Process, p. 21.
24. See the previous works cited above that relate to each specific concept discussed earlier.
25. Norman H. Nie, et. al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), p. 218.
26. Barbara Smith, et. al., Political Research Methods (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1976), p. 233.
27. Herbert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), p. 275.
28. For a full explanation of this factor, see Blalock, Social Statistics, p. 300.
29. Phillip Althoff and David Brady, "Toward a Causal Model of the Recruitment and Activities of Grass Roots Political Activists"

Chapter Two

Socio-Economic Status and Ideology in the Kansas Farmers Union

Introduction

In terms of a pluralistic model of American government, one finds a vast array of voluntary associations participating in the various arenas of social and political conflict. The voluntary association under study in this paper is the Kansas Farmers Union (K.F.U.). In the process of examining the K.F.U., one finds that it has a set of discernible properties that provide information about the nature and character of the association. There is one property, however, that upon close examination, affords a greater degree of insight into the association's character than any of the others, and that is its ideology. The ideology of a voluntary association directly shapes much of the rest of the organization in areas such as structure, direction, goals, and development, and provides the members with a "philosophical hitching post."¹

The definition of ideology ranges from simple assertions of its basic attributes to complex statements of variable interaction. Disciplines other than political science also offer various definitions of what ideology is today.² Regardless of their origin and semantic differences,

all the definitions have as cornerstones, the concepts of ideology being "a set of opinions and beliefs about the proper ordering of society or the proper solution of some social problem,"³ and of its function as a guide in pursuing the means necessary to attain those solutions. As a result, a voluntary association without an ideology will not be a voluntary association for long.

Ideologies do not manifest themselves to a group overnight; rather, their occurrence is, as Robert E. Lane states in Political Ideology,

the individual does not select an ideology as a person selects a new car; the process, criteria, alternatives, expectations are largely, but not wholly unconscious. Nor does a group frame an ideology as it might, through certain leaders, frame a constitution. The ideology is a slow emergent product rooted in social character, culture, and history.⁴

Since the ideology is refined continually throughout the development of any voluntary association, it becomes a multi-purpose tool to fit that organization's various needs. Lane, again, in Political Ideology, points out that in the arena of social conflict between rival groups, "each group must morally justify its place in the conflict to retain loyalty of members, and spokesmen elaborate political ideologies that accomplish this."⁵ An ideology then provides a rationalization for a group's existence.

Ideologies also furnish direction to the group by providing purposes and goals to members, by being a standard from which ideas and opinions maintain consistency,

and by providing for the practical organization of the goals and ideas. In the day-to-day activities of voluntary associations, the ideology becomes a visibly functional instrument in their quest to achieve goals through providing a means "to coordinate common effort, enlist men for the tasks to be done, legitimize the group's authority, reduce anxiety and anomie among members, and protect the group's boundaries."⁶

For the voluntary agricultural association, such as the K.F.U., the ideology has been used to "try and transform local and regional biases, shaping instead an effective farm public and incidentally increasing organization cohesion."⁷ If an ideology can cut through various geographical biases, then is it also unaffected by certain socio-economic attributes of individuals, or does the ideology have a particular congruence with a certain set of socio-economic factors? This question is important to a voluntary agricultural association in order to determine if the ideology transcends socio-economic variables or is captured by them. This chapter will undertake, as one of its purposes, to study and analyze the interaction between group ideology and member socio-economic status in the K.F.U.

If the statement, "a man's economic life modifies his ideology,"⁸ is absolutely true, then one would find that the historical ideology of any group would be dependent for its content and acceptance by members upon relative economic considerations. If this is the case,

it is important for the voluntary association to find out if there is a relationship between the current socio-economic status of a member and his/her acceptance of support for that organization's ideology. In the possibility of finding such a relationship, one would question seriously the absoluteness of the concept that an ideology withstands time and escapes change. More importantly in regard to the K.F.U., the appearance of such a relationship between a specific socio-economic strata and the group's ideology would refute the K.F.U.'s claim to be a general farm organization that represents all types of farmers regardless of farm size, wealth, etc. The research question that will give direction to this area of analysis is: Does a member's level of socio-economic status predispose that member towards accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology?

Following the analysis of the previously stated research question, the remaining investigative efforts in this chapter will be directed toward answering the other research questions applicable to the concept of ideology -- namely, what is the member's present level of ideological congruency with the stated ideology of the K.F.U., and how might it affect the member's level of satisfaction with the K.F.U.'s organizational structure? In answering the above research question at this point in the paper, the groundwork will be laid for a later, more detailed analysis of this "associational dynamic" in relation to the major

research questions presented and analyzed in chapters Four and Five.

Operationalization

In order to answer the research questions concerning whether or not members of the K.F.U. are differentially socio-economically predisposed toward embracing the K.F.U.'s ideology, one has to select and define the socio-economic variables involved as well as select and define what the K.F.U.'s ideology was at the time of the survey. After identifying a series of appropriate indicators, it is advantageous to combine the various indicators into an appropriate index of socio-economic status and into an index of ideological identification to facilitate the analysis of the relationship between the two variables.

The preliminary selection of socio-economic indicators followed the standardized format of the United States census as well as that of other research that considers socio-economic status.⁹ The first indicators selected were age, education, and farm income. The remainder of the socio-economic indicators were selected because of their particular importance to the area of farming since they are factors that would reveal insight into the socio-economic status of farmers. These additional indicators were size of farm, gross dollar value of farming operation, dollar value of farm machinery, amount of

indebtedness in relation to the total value of the farming operation, and political affiliation. The last indicator was chosen because of trends in previous studies which indicate that certain political affiliations are related generally to particular socio-economic strata.¹⁰ Thus, addition of this indicator should yield in the final index a more total sketch of the actual socio-economic status of the members. All socio-economic indicators described above further suggest the nature of the agricultural way of life.

Selecting the appropriate indicators of the K.F.U.'s ideology was achieved by using two previous studies on the National Farmers Union as well as the K.F.U.'s present ideology as benchmarks. John A. Crampton's The National Farmers Union: Ideology of a Pressure Group is devoted entirely to identifying and discussing the role of ideology in this particular voluntary association.¹¹ In the text, he describes a series of ideological concepts that he concludes are interwoven throughout the entire organization; including the various state organizations. Lane and Smith's "A Study of the Ideology and Legislative Goals of Three Kansas Farm Organizations: Kansas Farm Bureau, Kansas Farmers Union, and Kansas Livestock Association" identifies and compares the ideologies of the three main Kansas voluntary agricultural associations, including the K.F.U., in terms of their legislative goals.¹²

Both studies used personal interviews, organizational publications, other pieces of organizational literature in order to derive the respective ideology for, among other voluntary agricultural organizations, the K.F.U. Using the two studies as benchmarks, six distinct areas of the K.F.U.'s ideology were selected to form the ideological variable indicators. The indicators appeared in the questionnaire under the format of corresponding policy statements to which the respondent could agree, remain neutral, disagree, or have no response. The six indicators were: (1) overall farm program; (2) collective bargaining in agriculture; (3) the preservation of the family farm; (4) the role of incorporation in farming; (5) corporate farming; and (6) sense of rural disadvantages.

Creating the index of socio-economic status was achieved through an additive process of combining various variables in a stepwise procedure which resulted in one final index. Before initiating the additive process, each of the individual socio-economic indicator's foils were recorded into corresponding foils of high, medium, and low. Therefore, using this procedure yielded a final index of socio-economic status that was similarly divided into categories of high, medium, and low.

An index of ideology was achieved through a similar additive process. First, each of the individual ideological variables with multiple indicators were collapsed. Following this step, the individual variables foils were

recorded into corresponding foils of high, medium, and low. Achieving a high/medium/low value for the foils was determined after evaluating how the agree/disagree dichotomy related to the idea of liberalism/conservatism, given each variable. The final step in creating the index was the adding together of all six of the recorded variables.

The procedure of creating an index can be accomplished by adding anything together, but it may not be a meaningful index if the individual variables are most reliably associated with each other before they are added together. In order to establish the reliability of the various individual variables in the index of socio-economic status, all the variables were correlated with one another using the Pearsonian product-moment correlation. Out of a possible forty-five correlations, twenty-two significant correlations were found spread throughout the variable matrix, with the remaining correlations being of relatively low significance or of no significance at all. The four variables with the greatest correlations with one another were farm income, farm size, gross dollar value of farm operation, and value of farm machinery. All correlations among these four variables were greater than .40 (Pearson r). Age was negatively related to education, farm income, farm size, and amount of indebtedness (correlations between $-.24$ and $-.35$). Education and indebtedness showed slightly positive correlations with the four central SES

variables. Political affiliation was unrelated to everything. The apparent reliability in over half of the possible correlations between such diverse variables seems to justify the creation of the index using these variables. (See Table 2.0).

In assessing the reliability of the individual variables of ideology, a different procedure was utilized. Having previously determined their correctness as mainstays in the K.F.U.'s ideology through a process of content analysis of the 1976 issues of the K.F.U.'s periodical, Kansas Kontact, it was assumed that their reliability with one another was sufficient since each was already an integral component of K.F.U.'s total ideology to warrant their being added together to create an index of ideology.

Findings

Frequency readings on various individual indicators of socio-economic status reveal several notable insights into the general characteristics of this organization which will also benefit the later analysis of the two indexes. The mean age of K.F.U. members is 54 years; thus it is slightly higher than the mean age, which is 51.1 years, of all Kansas farmers. The largest portion of K.F.U. members, 57 percent, falls into the 45-64 age category. Only 8 percent of the members are between the ages of 18 and 30. This information is reflective of the nationwide farm populace, that is few relatively young people are engaged in agricultural production.

Table 2.0

Intercorrelations between the variables composing
the index of socio-economic status

| | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | Total Index |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------|
| 1. Age | -.26 | -.24 | -.27 | -.01 | -.18 | -.33 | .06 | -.26 | -.08 |
| 2. Education | | .13 | .13 | .07 | .07 | .13 | -.08 | .18* | .34* |
| 3. Farm Income | | | .57* | .48* | .51* | .17* | -.03 | .82* | .72* |
| 4. Size farm | | | | .42* | .46* | .08 | .08 | .80* | .73* |
| 5. Gross dollar value farm operation | | | | | .40* | .01 | -.02 | .70* | .63* |
| 6. Dollar value farm machinery | | | | | | .15* | .02 | .76* | .68* |
| 7. Amount Indebtedness | | | | | | | -.01 | .37* | .29* |
| 8. Political Affiliation | | | | | | | | .01 | .28* |
| 9. SA 3** | | | | | | | | | .76* |

* significant at .05 or less

** SA 3 is a variable that is composed from the other variables of #3, 6, 7, 8, and 9.

The mean size of farm for K.F.U. members was 821 acres. Twenty-three percent of the members operate farms of 240 acres or less, while 31 percent operate farms ranging in size from 241 acres to 680 acres. The remainder of the membership, 45 percent, operate farms ranging in size from 681 acres to 14,000 acres. Slightly more than half, 55 percent, operate farms of less than 680 acres.

In contrast to what many non-farm people might assume, the educational level of this group of farmers is quite high. The plurality of the membership, 44 percent, have high school diplomas, and 31 percent have attended some college and/or have received college degrees. Less than 25 percent did not complete high school.

Attempting to compare K.F.U. income figures with the states census income figures was not possible because of different recording units. However, the K.F.U.'s member's average gross farm income was \$39,000, with 43 percent of the member's falling into the \$20,000-\$59,999 category. When considering the average gross farm income for the members, one may assume this to be a rather sizeable income within which to live today. The three indicators which point out the fallacy of this assumption and indicate the real difference between similar gross incomes for agricultural and non-agricultural families are gross dollar value of farm operation, dollar value farm machinery, and amount of indebtedness. Approximately 91 percent of the sample report the gross dollar value of their farming

operation as between \$50,000 and \$499,999. Only 9 percent reported a gross dollar value of their farming operation over \$500,000. The dollar value of farm machinery variable indicated that 91 percent of the members had equipment valued at between \$24,000 and \$99,999. The majority of the members, 61 percent, responded that their current amount of indebtedness was 25 percent or less of the total value of their entire farming operation. These figures demonstrate clearly that the present nature of agricultural production in Kansas is highly capital-intensive.

In attempting to answer the research question, does a member's level of socio-economic status predispose that member toward accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology, the analysis utilized will consist of an examination of the various relationships between each of the six individual ideological variables and the single index of socio-economic status. Following this analysis, a final table relating the index of ideology to the index of socio-economic status will be presented.

Table 2.1 presents the N and the percentage which describe the relationship found when crosstabulating the dependent ideological indicator, overall farm program, with the independent variable, index of socio-economic status. The category, overall farm program, was taken from the question, "should the federal government provide for a meaningful price stability in the agricultural

sector of the economy." This component of the K.F.U.'s ideology is exemplary of its quest for a truly public government that will serve the needs of all citizens by aiding the agricultural process to help insure the populace of a steady and equitable supply of food and fiber. Farmers are in the business of producing food for a worldwide population, not in the business of market and price speculation, although present governmental policies force them to be involved. This fact manifests itself in their demand that they be reimbursed for the cost of production including some meaningful sum for their expended labor.

Table 2.1

Overall Farm Program by the Index of
Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Ideological Congruency | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | Totals |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Low | 20.5% (9) | 8.0% (9) | 4.2% (1) | 10.6% (19) |
| Medium | 9.1 (4) | 12.5 (14) | 16.7 (4) | 12.2 (22) |
| High | 70.5 (31) | 79.5 (89) | 79.2 (19) | 77.2 (139) |
| Total | 100% (44) | 100% (112) | 100% (24) | 100% = 201 |
| $\chi^2 = 6.78$.05 gamma = .20 tau beta = .09 | | | | |

The percentages in this table demonstrate a very high overall acceptance (77.2 percent) of this ideological variable. The single highest level of acceptance among the socio-economic status categories is 79.5 percent, which is found in the medium socio-economic category. In addition to the cell just cited, the other two cells on each side of it, low (70.5 percent) and high (79.2 percent), within the category of high ideological congruency, indicates that members concur on this ideological variable regardless of socio-economic status. The three statistical tests applied to this crosstabulation indicate the same conclusion. The chi square value of 6.78 fell far below the .05 significance level, thus indicating that there is no relationship between these two variables. A gamma of .20 and a tau-beta of .09 confirm this result. The gamma and tau-beta values suggest an extremely weak negative relationship as well as the absence of the independent variable having any appreciable predictive capability in terms of the dependent variable.

Table 2.2 presents the N's and the percentage for the ideological variable, collective bargaining and the index of socio-economic status. In determining a summary measure of this ideological variable, three attitudinal questions relating to the concept, feasibility, and the role of collective bargaining in agriculture today were combined. The K.F.U. ideology holds that the free market system of today is an example of semantic absurdity as a

result of the oligopolistic nature of the few private corporations active in the various commodity areas. Because of this, farmers can attain fair prices only by collective action in marketing ventures such as the FAR-MAR-CO wheat marketing pool. High ideological congruency with this variable will be attained by the member if he/she agrees with the principle of collective bargaining that it represents.

Table 2.2

Support for Collective Bargaining by the
Index of Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Ideological Congruency | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | Totals |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Low | 4.1% (2) | .8% (1) | 0% (0) | 1.5% (3) |
| Medium | 14.3 (7) | 8.7 (11) | 7.7 (2) | 10.0 (20) |
| High | 81.6 (40) | 90.5 (114) | 92.3 (24) | 88.6 (178) |
| Total | 100% (49) | 100% (126) | 100% (26) | 100% = 201 |
| $\chi^2 = 4.61$.05 gamma = .32 tau beta = .11 | | | | |

The percentages show that a sizeable majority of the members fall into the category of high ideological congruency throughout the various socio-economic categories. Eighty-nine percent of respondents show ideological congruency

with Farmer's Union policy in the area of collective bargaining, while only 1.5% showed low ideological congruency. Few Farmers Union members believe in the so-called free market as a mechanism to attain a fair economic return for their products. The chi square value of 4.61 falls short of the .05 significance level, and, along with a gamma of .32 and tau-beta of .11, support the contention that no relationship exists between the two variables. As a result of these statistical tests, one can conclude that there is no case for a socio-economic predisposition to this component of the K.F.U.'s ideology.

Preservation of the family farm in the K.F.U.'s ideology represents a statement which in effect declares that this unit of agricultural production is as efficient in terms of production as larger scale enterprises (such as the farm that is owned by an individual which employs a hired labor force outside of the immediate family to perform the duties needed to produce agricultural products) and, along with certain other objective economic reasons,¹³ deserves to be protected for present and future generations. This belief is evidenced in its demand that the United States Department of Agriculture and the land-grant university system divert their policy and research efforts toward improving the smaller production unit rather than large-scale production units. This ideological variable was composed of three various attitudinal questions on the subject of family farming which asked whether or not

it is as efficient in production as larger units, if it is worth saving as an economic and political entity, and if it has a meaningful role to play in America's future.

Table 2.3

Preservation of Family Farm by the Index
of Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Ideological Congruency | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | Total |
| Low | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Medium | 0 (0) | 3.2 (4) | 3.8 (1) | 2.5 (5) |
| High | 100 (49) | 96.8 (122) | 96.2 (25) | 97.5 (196) |
| Total | 100% (49) | 100% (126) | 100% (26) | 100% = 201 |
| $\chi^2 = 1.69$.05 gamma = -.57 tau beta = -.08 | | | | |

Table 2.3 presents a rather unique set of data in relation to the other ideological variables in so far as there are no cases in the category of low ideological congruency across all SES categories. 97.5 percent of the members agree strongly with the family farm ideological component. The chi square value of 1.69 falls well below the significance level of .05 indicating no relationship between the variables. The gamma value is -.57, suggesting a substantial negative association between the

variables, but when considering the more stringent tau-beta, $-.08$, the gamma value must be considered misleading due to its more lenient nature as a test of association. The results of the statistical tests point out that there is no valid case for predisposition on the ideological variable of preservation of the family farm based on a member's level of socio-economic status, primarily because virtually all members are in agreement.

