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# Reasons and Philosophies For Living in the Country

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# Reasons and Philosophies For Living in the Country

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## BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The urban media and other urban influences of large metropolitan centers have extended far into the countryside. And the proportion of the nonfarm people living in the open country has increased greatly. Even the majority of people living around such small cities as Columbia, Jefferson City, Joplin and Cape Girardeau have little or no commitment to farming as an occupation. This lack of commitment also extends well into some of the more remote rural areas in the state where many part-time farmers and retired people live. This diverse aggregate has been classified into an amorphous category called rural non-farm for census purposes. In 1970 they constituted more than 21 percent of the states population—an increase of 0.3 percent over the past decade (Census of Agriculture, 1969, 1974).

Into this rural non-farm category have been dumped everything not farm and not urban. Agricultural researchers have either tended to exclude them in their research or to include portions of them under such designations as part-time farmers or rural residents. In extension they have been incidentally recognized by the addition of such concerns as: household affairs, health, consumer issues, landscape design, gardening and the control of insects whether on the farm or off. Too often researchers assume country residents to be committed farmers dedicated to increasing agricultural production and making profits.

Those who got bypassed in a rapidly modernizing agriculture have been accorded a much praised small farmer program. The otherwise economic disadvantaged have a program dedicated to food and nutrition. But there have been no programs for rural non-farm elements of the population as such. Public concern for the improvement of rural life requires a definitive look at the interests and needs of the growing rural non-farm contingent of the population. Certainly much can be inferred about these people's interests from such stated reasons as: "A good place to live, rear children, retire, urban escape, part-time farming and the like." But this tells us little about the deeply held views underlying their reasons for residing in the open country—or about their extension program needs.

This study addresses the problem by: (1) thoroughly exploring the diverse ideologies and reasons that people give for living in the country, (2) defining residential types in terms of their belief system and (3) developing a simple method for identifying ideological categories of people. The last can be used to determine what kind and how many of the various types of people reside in other geographic areas. This study alone provides useful cues about the interests and concerns of rural non-farm clientele who might need extension programming.

In addition, attention also is directed to how ideologies, central to the character of society, have emerged and receded through time and have been incorporated into people's

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underlying reasons for living in the country. Perhaps the oldest and most pervasive has been the Protestant Ethic which emphasized hard work, austerity, saving, frugality and individual achievement. Using it, the worth of a man was measured in terms of his achievement (mostly as a producer).

But austerity, frugality and saving were not suited to the needs of an expanding economy.

So an emphasis on consumerism emerged which has been aided and abetted by a system of effective advertising. This created felt needs where none existed (DeFleur and Rokeach, 1975) and raised others from a level of luxury to that of necessity. Technology ruled supreme and the worth of a man was measured not in manifestations of productive achievement but in terms of how much and what he consumed. This kind of thinking seemed to pervade for a time.

In the mid-40's with the appearance of the first truly affluent generation who could take for granted amenities that the older generation could scarcely dream of, still another kind of thinking emerged. It featured revolt against materialism, technology, intellectualism and consumerism and even reason. It came at a time when the older generation was basking in an atmosphere of prosperity and newly found affluence thankful that their children would not have to experience the austerity and deprivation of their own generation (Douglas 1970). These counter culturalists together with a sizable contingent of intellectuals seriously questioned the superficiality of the prevalent technological, consumeristic orientation. This movement much more quickly than in times past (Berger 1971) became the basis of a new spirit of the time, labeled by Yankelovich and others as the New Naturalism (Yankelovich 1972: 167-185). It included elements from the Protestant Ethic, agrarianism, the counter culture itself and a new breed of environmentalists. It emphasized the importance ● of living on the land close to nature in the fresh air ● of living in harmony with nature rather than mastery of it ● of preservation of the natural environment over economic growth ● of the community over the individual ● of cooperation over competition ● of self expression over repression. As a part of the new naturalism, a growing humanistic concern was directed to improving the situation of the economically and socially disadvantaged and an increased interest in life styles emphasizing personal togetherness.

Before these new ideologies an agrarian philosophy existed, dating at least to colonial days. It eulogized the quality of farm life and particularly the family farm which was seen as the prime preserver of values essential to national survival and the good life. It included concern of people for each other, personal morality, self reliance, initiative and achievement free from the corrupting influence of the city. City life, at least until the nineteenth century, was felt by many to carry the seeds of its own destruction. Accordingly, the family farm was seen as a place to rear children. This plus reliance on the family as the source of cheap food for the nation provided a strong ideological base for the support of country life and particularly the family farm.

## METHODOLOGY

Any methodology suitable for classifying and defining people living in the open country in terms of their belief systems would first have to detect their diversity of reasons



for living there. It also would have to account for this diversity in a context that approximates the way people living in the country customarily arrange them in their own minds. This is not to deny the utility of a simple direct inquiry into what people say their reasons are for their occupational commitments. But, as valuable as a direct approach is, it does not permit indepth assessments of peoples' commitments. For this Q-methodology seemed appropriate.

Q-methodology allows researchers to determine the relative importance of a respondent's attitudes with respect to his many other attitudes on any one subject. To do that, the respondent arranges attitude statements over an important-unimportant continuum.

For this study the method required a sample of the widest diversity of views about country life and living as reasonably possible. Once obtained and properly sampled, respondents in a second sample of open country residents, picked for maximum diversity could sort the views in terms of their strength of agreement on a strongly disagree to strongly agree continuum. The method requires a respondent to place a very small number of items at the strongly agree and strongly disagree ends of the continuum and to progressively move toward the middle range where weak feelings and/or indifference are expressed. This is referred to as a Q-sort. It provides an approximate normal distribution of responses. For example, responses might range from a +5 for "strongly agree" through 0 for "neutral" to -5 for "strongly disagree." Since items are placed in a normal distribution, their magnitudes can be directly compared.