The ideological variable, role of incorporation, represents a component of the K.F.U.'s ideology which deals with the farmers present concern over maintaining and transferring the family farm to other members in his/her family. The prospect of incorporating ones farm offers the farmer the opportunity to ease the legal burden of transferring it to ones family members by creating a farming corporation that benefits from various corporate laws presently in the statute books of Kansas. Incorporation of a farm also provides the farmer with a method to insure that his/her agricultural land will be used only for agricultural purposes in the future and cannot be sold to anyone for other purposes. Although the incorporation idea appears useful to farmers, there is some disagreement among members of the K.F.U. as to its actual value. This disagreement centers around the argument that incorporation of a family farm, at best, may minimally aid in the transfer of the family farm to ones children and that the notion to deciding the farm's future

disposition may pose legal constraints to those who inherit it and do not want to continue farming. The problem is compounded by a belief among farmers that the cost of attorney's fees sometime outweigh some or all of benefits of inheritance. This disagreement seems apparent in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4

Role of Incorporation by the Index of
Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Ideological Congruency | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | Total |
| Low | 8.2% (4) | 3.2% (4) | 3.8% (1) | 4.5% (9) |
| Medium | 2.0 (1) | 11.1 (14) | 19.2 (5) | 10.0 (20) |
| High | 89.8 (44) | 85.7 (108) | 76.9 (20) | 85.6 (172) |
| Total | 100% (49) | 100% (126) | 100% (26) | 100% = 201 |
| $\chi^2 = 7.82$.05 gamma = -.22 tau beta = -.08 | | | | |

Table 2.4 presents the crosstabulation between the ideological variable, role of incorporation, and the index of socio-economic status. Cell values for each of the socio-economic categories appearing across the category of high ideological congruency are substantially larger than those in any of the other remaining cells. Averaged

together these cells account for 85.6 percent of the total members represented in the table. This sizeable number demonstrates a high degree of agreement with the K.F.U.'s belief on the role of incorporation as previously described. Although the incorporation issue seems to have some drawbacks that the K.F.U. makes clear in its policy statement, very few members are found in either of the remaining categories of ideological congruency. The medium category averages only 10 percent and the low category averages only 4.5 percent. The chi square value of 7.82 is close to being significant, but still falls short of the .05 level of significance. The gamma of -.22 and tau-beta of -.08 indicate that the variables are essentially independent of each other and thus that socio-economic status is not a factor in the members determining his/her position on this ideological variable. The results of the statistical tests also show that the relationship between the variables is curilinear, and not linear, as the chi square is positive and the other two measures are negative.

Corporate farming is an ideological area in agriculture that has produced clearly defined lines of division among the various farm organizations. The K.F.U.'s ideology holds that corporate farming threatens the future of family farms through the corporations disruption of an already unbalanced market system by the method of tax loss farming. Because of the economic hardships incurred by family farmers, many have been forced to sell out to

corporations that have available surplus money which they use to invest in property, thus raising the price of land and reducing land ownership among individuals substantially. Corporate farming also poses a direct threat to the economic and political foundations of rural communities. As Table 2.5 indicates there is substantial agreement on the part of the members with this ideological component.

Table 2.5

Corporate Farming by the Index of
Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Ideological Congruency | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | Total |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Low | 2.0% (1) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0.5% |
| Medium | 0 (0) | 3.2 (4) | 11.5 (3) | 3.5 (7) |
| High | 98.0 (48) | 96.8 (122) | 88.5 (23) | 96.0 (193) |
| Total | 100% (49) | 100% (126) | 100% (26) | 100% = 201 |
| $\chi^2 = 9.87$.05 gamma = -.48 tau beta = -.11 | | | | |

The low, medium, and high socio-economic categories across the category of high ideological congruency averaged together account for 96 percent of the members. This high percentage indicates that the members in the K.F.U. strongly agree on this area of crucial concern to the

future of family farming. As in all the previous tables, the medium and low socio-economic categories reveal the highest areas of support for this ideological position. The results found in the category of low ideological congruency across all the SES categories are identical to that of Table 2.3 where 97.5 percent of the members highly agreed with the K.F.U.'s stand on preserving the family farm and only one case appeared in the same category of low ideological congruency across all the SES categories.

The relationship between the corporate farming issue and socio-economic status presents the first case where knowledge of the member's socio-economic status could be used to support the argument that the member is socio-economically predisposed in terms of his/her attitude on this issue. The chi square value of 9.87 slightly exceeds the .05 level of significance. The $-.48$ gamma indicates a substantial association between the variables, but again, this association must be contrasted to a tau-beta of $-.11$. The gamma and tau-beta associational significance tests point out that there is a slight tendency to accept the notion that knowledge of one variable, socio-economic status, strongly increases the probability of accurately predicting ones response to the other variable, corporate farming issue.

The last component making up the index of ideology is concerned with the sense of rural disadvantage, or

"the stepchild attitude," experienced by farmers in rural America. Since the industrial revolution and the steady growth of urban America, rural residents have felt that their particular economic group has suffered unjustly in relation to the nation as a whole. This attitude has been reinforced in recent years by the discoveries that poverty, poor health, poor nutrition, etc. are proportionately higher among residents of rural America than among the people of urban America.¹⁴ However, whether this attitude is justified among many Americans is as much determined by subjective criteria as it was in years past. Although it may be a subjective decision to many persons outside rural America, Table 2.6 shows that a large majority of K.F.U. members agree with the idea.

Table 2.6

Sense of Rural Disadvantage by the Index of
Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Ideological Congruency | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | Total |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Low | 16.7% (7) | 8.0% (9) | 4.3% (1) | 9.6% (17) |
| Medium | 4.8 (2) | 9.8 (11) | 4.3 (1) | 7.9 (14) |
| High | 78.6 (33) | 82.1 (92) | 91.3 (21) | 82.5 (146) |
| Total | 100% (42) | 100% (112) | 100% (23) | 100% = 177 |
| $\chi^2 = 4.84$.05 gamma = .24 tau beta = .09 | | | | |

Table 2.6 again establishes that there is a high degree of ideological congruency across all SES categories as each cell in the row of high ideological congruency accounts for the majority of cases in the corresponding socio-economic category. This table presents the first case where the category of low ideological congruency is larger than the category of medium ideological congruency across all SES categories. It seems readily apparent that the majority of K.F.U. members are also highly supportive of this ideological component. The chi square value of 4.84 falls well below the .05 level of significance. The gamma is .24, indicating no positive relationship between the two variables and the .09 tau-beta confirms that conclusion. Based on the statistical tests applied to this relationship, there is no evidence supporting the possible contention that a member's socio-economic status may predispose him/her to their stand on this ideological variable.

As previously indicated, the index of ideology was created through an additive process which combined the six individual ideological variables into one summary measure. Table 2.7 presents the results obtained by crosstabulating this summary measure of ideology with the index of socio-economic status. This table produces results which differ significantly from the other tables relating each individual ideological variable to the index of socio-economic status. The major reason for this

difference, especially when considering how similar five out of the six tables presented above are, is that this table takes into account only those members who gave answers to all the various component questions comprising both indexes. The result of this procedure is more indicative of the total character of the members because it accounts for all the variables interacting simultaneously which is more realistic of life situations.

Table 2.7

Index of Ideology by the Index of
Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Ideological Congruency | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | Total |
| Low | 13.8% (4) | 16.4% (10) | 29.4% (5) | 17.8% (19) |
| Medium | 37.9 (11) | 57.4 (35) | 41.2 (7) | 49.5 (53) |
| High | 48.3 (14) | 16.4 (10) | 29.4 (5) | 32.7 (35) |
| Total | 100% (29) | 100% (61) | 100% (17) | 100% = 107 |
| $\chi^2 = 6.39$.05 gamma = -.26 tau beta = -.16 $r = .018$.05 | | | | |

As the findings in Table 2.7 indicate, there is not a positive relationship between a member's level of ideological congruency and his/her level of socio-economic status. The table points out that a member of low socio-

economic status may still be highly congruent with the association's ideology as well as the possibility that a member of high socio-economic status may not be very ideologically congruent with the K.F.U.'s ideology. In addition to the above finding, we will notice that most of the respondents for both variables fall into the medium categories which could lead one to at first speculate that ideological congruency within the medium category occurs because of socio-economic predisposition. However, this apparent tendency exists only because most of the members responding to the survey are of the medium socio-economic class.

In Table 2.7, there is also a minority appearing in the low category of ideological congruency across all three socio-economic categories that averaged together, account for 17.8 percent of the members, who must disagree most of the time with the ideological position of the K.F.U.; yet they remain members of the association. This deviant minority spans the three SES categories rather evenly with a percentage difference between the average total percentage (17.8 percent) and each cell's individual percentage (13.8 percent, 16.4 percent, and 29.4 percent) of only 6.2 percent. Along with this noticeable minority is another one that runs down the far right hand column of the table in the high category of socio-economic status. This column accounts for 17 of the total cases (15.9 percent) in the table and is very evenly spread throughout

the three categories of ideological congruency. This distribution is sufficiently homogeneous that other variables in addition to socio-economic status must play a role in the member of high socio-economic status, developing a specific level of ideological congruency. By combining these two types of deviant cases, there appears a line of diffuse ideological support running along the top row and the far right hand column of the table, which is set against that of the members in the remaining cells of the table, all of whom indicate relatively solid ideological support for the K.F.U.

Considering the overall distribution in Table 2.7, the levels of significance obtained using the various statistical tests are not surprising. The chi square value of 6.39 falls short of the .05 significance level of 9.49. The gamma of $-.26$ and the tau-beta of $-.16$ indicate that the two variables tend to be independent of each other, with the negative results thus suggesting no meaningful association.

In addition to the three statistical tests mentioned, Pearson's correlation was obtained for the two variables, the index of ideology and the index of socio-economic status, yielding a correlation coefficient of $.018$ at a significance level of $.43$, which is far below the $.05$ level of significance. This correlation also tends to show that there is no relationship between these two variables. Taking this lack of a significant relationship

into account, one can conclude that socio-economic status does not, in any meaningful form, predispose the member of the K.F.U. to agree with the association's ideology.

In order to answer the other research questions in this chapter -- namely what is the membership's present level of ideological congruency with the ideology of the K.F.U. and how might it effect the membership's level of satisfaction with the K.F.U.'s organizational structure, one must look at the raw frequency data displayed by the index of ideology. This index was divided into the three categories of high ideological congruency (22.2 percent), medium ideological congruency (59.1 percent), and low ideological congruency (18.2 percent). As these figures indicate, over 81 percent of the membership is very satisfied with the K.F.U.'s ideology. This degree of satisfaction seems to be the major factor giving the member the ability to identify readily with the ideology of the K.F.U. Therefore, the K.F.U. does enjoy a strong degree of ideological congruency among its members given its ideology.

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, ideology plays an important role in the determination of the overall character of an association. Since it was noted that certain ideologies favor certain types of organizational structures, it could be assumed that ideology and organizational structure are to some degree reflective of one another. If the ideology of an

association is highly supported, and if the members adhere to it strongly, then it might be an indication that they also are satisfied with the organization's structure since that structure derives much of its salience from the association's ideology. There is, of course, the opposite possibility -- namely, that the association's ideology is highly supported by the organization's structure. If this were the case in the K.F.U., one would find a highly supported ideology to be the starting point, or perhaps even a point of entry for change,¹⁵ to rectify the problems found in the organizations structure. Whatever the case, however, it is possible that a member of an association would be satisfied with the organization's structure if that member was not first satisfied with and supportive of his/her association's ideology or vice versa.

Conclusions

The data presentation in all the tables analyzing the relationship between the six ideological variables and the index of socio-economic status, except for Table 2.5, produce results demonstrating that the members of the K.F.U. exhibit a tendency to be socially and economically indisposed in socio-economic terms toward accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology. Throughout the tables, the highest number of cases were found consistently across the row of high ideological congruence. The single cell which consistently claimed the largest percentage of cases was

the medium socio-economic status by high ideological congruence cell. The row totals of the final Table 2.7 were consistent with the percentage breakdown of cases in each category of the index of socio-economic status frequency distribution.

Reviewing the statistical tests for the seven tables, again excepting Table 2.5, reveals they supported the contention that the two variables, index of ideology and index of socio-economic status, were independent of one another. This same result was supported further by applying the Pearson product-moment correlation to the two variables; and this also indicated that there is no evidence supporting a case for ideological predisposition based on socio-economic status. Overall, the final table, along with the raw frequency distribution for the index of ideology, provided data illustrating that the K.F.U. has rather strong support from its members for its espoused ideology, and that the members also exhibit a high degree of ideological congruency with the association.

Finding such a sound supportive base for the K.F.U.'s ideology regardless of socio-economic considerations seemingly indicates the lack of a class consciousness among this group of farmers based on socio-economic factors. This statement is interesting when one studies closely the differences in actual socio-economic categories. For example, one would assume that there would be a considerable degree of difference in opinion and belief between the

farmer who makes a farm income of \$6,000 and the farmer with a farm income of \$140,000. In the case of this research, there does not appear to be a difference, but the probable explanation goes well beyond the supposition that, because they are all farmers, they are all homogeneous. On the contrary, farmers are characterized as the independent pioneers; yet, they all operate under a set of homogeneous cultural premises that have a powerful binding effect over them. These cultural premises are rooted in the writings of Locke and Blackstone, in the principles of the Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights, and in the common law of England. The cultural premises in this country are exemplified by such devices as:

(1) a strong sense of national identity, (2) the constitution, (3) popular rule, and (4) a belief in the equality of all men. Culture, rather than socio-economic factors, may be more of a key to understanding the lack of class consciousness.¹⁶ However, there is another factor which may also be of equal or greater importance: even though the findings indicate there is no relationship between ideological congruency and socio-economic status within the K.F.U., it does not mean that a relationship between them is not possible from some other aspect of looking at these two variables. Such a possibility exists if one were to look at K.F.U. members as atypical farmers, in that they may be members of the K.F.U. because of some form of initial self-selection along certain socio-economic

lines. Once they are members, the ideology of the organization blurs or erases any differences in ideology by socio-economic factors. One could seriously speculate that this may be the case in a solidarity group, as the K.F.U. appears to be, and is best exemplified by the high level of congruency of the members' views with the K.F.U.'s official positions.

Three of the tables, Table 2.3, Table 2.4, and Table 2.5, present a set of results which differ from the other tables in that each table contains a curvilinear relationship between the variables under study. The three variables were, preservation of family farm, role of incorporation, and corporate farming. In each of the tables in which the above three variables were matched with the variable of socio-economic status, a negative relationship was found using the tests of gamma and tau-beta. The general finding from these three tables is that there is a slight tendency among K.F.U. members of high socio-economic status to be more conservative in their views on these three issues than the remaining members of the K.F.U. This finding stems from the fact that many of these members have farming operations of such magnitude that they realize they are bigger than the family farm envisioned by the K.F.U., that they may benefit from incorporation more so than family farmers, and that corporate farming may not be all that bad since they are either close to being a corporate farming operation

or are one. Because of the reality of their situation, these higher SES farmers are not going to agree with ideological concepts that are harmful to their present way of livelihood.

The findings also point out that, in some specific instances, economic factors can affect directly ones attitude or beliefs on an individual issue, but that, in an overall sense, it does not either alter radically or even appreciably modify ones overall ideology. Because individual economic factors do not appear to alter the overall ideology of a member, there is indicated the possibility that, many particular ideological variables may be the direct descendant of a particular economic factor(s), but that the individual ideological variable loses its unique background factors as it is screened through the existing ideology and obtains a level of congruency with the rest of the ideological variables already present. The process for assimilating new ideological variables into an existing ideology is carried over a period of decades, such as the K.F.U.'s inclusion of their stand on corporate farming which has taken years to be fully articulated and then integrated into the association's long standing ideology. It would appear then, that, as in the case of the K.F.U., their ideology does transcend the expected socio-economic biases of its members and is probably more readily accepted by those members because of their similar cultural heritage.

Chapter Two Footnotes

1. John A. Crampton, The National Farmer's Union (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 164.
2. See Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962) for an abbreviated list of definitions of ideology from various disciplines on pages 13-15. Another text offering a list of definitions on ideology may be found in Robert E. Douse and John N. Hughes, Political Sociology (London: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd., 1972).
3. Crampton, The National Farmers Union, p. 234.
4. Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology, p. 425.
5. Ibid., pp. 418-419.
6. Ibid., pp. 424-425.
7. Crampton, The National Farmers Union, p. 45.
8. Lane, Political Ideology, p. 215.
9. Other studies on farmers that consider socio-economic status an important factor are: Denton E. Morrison and Alan D. Steeves, "Deprivation, Discontent, and Social Movement Participation: Evidence on a Contemporary Farmer's Movement, the NFO," Journal of Rural Sociology, Vol. VI (November 1970), pp. 415-434; and Donald M. Hofstrand and Dale V. Anderson, "An Evaluation of Farmers Attitudes Toward Farm Policy," Farm Research, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 8-14; and Sadok Driss and Harold F. Breimeyer, "Opinions on Farm Policy," MP274 5M Extension Division, University of Missouri, 1972.
10. See William Flannigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), and H.T. Reynolds, Politics and the Common Man (New York: Dorsey Press, 1974), for specific studies that found significant relationships between a persons level of socio-economic status and party affiliation.
11. Crampton, The National Farmers Union
12. William H. Lane and Ronald D. Smith, "A Study of the Ideology and Legislative Goals of Three Kansas Farm Organizations: Kansas Farm Bureau, Kansas Farmers Union, and Kansas Livestock Association," unpublished manuscript, 1975.

13. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, College of Agriculture, Cooperative Extension Service, Who Will Control U.S. Agriculture, Special Publication 28, 1973.

14. See Toward A Platform for Rural America: Report of the First National Conference on Rural America, April 14-17, 1975, by Rural America, Inc. and Rural Housing Alliance, Washington, D.C., 1975.

15. Lane, Political Ideology, p. 423.

16. See Donald J. Devine, The Political Culture of the United States (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972), for a complete development and presentation of this idea.

Chapter Three

Integration, Ideology, and Socio-Economic Status in the Kansas Farmers Union

Introduction

After an individual has become a formal member of a voluntary association, the association proceeds to capture that member's full allegiance by first imbuing him/her with the group's ideology. As the member assimilates the group's ideology as his/her own, the member experiences that first primal sense of belonging as a result of sharing these similar beliefs with others. This experience of sharing "a set of common ends and values towards which all are oriented in terms of which the life of the group is organized,"¹ has been described by Robert Lane as "moral integration". Moral integration becomes the basic foundation from which the association may further garner support among its members through the process of overall integration.

Integration is the "binding together of the roles of a system or of the persons in those roles,"² from which is derived a sense of belonging. In order for the association to secure its membership, it must offer the individual various means of achieving some degree of integration. These various means of achieving integration

provide the source(s) from which one can test empirically for the level of integration among an association's members. This chapter will address itself to analyzing the concept of integration within a voluntary association -- namely, the Kansas Farmers Union (K.F.U.).

Since a voluntary association's ideology performs the functions of developing its character and providing guidance for attaining its goals, the role integration assumes is that of like a "life-support system" for the association's members. David Truman describes the essence of this role when he states that it is the group experience which:

...produces in the participants certain uniformities of behavior and attitude that must be achieved by the individual if he is to be a completely accepted member of the group....³

and thus provides the association with the important commodity of support from its members. David Lindstrom concurs that integration is an important principle for an association when he states that, "the people enrolled as members should feel themselves a part of the organization by being given some responsibility in the work of the organization."⁴ Lindstrom proceeds to develop the idea that integration is important when he observes that:

...members who do take some responsibility beyond attendance at meetings are more likely to be loyal to the organization -- that is support it in times of both normalcy and stress.⁵

Integration then becomes an important factor in determining the level of support for an association since, as it has also been noted, "...ideology alone is not enough to hold the members to the association."⁶

Integration is not only important in attaining support for the association from its members, but it also directly affects the association's levels of group morale and cohesiveness. If a member feels he/she is a part of the association, he/she will be more willing to reveal enthusiasm and confidence about the association and will also tend "to conform more readily to group norms,"⁷ thus encouraging group cohesion. Since group morale is enhanced by the member being integrated into the association, Lane points out that "the political program will benefit thereby, with more members working for its advancement."⁸ Lane develops the relationship between morale and integration further when he comments on one of the means used for achieving integration -- namely, participation in policy committees -- when he states that "if the members have a hand in selecting the political program, rather than having it handed down to them by the leaders, they will be more active in advancing it."⁹

In determining what constitutes the "politically effective size of a group,"¹⁰ Harry Eckstein in Pressure Group Politics examines the resources which an association commands and along with size of group, cohesiveness, and morale, includes the concept of integration. Through the

combination of these resources an association will tend to be able to develop among legislators the perception of the group's legitimacy in making demands based upon the representativeness of its rank-and-file membership. By determining the politically effective size of a group, one is also in essence determining how well that group is supported by its membership based to some degree on the factor of integration.