Researchers assume this normal distribution of views—with each rated relative to other views and with a high concentration of opinions in the middle range—represents a view configuration characteristic of the way people ordinarily order them in their own minds when they have strong opinions on the subject (Stephenson, 1953, 1967, 1977; Kerlinger, 1973). This done, responses can be subjected to factor analysis to abstract types of people who tend to think the same way. The placement of items relative to each other in the Q-sort provides the basis for describing the types and underlying ideologies that emerge in the factor analysis.

Diversity is a guiding principle throughout the use of Q-methodology. The items for which responses are to be requested must very nearly approach the diversity that exists in the idea universe, regarding the subject being investigated. No greater diversity than that put into the view sample can be obtained by use of the method. It sets the limits. To get the needed diversity two routes are possible. Views come from written records and from views expressed by people who are interviewed in depth and whose views are taken as nearly verbatim as possible. Finally to define types representing people holding typically different views a second sample of people who can be expected to hold highly diverse views relating to the subject at issue is needed.

### The Sample of Q-sort Statements

The study required an extensive inquiry into reactions and views about living and not living in the country. These ranged from the superficial to those very strongly held. They were obtained by a careful search of the literature and indepth interviews with the greatest diversity of people living in the open country that we could find. The literature reviewed ranged from the passionate renditions of late nineteenth and early twentieth century

writers who were deeply concerned about threats to rural life and the migration of country youth to the city, to the more recent treatises relating to changing ideologies of society.<sup>2</sup>

A second source of viewpoints was obtained from indepth interviews with 38 persons living in the open country. Geographically they were drawn from western, central, northeastern and the Ozark areas of Missouri. Researchers assumed this represented the diversity existing in the state. Respondents were about equally divided between males and females who ranged in age from 15 to 79. Occupationally they also represented the diversity that existed in their geographic areas. This included farmers, large and small, lower level professionals, college professors, and a variety of manual, blue collar and farm workers. In addition there were retirees, the unemployed and "hippies." Some had lived in the country all of their lives and some had recently moved in. An attempt was made to record their statements verbatim.

The 690 statements collected from the literature and the indepth interviews were progressively reduced to 300 by eliminating near duplicates and picking those that best stated the views presented. Six basic orientations to life in the country seemed to be reflected: (1) farming as individual achievement, (2) farming as a business, (3) farming as a cornerstone of society, (4) escape-release, (5) child "raising" and (6) "naturalist," who "commune" with nature. These orientations were used as one dimension and the underlying ideologies—Protestant Ethic, Consumerism, New Naturalism, Agrarianism and Humanism—were used as the other. This provided the dimensions for the balanced block design used to select the final sample of items or views.

With 90 regarded an operable maximum and 30 cells to be filled three items could be selected for each (see Figure 1). From the reserve of 300 statements, 90 were selected which in the opinion of five judges (three professors and two graduate students) best exemplified the cross referenced blocks to which they were assigned. The objective was to

FIGURE 1: DIAGRAMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE BALANCED BLOCK DESIGN ARRAY OF STATEMENTS

Ideologies	Farming as Individual Achievement (No. of items)	Farming as a Business (No. of items)	Farming as a Cornerstone of Society (No. of items)	Escape Release (No. of items)	Child Raising (No. of items)	Naturalist (No. of items)
Protestant Ethic	3	3	3	3	3	3
Consumerism	3	3	3	3	3	3
New Naturalism	3	3	3	3	3	3
Agrarianism	3	3	3	3	3	3
Humanism	3	3	3	3	3	3

2. The references used for Agrarianism items were: Bailey (1905 and 1915); Butterfield (1919); Cook and Swauger (1974); Inge (1969); Morgan (1942); Twelve Southerners (1937); Wallace (1917); Williams (1925). References used for New Naturalism items were Yankelovich (1972). Humanism views, somewhat less well defined, were found in the expressions of the counter culture treated at length by Doubles (1970) and the multiplicity of student views noted by Yankelovich (1972). Consumerism views to which American society has tended in the recent past, if not still, is appropriately alluded to by DeFleur and Rokeach (1975). This orientation is sufficiently present to obtain relevant views from current literature and expressions of people for which no indepth interviewing is needed.

have in each block at least one positive and one negative statement relative to life in the open country. The 90 statements assigned in accord with this pattern constituted the balanced block design.

### Respondents to the Q-sample of Statements

First, the 72 respondents to be interviewed were selected with the same attention to diversity as those from whom statements about life in the country were first obtained. An additional four students and two Hare Krishnas were included in the 72 to flesh out the "counter culture." All were asked to do the Q-sort and fill out a very short questionnaire in which data about occupation, residence, kinship ties and reasons for living in the country were obtained.

The reasons for doing the study and the respondents' rights to not participate were explained. Then each was asked to sort the 90 statements into those with which they tended to agree and those with which they tended to disagree. Next they were asked to pick three statements with which they agreed most strongly from the agree pile. These they placed in the most agree position on the Q-sort. Then they were instructed to place progressively more in specified positions as agreement became weaker and thus ultimately reached the neutral position. At this point the most selections were required (see Figure 2). This procedure was repeated on the disagree side until all positions in the forced choice arrangement were filled.