Considering the K.F.U.'s strong belief in a grass-roots organization based upon the principles of "agrarian democracy", one would suspect that there are many varying means open to the member which affords him/her the opportunity to become integrated into the association. In order to determine what kind of role integration plays in the K.F.U. as well as exactly how well the members are integrated into the K.F.U., the remainder of this chapter will deal with the research questions: What is the member's present level of integration within the K.F.U., and does that level of integration affect support for the organizational structure of the K.F.U.? In order to assess more clearly the level of integration present in the K.F.U. as well as its impact on support for the organizational structure, it is worthwhile to examine the relationship between ideology and integration and socio-economic status and integration.

As previously suggested in this chapter, there seems to be a possible linkage within a voluntary association

between ideology and integration. Because the process of assimilating the association's ideology tends to also become an exercise in integrating the member into the association, this chapter will examine the relationship between a member's level of ideological congruency and level of integration to determine if ideology affects that level of integration.

In addition to the above possible linkage, there is the possibility of some linkage between socio-economic status and integration. Socio-economic status data give one the opportunity to examine how certain personal resources of the individual member may affect his/her ability to participate in the various means offered by the association from which to become integrated. It seems logical, for example, that a member's monetary situation could dictate how often he/she drives to meetings and other organizational functions and that the age and educational level of a member may be considered either limitations or assets that influence the decision as to whether or not to take advantage of the various means offered by the association in which to participate and become integrated. Therefore, the analysis in this chapter will also examine the relationship between socio-economic status and the member's level of integration.

Operationalization

In order to answer the main research question of this

chapter, a series of indicators were chosen to represent the concept of integration and these were developed into questions that would measure the rank-and-file member's level of integration. Selection of these indicators was guided by the definition of the concept of integration. Based on the concept, the indicators selected reflect the member's participation in various means afforded them from which they could become integrated into the association -- namely, the member's awareness of these various means, the member's level of support for the association's political endorsements, the member's perception of having a part in the association, and the member's tenure in the association. Each of these areas were measured through the use of multiple questions, except for the areas of tenure in the association and a members support for political candidates who are sympathetic to K.F.U. policy positions, both of which required the use of only a single question to obtain reliable data.

In order to determine the member's level of participation in the various activities afforded them by the association, a series of questions were developed which asked the member to assess his/her level of involvement in the activities. The questions concerning these activities were: (1) attendance rate at county meetings, (2) whether or not the member had run for any K.F.U. elective offices, and (3) county offices held by the

member. Three questions were designed to ascertain the member's level of awareness of the K.F.U.'s organizational structure which provides them with the participatory opportunities and of the individuals in major leadership positions. The three questions were presented in the questionnaire under a format which asked the member to: (1) place in order the structural components of the organization as listed, and (2) to identify the state president and (3) to identify the state vice-president of the association.

The single question used to determine the member's tenure in the association was one which asked him/her to state length of membership in years. The other single question used was for obtaining information on the member's level of support for the association's political endorsements. This question asked the member to determine the degree to which he/she had "...campaigned for and/or contributed to those political candidates who are sympathetic to K.F.U. policy positions."

The final indicator of integration, the member's perception of having a part in the association, was operationalized through the use of four questions. The first question dealt with the member's determination of how much personal impact they have on policy development in the K.F.U. The second question asked the members how well their interests were represented by the K.F.U. The third question measured how much of a general say the

members have in the association. The fourth and final question asked the members how well they trusted their present leadership "...to do what is right for the farmer." Although the fourth question is not as direct as the others in ascertaining what type of a role the members have in the K.F.U., it is still relevant because the members attitude associated with determining whether or not that member trusts the leadership can stimulate participation or non-participation. An example being the member who does not trust the leadership and therefore feels participation in the association on their part is non-productive and will not reverse the present feeling of distrust. Whether or not the trust level is negative, as above, or positive, as in the case of the member who trusts the leaders and feels more induced to participate actively, the factor of trust plays a role in the member developing a perception about his/her part in the association.

In order to obtain maximum benefit from the multitude of indicators to represent the concept of integration and in order to facilitate the individual analysis of integration as well as the analysis of integration in relation to the previous variables discussed in Chapter Two, ideological congruency and socio-economic status, an index of integration was developed. In the process of developing the index, a common framework of recoding each indicator's responses into appropriately corresponding foils of high,

medium, and low was developed which would allow each indicator to be combined with all the other indicators to create an index of integration. Each of the questions used were adaptable to this format. As a result of this recoding, the final index of integration was divided into three categories of high integration, medium integration, and low integration. Creation of the index was attained through an additive process of combining the various indicators together in a stepwise procedure which resulted in one final index.

After a preliminary index had been constructed, a problem was encountered which forced three particular indicators to be dropped from this index because of the extremely low response rates to each. By dropping them from the index, the rest of the indicators, all with much higher response rates, could be analyzed collectively with greater accuracy since more members were included in the analysis. The low response rates to the second set of three questions presented above in themselves offer some information on the member's level of integration and will be dealt with in the following section of this chapter along with the analysis of the index of integration.

In order to ascertain the reliability of these indicators combined to represent the concept of integration, a Pearsonian product-moment correlation was obtained for each possible relationship between individual indicators and the final index. Out of a possible thirty-seven

correlations that could be computed, twenty-three significant correlations and three weak correlations were obtained. The correlations between individual indicators ranged from .18 to .74 at the .05 level of significance. The single indicator relating to trust of leadership had two insignificant correlations and five significant correlations, thus justifying its inclusion. In consideration of the substantial number of positive correlations found between individual indicators of the index of integration, the index is a reliable indication of the concept of integration and is justified in its creation. (See Table 3.0).

Findings

This section will begin with an analysis of the three indicators of integration that were deleted from the final index of integration. The analysis of these three indicators on an individual basis will offer some insight into the level of integration present in the K.F.U.'s membership. Following the analysis of the three indicators deleted from the index of integration, the major research question of this chapter will be answered by examining the frequency distribution of the index of integration. The final analysis undertaken in this section will deal with the possible relationship between integration and ideological congruency and between integration and socioeconomic status.

The three indicators deleted were all related to

Table 3.0
Intercorrelations between the variables composing
the Index of Integration

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. Years Member | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Attendance Rate** | *.49 | | | | | | | |
| 3. Political Support | .24 | .05 | | | | | | |
| 4. Policy Impact | .13 | *.46 | *.18 | | | | | |
| 5. Interests Represented | .10 | *.34 | .13 | *.28 | | | | |
| 6. General Say | -.03 | *.25 | .06 | *.50 | *.29 | | | |
| 7. Leadership Trust | .11 | *.39 | .13 | *.29 | *.47 | *.33 | | |
| 8. Member Effectiveness | .11 | *.34 | *.22 | *.68 | *.68 | *.74 | *.45 | |
| 9. Integration Index | .47 | *.56 | *.73 | .38 | *.71 | -.09 | *.80 | *.72 |

* significant at .05 or less

** The variable of attendance rate is actually a composite measure of three individual behavioral variables of integration which were: attendance rate, number of offices held, and number of times a member had run for an office. Adding the three together was accomplished by scoring offices held as high, offices ran for as high and medium attendance rates as medium, and low attendance as low.

ascertaining the member's awareness of the association's organizational structure and the identification of the associations state leadership -- namely, the state president and state vice-president. The question that asked the members "to place the following parts of the K.F.U. organizational structure in proper order from bottom to top" received a response rate of only 37 percent. Out of this 37 percent, 6 percent correctly identified the proper order and 31 percent incorrectly identified it. Over 60 percent of the members did not attempt to answer this question. Combining the incorrect responses with the not ascertained responses produces a figure of 94 percent of the members who either cannot identify the organizational structure of the K.F.U. or who were unwilling to answer the question. The former, those who cannot correctly identify it, seems to be a more realistic conclusion because the K.F.U.'s organizational structure is extremely simple, as compared to other voluntary agricultural associations in Kansas. For a diagram of the K.F.U.'s organizational structure, see Appendix 2.

In attempting to determine why 94 percent of the members could not correctly answer this question, three possible reasons can be offered. The first concerns the K.F.U.'s relatively young age, since it was rechartered as recently as 1974. Only 21 percent of the members claim a length of membership in the K.F.U. that is identical to the association's date of rechartering. Prior to the rechartering, there was a period of over five years when there was no formal Farmers

Union organization in Kansas. This fact, combined with the remaining 79 percent of the membership who claim a membership of longer than seven years, may not have been adequately re-indoctrinated into the newly rechartered association's organizational structure of 1974. The second reason may be that, because the organizational structure is simple, the members may not think the organizational structure is important, due to the dynamic leadership of the current state president. The third reason relates directly to the concept of integration -- that is, too few members have had a real opportunity to experience and to participate in such a simple organizational structure.

The other two indicators not included in the index were drawn from the two questions that asked the members to identify their organization's state president and state vice-president. Over half of the members sampled, 52 percent, correctly identified Dale Lyon as state president. Only two percent of those who attempted to answer the question were incorrect, while the remaining 48 percent did not attempt to answer the question. The question which asked the members to identify Ivan Wyatt as state vice-president found opposite findings. Only nine percent of the members sampled were correct, one percent were incorrect, and 90 percent did not attempt to answer the question. The findings of these questions are striking in that they present an interesting paradox. Over 70 percent of the members claim active readership in the K.F.U.'s

primary media form, the monthly Kansas Kontact. Each edition of this newspaper cites both leaders names frequently; yet only half the members can identify the state president, and only nine percent of them can identify the state vice-president. For some reason there seems to be a lack of some form of reinforcement for members that read the two leader's names, yet cannot actively recall their names when asked a question about them.

In order to answer the research questions, what is the membership's present level of integration within the K.F.U. and does that level affect support for the organizational structure of the K.F.U.; one needs to examine the results obtained through the creation of the index of integration. By dividing the index into categories of low, medium, and high, there appears a clear indication that the majority of the members sampled, 65 percent, indicate a moderate (medium) degree of integration. Only 13 percent of the members feel highly integrated, while 21 percent designated their level of integration as low. These figures may be slightly optimistic since the two low awareness indicators were left out; however, they are still relatively accurate given that the index is a result of the interaction among all the other individual indicators selected.

In examining the overall level of integration present among K.F.U. members, it seems apparent that the group of members which comes close to accounting for 25 percent of

the membership, i.e., those integrated at a low level, presents a potentially threatening situation to the cohesiveness of the association unless the reasons for the level of low integration are identified and corrected by the K.F.U. Within the rank-and-file membership there appears to be four possible variables that are to some degree factors contributing to the existence of a low level of integration on the part of 21 percent of the members. These factors are membership in other farm organizations, estimation of benefit the K.F.U. provides over other farm organizations, low attendance rates at county meetings, and, again, tenure of membership in K.F.U.

Members of the K.F.U. sampled were asked if they belonged to any other farm organizations, and, if so, list them. A rather substantial number, 59 percent, did belong to other farm organizations with the bulk of them, 36 percent, claiming membership in the Kansas Farm Bureau or The National Farmer's Organization. The remainder were scattered among various commodity and livestock associations. The first two are associations of "a general farm nature" and offer the stiffest competition to the K.F.U. in terms of members choosing between similar styles of monthly meetings, county activities, etc. Considering the divergent positions of these three farm organizations, there appears the possibility of a dilemma within some individual members of the K.F.U. as to which of the three associations will receive their primary support. In

conjunction with the above findings, approximately 25 percent of those persons claiming membership in other farm organizations also stated that they did not feel the K.F.U. offered benefits which were more worthwhile, considering costs, than those of the other Farm organizations identified. These two factors coupled together may account to a large degree for the number of members of the K.F.U. who feel a sense of low integration.

After consideration of the previous two factors, the following two factors offer additional insights concerning the low integration level. Approximately 21 percent of the members have been associated with the K.F.U. for five years or less. This indicates that for many it may be either the first farm organization they joined or just another farm organization that offers the possibility of some beneficial service to be attained through the nominal membership fee. In either case, the relatively short tenure with the association suggests the possibility some members have not yet had enough time to become very well integrated into the K.F.U. This possibility is accentuated by the fact that only 21 percent of the sample claims to attend county meetings even sometimes, while 42 percent state that they seldom attend county meetings. Since membership participation in county meetings is probably the second easiest means of integration, following the assimilation of the group's ideology,¹¹ it is reasonable to assume that low attendance at county meetings may be a

critical factor in the existence of a low integration level among 21 percent of the members.

At the opposite extreme is the 13 percent who claim to be highly integrated. For these members, the factors relating to their level of integration would probably not only be the opposite of those which seem to account for a low level of integration in some members, but also include some additional factors. The most relevant additional factor would seem to be those of holding office and support of candidates who are sympathetic to K.F.U. policy positions for public office. Through the process of holding some office or leadership position at the county level, it would be expected that those members will become highly integrated since they assume some degree of responsibility for the direction of the association at that level. Approximately 13 percent of the members claim to have held some office or position of leadership at the county level. In addition to holding an office, which should demand more of the members resources, and increase their level of integration because of their investment, a member's resources which are expended to help a candidate sympathetic to K.F.U. views attain office would also seem to develop a higher level of integration from that member. Only 19 percent of the members claim that they frequently support such candidates. These two factors seem to be relevant in the attempt to explain why certain members of the K.F.U. feel highly integrated into the association. Between the

low and high categories of integration is the medium category of integration which would appear to be composed of members whose level of integration is based upon a moderate combination of the factors found in both of the other categories.

In assessing the findings presented, in terms of comments of authors such as Lane, Truman, Lindstrom, and Eckstein, it seems certain a member's level of integration is going to affect in some way his/her level of support for the organization's structure. This is primarily because the association's organizational structure is the major determinant in affording members various opportunities through which they can participate in and become integrated into the association. The question that arises then is: How much effect does the level of integration have on that member's level of support for the organization's structure? This question will be answered fully in Chapters Four and Five.

As was noted earlier in this chapter, Lane's concept of moral integration appears to suggest a linkage between ideology and integration. If the assimilation of the group's ideology is a foundation upon which a level of integration can be developed within the member, then what is the relationship between these two variables? Table 3.1 presents the crosstabulation of the dependent variable, index of integration with the independent variable, index of ideology.

Table 3.1
Index of Integration by the
Index of Ideology (in percentages)

| Level of Integration | Level of Ideological Congruency | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | Total |
| Low | 15.8% (3) | 20.8% (11) | 16.2% (6) | 18.3% (20) |
| Medium | 84.2 (16) | 67.9 (36) | 64.9 (24) | 69.7 (76) |
| High | 0 (0) | 11.3 (6) | 18.9 (7) | 11.9 (13) |
| Total | 100% (19) | 100% (53) | 100% (37) | 100% = 109 |
| $\chi^2 = 4.85$.05 gamma = .21 tau beta = .11 r = .12 .05 | | | | |

This table presents a set of data which demonstrate that a member's level of ideological congruency tends to influence the corresponding development of a level of integration as evidenced by the positive relationship between the two variables. Within the table, one finds that the majority of the respondents fall into the medium and high categories of both variables. There are no individuals who are high on integration and low on ideological congruency, while 16.2 percent of those who are high ideological congruency are also low on integration. Thus, it is not possible for a person to be highly involved in the association and not share its values. On the other hand one can share the values and yet not necessarily be

actively involved in the association. Still, 84.2 percent of the respondents with a low level of ideological congruency are moderately integrated into the association. This finding indicates that the possibility exists for a member to feel moderately integrated into the organization without having to actively participate in the various participatory activities offered them by the K.F.U.

The above finding is not, however, substantiated by the three statistical tests and the Pearsonian product-moment correlation. A chi square value of 4.85 was found to be well below the .05 level of statistical significance. The gamma produced a .21 measure of association, which is low, while the tau-beta of .11 indicated a negligible relationship. Both of the latter measures of association indicate that knowledge of a member's level of ideological congruency does not help one to predict that member's level of integration. The Pearsonian product-moment correlation of .12, significant at the .09 level of significance, also indicates that the relationship between the index of integration and the index of ideology is negligible.

The final analysis in this chapter concerns examining the relationship between integration and socio-economic status. Because a member must expend some of his/her personal resources in order to achieve integration within the K.F.U., it appears that an analysis of the member's socio-economic status and its possible effect on the level

of integration achieved is worthwhile. Table 3.2 presents the results found by crosstabulating the index of integration with the index of socio-economic status.

Table 3.2

Index of Integration by the
Index of Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Level of Integration | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | Total |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Low | 26.5% (9) | 22.4% (19) | 10.0% (2) | 21.6% (30) |
| Medium | 61.8 (21) | 64.7 (55) | 75.0 (15) | 65.5 (91) |
| High | 11.8 (4) | 12.9 (11) | 15.0 (3) | 12.9 (18) |
| Total | 100% (34) | 100% (85) | 100% (20) | 100% = 139 |
| $\chi^2 = 2.10$.05 gamma = .17 tau beta = .09 r = .10 .05 | | | | |

Although one would expect socio-economic status to be a factor in the process of a member developing a level of integration, the findings from this table indicate no substantial relationship between the two variables. This is evidenced by the similar distribution of cases within each of the three categories of socio-economic status, and by the marginal increase of members who achieve a higher level of integration that correspond with an increase in the member's level of socio-economic status. This final

point is best illustrated by examining the category of high integration. In addition, the row totals point out that the introduction of the socio-economic status variable barely alters the original frequency distribution of the members on the index of integration.

In addition to the above findings, the statistical tests of chi square, gamma, and tau-beta are also non-significant. A value of 2.10 was obtained for chi square, and this is significant at the level of .72. The gamma of .17 and the tau-beta of .09 both indicate a very negligible measure of association between the variables. The Pearsonian product-moment correlation of .10, significant at the .13 level of significance, also indicates the same. As a result of these findings, it can be concluded that socio-economic status does not seem to have any appreciable effect on the member developing to any given level of integration within the K.F.U.

Conclusions

An analysis of the data presented shows that approximately two thirds of the K.F.U. members sampled indicate that they are moderately integrated, but with almost one-quarter of them falling into the category of low integration and the remaining members having a high degree of integration. The finding concerning the minority of members who are highly integrated seems to concur with the statement that "an active membership in a perceived political

organization is characteristic of a small active minority."¹²

In addition to the presentation of the member's present level of integration, a series of possible alternative variables were discussed which might explain the existence of a low level of integration among 21 percent of the members sampled. These variables were tenure of membership in the K.F.U., membership in other agricultural associations, attendance rate at county meetings, and the members who belong to other agricultural associations perceptions of whether or not the K.F.U. offers better benefits than the other associations considering costs involved in belonging to each.

Although the K.F.U. enjoys a substantial degree of integration among its membership, there is obviously room for improvement considering the number of members who indicate a low level of integration. An effort to increase the level of integration might benefit the association in obtaining a greater degree of satisfaction, i.e., support for its organizational structure. This additional support would stem from improving the linkage between integration and organizational structure, since the association's organizational structure is the primary agent which affords each member the various opportunities with which to participate in and achieve a sense of integration into the association.

Through an examination of the tables presented relating to the crosstabulations of integration with ideology and

socio-economic status there appears to be no significant relationship between either variable and the level of integration found among K.F.U. members. This apparent lack of a relationship would seem to indicate that the theoretical perspectives discussed at the beginning of this chapter, indicating a possible relationship between the variables of integration and ideology and socio-economic status, are in need of modification because they do not hold true in the case of the K.F.U.'s membership. There probably is a need for the consideration of other variables, at least as far as agricultural associations are concerned, not tested for in this study, which may have an effect on the possible relationship theorized earlier. Some of the other possible variables which may be considered important in future studies concerning integration in voluntary agricultural associations are: personal "psychological energy";¹³ other environmental factors outside the association; and past familial ties with the association. The important role that integration plays in a voluntary association makes it worthwhile to undertake future studies involved in ascertaining the multitude of factors which contribute to the creation of a sense of integration among members of an association, such as the K.F.U.

Chapter Three Footnotes

1. Robert E. Lane, Political Life (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), p. 271.
2. Graham Wootton, Interest Groups (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 33.
3. David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951), p. 21.
4. David E. Lindstrom, American Farmers' and Rural Organizations (Champaign, Ill.: The Garrard Press, 1948), p. 406.
5. Ibid., p. 412.
6. John Crampton, The National Farmers Union (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 161.
7. Harmon Zeigler, "Interest Groups in the States," in Politics in the American States, ed. Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1965), p. 101.
8. Lane, Political Life, p. 191.
9. Ibid., p. 191.
10. Harry Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 34-35.
11. Lindstrom, American Farmers' and Rural Organizations, p. 412.
12. Zeigler, "Interest Groups in the States," p. 105.
13. See Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual in the Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 3-35, for a discussion of this variable and its possibilities in affecting ones level of integration into an organization.

Chapter Four

Organizational Structure Benefits

In attempting to discern how well the rank-and-file membership of the Kansas Farmers Union supports the association, the previous chapter dealt with analyzing the role played by integration in determining that level of support. As indicated in Chapter Three, integration was found to be an important factor which contributes to the member's decision of whether or not to support the association. Although integration was found to be a vital factor, it alone cannot account for the member's level of support for the association because it is in itself a symbolic benefit that is provided for by the K.F.U.'s organizational structure. The importance of symbolic benefits has been noted by Harmon Zeigler when he stated that "there has always been the recognition that supposedly irrational or symbolic satisfaction fulfills the needs of many of the participants in a political movement."¹ In addition to the symbolic benefits that are provided for by an association's organizational structure, the structure must also provide the members with instrumental benefits in order to obtain their support.

One of the most important characteristics a movement

must develop in order to become a formal organization is "the development of an organizational framework..."² or structure. The organizational structure of an association is the means by which it can attain an "enduring quality"³ through providing the various types of benefits needed by its members in return for their support. As has already been noted, the symbolic benefits provided are important to many members and to the association itself, in fact some associations only provide symbolic benefits to its members and have survived for years, e.g., the Grange. However, in order for many associations to survive, endure, and gain support from its members, it must also prove its worthiness by providing tangible or instrumental benefits with the symbolic benefits, e.g., the Farm Bureau. The formula for determining membership support is characterized by the two-way interaction between these two critical factors.

Amitai Etzioni points out that "...just as human beings have different needs, so organizations require different things to operate successfully."⁴ In applying this to the voluntary association, it becomes apparent that one of the things needed by an association to operate successfully is the support of its membership. As other types of organizations, i.e., private businesses, need to provide appropriately suitable returns on their members' investments, the voluntary association must provide the various benefits necessary to satisfy its members. For

an organization concerned with business activities, it is apparent to almost everyone that support for the organization will be maintained as long as it continues to make a profit. In contrast to the ease of discerning support for a business organization based upon the output of monetary benefits by its organizational structure, the voluntary association presents a more difficult problem in analyzing support based upon the outputs of its organizational structure. The outputs of the voluntary association's organizational structure have been described as symbolic and instrumental benefits which can be measured only in terms of the members' perception of their satisfaction with them and not in terms of dollars and cents. As such, the formula for determining the level of rank-and-file member support for the K.F.U. based upon their level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the organizational structure is inferential at best, yet philosophically sound. Although satisfaction does not equal support per se, without satisfaction, meaningful support would be low. Therefore, satisfaction is the basis of support, and by obtaining the members' perceptions of how well they are satisfied with the symbolic and instrumental benefits provided by the association's organizational structure, one can also indicate a corresponding degree of support based upon satisfaction.

As Chris Argyris points out in his book on

organizational theory, two of the three core activities of an organization are: "(1) maintaining the internal system and (2) achieving objectives."⁵ The means by which these activities are achieved is through the organization's structure. By translating the first two activities into the corresponding benefits that they produce, one can define the organization's structure in terms of the benefits produced through these activities. In the case of this study, "maintaining the internal system" will provide the activities that produce the symbolic benefits, and "achieving objectives" will provide the activities that produce instrumental benefits. In each of these two activities a critical factor in determining their success is the degree of support that the organization enjoys from its membership. In the case of the K.F.U., support from the membership can be based first, upon their satisfaction with the symbolic benefits provided by the corresponding activity of the association's organizational structure. Symbols are an integral part of any association and evoke, as Murray Edelman states, "...an attitude, a set of impressions, or a pattern of events associated through time, through space, through logic, or through imagination with the symbol."⁶ The symbols that appear as important benefits to members of a voluntary association, such as the K.F.U., are participation and interaction.

For a voluntary association, participation is a

fundamental benefit that derives its symbolic meaning from what Grant McConnell describes as the "ideology of democratic participation."⁷ It is the historical bedrock upon which voluntary associations have been founded. Eugene Jacobson states in an article on the growth of voluntary associations that "the opportunity for the member to take part in group activities is of prime importance."⁸ Richard Hall in his book Organizations, Structure and Process, says that:

voluntary organizations have all the characteristics of other organizations in regard to the nature and importance of power as an internal process. They are somewhat different, however, because of the apparent need for membership participation in order for the organization to remain viable.⁹

Within the context of the previous statements on participation, it will be defined in this study as the extent to which the policy and the activities of the K.F.U. allow for the involvement of its members.

Interaction, as a part of the symbolic benefits of the associations organizational structure, can be defined as the extent to which the given population of the K.F.U. has contact with all levels of the association. Implicit in this definition of interaction is the concept of communication. Hall succinctly describes the place of interaction in an association such as the K.F.U. when he states, "the more an organization is people and idea oriented, the more important communication becomes."¹⁰

He goes on to state in his discussion of horizontal communication within organizations that, "...the written communication concept can only occur when some degree of interaction is allowed between participants."¹¹ Through communication, the exchange of ideas is an important result of interaction, but the most important aspect of interaction that identifies it as a symbolic benefit is the social exchange between members. Peter Blau expresses a similar idea in his analysis of organizations when he states that, "the interaction of individuals within a given structure is of primary importance because such interaction is at the heart of the organization."¹² As other studies¹³ and books¹⁴ agree, participation and interaction are integral factors in the associations of modern society and can be considered as benefits that are produced by the association's organizational structure. Etzioni sums up the importance of these two factors best when, in his analysis of modern organizations, he emphasizes that:

...the importance of communication between the ranks, of explaining to the lower participants the reasons why a particular course of action is taken, and the importance of participation in decision-making in which lower ranks share in the decisions made by higher ranks, in particular in matters that affect them directly....¹⁵

The second method of ascertaining the level of support for the K.F.U. amongst its members can be based on the instrumental benefits that are provided through

"achieving objectives." These instrumental benefits are of a tangible nature and provide the member with a clear indication as to the associations success in the area of achieving objectives. Instrumental benefits provide a two-fold purpose for the association's members. The first is that instrumental benefits clearly establish for the member the association's ability to procure for them direct socio-politico-economic benefits as a result of securing their stated policy goals. The instrumental benefits that are important to the members of the K.F.U. are task effectiveness and task efficiency.

A problem exists in that in the study of voluntary associations, no previous political science authors have chosen to deal with instrumental benefits of voluntary associations in these terms. In order to discuss task effectiveness and task efficiency by drawing from a creditable source of theory in the area of instrumental benefits, one has to consult the area of organizational theory. The problem is compounded, however, by the fact that organizational theory is not geared toward application to voluntary association; rather, it largely deals with private and public bureaucratic structures. Nevertheless, the importance of concepts such as instrumental benefits to voluntary associations has not been disregarded by all organizational theorists. In a study on voluntary associations, using the principles of organizational theory, Richard Simpson and William Gulley point out that:

associations which are concerned with accomplishing specific ends place an emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness and label them as being instrumental in nature.¹⁶

The problem remains, however, one of the political scientist attempting to extrapolate these important concepts, such as instrumental benefits, from the vast field of organizational theory and appropriately apply them to the area of voluntary associations.

Although the K.F.U. is more of a solidarity group than a bureaucratic group, the members are still concerned with whether or not the association can realize its goals and return to them some sort of personal benefit, such as higher support prices for a given commodity, for their involvement. In order for the association to achieve these goals and return benefits to the members, it must be task effective. Hall notes that:

implicit in the discussion of effectiveness, is the assumption that the organization operates in a relatively free market and the customer, member, is free to select an alternative organization if his/her needs are not being met.¹⁷

Nowhere else is this statement more accurate than in relation to the area of voluntary agricultural associations. Hall continues by stating that, "for the organizational member, the effectiveness issue really boils down to the question, Is it worth it?"¹⁸ For the purposes of this study, task effectiveness will be defined as the extent

to which given K.F.U. policy objectives are achieved as perceived by the members.

For a member of the K.F.U., the corollary to the question on effectiveness -- "Is it worth it?" -- is the question: "What are the costs to obtain it?" which deals with efficiency. Although efficiency as a term seems more compatible within the context of, say, industrial production, it is also highly relevant to the tasks undertaken by a voluntary association. In order for the association to secure its goals, it must use a certain amount of the resources provided to it by the members. In turn therefore, because most voluntary associations operate on two key resources that are voluntarily provided by the members, i.e., money and time, it is of great concern to the members as to how these limited resources are used in order to achieve the desired goals. Probably the most important resources that members of an agricultural association are concerned with is time. To a farmer, time is money and the efficient use of his/her time to help secure goals is of greater importance than the relatively small monetary investment they make in the way of membership dues. Task efficiency is, then, of extreme importance to the member of the K.F.U. and will be defined as the extent to which the K.F.U.'s policy and activities maximizes the utilization of available resources.

The remainder of this chapter will deal with analyzing

the role these two types of benefits, symbolic and instrumental, play in determining the level of support among members for the K.F.U. The analysis will be guided by the research question: What is the member's present level of support for the K.F.U. based upon their level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the organizational structure?

Operationalization

In order to answer the main research question of this chapter, a series of indicators were chosen to represent the particular variables of the concepts of symbolic benefits and instrumental benefits. The indicators selected to represent the variables of participation, interaction, task effectiveness, and task efficiency were developed into questions that would measure the rank-and-file members' perceptions of their satisfaction with the organizational structure's benefits that they represent. The process of selection used to choose the indicators and develop them into corresponding attitudinal questions was guided by the various definitions of each variable as previously discussed. For each of the four variables, a series of multiple indicators were selected to represent each variable and to enhance the reliability of the data collected.

The questions that were developed to measure the members' perception of their level of participation in

the association dealt with both county and state levels. The first question on participation was concerned with the principle of democratic elections within the K.F.U. which asked, "Is the present system of electing both state and county K.F.U. leaders democratic." The second question asked the member whether or not adequate opportunities existed for their input. The third question dealt with the area of whether or not "county level policy is reflected in official policy adopted at the state convention." The final question on participation was designed to ascertain the members' perception of how much opportunity they have at the state convention to promote actively ideas and seek their inclusion into the state's official policy for that year.

The variable of interaction was operationalized by a series of four questions that related to the various levels and types of interaction afforded the rank-and-file member of the K.F.U. Of prime importance to a member in any voluntary association is the availability of its leadership for communication with the members. Two questions were asked of the members that dealt with the availability of both county and state leaders for communication purposes. The next question, "the Kansas Kontact provides the information necessary to find out what the K.F.U. stands for and information on what the organization is doing," was concerned with the K.F.U.'s organizational publication, the Kansas Kontact, a monthly

news magazine. The monthly publication is probably one of the most important forms of interaction available to all members on a constant basis. Members may miss a monthly meeting, a policy session, etc., but they are always assured of being able to keep in touch with the association through its publication. The final question concerning the variable of interaction was designed to ascertain the member's perception of how valuable interaction is in both a formal and an informal context at the county level. This question seems critically important because a solidarity group, such as the K.F.U., has as a binding force the personal relationships among members; this is in opposition to a bureaucratic group that is bound together by a set of given rules that govern the behavior of the group.

In order to determine the member's level of satisfaction with the task effectiveness of the K.F.U., three questions were asked of the members; these dealt with priority legislative issues, and whether or not it is worthwhile to belong to the association in terms of instrumental benefits received. The question dealing with identification of priority legislative issues was developed to determine how effective the association is presently at identifying the policy needs of its members. In addition to determining the above level of effectiveness, it also seemed important to find out if the members felt that the association is, and has been, effective at

gaining positive legislative action on those priority issues in the Kansas legislature from 1974 to present. The final question represented what Hall felt the effectiveness issue boiled down to for members -- namely, "Is it worth it?"¹⁹ The specific question used phrased that sentiment in terms of whether or not joining the association was helpful in producing the results desired by the members.

The other variable chosen to represent the concept of instrumental benefits, task efficiency, was operationalized through the use of three questions. These questions pertained to the various costs incurred by members for seeking effective action by the association and to the ability of the association's leadership to use those resources to promote the welfare of the association's membership. The cost factors were broken down into those of a member's time and money. One question asked the member if the benefits he/she received justified the time spent being involved in the association, and the other question asked the member if the benefits he/she received justified the monetary costs in terms of dues paid. The last question was geared toward ascertaining whether or not the K.F.U.'s leadership efficiently used the resources provided them by the members in order to carry out policy programs and to get involved in other activities designed to better the member's socio-economic situation.

After the initial coding of all the indicators was completed, a recoding procedure was utilized for each indicator that afforded the creation of indices for each variable in order to facilitate the data analysis. Each indicator was appropriately recoded into a format that divided the indicator into high, medium, and low categories. All of the indicators were readily adaptable to this recoding format and thus offered no problems in the recoding process.

After the recoding process was completed, an initial index was developed for each of the four variables. Each indicator was added together in a stepwise procedure that yielded the index. Following this step, an index was also created for the two types of benefits under study. The index of participation and the index of interaction, and the index for instrumental benefits was created by adding together the index of task effectiveness and the index of task efficiency. Finally, in order to facilitate the overall analysis of the member's satisfaction with the benefits provided by the association's organizational structure, a total index of the member's perceptions of organizational structure benefits, hereafter referred to simply as the index of organizational benefits was developed. This final index was likewise created by a stepwise additive process utilizing the two different types of organizational structure benefits as previously discussed.

In the process of constructing indices, the outcome

of that process can be taken as meaningful only if the indicators involved have a substantial degree of reliability between them. Prior to the index construction, a Pearsonian product-moment correlation was obtained for every possible relationship between individual indicators. Out of a possible one hundred and fifty-three correlations that could be computed, one hundred and thirty-three significant correlations were found. In consideration of the diversity of all the individual indicators combined to create the final index, the reliability check appears to provide ample support for the creation of the organizational structure index that will facilitate the analysis of the findings presented in the next section. (See Table 4.0).

Findings

In order to answer this chapter's major research question, i.e., what is the member's present level of support for the K.F.U. based upon their level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the organizational structure? some of the important individual indicators for each of the four types of benefits will be discussed in conjunction with the overall indices of participation, interaction, task effectiveness, and task efficiency. Following this analysis, the findings concerning the satisfaction with organizational structure index, i.e., the index of organizational structure will be examined.

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Table 4.0

Intercorrelations between the variables composing the
Index of Organizational Structure Benefits

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. | 13. | 14. | 15. | 16. | 17. | 18. |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|
| Issues | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Positive legis- lative action | -.02 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Join the org. produces results | .02 | *.57 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Members time spent | -.07 | *.34 | *.59 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Members cost spent | .04 | *.25 | *.40 | *.45 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Welfare of members promoted | -.13 | *.25 | *.21 | *.29 | *.25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Present system of electing leaders | -.01 | *.01 | *.22 | *.28 | *.13 | *.20 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Adequate oppor- tunity for member input exists | -.07 | .11 | *.35 | *.30 | *.20 | *.30 | *.47 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. City policy reflected in St. policy | .04 | .20 | *.27 | *.30 | *.17 | *.14 | *.35 | *.40 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. Attendees at St. Conven. can promote ideas | .01 | *.25 | *.36 | *.29 | *.29 | *.19 | *.38 | *.45 | *.43 | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. St. leaders available | -.02 | *.23 | *.27 | *.28 | *.27 | *.28 | *.39 | *.53 | *.50 | *.50 | | | | | | | | |
| 12. City leaders available | .05 | *.22 | *.37 | *.33 | *.24 | *.20 | *.28 | *.48 | *.47 | *.46 | *.63 | | | | | | | |
| 13. Kansas Kontakt good source | .04 | *.21 | *.19 | *.23 | *.25 | *.25 | *.34 | *.28 | *.29 | *.32 | *.35 | *.26 | | | | | | |
| 14. Informal member- ship interaction | .02 | *.10 | *.17 | *.20 | *.21 | *.28 | *.29 | *.37 | *.42 | *.38 | *.38 | *.40 | *.36 | | | | | |
| 15. Task Effectiveness Sub-Index | .64 | *.67 | *.67 | *.32 | *.27 | *.22 | .06 | *.15 | *.25 | *.24 | *.21 | *.29 | *.25 | *.15 | | | | |
| 16. Task Efficiency | -.05 | *.35 | *.55 | *.79 | *.76 | *.65 | *.26 | *.27 | *.24 | *.33 | *.36 | *.35 | *.32 | *.27 | *.36 | | | |
| 17. Participation Sub-Index | -.01 | *.20 | *.35 | *.32 | *.25 | *.28 | *.72 | *.77 | *.75 | *.77 | *.64 | *.55 | *.44 | *.49 | *.22 | *.36 | | |
| 18. Interaction Sub-Index | .03 | *.19 | *.28 | *.36 | *.43 | *.35 | *.48 | *.55 | *.59 | *.61 | *.83 | *.80 | *.61 | *.74 | *.25 | *.50 | *.73 | |

* significant at .05 or less

Two of the individual indicators within the index of participation offer findings that typify the overall index and explain the state of participation within the K.F.U. The first indicator was concerned with finding out if the members were satisfied with the present level of opportunities for membership input into policy making. Approximately 70 percent of the members are highly satisfied with the level of opportunities that presently exist in the K.F.U. This finding indicates that whether or not the member actually takes advantage of the opportunities present, he/she is satisfied that the opportunities are there for their use when desired. Such an indicator points out the symbolism of the concept of participation -- that is, it is more important to the members that they know the opportunity to participate always at hand instead of being concerned with the degree of which they use participation opportunities.