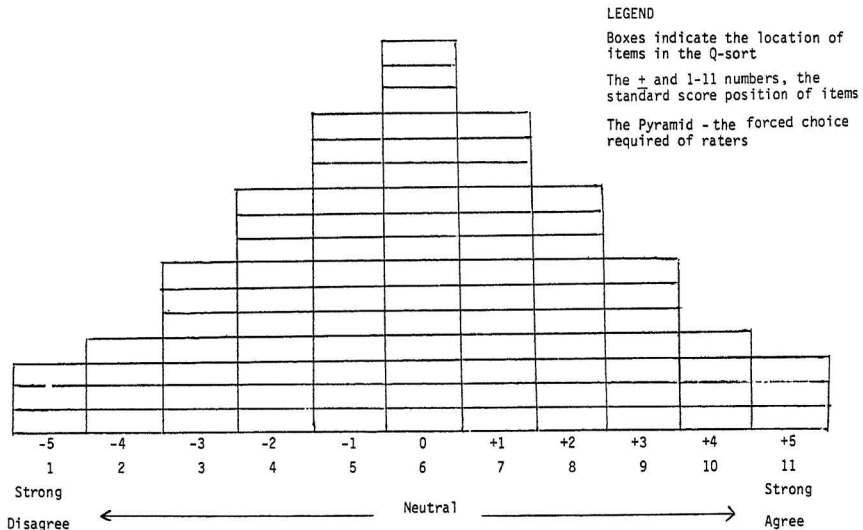


FIGURE 2: DIAGRAMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE ITEM ARRANGEMENT REQUIRED OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID THE Q-SORTS

The statement positions in the Q-sort were transformed into z-scores (standard scores) with the neutral point zero and agreement or disagreement expressed as standard deviations from the mean. These provided the data base for factor analysis of the individual matrices in which respondents were regarded as variables and like minded people as types were abstracted. Item factor loadings on six abstracted types were used as

the basis for describing the types. A varimax orthogonal rotation was chosen for this part of the analysis because it tended to minimize correlations between factors and because it tended to load individuals more distinctly on a single factor than an oblique rotation (Nunnally 1967).<sup>3</sup> Accordingly it permitted more definitive classification of individuals in terms of the factored types.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

A factor analysis which produced six typologies was used as the most appropriate for defining distinctive orientations to living in the country.<sup>4</sup> Each group is described in terms of their standard Z-score item placement in the Q-sort. Groups were subjectively labeled as committed farmers, reluctant residents, nature lovers, guests of the country, child "raisers" and agrarian cornerstones. They are described in the following section. Although committed farmers and nature lovers claimed the most recruits in the factor analysis, no valid judgment is warranted as to whether they would represent the same proportion in a random sample of a given population. The purpose of the analysis was only to define and describe the types and ultimately to devise a method for identifying them in other situations—not to determine how many people of each type live in the country.

The type descriptions are followed by a brief examination of similarities and differences among them. Next, we impose a congruency test. In it factorially determined orientations for living in the country are compared with nine ranked reasons for doing so and with how they regard their living unit—either as a farm, a place to live, or both. In "Ideological Underpinnings" we examine how ideologies that tended to characterize the spirit of societies present and past entered into reasons for living in the country. Then we propose items and a simplified method for identifying types in survey research operations.

### The Abstracted Types

#### Type I—The Committed Farmer:

The committed farmer is most impressed by feelings of accomplishment that derive from growing and harvesting crops (38).<sup>5</sup> They see their own kind as the backbone of society (3) in which all have a stake, for these farmers see themselves as providing both the moral fiber of the nation and a source of cheap food (50). Therefore, they feel ways have to

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3. This varimax rotation routine maximizes the sum of variances of squared loadings in the columns of the factor matrix (Nunnally, 1967). By adding the squared products, one can find the total amount of variance explained by the choice of factor design (e.g., 6 factors). For this six factor design, 52.27 percent of the total variance was explained.

4. The choice of six factors was based upon the greatest succinctness or precision in defining types. Under a 10-factor design there was relatively little inter-type correlation and few items emerged as common items that fit the types specifically. Under a four-factor design types were highly inter-correlated (above .8) and showed no ground for clear specification. The six factor design provided some high and low degree of inter-correlations in addition to giving some degree of precision for the type (See Table 1). Thus, of the fifteen inter-type correlations, only six were above the .5 level while only two correlations were below the .3 level.

5. The numbers in parentheses identify the statements for which z scores assigned are found in the Appendix, Table 1.

be found to make farming pay (30). They feel an element of divine sanctity by being close to the land and nature where one can learn how God really meant things to be (3).

They strongly feel the country is the center of the good life. It is superior to the city as a place to rear children because it teaches responsibility with freedom (77) in proper contact with nature (21). It is a place where people care and are friendly and willing to do things for each other (88, 35). Farming keeps the family close together (73). Children are happier and have more respect for adults (70).

Lower in emphasis but still a part of the good life is the feeling that country people are basically good and interested in others for what they are, not where they came from (22). In addition, country people have more common sense and a better idea of what hard work is (27). They presume both are desired, but relatively lacking, elsewhere.

Despite the appreciation of the quality of country living including open air and its peaceful nature (28), they are very mindful of the continuing battle with nature—including weeds, weather, diseases and insects (20). They also feel that battles are sometimes lost about the time farmers begin to feel they have it made (89).

They strongly feel that it is not the money that you make in farming that is important (62) or even the prospects for making a lot of it (68). Yet, they are not willing to concede that the wonderful life there is more important (64). They do contend that a person can be an honest to goodness farmer without owning a lot of land (11). Furthermore, they take very strong exception to the view that farming is basically a credit-supported, status-achieving operation where farmers buy a lot of things they do not need (42).

In general, they strongly disagree with the negative views about the quality of life in the country and the moral fiber of the people living there. They most strongly disagree with the idea that when the going is good farmers rob the rest of society blind, and when things get bad they come bawling for help from the public till (76). They strongly disbelieve that the "so-called tradition bound conditions" in the country are conducive to creating closed minds, not appropriate for present day conditions (15), that country life is too isolated and devoid of cultural activities (82), that diversity in the country is such that a sense of community and mutual cultural concern is lost (53) and that the personality makeup one needs today is more likely to be developed in the city than in the country (43).

The committed farmer does not share these pessimistic views:

The family farm cannot be operated in a sufficiently business-like manner to survive (37).

Farming is really a slave labor operation despite exalted claims to the contrary (4, 24).

Farming is something that one does if he doesn't know anything else (19).

One cannot have any privacy in the country because everybody knows what everybody else is doing (19).

Being able to have a cow, horse or dog is a poor substitute for the allegedly better schools that children have in the city (40).

In regard to city schools, the "committed farmer" would opt for an animal.