The second indicator indicates that participation is and has been concerned with whether or not the members are satisfied that the present system of electing leaders is democratic. On this indicator 78 percent of the members find the system of election highly democratic, but over 20 percent of the members have some reservations. These members having reservations are probably the same group who do not attend meetings very often when the elections take place. For participation to take on meaning in the K.F.U., the members have to at least participate

in the activity once in order to reinforce the symbol they believe in. Because some 20 percent have probably never participated in an election, they doubt the actual working existence of such a participative symbol -- namely, the election of leaders.

The idea of a participation opportunity being symbolic, yet not really being a valid symbol unless one has at least taken advantage of it once, seems to be supported by the data frequencies for the index of participation. In this index 48 percent were highly satisfied with the level of participation, 30 percent moderately satisfied, and 22 percent not very satisfied. These frequencies also seem to point out that those members who have been involved at one time or another in participation activities are probably sure that the symbols of participation exist, whereas the other members, those in the moderate and low categories, probably are hesitant to be satisfied with the symbols of participation because they have not actually taken part in them very often, if at all. However, at present, one must assume from the findings concerning the participation index, that the members as a whole are strongly satisfied with the participation benefits offered by the organizational structure.

The member's level of satisfaction with the other symbolic benefit, interaction, appears to be slightly higher than that with participation and is best exemplified by the two indicators of availability of county leaders

and whether or not formal and informal interaction among members is a benefit. The first indicator shows that 78 percent of the members are highly satisfied with the availability of county leaders in order to communicate with other members about their desires. The response rate seems to indicate that members are very concerned about having the opportunity to discuss problems with someone in a position of authority and desire that the individual be readily available for contact. The other indicator points out the importance of such a symbolic benefit as interaction since 80 percent of the members highly support the idea that formal and informal interaction with other members at the county level is a benefit of K.F.U. membership. This indicator alone supports Edelman's contention that symbols are of crucial importance to the associational member of today. The index of interaction further supports the importance of symbolic benefits since the frequencies show that 55 percent of the members are highly satisfied with the interaction benefits, 29 percent moderately satisfied, and only 16 percent not very satisfied. In a general sense then, the interaction index indicates a strong level of satisfaction with the level of interaction present in the K.F.U.

The findings for the instrumental benefit of task effectiveness produce a set of results which indicate that members: (1) probably overestimate the associations' effectiveness in the state legislature; (2) perceive

instrumental benefits other than legislative success to be important; and (3) find the association to be rather effective at attaining instrumental benefits. The first finding was a result of the indicator which asked the member to rate how successful the K.F.U. had been since 1970 in "...achieving positive legislative action on its priority issues...." The results from this indicator showed that 48 percent of the members perceived the K.F.U. to be highly successful, while approximately 40 percent indicated moderate success. In reality, the correct response from a standpoint of K.F.U. endorsed legislation that was passed, would be moderate at best. Since 1970, only one major piece of legislation, the corporate farm reporting act and numerous minor legislative acts which the K.F.U. endorsed and had a major hand in influencing, have been signed into law. Regardless of the objective criteria, members believe their association is successful at securing or at least influencing legislation.

The second finding points out an interesting and important aspect of instrumental benefits which is sometimes overlooked and is a major reason for the third finding mentioned concerning task effectiveness. The indicator of this finding was the statement: "The K.F.U. is a good organization to join because it produces results that benefit me as a farmer." This statement followed the question (discussed in the previous paragraph)

on the achievement in the questionnaire and produces a set of results which differ significantly. In response to the above statement, 72 percent highly agreed, 21 percent moderately agreed, and only 7 percent had severe reservations. When compared to the previous question on success at achieving positive legislation on issues, the findings would seem to indicate that there are other important instrumental benefits with which the members are concerned which are a result of other activities in addition to securing legislation. There is a 24 percent difference between the two high categories in each area. This additional 24 percent probably considered other instrumental benefits, such as reasonable insurance policies, K.F.U. co-op marketing of products, and purchasing of cheaper supplies through K.F.U. co-ops, just as important or more important as a direct benefit to them than favorable legislation. The implications of this statement also help explain the third finding previously noted; members find the association to be rather effective at attaining instrumental benefits, which is a result of task effectiveness index. The frequencies from the index indicate that 32 percent of the members perceiving the K.F.U. as highly effective and 50 percent as moderately effective, while 18 percent indicate a lack of effectiveness. Combining the high and medium categories produces a figure of 82 percent which underscore the substantial degree of members who are satisfied with the associations effectiveness at achieving various instrumental benefits.

The area of task efficiency produced even better overall results for instrumental benefits and indicated that members overwhelmingly believe both time and money are costs that have been used efficiently in order to secure instrumental benefits. The indicator which asked the members to justify their time spent as a cost that was used by the K.F.U. to achieve desirable benefits found 70 percent of the members highly satisfied with the use of their time, 25 percent moderately satisfied, and 5 percent not very satisfied, with the use of their time, all in relation to benefits secured for them by the K.F.U. Almost identical to the above findings, 69 percent of the members felt the benefits received justified their monetary costs in terms of dues to a high degree, 26 percent to a moderate degree, and 4 percent to a low degree. In both cases, members appear to be satisfied with the benefits received in relation to the costs incurred by them in attaining those benefits. These findings are tempered slightly in the frequency readings for the index of task efficiency. In the index, 52 percent perceive the K.F.U. to be highly efficient, 26 percent moderately efficient, and 22 percent not very efficient. In relation to task effectiveness, members seem to believe that the association is more efficient, i.e., using minimal resources provided by the members in order to secure goals, at attaining various benefits than it is effective, i.e., overall success at securing goals regardless of cost, at

attaining those same benefits. This suggests that many of the members put in very little time, as evidenced in the low participation rates at county meetings and lack of members taking time to fill leadership roles, and that any result the K.F.U. obtains, no matter how small, is seen as being achieved efficiently although not necessarily as being effective. Regardless of this contradiction between the members perceptions of the K.F.U. being more efficient than effective, the majority of members, 78 percent, believe that the association makes very good use of available resources in order to secure desired benefits.

In order to answer the major research question of this chapter, one needs to examine the results obtained through the creation of the index of organizational structure. By dividing the index into categories of high, medium, and low, one finds a substantial degree of satisfaction among the members for the K.F.U.'s organizational structure and the benefits it provides. The three categories break down into the following distribution: 42 percent highly satisfied with the organizational structure, 41 percent moderately satisfied, and 18 percent not very satisfied.

The high category in the index of organizational structure consisted of 42 percent of the members. These members tend to be consistent throughout the four sub-indexes of benefits discussed previously. The ranges for the four sub-indexes on the high category were: 48 percent

on participation, 55 percent on interaction, 32 percent on task effectiveness, and 52 percent on task efficiency. The members indicating a high degree of satisfaction with the organizational structure probably tend to be those individuals who perceive that they have a substantial amount of input into the association and are very satisfied with both the means and the ends of the association.

The moderate category in the index of organizational structure accounts for the large bloc of K.F.U. members -- namely, 41 percent. Many of these members probably fluctuated between the moderate and high categories of the four sub-indexes. Interestingly, the moderate category in each of the four sub-indexes were either above, i.e., 50 percent on task effectiveness, or below, i.e., 30 percent on participation, 29 percent on interaction, and 26 percent on task efficiency, the 41 percent found in the index of organizational structure. This category of members who are more objective about the association's effectiveness and efficiency and note their satisfaction with the symbolic benefits as being important and above average.

Within the low category of the organizational structure index is probably the most consistent group of members since they did not fluctuate more than eight percent between the four sub-indexes and the final index. The highest low category in the sub-indexes was 22 percent which was found in both the participation and task

efficiency indexes, and the lowest category was 16 percent in the interaction index. The index of organizational structure had 18 percent of the members in the low category. This group of members who have ranged between approximately 18 and 25 percent throughout the study in the low categories presents an apparent and steadfast minority of K.F.U. member's who are not satisfied with the benefits provided by the organization's structure or with many other aspects of the association for that matter. This group is typified by the single question discussed in the previous chapter which found 25 percent of those members claiming membership in other farm organizations also stating that they did not feel the K.F.U. offered benefits which were more worthwhile, considering costs, than those of the other farm organizations identified. This group is a clear minority of K.F.U. members who are not very satisfied with the association, but, remain members and thus will require the association to make some changes in order to retain their membership.

In considering the argument made earlier in this chapter, specifically, that satisfaction is an indicator of support for an association, one finds the K.F.U. receives a high level of support from its members. This conclusion is based on the combination of the high and moderate categories in the index of organizational structure which show that 83 percent of the members are highly satisfied with the benefits provided by the K.F.U.'s

present organizational structure. The strong support which the K.F.U. enjoys from its members also indicates that the association legitimately represents the population of farmers that it claims to represent.

Conclusions

In analyzing the data presented, one finds that approximately two fifths of the members are highly satisfied with the organizational structure of the K.F.U. and the benefits it provides, while another two fifths are moderately satisfied. The remaining one fifth of the members are a minority that do not feel very satisfied with the present organizational structure. Using the above results of the index of organizational structure, which was based on the members level of satisfaction with the four areas of benefits discussed, one finds that roughly four fifths of the present membership strongly supports the K.F.U. In ascertaining the high level of support existing within the K.F.U., it is clear that there is a dissatisfied minority within the association which merits attention by the association as a whole in order to rectify the causes of this dissatisfaction. Disregard for the factors involved which account for over three fifths of the members indicating either a low or moderate degree of satisfaction with the present organizational structure could prove to be a critical mistake for the future of the association.

Given the findings of this chapter, members tend to indicate that the use of their time as a resource is slightly more important to them than the use of the dues as a resource. Although the difference is slight in the final indicators developed to measure these two factors, preliminary indicators showed that members were much more dissatisfied with the use of their time than their money when they held that county meetings, policy meetings, etc. often did not warrant the time spent on them because the contents and results of such meetings were unsatisfactory. Time is probably a more valuable commodity to the member since it is not only usually equated with earning money, but it is also the most personal resource a member has to offer the association.

Although the overall level of satisfaction with the benefit, participation, was good, there also appeared some negative findings in relation to it. One finding indicated that approximately one-quarter of the members did not know whether the election process used by the K.F.U. to elect leaders was democratic. This finding was probably due to those members having failed to attend the meetings at which elections are held. Another finding pointed out that there is probably a tendency among those members who do not attend county meetings regularly and who rated their satisfaction with participation as low to be the same members that belong to other voluntary agricultural associations and perceive no difference in

terms of benefits between those other associations and the K.F.U.

The final conclusion of this chapter states that the measurement of instrumental benefits in regard to a voluntary association are difficult. In the process of operationalizing instrumental benefits into the indicators of task effectiveness and task efficiency, one risks the possibility of overmeasurement.²⁰ This danger arises from numerous problems relating to the very nature of a voluntary association. The first problem one encounters is that voluntary associations usually have both short-range and long-range goals, but are more concerned with the latter. The problem of measuring the effectiveness of an association in relation to its ongoing goals is apparent and requires the researcher to state the time period used for measurement and to carefully generalize the results to the ongoing association. Another problem relates to the measurement of efficiency in a voluntary association. Because many of the associations outputs are not material, one must go beyond normal efficiency measurement, such as the production of cars, for example, to the method adopted in this study which is based on member's perceptions of efficiency. It is an important conclusion of this chapter that using a member's perceptions of how effective, efficient, and symbolically rewarding the association is, can be a very valid method of measurement. Because a voluntary association deals

with ideas as well as goals and their attainment, and not with direct material production, it seems only appropriate that, just as one can use the material output of a group of workers to measure the success of an organization's structure, one can use also the membership's satisfaction level, i.e., its output to measure the success of a voluntary association's organizational structure.

Chapter Four Footnotes

1. Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 228.
2. Ibid., p. 76.
3. Ibid.
4. Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 18.
5. Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 120.
6. Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967), p. 6.
7. Grant McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), p. 113.
8. Eugene Jacobson, "The Growth of Groups in a Voluntary Association," in Social Participation in Urban Society, ed. Alan Booth and John N. Edwards (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., 1973), pp. 147-153.
9. Richard H. Hall, Organizations, Structure and Process (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 234.
10. Ibid., p. 271.
11. Ibid., pp. 283-284.
12. Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 329.
13. For two additional studies, see Eugene C. Hagburg, "Correlates of Organizational Participation: An Examination of Factors Affecting Union Membership Activity," Pacific Sociological Review, 9 (1966), pp. 15-21, and Richard L. Simpson and William H. Gulley, "Goals, Environmental Pressures and Organizational Characteristics," in Allan Booth and John N. Edwards, Social Participation in Urban Society, pp. 165-171.
14. For further information in this area, see Richard H. Hall, Organizations, Structure and Process, and Amitai Etzioni, Readings on Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).

15. Etzioni, Modern Organizations, p. 38.
16. Richard L. Simpson and William H. Gulley, "Goals, Environmental Pressure and Organizational Characteristics," pp. 159-165.
17. Hall, Organizations, Structure and Process, p. 101.
18. Ibid., p. 96.
19. Ibid.
20. Etzioni, Modern Organizations, p. 9.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Implications

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed and developed a method for measuring the level of support a voluntary association has among its membership. This method of measurement was based on determining the member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the association's organizational structure. Chapter Four concluded by answering the major research question posed in this study. However, in order to provide a more substantive answer to this research question, this chapter will present a final analysis of the relationships between all the variables presented and discussed in the above chapters.

The format of this analysis among the variables, socio-economic status, ideology, integration, and organizational structure, will be set as follows: (1) in order to summarize and interrelate further the findings of the relationship among the variables as presented in the previous chapters, three final tables will be presented that crosstabulate socio-economic status, ideology, and integration with organizational structure; (2) a causal

model will be utilized to suggest which of the three independent variables has the greatest degree of causality in terms of the dependent variable; and (3) a survey of the major conclusions and implications of the study to the K.F.U. in specific and to voluntary agricultural associations in general will be discussed.

Summary of Major Findings

There are four major variables in this study that have been considered in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. The dependent variable in this study is organizational structure and was operationalized in Chapter Four as the member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the K.F.U.'s organizational structure. The remaining three variables are the independent variables -- namely, socio-economic status, ideology, and integration. Socio-economic status was operationalized in Chapter Two as low, medium, and high levels of socio-economic status among the K.F.U.'s members. Ideology was operationalized in Chapter Two as the member's level of ideological congruency with the K.F.U.'s ideology. Integration was operationalized in Chapter Three by dividing the members of the K.F.U. into appropriate categories of low, medium, and high levels of integration.

Chapter Two of this study examined the relationship between ideology and socio-economic status within the context of whether or not socio-economic status predisposed

a member toward accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology. Chapter Two also examined the relationship between ideology and socio-economic status as they related to the dependent variable, organizational structure. Chapter Three was devoted to examining the possible relationship between the three independent variables, integration, ideology, and socio-economic status. Integration was also examined in light of its possible relationship to organizational structure. Chapter Four examined the dependent variable, organizational structure, in depth. The following three tables will examine the relationship between the independent variables, socio-economic status, ideology, and integration, and the dependent variable, organizational structure.

Table 5.1 presents the percentages and N's found by crosstabulating organizational structure with socio-economic status. The index of socio-economic status consists of many variables that one could hypothesize as having some effect on a member determining his/her level of satisfaction with the K.F.U.'s organizational structure. Money, farm size, age, education, etc., all are socio-economic indicators that have been found to be factors in an individual's support for particular presidents, congresspersons, labor unions, and business organizations.¹ However, contrary to what has been found in other studies, Table 5.1 indicates that there is no meaningful relationship between socio-economic status and satisfaction with

Table 5.1

Index of Organizational Structure Benefits
by the Index of Socio-Economic Status (in percentages)

| Satisfaction with Organizational Structure Benefits | Level of Socio-Economic Status | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | Total |
| Low | 10.0% (2) | 23.5% (12) | 18.2% (2) | 19.5% (16) |
| Medium | 40.0 (8) | 37.3 (19) | 36.4 (4) | 37.8 (31) |
| High | 50.0 (10) | 39.2 (20) | 45.5 (5) | 42.7 (35) |
| Total | 100% (20) | 100% (51) | 100% (11) | 100% = 82 |
| $\chi^2 = 1.81$.05 $\gamma = -.12$ $\tau \beta = -.07$ $r = .08$.05 | | | | |

organizational structure benefits. This conclusion is evidenced by the findings in the table which show that not only do members of high socio-economic status rate their satisfaction with the organization's benefits as high, 45.5 percent, but that many members of low socio-economic status also rate their satisfaction with the organization's benefits as high, 50 percent. In addition to the above finding, the statistical tests applied indicate a similar conclusion.

The chi square test of statistical significance yielded a value of 1.81, far below the 9.49 level needed to indicate a relationship at the .05 level of significance. A gamma of -.12 and a tau-beta of -.07 also indicates a

negligible relationship between the two variables and negates any possible contention that a K.F.U. member's level of satisfaction with the K.F.U.'s organizational structure. In summary, knowledge of the member's level of socio-economic status will not help account for or allow prediction of that member's level of satisfaction with the association's organizational structure.

Table 5.2 presents a set of data which demonstrate that a member's level of ideological congruency tends to influence the corresponding development of the member's level of satisfaction with the association's organizational structure benefits as evidenced by the strong positive relationship between the two variables. There are no individuals who are high on satisfaction with benefits and low on ideological congruency, but 10 percent of those members who are high on ideological congruency are also low on satisfaction. Thus, it is not possible for a person to be highly satisfied with the organizational structure benefits and not be congruent with the association's ideology. On the other hand one can be ideologically congruent and yet not be fully satisfied with the benefits provided by the organization's structure. Besides the above finding, there still are 69.2 percent of the members with a low level of ideological congruency who are moderately satisfied with the benefits provided them. This finding would seem to indicate that the members in this cell are probably more satisfied with the economic

Table 5.2

Index of Organizational Structure Benefits
by the Index of Ideology (in percentages)

| Satisfaction with Organizational Structure Benefits | Level of Ideological Congruency | | | Total |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Low | 30.8% (4) | 13.3% (4) | 10.0% (2) | 15.9% (10) |
| Medium | 69.2 (9) | 53.3 (16) | 20.0 (4) | 46.0 (29) |
| High | 0 (0) | 33.3 (10) | 70.0 (14) | 38.1 (24) |
| Total | 100% (13) | 100% (30) | 100% (14) | 100% = 63 |
| $\chi^2 = 17.66$.05 gamma = .65 tau beta = .44 r = .46 .05 | | | | |

benefits afforded them, e.g., insurance, co-op buying, etc., which are most weakly linked to the association's ideology rather than with those benefits, e.g., participation in a solidarity organization, and achieving positive legislative action on priority issues, which are rooted deeply in the association's ideology.

The table shows that 84 percent of the members fall into the medium or high categories of satisfaction with organizational structure benefits. That 46 percent of those persons are in the medium category would seem to indicate that there is room for improvement in the K.F.U.'s organizational structure to meet the criteria of the ideology that gives life to that structure. The 15.9

percent for low satisfaction with organizational structure benefits which spans all three categories of ideological congruency, may indicate that these members perceive there is a negative relationship between the two variables, that is, that the organizational structure of the K.F.U. has not aligned itself very well with the corresponding ideology of the association. As a result of this feeling, these members probably also feel a need for improving the K.F.U.'s organizational structure. These findings seem to indicate, as John Crampton concluded in his study of the National Farmers Union, that its ideology did have a significant impact on that association's organizational structure,² that ideology, in terms of a member's level of ideological congruency, does have a measurable affect on whether or not that member is satisfied with the association's organizational structure.

This conclusion is confirmed by the statistical tests used for this table. The chi square value of 17.66 far exceeded the .05 level of significance value of 9.49. The gamma had a value of .65, indicating a substantial association between the variables, and the more stringent tau-beta had a value of .44, indicating what could be considered a moderate association between the two variables. Both the gamma and the tau-beta values indicate that the degree to which a member of the K.F.U. is congruent with the association's ideology will have a direct affect on that same member determining his/her level of satisfaction

with the K.F.U.'s organizational benefits. In summary, knowledge of a members level of ideological congruency will significantly aid one in predicting that same member's level of satisfaction with the organization's benefits.

Table 5.3 finds that there is a positive relationship between a member's level of integration and a member's level of satisfaction with the organizational structure's benefits. As in Table 5.2, the majority of the respondents fall into the medium and high categories of both variables. These four cells account for over 74 percent of the total cases in the table. The indicator of this finding is that members do not have to be actively involved in the association in order to be satisfied with the benefits that are important to them. Again, as in the previous table, the benefits that may make a member highly satisfied with the organization's structure yet not have to participate actively in the association in order to receive those benefits are those of an economic nature, i.e., various types of insurance and cooperative privileges. Opposite of this finding in the table, is the one which shows that there are no members who are highly integrated yet have a low level of satisfaction. Thus, it is not possible for a member to be highly involved and not be satisfied with the various benefits afforded them of both an economic and ideological nature, yet it is possible for a member to be satisfied with some benefits and not be actively involved in the association.

Table 5.3

Index of Organizational Structure Benefits
by the Index of Integration (in percentages)

| Satisfaction with Organizational Structure Benefits | Level of Integration | | | Total |
|---|----------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Low | 43.8% (7) | 13.6% (9) | 0% (0) | 16.2% (16) |
| Medium | 25.0 (4) | 51.5 (34) | 17.6 (3) | 41.4 (41) |
| High | 31.3 (5) | 34.8 (23) | 82.4 (14) | 42.4 (42) |
| Total | 100% (16) | 100% (66) | 100% (17) | 100% = 99 |
| $\chi^2 = 23.28$.05 gamma = .59 tau beta = .35 r = .38 .05 | | | | |

Although the majority of cases in the table fall into the categories indicating a positive relationship, 16 cases or 16.2 percent of the members fall into the category of low satisfaction with organizational structure. This minority, or deviant finding, within Table 5.3 also explains why there is a positive relationship between the variables discussed in this table among the rest of the members. The explanation follows that, to some degree, the organizational structure of the K.F.U. is accountable for the opportunities provided to the members in which they can participate and become integrated. Those members who claim a low or moderate level of integration may do so because the organizational structure

of the K.F.U. does not presently offer enough integrative opportunities to all types of members. Because of this possibility, members who do not feel very well integrated into the association may not be very satisfied with the associations organizational structure.

In considering the findings previously presented in Table 5.3, it is not surprising to find that the statistical tests used also indicate a positive relationship between the two variables. The chi square value of 23.28 significantly exceeds the .05 level of significance. The gamma value of .59 and the tau-beta value of .35 both indicate a moderate to strong degree of association between the variables. The values noted above for each of the statistical tests indicate that there is a relationship of some significance between a member's level of integration and that member's level of satisfaction with the K.F.U.'s organizational structure. In summary, knowledge of a member's level of integration will help in predicting that same member's level of satisfaction with the organization's structure.

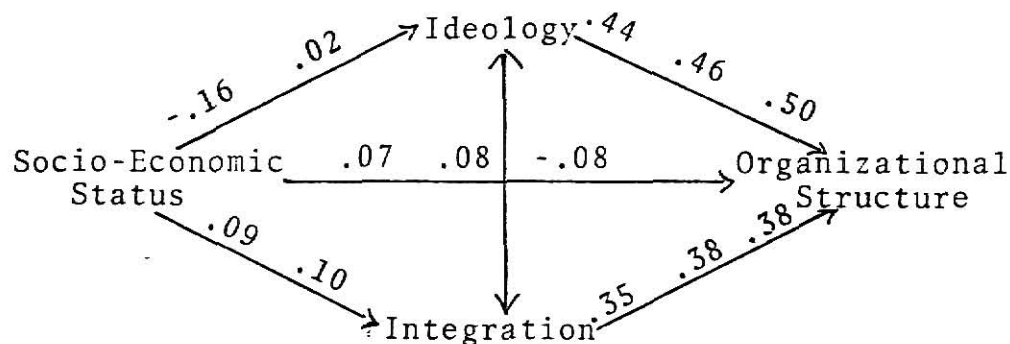
In order to explore somewhat more carefully the interrelationship's among the four variables, socio-economic status, ideology, integration, and organizational structure, a causal model of the Simon-Blalock variety will be utilized. It should be emphasized that the presentation and examination of this model is designed to be suggestive, rather than firmly conclusive. Nevertheless, as Blalock has pointed out:

...the kinds of...theories that serve as first approximations to deductive theories are often far too simple and unclear to stand an adequate formulations; mathematical models should eventually replace or supplement such theories.³

The causal model presented in Figure 5.1 is done so in this spirit -- namely, that "...mathematical models should eventually replace or supplement such theories."⁴

Figure 5.1

Causal Model



On the paths in the above figure, the first number represents tau beta; the second number Pearson's r ; and the third number, where appropriate, the partial correlation.

It is obvious from the statistics presented that the least significant path is the one between socio-economic status and ideology and that the most significant path is the one between ideology and organizational structure. The remaining paths from least to most significant are as

follows: socio-economic status to organizational structure; socio-economic status to integration; ideology with integration; and integration to organizational structure. It is clear that the dependent variable, organizational structure, is causally related most significantly, first, to ideology, and second, to integration. It is also clear that no significant causal relationship exists between the dependent variable on the one hand and socio-economic status on the other. In addition, insignificant causal relationships exist between socio-economic status and ideology, socio-economic status and integration, and ideology and integration. Thus, one can conclude from an examination of the various paths that a member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the association's organizational structure is conditioned primarily by the member's level of ideological congruency with the K.F.U.'s espoused ideology and secondarily by the member's satisfaction with his/her level of integration into the K.F.U. While, as noted above, this data presentation format is suggestive, rather than firmly conclusive, its examination does tend to support, and therefore to organize more efficiently and effectively, the major findings of this study.

Major Implications

In terms of the findings for each chapter, several implications will be developed in the form of recommendations

for improving the representativeness and responsiveness of the K.F.U.; and in addition, appropriate theoretical implications relevant to ideology, integration, and organizational structure will be presented. The discussion of the implications will follow the chronological order of the study, i.e., ideology, integration, and socio-economic status.

Three major implications were found in relation to the variable, ideology. The first implication arises from the findings between socio-economic status and ideology. Although the study found no significant support for basing ideological acceptance by the member on socio-economic factors, two findings in relation to socio-economic status have some implications for the K.F.U.'s future. Evident among the findings in chapter two was the tendency for low and middle class farmers to be much more ideologically congruent with the K.F.U.'s ideology than higher class farmers who averaged only a moderate degree of ideological congruence. Because the K.F.U. is a relatively young organization, rechartered in 1974, there is the distinct possibility that many of its new, i.e., two and five year members, were farmers from all economic classes who possibly hold membership in other farm organizations. The new members from the higher socio-economic class may well have joined for a trial period because: (1) the dues are insignificant even for a five year period; (2) it is a new association

that offers a new possibility for finding an outlet for a person's beliefs and policy goals; and (3) it immediately needed leaders who had the time and money necessary to allow them to devote themselves to leadership positions. What the findings indicate and the above possibilities point out is that within the next ten years there may very well be a decrease in the number of members from the higher socio-economic bracket because the K.F.U.'s ideology tends to cater to the needs and beliefs of lower and middle class family farmers, and it does not appear likely that it will change readily in order to accomodate the beliefs or policy needs of the more well off farmer/K.F.U. member, who, in some instances, operate farms that are not family farms.⁵

The above implication leads directly to a second one related to socio-economic status that indicates the distinct possibility of finding the level of ideological congruency among middle to lower class farmers in the K.F.U. to be based upon socio-economic factors if there is a marginal drop in membership among those falling into the high socio-economic category. This implication seems very realistic since there already is present in the K.F.U. a tendency for middle class farmers to be slightly predisposed toward embracing the K.F.U.'s ideology. For the future, it can be recommended that, based upon the present content of the K.F.U.'s ideology, efforts to recruit and to maintain longterm membership from those

farmers that are in the category of high socio-economic status will be only marginally productive. Instead, the association should work at recruiting those farmers whose socio-economic position corresponds to the ideology associated with the K.F.U.

The second major implication that appears is related to the 18 percent of the members who were found to be very weak in their acceptance of, and support for, the association's ideology. Although other reasons are possible and may have a bearing on why this group of members indicate such a position, two apparent reasons come to the fore. Because a substantial portion of the members, 59 percent, also claim membership in other farm organizations, there is the probability that the members in question are to some extent confused and/or torn between various ideologies they have been exposed to from the other farm organizations. As a result of this probability, the K.F.U. needs to distinguish its ideology clearly from that of the other farm organizations and, in the process, present the ideology in a consistently clear and understandable format to its members so that the linkage between ideology and subsequent policy is shown. This effort may help to reduce the cross memberships now present.

Another reason that probably accounts for some of the 18 percent in the low category described is that some of the people who join the K.F.U. belong only because of

certain services offered, e.g., insurance. If this is the case, the future may find a situation similar to that which has occurred in the Kansas Farm Bureau -- namely, that a majority number of people are members of the Kansas Farm Bureau because they automatically become members when they purchase various insurance policies regardless of whether or not they are farmers by occupation. In order to avoid such a situation happening in the future, the K.F.U. can either sell its insurance to farmers only, or, if not, attempt to sell the ideology and the organization with the service as a package which can both serve the customer.

The final implication drawn from the findings or ideology relates to its dissemination among the K.F.U.'s members. In relation to the rest of the study, ideology was found to be the most influential variable affecting a member's level of satisfaction with the organization's structure. As such, it is extremely important in the future for the K.F.U. to use its two most valuable resources, the printed Kansas Kontact and the communications between members together, effectively in order to imbue its membership with its ideology. The Kontact provides a highly read source of printed media which can facilitate the discussion and presentation of the usefulness of the K.F.U.'s ideology to the members. The Kontact becomes not only a primary source for distributing ideology among members, but also serves as a reference source of information

for members since it is printed and can be saved. The communication between members is also extremely important because it provides a personal format between individuals for the discussion and reinforcement of ideological beliefs. This discussion of ideological beliefs and the resulting feeling among members that a belief in the ideology connotes a highly personalized association with the K.F.U. was apparent in the data considered as well as by the various county meetings, state conventions, etc. attended by the researcher, it is obvious that the K.F.U. must continue to disseminate its ideology among its members in a clear and personalized manner.

The findings of Chapter Two on ideology also suggest some theoretical implications relevant to the concept of ideology. As the final table on the relationship between organizational structure and ideology pointed out, and when considered along with the findings of the causal model, Crampton's statement that "a study of the Union's structure is a study in the difficulty of blurring the impact of ideology"⁶ appears to be correct and justified. A group's ideology appears to be the most influential factor present in shaping and in guiding a voluntary agricultural association, such as the K.F.U.⁷ The implication of these findings seems to indicate that the ideology of an association must be considered the starting point or the point of entry for change within the association. As change may occur in the association,

ideology will be found to be the facilitator of change and not the product of change. As such, an ideologically-oriented voluntary association, such as the K.F.U., must foresee the need for change to meet future membership needs, i.e., relevant new services, in order to allow for the time needed with which the ideology may undergo a metamorphosis and accomodate these future changes. It can be said then that a voluntary association's ideology is its vanguard for change for it shapes and leads more than it reflects.

Harmon Zeigler indicated that in an ideological group one would find that it is typified by a particular socio-economic grouping.⁸ The findings in this study may eventually lead one to believe that in the future this may be the case, but that as a theoretical statement of some importance, it cannot be accepted blindly without modification. The modification necessary corresponds to the need for researchers of voluntary associations to understand that the life span of an association and an agricultural association in particular is cyclical. Because the agricultural association has been directly affected historically by severe economic fluctuations which tended to foster the rise of new agricultural movements, e.g., the Populist movement, the Greenbackers, the Farmer's Holiday Association, etc., one cannot hope to study a relatively new association and thus determine what socio-economic grouping will typify it for good. Instead,

in an attempt to theorize about finding certain socio-economic groups within an association that will typify it, the factor of time, i.e., what stage of its life cycle is it in, should be incorporated into such a theoretical proposition. By incorporating the time factor into the theory, its usefulness for the purposes of prediction will be enhanced.

The major implication discovered in the study of the variable of integration within the K.F.U. is that the cross memberships held in other agricultural association by 59 percent of the members pose a serious threat to the K.F.U. in their efforts to garner total support from that member for the association and thus, that the K.F.U. apparently has not totally convinced certain members that the K.F.U. offers all the benefits and services that he/she requires from an agricultural association. In an effort to gain the full support of its members, the K.F.U. obviously will have a more difficult time gaining that total support from members who also pay dues, and may, participate in other agricultural associations. In its attempts to gain full support from the members, the K.F.U. is probably not offering some of the members enough satisfactory opportunities to participate and to become integrated into the association. As a result of this, many members who do not find these opportunities available in the K.F.U. may be looking for them in other associations that offer similar services and benefits. It has been stressed by Charles Lindstrom that "the people

enrolled as members must feel themselves a part of the organization...."⁹ if they are to remain members for long.

In association with this line of thought, the K.F.U. has failed to convince many members that they are the only agricultural association they need because of a failure to integrate the member into the association. Although the member in question may believe firmly in the ideology of the K.F.U., if he/she is not integrated into the association, he/she will probably not remain members. The recommendations for alleviating this present and future situation that results from cross memberships will be presented after the next implication is discussed because they are closely related in terms of the solution needed to solve both problems.

The second major implication found studying the data on integration is derived from the finding that, although members perceive their personal effectiveness in the K.F.U. as moderate, a tendency exists that the members do not feel they have enough input opportunities in the K.F.U. and that critical positions of responsibility are too few in number. The implication of this finding for the K.F.U.'s failure is that members who do not feel they have enough input into the association most likely will not fully support it and may eventually seek to withdraw from membership. It also indicates that these members are not fully integrated because they do not feel they have an active part in determining the associations policy and

in carrying out that policy. It has been noted that allocating responsibility and rotating it among members increases their sense of belonging to the association and therefore will stimulate them to actively support the association and its policies.¹⁰

In order to alleviate the situation which may occur in the future that are a result of the previous two implications discussed, the following recommendations are presented. First, the present positions of responsibility should be emphasized as productive and integral parts of the association and not seem to be token or symbolic awards. A standard of forceful and innovative leadership should be maintained by the K.F.U. and kept updated by leadership training. Second, the county, or grass-roots level, positions could be expanded to draw in more members. Several possible areas of expansion at the county level are as follows: (1) program development for meetings; (2) county information director; (3) county research groups, as in the case of present water policy research; (4) county youth program; and (5) county membership development. Third, the existing policy structure should be modified to allow for more input from members on areas of concern, such as commodity policy development. Members indicated in the survey that there exists an interest in establishing specific commodity councils within the K.F.U. to develop more effective commodity policy. Such an input program of a specific nature, albeit within the framework

of a general farm organization, may help convince those members who presently belong to both, e.g., the Wheat Growers Association and the K.F.U., that they need to belong only to the latter.

In terms of theoretical implications, the findings in the area of integration point out that, although organizations and/or groups may become too large to allow for effective participation among the members,¹¹ the "iron law of oligarchy"¹² need not always be the result if certain steps are taken. What this study implies in terms of modifying the theory of what happens to large group is that, if within the organization, attempts are made to create small groups, these smaller groups will facilitate the member feeling that he/she has an effective voice in decision-making and will thus lead to an increased feeling of integration. This theoretical result could occur because a typical participant may not take the time to study the issues as carefully as he/she would if they had to make the decision by themselves; however, the decisions of a meeting are a "public good" to the participants, and the contribution each participant makes toward achieving this "public good" will probably become larger as the size of the group becomes smaller. In relation to the theory of integration, this implication would suggest that maximum levels of integration cannot be achieved in large groups, but that by creating sub-groups, the members will discover that their efforts mean more in affecting

the outcome of the group than if all the sub-groups were combined into one large single group.

The findings concerning the levels of integration present among the K.F.U. members tend to indicate that each member may be in the same association, but that, in relation to their level of integration, each member is "experiencing" the association in a significantly different manner. This does point out and confirm that, in reality as well as theory, integration plays a major role in determining whether or not an association remains an association for long. It has been found in this study that those members who tend to be the most highly integrated are those who are probably willing to go outside the immediate association and seek to effectuate its policies by being politically active in elections through their support of candidates that are favorable to K.F.U. policy. In this final sense then, a member's level of integration within a voluntary association can have an impact on that member's actual political participation and therefore upon the theory of political participation.

In examining the findings related to the variable, organizational structure, three major implications for the K.F.U.'s future stand out. One of the surprising findings is that the members knowledge of the official K.F.U. organizational structure (see Appendix II) is minimal at best, indicating that many members may presently doubt that it represents the official process in which policy

and other decisions are made. The primary reason for this lack of knowledge among the members is based on a combination of three factors: the present official association began in 1974; (2) over 75 percent of the members belong to the old K.F.U. that was around prior to the 1974 version; and (3) the present organizational structure appears overly simplistic. These three factors combined however, indicate more than likely that the members are actually unaware and uneducated as to its working existence and that too few of the members have actually had the opportunity to participate in such a limited structure.