#### **Type II—Reluctant Residents:**

In a sense they are social isolates or even strangers in a strange land. They strongly agree that living in the country, close to nature, and being close to people is all right and needed (21). They feel that it is difficult to develop this closeness to people in the country (49). They like being away from city life but the loneliness in the country is hard to take (85). Also, they strongly feel that one is too isolated from what is going on in the world,

particularly the cultural activities (82). Although they are glad to be away from the city, they have no illusion about the country being the source of the good life (80).

They see the open air and peace of the country as a plus (25) and somehow feel that every man should have a right to personal use of a part of the earth (48). For this, some are willing to hock their souls (17). They also feel that a person can be a real farmer without owning a lot of land (11).

Somehow, while enjoying the beauty of nature (66), they see the open country as an important source of emotional release (74). Their emphasis on the importance of being close to nature is further fortified by a belief that anything that removes one a step further from the earth is a distinct loss (14). Yet, in spite of its disadvantages, they feel quite strongly that most people are destined to live in cities, and thus to building a good life there (80). This suggests a kind of ambivalence toward living in the country and perhaps a feeling of alienation from the good life in the city.

Reluctant Residents reject the idea that farm people are healthier than city people (33), that country children are smarter because they have more common sense and practical experience (87), that parents know more about where the children are (18) or that country children are indeed happier and generally show more respect for people than city children (70). Conversely, they do not ascribe to the view that alteration of the open country through rural development will be harmful to children (59).

Consistent with their apparent loneliness, Reluctant Residents do not see country people as basically better than anybody else or more interested in the individual as a person than city people (22). Although not opposed to the idea, they have little or no commitment to farming, either as a means of making money (62, 68) or for ideological reasons. They do not see any special life values emanating from living in the country (5) or any loss to society in terms of cheap food with the possible passing of the family farm (50).

### Type III—Nature Lovers:

Most important to Nature Lovers is seeing crops grow and the sense of accomplishment that comes at harvest time (38). They extol farming as a vehicle for being close to and in harmony with nature as a means of making a living (72). They feel the benefits are roughly proportional to how close one lives to the soil (14).

No child, they strongly believe, should grow up without a knowledge of the forest or close contact with nature (21). Furthermore, they believe that if there is a choice to be made, trees are to be preserved at the expense of farming (81, 71).

Nature Lovers cherish the open country living because it provides fresh air and peace. For them, life in the country is what is so wonderful, not the money that can be made there (64). Included in their conception of the wonderful life is the profound beauty of nature sometimes manifested in the snow covered expanse of land (66), the opportunity to make a living in a close harmony with nature (72) and the human qualities that develop from this close communication with nature (63) where one can learn how God really meant things to be (3).

The human qualities of the people who live in the country are almost as important for Nature Lovers as communion with nature. They perceive country people as being friendly and willing to do things for each other (88, 35). They believe in the inalienable right of every person to use some part of the earth for personal gain (48). They see country living as

a means of escaping from the hassle (78) and the "closed in" feelings that accompany urban life (32).

These individuals strongly disagreed with statements that emphasized making money over other farm life qualities (62, 68), including the preservation of trees (81, 71). They do not believe that farming is mostly a form of slave labor (24, 4). Nor, do they feel it protects youth from such city temptations as dope, sex and motorcycles (83). Nature Lovers also quite highly disagreed with the contentions that farmers rob people blind when things are good and come bawling to the public till when the going gets difficult (76). For them, the ownership of a cow, horse or a dog is a poor substitute for the allegedly better schools children have in the city (40).

Nature Lovers seem to be neutral about the relative merits of rearing children in the country versus the city. They do not believe that city life is more conducive to the development of personality traits needed today than country life (43) or that city youngsters get involved in so many things that they can not excel in anything (75). Neither do they believe that "so-called traditionalism in the country" creates closed minds unsuited to present day conditions (15), or that country youth are a lot smarter because of their common sense experiences (87). Nature Lovers are sure that country living will not lead their children to believe that man was made for animals rather than the converse (8). They do not think the growing diversity of interests in rural society will materially diminish the mutual concern country people have for each other (53).

#### Type IV—Guests of the Country:

"In a sense I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit on the porch and not be bothered." This was the view that Guests of the Country emphasized most of all. They like being there as well as being away from the city, but at the same time show little commitment to farming. They like doing their own thing (55), "piddling" around and getting exercise in the open fresh air (7). But, even more, they enjoy getting away from the urban hassle to make some money working (78). They ruled out making money as the chief object of farming (62). For them farming is not a status achieving operation maintained mostly on borrowed money (42).

Guests of the Country derive satisfaction from always having something to do (31) even though such natural calamities as drought, storms and unexpected freezes sometimes make them wonder whether or not farming is worth the effort (89, 20). They feel there is indeed something special about growing up in the county (23) and living close to land and nature. They agree that from country living one can learn how God really meant things to be (3). They perceive farmers as being more willing to do things for each other than city people (88).

Guests of the Country also sense elements of security from living on a farm. Thus, at the end of one's working career, it is possible to make a living by renting out one's land and still have something to do after retirement (1). They see land ownership as something of a right (48), which makes a person more independent and obliges him to use his own initiative (10).

They very strongly disagree that:

Farming is basically a slave labor operation (4, 24).

Privacy is denied those who live in the country (120).

Country people are too isolated from cultural activities (82).

Country life creates closed minds unsuited to present day conditions (15).



Even more strongly, they disagree with the idea that farmers rob people blind when things are going good and cry for public assistance when they are not (76).

While they are negative about unfavorable perceptions of farm life, they do not eulogize it as being something special. They do not believe man was originally destined to cultivate the land as a matter of divine decree (13) or that nature must be kind to man because he is the product of nature (61). Nor do they believe home grown food is better than store bought food (44).