It is important for the K.F.U. to make sure that its members have a knowledge of the official organizational structure (hopefully, there is no unofficial "power structure") because it helps to foster a belief among the members that the organization is legitimate in that it works from the grass-roots up and not otherwise. The other important implication from this finding again indicates that there is a need for developing a slightly more diversified structural format which would allow more members to participate in input groups and/or positions of responsibility. In line with these implications is the recommendation that the K.F.U. undertake to educate the members of the official organizational structure, e.g., through articles in Kontakt or policy matters which should indicate the structural process utilized in policy

making. The other recommendation that applies to the above finding, is the same one that was fully cited as a recommendation in the discussion of integration -- namely, that there should be an increase in county level positions of responsibility as well as in input groups.

A second major implication in this area is that, members are slightly more satisfied with the association's use of their money than of their time and therefore, that the K.F.U. is not efficiently and effectively using the most personal resource provided it by members. Although the difference between the use of time and money was slight, it is extremely important for the future of the association not to aggravate the discrepancy, but to rectify it because, if a member eventually reaches a point where he/she feels his/her time is being wasted totally by the K.F.U., his/her participation will decline or cease, his/her level of integration will decline or cease, his/her monetary support will decline or cease; in sum, his/her membership will terminate, and if the phenomenon is widespread, the association will ultimately die.

The most common use of a member's time at present is in attending county meetings. This statement itself implies then that these county meetings, which account for most of the time spent by the average member in participative activities, do not provide a worthwhile format to justify the member spending his/her time in attending them. This finding is not only implied in the data, but was supported

by comments made on the questionnaire and by comments made by members met by the researcher. To an enlarged extent, the finding implies that members seek an improvement in other types of meetings, such as policy meetings, and desire more diversified participatory opportunities in which they feel their input of time is meaningful. In order to alter the present situation and prevent the possibility of the association folding because member's have terminated their membership with it, the K.F.U. needs to improve the content of county meetings, the device which provides the primary opportunity for membership participation.

The final major implication in the area of organizational structure concerns the various benefits that the organizational structure provides. It is apparent from the discussion in Chapter Four on the four benefit indices, i.e., participation and interaction (symbolic benefits) as well as task effectiveness and task efficiency (instrumental benefits) that members were much more highly supportive of the symbolic benefits they received than they were of the instrumental benefits they received. The importance of symbolic benefits to members is evidenced further in the findings on two other variables examined in this study, i.e., ideology and integration, which are in themselves symbolic benefits provided the member by the association. What these findings indicate is that, even today for farmers belonging to the K.F.U.,

the symbolic benefits they receive from the association are relatively more important to them than the instrumental benefits.

The implications of such a finding in this particular voluntary agricultural association are varied and far reaching in relation to the attitudes present in the members of the K.F.U. One of the implications of this finding is that associations of this nature fulfill a powerful social service to individuals who, unlike city dwellers, live miles from neighbors and frequent human contact. The social aspect in itself is symbolic and is a product of the member's participation in an organized program that allows for the interaction with others of similar backgrounds and beliefs.

Another implication deals with the very idea that beliefs are important symbolic benefits. Through the process of participation and interaction with other farmers who are members of the K.F.U., members share similar beliefs and foster in each other a hope and drive for seeing their beliefs transformed into policy. However, if one considers the legislative record of not only the K.F.U., but also of the original National Farmers Union, both of which have met repeated defeats of their legislative proposals, it is important to understand that legislative defeats do not also equate a defeat for the members beliefs. This is evidenced by the members acceptance that their legislative policies always encounter

an uphill battle in seeking their passage, and that as a result of this situation, the members have come to place an emphasis on seeing to it that the beliefs remain alive and strong, for there is no hope in the future transformation of these beliefs into policy if the beliefs disappear.

A final minor implication of the importance of symbolic benefits to members of the K.F.U. relates to the one possible tangible benefit that farmers wish their association could provide them; control of the weather. Because weather is such a critical factor in agricultural production, no matter how good the other instrumental benefits that an association can secure for the member, such as higher support prices, higher loan rates, etc., the weather to some degree can negate almost any other instrumental benefits the association can provide. Since the association cannot secure this important instrumental benefit for its members, there is a strong indication that members value the symbolic benefits more because it allows them to neutralize the one factor that they personally or collectively cannot control in that they can share this burden with other farmers through their participation and interaction with each other. The importance of symbolic benefits to the members of the K.F.U. has not only practical implications, as suggested above, but also important theoretical implications that will be discussed below.

The first theoretical implication to be considered is not an original one, but it is one that adds additional support to the theoretical observations made by two authors. The study clearly indicates that Zeigler's rather minor statement about "...the recognition that supposedly...symbolic satisfaction fulfills the needs of many members..."¹³ in a voluntary association probably deserves greater attention than the concern expressed for the other types of benefits that maybe factors in an individuals decision to join and to remain a member of a voluntary association. Mancur Olson treated symbolic benefits in much the same fashion for, in his discussion of the possible other inducements, besides political, that may encourage a person to join an organization,¹⁴ he mentions briefly symbolic benefits, but gives more attention to the more tangible benefits such as insurance. Instead of treating symbolic benefits as a factor of secondary importance, the theory related to voluntary agricultural associations should be modified to take account of the finding not only that symbolic benefits are important to members in relation to the time and money spent on the association, but that the most important factor present in determining a member's level of support for the association is his/her level of satisfaction with the symbolic benefits provided by the association.

The other important theoretical implication that is related to both the single variable of organizational

structure and the study as a whole is that this research effort has provided the theory of voluntary agricultural association's with a new conceptualization of the variable of organizational structure and a new method for ascertaining the support for an association among its members by measuring their level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the association's organizational structure. These two propositions have been examined fully in this study and have added to the theory on organizational structure in a voluntary association, primarily because, as pointed out in Chapter Four, there is a lack of theory directly applicable to the subject. In this regard, the study has developed a testable theoretical model of measuring a voluntary association's organizational structure and also of measuring a voluntary association's level of support among its membership. The attempt to develop such a testable model is the starting point for developing an appropriate theory about the organizational structures of voluntary association's, e.g., its mode of operation, its relationship to other variables in voluntary associations, and its role in determining the members level of support for a voluntary association. Hopefully this study should at least provide future researchers in this general research area with findings and some theory from which they may develop and test future models in an attempt to create a better developed theory applicable to the organizational

structure of voluntary agricultural associations.

In the final portion of this chapter, it will be pointed out how certain aspects of the study might be changed in future research on the Kansas Farmers Union or other farm organizations. The chapter concludes with a discussion of what the findings imply for the concrete reality of the K.F.U. The most significant problem with the study is the response rate of 17 percent. Two major potential changes will be discussed. The first relates to the length and scope of the questionnaire. The most obvious drawback is that it was excessively long and detailed. This was confirmed by comments made by various respondents to the survey and comments made to the K.F.U. state president, Dale Lyon. To alleviate such a problem in the future, a questionnaire of this nature should obtain specific information, but that specific information should be obtained through a smaller number of variables. Survey research has as one of its purposes, the demonstration of causal relationships between variables. One cannot expect to achieve satisfactory results if variables are overly general or superficial. One must strive to obtain detailed data about a concept based on multiple indicators, but the scope of the questionnaire should be limited to only a few dimensions.

The second major possibility for improving the response rate of a mailed questionnaire is to use a different method of sending response reminders. In this

study, postcards were mailed to all the individuals surveyed three weeks after the questionnaire was sent. Respondents were thanked for having already returned the survey. Those who had not completed the survey yet were reminded to please do so. A more specific method could yield a better return rate to the survey is the following; instead of mailing one postcard reminder to all the members surveyed, one could send a stamped addressed postcard with the respondents name on it which the respondent would mail separately from the questionnaire, thus maintaining anonymity and at the same time providing the researcher with knowledge of who has returned the questionnaire. Those who had not returned the questionnaire in a reasonable time would receive a followup reminder, and finally after another reasonable interim would be telephoned and courteously reminded to turn the questionnaire in. This would have necessitated a smaller sample but would have insured a much higher response rate.

Although the survey return rate was a modest 17 percent, a comparison by variables on socio-economic status between K.F.U. members and the 1969-1970 census reports for Kansas reveal that the sample is indeed normally distributed and not severely biased in favor of any particular socio-economic group. A comparison of educational attainment of K.F.U. members and farmers of Kansas in general reveal that for the K.F.U., 18.4 percent had an elementary education, 43.9 percent a high school

diploma, and 22 percent with some college experience. The average educational level for male farmers over twenty-five in the 1969 census was: 35 percent with only elementary school, 50 percent with some high school, and 13 percent having some college education.¹⁵ The average size of farm for a K.F.U. member was 820 acres and 691.5 acres for the average Kansas commercial farmer.¹⁶ Farm income was found to be similar: the Kansas farmer in general reported an average market value for all agricultural products sold of \$26,259,¹⁷ and the K.F.U. member reported a mean gross farm income of between \$20,000 and \$39,999. The value of the farming operation was also found to be comparable with the Kansas average value of land and buildings being \$108,166, and the K.F.U. member having an average gross dollar value of their farming operation between \$150,000 and \$199,999. The K.F.U. member's average age was 54 years and the average Kansas farmer's age was 51 years.¹⁹ In general then, this brief comparison indicates that K.F.U. members who responded to the survey are only slightly higher on the above socioeconomic variables than the average Kansas farmer.

Chapter Three deals with the concept of integration, which is related to ideological congruency and socioeconomic status. The index of integration is a viable measure composed of both attitudinal and behavioral measures. An alternative method of integration might be considered. Instead of combining both the behavioral and

attitudinal measures of integration together into one measure, one might separate each into a separate measure of integration. The method of combining both components poses a problem of possibly inflating the relationship between the level of satisfaction with organizational structure benefits and the level of integration, because the index of integration used may not be as objective as a measure of integration that is based solely on behavioral criteria. One might choose the more objective approach of using only behavioral variables as a primary source and attitudinal variables as a secondary source in order to ascertain how a behavioral variable, i.e., level of integration as the independent variable, affects an attitudinal dependent variable, i.e., level of satisfaction with organizational structure benefits of the K.F.U. This would insure that both concepts are measured independently of one another.

Future study of farm organizations should analyze the role membership in other farm organizations play in shaping the behavior and attitudes of members in the farm organization under study. In this study, membership in other farm organizations was initially considered to be of a secondary importance, but the findings point out that this variable may be very important to any relationship being considered among other variables. Since 59 percent of the members under study did belong to other farm organizations, it would be important in a future study to

find out why this multiple membership exists. In order to find out why, one needs to look closely at the different instrumental and symbolic benefits offered by each farm organization and to find out what type of farmer identifies more with symbolic benefits than instrumental benefits or vice versa. After answering the above questions, one could next find out what happens to members as a result of these cross pressures which have been speculated about in this study.

As was indicated earlier, the K.F.U. members responding to the survey appear to be sufficiently dispersed socio-economically that the findings of the study are applicable to the entire association. Within the K.F.U., the study found that there was no overall tendency for K.F.U. members to be predisposed towards accepting the association's ideology along socio-economic status lines. However, farmers who join the K.F.U. may do so because of some form of initial self-selection along certain socio-economic lines. Once they are members, the ideology of the association is strong enough that it blurs or erases any differences in ideology by socio-economic factors. This could be even more true if one were to study the recruitment patterns of the association at present.

Because the distinct possibility exists that the K.F.U. presently recruits new members largely from those counties composed primarily of family farmers, one would probably find, as this study did, that on a statewide

basis, socio-economic factors do not tend to predispose members toward accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology. But, if one were to do an analysis on a county by county basis, there is a strong possibility that a case for socio-economic predisposition could be found, not on an individual, but on a county level. That is, farmers of all socio-economic categories would be more likely to join Farmers Union in family-farm dominated counties than would be those in counties with a predominance of larger-than family farms.

The K.F.U. of today is a strongly ideological association. However, even though the association's present strength lies in its ideological character, the future of a solidarity organization of this nature appears uncertain when one confronts the fact that a substantial number of members rate both their level of integration and level of participation as being low. The problem that arises then is one of determining how to maintain a solidarity group without falling into the trap of bureaucratic organization. It is obvious from this study that the members desire increased opportunity for participating in the work of the association. Even though the association is ideological in nature, the members indicate that there is room to create positions of responsibility which can be shared among the members that blends the symbolic ideological dialogue members adhere to with the practical benefit of participating in useful service activities or

meaningful activities of policy development and implementation. The conclusion of Chapter Three presents some of the possible positions which could be created that would serve to facilitate the growth and maintenance of such a solidarity organization as the K.F.U.

Discussion of the relationship of socio-economic status to the other variables has resulted in the conclusion that no relationship exists between them. But this is not completely true, because although there was no positive relationship between them, there did appear a possible negative relationship between certain variables of ideological congruency and socio-economic status. This relationship was found on the issues concerning the role of incorporation of the farming operation, the position of corporate farming in agricultural production, and the future of preserving the family farm. On each issue, the study found a tendency for those K.F.U. members in the higher socio-economic class to be more conservative in their views on these issues in that they did not fully agree with the K.F.U.'s position on these issues because of the practical reality that their present farming operation is in some respect contrary to the ideological position of the association. As such, for many possible reasons, the K.F.U. member who is more better off than other members may agree with most of the ideology of the association, but will not go as far as to agree with those parts of the ideology that may threaten his current lifestyle or means of livelihood.

Although there may be a slight dent in the armor of this solidarity group, the fact remains that the majority of its members thrives on the symbolic benefits produced by membership in an ideological association. This contention is supported by the finding that a member may be highly congruent with the association's ideology yet not be very well integrated into the association, but that it is impossible for a member to be highly integrated and yet not also be highly ideologically congruent with the association's ideology. This contention is further supported by the relationship between level of ideological congruency and level of satisfaction with organizational structure benefits. It is possible for members to be highly ideologically congruent yet not satisfied with the benefits of the organization. It was not possible for a person to be highly satisfied with the organizations benefits and not be congruent with the association's ideology. Because it was found that members who were highly integrated were also highly ideologically congruent, it is not surprising to find that the member who is highly integrated is also highly satisfied with the benefits afforded him/her by the association's structure. Any member with a low level of integration or a low level of satisfaction with the association's benefits was probably more concerned with the instrumental or economic benefits of the association than with the symbolic or ideological benefits. The study suggests that the K.F.U. is a strong

ideological farm organization that enjoys a substantial degree of support from its members based upon their strong level of satisfaction with the benefits provided them by the association's organizational structure. However, an unclear future results from the existence of only a moderate level of integration among the members.

Chapter Five Footnotes

1. See William Flannigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), and H.T. Reynolds, Politics and the Common Man (New York: Dorsey Press, 1974).

2. John A. Crampton, The National Farmers Union (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 164.

3. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Theory Construction (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 3.

4. Ibid.

5. The definition of a family farm for the purposes of this citation is one whereby no more than one-quarter of the labor needed to run the farm is supplied by a person(s) outside the immediate family farming their five farm.

6. Crampton, The National Farmers Union, p. 189.

7. Grant McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), p. 113.

8. Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 215.

9. David E. Lindstrom, American Farmers' and Rural Organizations (Champaign, Ill.: The Garrard Press, 1948), p. 406.

10. Ibid., p. 412; David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951), p. 21; and Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), pp. 195-196.

11. Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 386.

12. Robert Michels, A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy, trans. by Edens and Cedar Paul (New York: Collier Books, 1962 - original in 1915), pp. 333ff.

13. Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Democracy, p. 228.

14. Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, p. 386.
15. U.S. Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics. Final Report, PC (1)-C18 Kansas. Table 52.
16. U.S. Bureau of Census, Census of Agriculture: 1969, Vol. I Area Reports, Part 21, Kansas. Section I, Summary Data, Table 10.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. U.S. Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics. Final Report, PC (1)-C18 Kansas. Table 13.

Appendix I

MARCH 1976

DEAR FARMERS UNION MEMBER:

We have decided to conduct a survey of our membership. The purpose of this survey is to determine the general nature of our membership as a whole. This, of course, involves a rather lengthy set of questions some of which may seem personal to you.

Be assured that your privacy is absolute. There is no way we can pinpoint the person questioned in this survey.

It is quite necessary to have your cooperation in filling out the enclosed questionnaire if the survey is to be a success.

Please complete the enclosed questionnaire as soon as possible, place it in the enclosed stamped, self addressed envelope and mail it.

Thank you very much. Your completion and return of the questionnaire will help the Kansas Farmers Union better understand how to effectively serve your interests as a member.

Best wishes,

Dale Lyon
President

Enclosure (1)

PLEASE BE ASSURED OF YOUR ANONYMITY IN MAKING YOUR RESPONSES AND IN ANSWERING ALL THE QUESTIONS. Please indicate the answer to the questions in this questionnaire which best represents yourself and fill in the blanks where appropriate.

I.

We would like to begin this survey by asking you some questions about your socio-economic background.

1. Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Race A ☐ White B ☐ Black C ☐ Mexican-American
D ☐ Other (specify) _____
3. Age _____ in years.
4. County you presently live in and county or counties you presently farm in:
County Live in _____ County(ies) Farm in _____,
5. Present number of persons residing in your household? _____
6. Level of formal education.
A ☐ Some grade school or grade school diploma
B ☐ Some high school C ☐ High school diploma
D ☐ Some college E ☐ College degree
F ☐ Advanced college degree G ☐ Other (specify) _____
7. What was your approximate total gross farm income for 1975?
A ☐ Less than \$20,000 B ☐ \$20,000 to \$39,000
C ☐ \$40,000 to \$59,000 D ☐ \$60,000 to \$79,000
E ☐ \$80,000 to \$99,000 F ☐ \$100,000 to \$119,000
G ☐ \$120,000 to \$139,000 H ☐ \$140,000 and above
8. Do you have a job other than farming from which you receive income? If so, what type of job is it? (If you answer no to this question, go on to question 11)
NON FARM JOB A ☐ Yes B ☐ No

TYPE OF NON-FARM JOB

- C ☐ Professional, technician, manager, or administrator
D ☐ Sales, clerical, or service worker (e.g., Health, Food)
E ☐ Craftsman or foreman (e.g., Auto Mechanic, Machinist)
F ☐ Semiskilled (e.g. Factory Worker)
G ☐ Laborer
9. If you do have a non-farm job as a secondary source of income, what would you estimate your total gross income was from it for 1975?
A ☐ Less than \$2,000 B ☐ \$2,000 to \$3,999
C ☐ \$4,000 to \$5,999 D ☐ \$6,000 to \$7,999
E ☐ \$8,000 to \$9,999 F ☐ \$10,000 and above
 10. How many weeks in 1975 would you estimate you worked at this non-farm job?
A ☐ Less than 4 weeks B ☐ 4 weeks to 8 weeks
C ☐ 8 weeks to 12 weeks D ☐ 12 weeks to 16 weeks
E ☐ 16 weeks to 20 weeks F ☐ 20 weeks or more

11. What would you estimate your spouse's total gross income for 1975 was from a non-farm job?
 A ☐ Less than \$2,000 B ☐ \$2,000 to \$3,999
 C ☐ \$4,000 to \$5,999 D ☐ \$6,000 to \$7,999
 E ☐ \$8,000 to \$9,999 F ☐ \$10,000 to \$14,999
 G ☐ \$15,000 to \$19,000 H ☐ \$20,000 or more
 I ☐ None
12. Were either your parents, your spouse's parents, or both sets of parents farmers by occupation?
 A ☐ Your parents B ☐ Spouse's parents
 C ☐ Both sets of parents D ☐ Neither parents
13. Within the last five years have you been a member of any other farm organization or other type of organization, association, union, etc.? If so would you list them in order of importance to you.
- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <u>OTHER FARM ORGANIZATIONS</u> | <u>OTHER ORGANIZATIONS</u> |
| _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |

II.