#### Type V—Child “Raisers”:

“I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special” (23). This theme most characterizes Child “Raisers.” They like being away from the city in the open country. They are not committed to farming as an occupation. In fact, for them it is mostly a hobby (86), their primary occupation is doing something else. Central to their conception of the good life is the concept that country people are interested in you as a person, and not where you came from (22). They enjoy the open air and tranquility of the rural environment (28). They derive pleasure from seeing crops grow and from the tangible manifestations of achievement at harvest (38).

The country is seen as a place where children are happier, show more respect for others (70) and learn responsibility with freedom (77). The country is the place where it is possible to get close to the land and nature to learn how God meant things to be (3). For the Child Raisers, life in the country is what counts rather than the living that one makes on the farm (64).

Although Child Raisers are idealistic, they also are realistic, recognizing they will sometimes lose the continuous fight with nature—weed, weather, diseases, insects (20)—just as they begin to think they have got it made (89). For them, country people are just as dependent upon each other as city people (69). One of their less strongly felt views was that every person should have the right and privilege to personal use of some part of the earth (48) and the benefits that accrue from land ownership—for example, making a person feel more independent while at the same time encouraging personal initiative (10).

They disagreed most strongly with the charge that farmers rob people blind when times are good and come bawling to the public till when the going gets hard (76). Yet they do not share all views about the sanctity and wholesomeness of rural life. Some of these relate to the benefits that allegedly accrue to country children and others to more general qualities of rural life. In regard to the former, Child Raisers strongly disagree with the idea that country children are a lot smarter than city children because of their common sense and experience (87) and that the rural environment protects children from city temptations like dope, sex and motorcycles (83). Conversely, they do not feel that country life produces more closed minds than city life (15), nor do they believe that personal qualities most needed today can be better developed in the city than in the country (43).

In regard to quality of life, they emphatically disagree with the idea that real meanings in life come from living in the country rather than from science (5). They do not believe there is more “freedom to worship” emanating from living in the country (90).

They definitely do not see the diversity of country interests as a threat to the sense of community and concern for others (53). For them, farming is not a status achieving operation manifested in conscious attempts at conspicuous consumption (42). They moderately disagree with the idea that farmers generally hock their souls to keep land



ownership in the family (17) or that they have a moral obligation to increase agricultural production on behalf of society (29). They do not see farming as basically a gold-mining operation (68).

#### Type VI—Agrarian Cornerstones:

For the Agrarian Cornerstones, "The real meanings of life come from living in the country, not from science" (5). They feel that country living offers the best chance to limit their wants (36), thus stressing an anti-consumerism stance. In the country they also can remain close to the land and nature, where people can best learn how God really meant things to be (3) and thus worship God the way they please (90). Indeed, farming is the best part of the old time religion as they see it: "It reminds people how dependent they are on nature which, like religion, reminds one how dependent we are on God" (6).

Other non-monetary considerations followed, but somewhat less emphasized. Some related to the people, and others to the quality of life generally. Country people are seen as being self reliant (26), friendly and willing to do things for each other (88). Agrarian Cornerstones are happy to be in the country where they are still able to make a living by hard work (78) and away from the urban hassle where life is less stable (84). They derive personal satisfaction from growing crops in the peaceful open air (28) accompanied with a sense of accomplishment at harvest time (38). This is coupled with the feeling that cultivation of the land is part of the original destiny of man (13). These positive views of farm life persist despite a recognition that farming is a continuous fight with nature (20). Perhaps all can be summarized by the strongly held contention that living in the country is what is so wonderful, not the livelihood that one makes on the farm (64).

Along with others, Agrarian Cornerstones most strongly disagreed with the contention that country life protected children from the temptations of the city (83). They would opt for their children's owning an animal over the benefits of the allegedly better schools in the city (40).

They strongly vetoed the idea that farming is mostly a slave labor operation (24) and that making money is its most important aspect (62). Likewise, they would accept such ideas as increments to the good life are inversely proportional to how far people are removed from the land (14) or that people on the land can be counted on to put things back together again when they fall apart (46). Also, they are not unduly sold on home grown foods (44) nor do they ascribe to organic farming (2). Agrarian Cornerstones do not believe in sitting around doing nothing while enjoying life in the country (51). They did not feel that farmers rob the public blind when things are good and ask for help from the public when things turn sour (76) or that city children are involved in so many things they can not excel in anything (75). They liked being away from the city rush and had little concern about the loneliness that may accompany life in the country (85).

#### Similarities and Variations Among Types

There were no strongly held views upon which all ideological types agreed<sup>6</sup>. But all were moderately positive that a person can be a real farmer without owning a lot of land (11) and that farming provides a chance to live in close harmony with nature (72). On the

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6. The six types were found to be different at a highly statistically significant level (.005) using a Kruskal-Wallis test for differences between multiple ranks.

negative side, all were in moderately negative agreement on only one belief, that the personality one needs today is the product of city life (43) (see appendix, Table 2).

The highest correlation among orientation types was between Committed Farmers and Nature Lovers (see Table 1). Correlations of .50 or above occurred in turn between Committed Farmers on the one hand and Guests of the Country, Child "Raisers" and Agrarian Cornerstones, on the other. Essentially that means the Committed Farmer was also something of a (1) nature lover; (2) a person who enjoys life in the country (Guest of the Country); (3) a person who believes there is something special about rearing children in the country (Child "Raisers"); and a (4) person who believes farming and country life provide something of a cornerstone for the rest of society (Agrarian Cornerstones).

TABLE 1: THE SIX-FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX DEPICTING REASONS FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY

Factored Types	Factored Type					
	I Committed Farmers	II Reluctant Residents	III Nature Lovers	IV Guests of the Country	V Child Raisers	VI Agrarian Cornerstones
I	1.000	.234	.752	.539	.586	.587
II		1.000	.331	.308	.339	.008
III			1.000	.463	.534	.525
IV				1.000	.417	.337
V					1.000	.304
VI						1.000

There were also similarities in about the .50-plus correlation range between Nature Lovers and both Child Raisers and Agrarian Cornerstones.

With the possible exception of the Child Raiser, all seemed to enjoy the quality of country life. Reluctant Residents liked to be close to nature but felt deprived socially. Even though weather and climate were sometimes thought of as an adversary, elements of pleasure derived from the beauties and tranquility of nature existed in several of the inter-correlated types.

It was Committed Farmers who departed most from the deference-to-nature stance. For them farming is indeed a continuous fight with nature (20) in a never ending cycle in which the farmer sometimes loses just about the time he thinks he has it made (89). In this they differed most from Nature Lovers. They were somewhat like Guests of the Country who also are not greatly impressed with living close to nature. Also in marked contrast to Nature Lovers, Committed Farmers disagreed with the farming as a hobby idea (86) and with the idea that the country atmosphere tends to keep one from getting emotionally upset (45).

Only Committed Farmers and Agrarian Cornerstones showed any appreciable commitment to farming. The last were committed in principle but not much in actual involvement. Reluctant Residents, Guests of the Country and Child Raisers were indifferent or ambivalent at best toward farming.

Perhaps in some respects what was absent from the typologies is as important as what was there. First no type was indicative of commitment to farming either as a business or primarily to "make money." Quite likely, Committed Farmers intended to "make a good living" but in this there were quality of life issues that took precedence over money. Although retired and many semi-retired respondents did the Q-sort, no retirement-oriented type as such emerged. Perceptions of and feelings for living in the country were more conditioned by considerations other than retirement. Perhaps the statement of one respondent says it well, "After a person hits 60, he has no business being on a farm."

### Congruency of Orientations to Country Life with Rated Reasons

Besides the Q-sorts, which provided the basis for defining orientations and underlying ideologies for living in the country, farmers were asked how they regarded their living unit—as a farm, merely as a place to live or both. They also were asked to rank attributes generally associated with living in the country or on the farm in order of their importance. If the ranking of these reasons for living in the country and how they regarded their place of residence are congruent with orientations determined by the factor analysis, an element of validity would be added to the typologies. Thus, at this juncture we assess the congruity of these two variables.

In terms of both the factored types and rated reasons only two of the types showed any appreciable commitment to farming. These were Type I, Committed Farmers and Type VI, Agrarian Cornerstones.

**Committed Farmers (Type I)** in terms of the factorial design were most impressed by feelings of accomplishment from farming and with its essential nature for society. Congruent with this view they rated "Farming as giving one a sense of fulfillment" at the top of the list of nine attributes relative to farming and living in the country (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: RANK ORDER OF NINE REASONS FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY ASSIGNED BY RURAL RESIDENTS IN MISSOURI CLASSIFIED BY FACTORIALLY DETERMINED ORIENTATIONS TO COUNTRY LIFE

Reasons for Living in the Country	Factorially Determined Orientations to Living in the Country*					
	I Committed Farmers rank (N=24)	II Reluctant Residents rank (N=6)	III Nature Lovers rank (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country rank (N=9)	V Child Raisers rank (N=8)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones rank (N=6)
Farming gives a sense of individual fulfillment	1	8	6	7	6	4
Place to retire	8	7	8	5	7	9
Farming is a good business	7	8	7	9	8	7
Place to rear children	2	4	4	2	1	5
Place to get away from the pressures of city life	6	3	5	1	2	6
Good way to supplement present job's income	9	6	9	8	9	8
Place to get close to nature	5	5	2	3	3	2
Place to grow things for own use	4	1	3	5	3	1
Just a good place to live	3	2	1	4	5	3

\* For rankings; 1 = highest rank, 8 = lowest.

They placed "A place to rear children" as second and "Just a good place to live" third. Significantly, farming as a business was rated low as it tended to be also in the Q-sort. More than any other group (62.5%) they viewed their residence as a farm (see Table 3).

TABLE 3: VIEWS EXPRESSED OF OWN LIVING UNIT BY FACTORIALLY DETERMINED ORIENTATION TO LIVING IN THE COUNTRY

View of Own Living Unit	Factorially Determined Orientations to Living in the Country					
	I Committed Farmers % (N=24)	II Reluctant Residents % (N=6)	III Nature Lovers % (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country % (N=9)	V Child Raisers % (N=8)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones % (N=6)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Farm	62.5	0.0	8.4	0.0	12.5	33.3
Place to live	33.3	100.0	83.2	88.8	87.2	66.7
Both	4.2	0.0	8.4	11.9	0.0	0.0

**Agrarian Cornerstones (Type VI)** who in the Q-sort indicated that the real meanings of life come from living in the country rated "Place to grow things for own use" first. "Place to get close to nature" was rated second and "Just a good place to live" third. Thus, again the factored type was basically congruent with rated reasons for living in the country. They too rated farming as a business very low.

But in terms of the way they viewed their place of residence they were the most peripheral to the attitude of farming as an occupation. One in three considered their place of residence as a farm the other two thirds merely as a place to live. But, quite aside from active involvement in farming as an occupation, they saw life on the farm as the cornerstone of the good life.

Perhaps typical of this kind of thinking was one who said:

I believe in simple living, high thinking, and working for God in a spiritual community.

**Nature Lovers (Type III)** as the name indicates factored high on those attributes that indicate pleasure and satisfaction from living close to nature. Again, congruent with the "nature loving attraction to life in the country" they rated "Just a good place to live" first and "Place to be close to nature" second. "A place to grow things for own use" was rated third. The vast majority (83.2%) saw their living unit as only a place to live. The rest saw it either as a farm or both. But the farm as a place either to make money or to supplement income from off farm employment was rated far down on the list.

One said,

Out here there can be a pure man/nature symbiosis. We find truth in nature in why things grow and the way they grow and the behavior of animals. That is what you need to watch and know.

You are remote from traffic, noise, and pollution, yet have reasonable accessibility to town and the beauty of trees.