Now we would like to ask you some questions about your farming operation.

1. What is the total number of acres you farm? _____ acres.
2. Would you break your total number of acres down into number of acres per type usage?
 A. Under tillage _____ (acres)
 B. Grazing or pasture _____ (acres) C. Other _____ (acres)
3. How many of the total acres you farm do you own?
 _____ acres
4. How many of the total acres you farm do you rent or lease? _____ acres
5. How many of the total acres you down do you rent or lease out? _____ acres
6. How did you acquire the farm land that you presently own and what percent of the total you own does it make up?
 A. Bought _____ % of total B. Inherited from my parents _____ % of total
 C. Inherited from spouse's parents _____ % of total
7. In your operation, what percent of the management function do you perform?
 A. ☐ Less than 25% B ☐ 25%-49% C ☐ 50%-74%
 D ☐ 75%-99% E ☐ 100%
8. Does your farming operation require the hiring of extra farm workers? A ☐ yes, B ☐ no. If yes, what percent of the total labor do the extra farm workers perform?
 C ☐ less than 25% D ☐ 25%-49% E ☐ 50%-74%
 F ☐ 75%-99% G ☐ 100%

9. Which of the following type(s) of farm production are you presently engaged in? Place a check by each type. Also would you indicate the size in round numbers of each type by acres and numbers where appropriate.
- | CROP GRAINS | ACRES | LIVESTOCK | NUMBER |
|--|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| A <input type="checkbox"/> Cash Grains | <input type="text"/> | G <input type="checkbox"/> Cattle | <input type="text"/> |
| B <input type="checkbox"/> Hay | <input type="text"/> | H <input type="checkbox"/> Calves | <input type="text"/> |
| C <input type="checkbox"/> Forage/silage | <input type="text"/> | I <input type="checkbox"/> Finishing Cattle | <input type="text"/> |
| MISC. | | J <input type="checkbox"/> Dairy | <input type="text"/> |
| D <input type="checkbox"/> Sugar Beets | <input type="text"/> | K <input type="checkbox"/> Hogs | <input type="text"/> |
| E <input type="checkbox"/> Dry beans | <input type="text"/> | L <input type="checkbox"/> Sheep | <input type="text"/> |
| F <input type="checkbox"/> Other | <input type="text"/> | M <input type="checkbox"/> Poultry | <input type="text"/> |
10. From the previous questions would you please list the three most important types of farm production for your farming livelihood. 1. 2. 3.
11. What would you estimate at present the total gross dollar value of your farming operation to be if you were to liquidate everything today?
- | | |
|---|---|
| A <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$50,000 | E <input type="checkbox"/> \$200,000 to \$299,999 |
| B <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 to \$99,999 | F <input type="checkbox"/> \$300,000 to \$499,999 |
| C <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 to \$149,999 | G <input type="checkbox"/> \$500,000 to \$699,999 |
| D <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,000 to \$199,999 | H <input type="checkbox"/> \$700,000 and above |
12. What would you estimate at present your total investment in farm machinery and equipment to be?
- | | |
|---|---|
| A <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$25,000 | B <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 to \$49,000 |
| C <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 to \$99,999 | D <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 to \$149,999 |
| E <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,000 and above | |
13. What percent of the value of your total farming operation is your present indebtedness?
- | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| A <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 25% | B <input type="checkbox"/> 25%-49% | C <input type="checkbox"/> 50%-74% |
| D <input type="checkbox"/> 75%-99% | E <input type="checkbox"/> 100% | |

III.

The next section contains a series of statements and questions concerning the organizational structure of the present Kansas Farmers Union.

1. There are five priority issues of the Kansas Farmers Union which are to be lobbied for during the 1976 Kansas Legislative session. Which of these five issues are actually important to you as an individual farmer and would you rank those that are important to you by placing a number beside them in order to importance.
- | |
|--|
| A <input type="checkbox"/> Kansas Wheat Marketing Board |
| B <input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural Municipalities |
| C <input type="checkbox"/> Corporate Farming Control |
| D <input type="checkbox"/> Soil Sedimentation Regulation |
| E <input type="checkbox"/> Kansas Department of Agriculture Reorganization |
2. If you do not agree that some of all of the above issues are important and if you have additional issues that are of concern to you as an individual farmer, please take this opportunity to identify and rank the three priority issues which should be lobbied for before the 1976 and 1977 Kansas legislature.
- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <input type="text"/> | 2. <input type="text"/> | 3. <input type="text"/> |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|

3. The Kansas Farmers Union has been successful in achieving positive legislative action on its priority issues since 1970.
A Agree B Neutral C Disagree D No response
4. The Kansas Farmers Union is a good organization to join because it produces results that benefit me as a farmer.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
5. The benefits provided through membership in the Kansas Farmers Union justify the time spent in attending county meetings, reading the "Kansas Kontact", and participating in the policy-formulating process.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
6. The benefits provided through membership in the Kansas Farmers Union equal or surpass the costs in membership dues.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
7. If you are a member of another farm organization(s), does the Kansas Farmers Union provide greater benefits to the individual farmer in relation to time and monetary costs than the other farm organizations?
A Yes B No
8. The leadership of the Kansas Farmers Union generally works to promote the welfare of the farmers who are members of the Kansas Farmers Union.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
9. The present system of electing both state and county Kansas Farmers Union leaders is democratic.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
10. Adequate opportunities exist within the structure of the Kansas Farmers Union for membership input in policy making.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
11. If you marked disagree on the previous question please take this opportunity to express what you feel should be three adequate opportunities for a member of the Kansas Farmers Union to participate in policy making.
1. 2. 3.
12. The policy made with membership input at the county level is reflected in policy adopted at the state convention.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
13. The membership attending the state convention has the opportunity to promote their policy ideas.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
14. State leaders are generally available to talk to members and listen to their ideas.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
15. County leaders are generally available to talk to members and listen to their ideas.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
16. The Kansas Kontact provides the information necessary to find out what the Kansas Farmers Union stands for and information on what the organization is doing.
A agree B neutral C disagree D no response

17. A benefit of the Kansas Farmers Union, especially at the county level, is the opportunity for members to interact formally and informally with each other.
 A ___ agree B ___ neutral C ___ disagree D ___ no response

IV.

Now in the following section we would like you to respond to some questions and statements about you and your relationship with the Kansas Farmers Union.

1. How many years have you been a member of the Kansas Farmers Union? ___ years
2. During the past five years, what offices connected with the Kansas Farmers Union have you held at the county level and would you rank them in order of importance.
 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
3. During the past five years what offices connected with the Kansas Farmers Union have you held at the state level and would you rank them in order of importance.
 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
4. During the past five years, how many times have you run for an office connected with the Kansas Farmers Union at the county level? _____
5. What activities at the county level, which you have participated in have been the most personally rewarding?
 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
 4. _____ 5. _____
6. What activities at the state level, which you have participated in, have been the most personally rewarding?
 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
 4. _____ 5. _____
7. What would you consider to be your attendance rate at county meetings?
 A ___ Never B ___ Hardly ever C ___ Sometimes
 D ___ Frequently E ___ Almost always
8. Which of the following Kansas Farmers Union related organizations do you belong to, how long have you belonged to it, how many policies do you carry with the insurance companies and would you estimate your annual dollar amount of business you do with them?
 Natl. F.U. Property and Casualty Co. Member ___ Yes ___ No
 Length Member ___ \$ Amount of Business/Policies _____
 Natl. F.U. Life Insurance Co. Member ___ Yes ___ No
 Length Member ___ \$ Amount of Business/Policies _____
 F.U. Coop Member ___ Yes ___ No
 Length Member ___ \$ Amount of Business/Policies _____
9. Would you please place the following parts of the Kansas Farmers Union organizational structure in proper order from bottom to the top.
 State Board of Director _____
 County Organization _____
 State Executives _____
 Executive Board _____
 County President _____

10. Would you please identify the following elected officials of the Kansas Farmers Union?
 A. State President _____
 B. State Vice President _____
 C. County President _____
11. There is a large number of various newspapers', farm magazines, T.V. stations, and radio stations to choose from. Would you rank in order under each type of media the ones that are most important to you for getting information on what the Kansas Farmers Union is doing and farm issues?
NEWSPAPERS FARM MAGAZINE T.V. STATIONS RADIO STATIONS

12. Would you please indicate how much impact you feel you have on Kansas Farmers Union Policy?
 A Much impact B Some Impact C No impact
13. Would you please indicate how well you feel the Kansas Farmers Union represents your interests?
 A Very well B Adequately C Not very well
14. Concerning what the Kansas Farmers Union in general does, would you say that you have:
 A Quite a lot of say B Some say C Not much say
15. I have in the past campaigned for and/or contributed to those political candidates which are sympathetic to Kansas Farmers Union policy positions.
 A Never B Hardly ever C Sometimes
 D Frequently E Almost always
16. About how much of the time do you as a farmer think you can trust the Kansas Farmers Union leadership to do what is right for the farmer?
 A Always B Some of the time C Never
17. Which of the following political affiliations describes you best?
 A Republican B Independent C Democrat
 D Radical

V.

In the final section we would like to ask you some questions regarding various types of public policy.

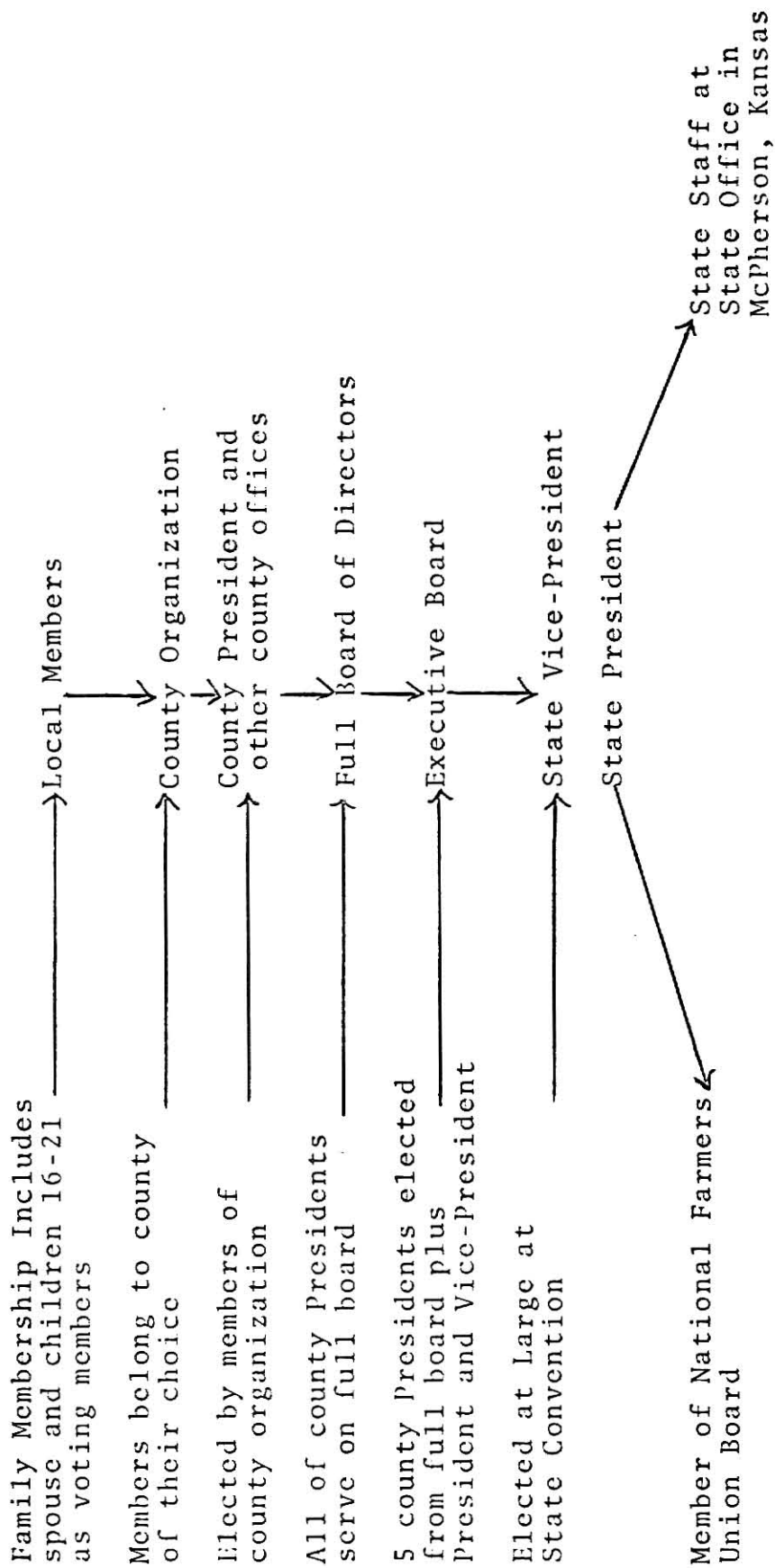
1. The family farm, as conceived by the Kansas Farmers Union, is as efficient in production as any other type of agriculture.
 A agree B neutral C disagree no response
2. The government should use its authority to pass laws which will preserve the family farm.
 A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
3. Incorporation of farms, big or small, is damaging to the security of the family farms.
 A agree B neutral C disagree D no response
4. A farm can be incorporated and still be a family farm if family members do most of the work.
 A agree B neutral C disagree D no response

5. Incorporating a family farm is beneficial to transferring it to ones children.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
6. The concept of cooperative effort among farmers is even more important in todays world because it is a realistic principle that can also benefit farmers economically.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
7. Marketing of farm products should be attained by farmers, contracting to sell their products thru a farmer controlled marketing agent.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
8. Which of the following statements reflects best your opinion of the role collective bargaining has in the agriculture of the future? Mark only one.
A ☐ Bargaining has no place.
B ☐ Bargaining is needed for contract production but not field crops and livestock.
C ☐ Bargaining is generally desirable, to give farmers a stronger voice in pricing.
D ☐ A new law should enable producers to funnel all marketing into a central marketing board.
9. Giant farming corporations are a threat to the family farm.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
10. Giant farming corporations should be restricted.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
11. The federal government should provide for meaningful price stability in the agricultural sector of the economy.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
12. Whether times are economically good or bad, the farmer is always the underdog and is continually disadvantaged when compared with other economic groups in society.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
13. What should be the priorities of rural development programs? Please rank these in order of importance to you as a farmer.
A ☐ More efficient local government.
B ☐ Better schools, health facilities, other public services
C ☐ More industry, for off-farm jobs.
D ☐ Better farming.
E ☐ Improved environment and conservation of natural resources.
F ☐ Better family living (housing, water systems, etc.).
G ☐ Other-specify _____
14. Whether a man on the land earns enough income is more important than whether he is a family farmer in todays society.
A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response

15. In relation to other Kansas farmers, do you feel that:
 A ☐ Almost all other Kansas farmers are better off than you.
 B ☐ Over half of the Kansas farmers are better off than you.
 C ☐ Most Kansas farmers are, in about the same conditions as you.
 D ☐ You are better off than over half the Kansas farmers.
 E ☐ You are better off than almost all other Kansas farmers.
16. The Federal government should continue to regulate the oil and natural gas industries.
 A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
17. There should be an immediate moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants.
 A ☐ agree B ☐ neutral C ☐ disagree D ☐ no response
18. What should be your total annual gross farm income in order to satisfy basic needs (food, clothing, shelter) for yourself and your family and to provide for a comfortable standard of living?
- | | |
|---|---|
| A <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$20,000 | E <input type="checkbox"/> \$80,000 to \$99,999 |
| B <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 to \$39,999 | F <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 to \$119,999 |
| C <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000 to \$59,999 | G <input type="checkbox"/> \$120,000 to \$139,999 |
| D <input type="checkbox"/> \$60,000 to \$79,999 | H <input type="checkbox"/> \$140,000 and above |

Appendix II

1976 Organizational Structure of the Kansas Farmers Union



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THE KFU: A STUDY IN THE DYNAMICS OF A
VOLUNTARY AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION

by

RONALD DEAN SMITH

B.S., Emporia Kansas State College, 1975

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Political Science

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1977

The purpose of the study is to examine the inter-relationships between the dependent variable, organizational structure benefits, and the independent variables, socio-economic status, ideology, and integration as each variable is perceived by the members of the Kansas Farmers Union (K.F.U.). The data for the study were collected from a random sample totalling 326 members of the K.F.U. In analyzing the data presented, several data presentation formats, i.e., indices crosstabulations, and a causal model, as well as several statistical tests, i.e., Goodman's and Kruskal's tau beta, gamma, Pearson's product-moment correlation, and partial correlations, were utilized. A brief summary of the results of the various analyses follow.

In the second chapter, where socio-economic status and ideology were related and discussed in terms of organizational structure, it was discovered that members in the K.F.U. are not socially and economically predisposed toward accepting the K.F.U.'s ideology. However, the variable of ideology was found to play an important role in shaping and guiding the organizational structure of the K.F.U.

In the third chapter, where integration was related to socio-economic status and ideology and discussed in terms of organizational structure, it was discovered that there is no significant relationship between a K.F.U. member's level of ideological congruency and his/her level

of integration. The variable, integration, was also found to have no significant relationship with a member's level of socio-economic status. This chapter found however, that integration plays an important role in the member's support of the K.F.U.'s organizational structure.

In the fourth chapter, where organizational structure was examined in depth, it was argued that a valid measurement of membership support for the K.F.U. can be based on the member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided the association's organizational structure. The benefits were divided into symbolic benefits, i.e., participation and interaction, and into instrumental benefits, i.e., task effectiveness and task efficiency. It was discovered that, overall, the members of the K.F.U. exhibit a high degree of support for their association but that they emphasize the importance of symbolic benefits over instrumental benefits.

Finally, in the final chapter, a causal synthesis interrelating the four variables and determining which ones exhibited the more significant causal relationships on the dependent variable, organizational structure, is presented. It was found that a member's level of satisfaction with the benefits provided by the organization's structure is most closely related, first, to a member's level of ideological congruency, and, second, to a member's level of integration. In addition, the implications of the findings for the K.F.U. as well as for the theories of

ideology, integration, and organizational structure in voluntary agricultural associations is presented and discussed.