**Guests of the Country (Type IV)** by virtue of their factored views appeared to be just that. They liked being away from the city, but at the same time had little commitment to farming as an occupation nor did they have any special attraction for

country people as such. They, much in line with the factored view, rated first, "Place to get away from the pressures of city life" and second, "A place to raise children." Third in importance, they saw country life as a place to live. About 90 percent saw their living unit only as a place to live. The rest, as both a farm and a place to live.

Typical quotes were:

Things like the local singing of the cricket which is the most prominent noise at the moment. The feet-on-the-ground permanence in the people here. People here feel so deeply at home.

**Reluctant Residents (Type II)** who were in a sense social isolates living close to nature rated "Place to grow things for own use" first. "Just a good place to live" was rated second and "A place to get away from the pressures of city life" third (see Table 2). Thus, the ambivalence to both city life and living in the country was clearly evident. In regard to the country, they were torn between concern about social isolation on one hand and their favorable disposition toward living close to and in harmony with nature on the other. All regarded their country residence as "Just a place to live" (see Table 3). Certainly, this indicated little or no commitment to farming as an occupation.

Typical quotes were:

This makes me feel peaceful and serene and at home too.

Here we can control our own work and time and pace. We can try to build and develop our own work capacity in harmony with natural cycles. Also, this gives us an opportunity to approximate self-efficiency.

**Child 'Raisers' (Type V)** who by the factored design saw the country as something special for rearing children also rated "A place to raise children" first among reasons for living in the country. The ranking of other reasons also closely paralleled their factored view. Second was "A place to get away from the pressures of city life" and tied for third "A place to get close to nature" and "A place to grow things for own use." Only about one in eight saw their residential unit as a farm. The rest saw it only as a place to live.

Typical quotes were:

We felt raising the children in the country would be a cleaner environment and we would spend more time together as a family.

This is small enough to know people and they truly care for children.

People are kind and helpful and at the same time allow you peace and privacy.

You can walk around in the woods alone. You can get closer to nature and you are more aware of the people around you and always able to find something of beauty.

## IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS

How did the ideological spirits of the times, which allegedly characterized societies—past and present, emerge as the underlying reasons for living in the country? These include:

1. Agrarianism that supposedly provided the ideological support for the family farm and the manner in which its virtues have been extolled.
2. The Protestant Ethic, allegedly an essential ingredient for success on the frontier and on the individually owned and managed farms.
3. The recently appearing urban spirit of Consumerism which supports the idea of an ever expanding economy and conspicuous consumption instead of frugality and saving.

4. The ideology of humanism championed by "fore runner" youth and intellectuals protesting the superficiality of consumerism in an affluent society which has failed to address the needs of its economically "by passed" members, and finally,
5. The New Naturalism which combines humanistic environmental concerns with the love emanating from living close to the land.

The following sections are devoted to an explanation of how these emerged and combined to support the reasons that people had for living in the country.<sup>7</sup>

### A Measure of Existence

A gross measure of the existence of each of the five ideologies is provided by the strength of agreement expressed by the respondents for the sum total of the items representing each of the respective ideologies. These aggregate sums are reported as standard scores for each respondent type in Appendix Table 1. When an item should have been positive and was rated negatively to support a particular ideology the sign of the score was appropriately changed before adding it into the total. Accordingly, a high positive score indicates a strong emphasis on an ideology and a negative one, a position contrary to the ideology. The gross measures supplemented by the way respondents rated specific views provided the basis for judgments made about the persistence of each of the ideologies.

### Type Differentials

Based on the z-scores reported in Table 4, none of the ideologies emerged as the sole value orientation for the various categories of respondents. At the same time none of these ideologies fell into complete disrepute. Rather they persisted in new combinations addressed to the rural environment in which respondents lived.

The most prevalent combination was Humanism, Agrarianism, and Protestant Ethic. This trio prevailed in strength for Committed Farmers, Agrarian Cornerstones and for Nature Lovers. But for all of these three categories of residents, Humanism was the most salient ideology. Consumerism predominated for Child Raisers. Neither Agrarianism nor the Protestant Ethic take precedence over the ideologies as value orientations for any category of respondents. A central thesis of one of the authors (Smith, 1979) is that Agrarianism, perhaps the oldest of the ideologies, persists mainly because of the way it has combined in support of the newer ideologies.

### Ideological Orientations of Country Residents

**Committed Farmers:** Of the five ideologies Committed Farmers were most dedicated to humanism. On this, they were much higher than any orientation type. Only nature lovers approached their dedication.

Humanism was closely associated with the way Committed Farmers saw life on the farm contributing to the welfare of society, mostly as a source of cheap food and to the overall quality of life. Accordingly, they felt the family farm is an ideal place to rear children who will become the future adult members of society.

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7. For an extended treatment of this subject see J. Patrick Smith (dissertation).

TABLE 4: Z-SCORES AND DIFFERENCES OF DISCRIMINATING ITEMS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR OVER ALL DISCRIMINATING CAPABILITY FOR ORIENTATION TYPES

Orientation Type Item	Item Statement	z-score for		
		Designated Type	Total Sample	Differ- ence
<b>Committed Farmers from all others</b>				
30	As farmers are the backbone of the state, ways must be found in which farming can be made to pay.	1.7	0.4	1.3
37	The family farm is a thing of the past because it cannot be operated as a business.	-1.4	-0.1	1.3
50	If the family farmer goes, then cheap food would also go. Labor would get control and get what they want at the price they want.	1.6	0.2	1.4
<b>Reluctant Residents from all others</b>				
49	Living out here close to nature is O.K. But you need to be close to people too. That is hard to come by out here.	1.7	-0.5	2.2
33	People in the country are not that healthy. We have as many health problems and allergies as they have in the city.	1.5	0.1	1.4
80	Most people will have to live in cities. So the thing to do is to build a good life there.	1.3	0.2	1.1
<b>Nature Lovers from all others</b>				
63	Real human qualities are the ones that develop in close communion with nature.	1.3	-0.1	1.4
81	When it comes to farming, trees are mostly in the way. When that is the case, they must go.	-1.9	-0.5	1.4
71	Landscape and trees are nice. But when they get in the way of operating a farm in a business like manner they must go.	-1.4	-0.2	1.2
<b>Guests of the Country from all others</b>				
07	I can just piddle around here--fix a fence once in a while--at the same time get some fresh air and exercise.	1.7	0.1	1.6
55	If you were raised on a farm the city won't do. On a farm you can do your own thing.	1.6	-0.4	2.0
51	In a sense, I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit out here on my porch and not be bothered.	2.1	0.1	2.0
<b>Child Raisers from all others</b>				
86	Really the farm is a sort of a hobby for me. My work has to do with other things.	2.2	0.0	2.2
05	The real meanings of life come from living in the country and not from science.	-1.9	0.1	2.0
23	I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special.	2.2	0.7	1.5
22	People living in the country are basically good people who are interested in you as a person and not where you came from.	2.1	0.1	2.0
<b>Agrarian Cornerstones from all others</b>				
36	It is important today to keep material wants down. The chances of doing this are better in the rural community.	2.0	0.3	1.7
39	If escape from city influences and development is what you want, you can't find it in the country either.	1.1	-0.4	1.5
26	Country folk have to do things for themselves and learn for themselves.	1.6	0.4	1.4

Their strong agrarian views were centrally anchored in an active commitment to farming as an occupation and its perceived importance to society. Their emphasis on the Protestant Ethic apparently centered in the zeal with which they approached the perceived important task of farming.

**Nature Lovers:** Nature Lovers resembled Committed Farmers in several ideological respects. Both strongly emphasized Humanism, Agrarianism, and Protestant Ethic in their reasons for living in the country. The main difference was that Nature Lovers also emphasized Consumerism and New Naturalism. This combination of ideological orientations is both unique and in a sense incongruous. One explanation may be that Nature Lovers recognize that hard work (Protestant Ethic) is necessary to achieve what they want to consume (Consumerism). Then their acceptance of the work ethic would seem to be justified by a desire to consume. It is also possible that their consumeristic tendencies were disproportionately associated with communion with nature. The way they related the consumeristic items strongly suggested that (see Appendix Table 1).

**Reluctant Residents:** Reluctant Residents were against every ideological orientation—most of all the Protestant Ethic. They rejected most of the statements that reflected favorably on country life. The positive ideologies they possessed seemed to have been overridden by a longing for city life and an aversion to the loneliness of living in the country. For them, living close to nature had some appeal. In general, they enjoy the beauties of the country but long for life in the city. Perhaps their ambivalent stance and negative inclinations toward life in the country precluded any possibility for a strong emergence of any of the ideologies.

**Guests of the Country:** Guests of the Country were not strongly committed to any of the major ideologies. What they stressed as important and labelled as strongly unimportant cut across ideologies in a manner that negated a strong emphasis on a single ideology. Their slight consumeristic tendencies centered around doing one's thing in a leisurely manner and "just piddling around." Their modest inclination toward the Protestant Ethic seemed to emerge from feeling a sense of accomplishment derived from seeing crops grow. This feeling also supports a slight agrarian tendency that also characterized their thinking.

**Child "Raisers":** These people were consumeristic and humanistic in their ideological orientation. Their high consumerism score was anchored mostly to the good life that country living provides. This included the interest that people had in each other's welfare and the peaceful open air of the country environment. Even though they considered farming as a secondary occupation and registered a negative orientation to the agrarian ideology, they reported feeling a sense of accomplishment from seeing crops grow.

**Agrarian Cornerstones:** Agrarian Cornerstones resembled Committed Farmers in their high emphasis on Humanism and the Protestant Ethic, but for somewhat different reasons. For Committed Farmers, the Protestant Ethic orientation was anchored to work associated with the active involvement in the occupation of farming. For Agrarian Cornerstones, the Protestant Ethic ideology was more passively expressed in their statements that the best way to minimize wants was by living in the country. Their humanistic inclinations were grounded in the favorable perception of rural people as being concerned and friendly. They earned the Agrarian Cornerstone title by their doctrinaire acceptance of farming and the social traditions attributed to its virtues. For them, the real meanings of life came from living in the country, which they regard as the original destination of man. Farming for them is akin to "the old time religion" because it is dependent on God and nature.



## AN INSTRUMENT FOR CLASSIFYING OPEN COUNTRY RESIDENTS BY REASONS FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY

There yet remains the practical concern of perfecting a short instrument that could be used to classify open country residents in terms of their reasons for living in the country and the underlying philosophies associated with those reasons. The 90 value statements in a Q-sort arrangement would be too long and too time consuming for either survey researchers or busy extension people to use. The problem was to reduce both the 90 response items and the 11 response categories into a shorter form without unduly sacrificing the discriminating capacity of the instrument.

Two guidelines were followed in reducing the number of response statements. The first was to pick statements that discriminated each type from the sample average. The second was to select additional ones that would discriminate factored types from each other. For both, z-score differences statistically significant at the one percent level were needed.

The 18 items (three for each type) that met the first criteria are listed with their z-score differences in Table 4. The 15 items that best distinguished the types from each other together with their z-scores differences are reported in Table 5. Researchers assumed the two sets of items constituted an appropriate set of questions for a short form instrument that would classify country people into the six categories.

TABLE 5: Z-SCORES AND DIFFERENCES OF DISCRIMINATING ITEMS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR  
BETWEEN ORIENTATION TYPE DISCRIMINATION

Between Orientation Types Item	Item Number and Statement	z-scores for		
		Designated Item	Other Item	Differ- ence
Committed Farmers & Reluctant Residents	79. The idea that you get mental discipline from hard work on the farm does not apply anyplace now, not even on the farm.	-0.90	0.72	1.62**
Committed Farmers & Nature Lovers	20. Farming is a continuous fight with nature which includes weeds, weather, diseases, and insects.	1.38	-0.51	1.89
Committed Farmers & Guests of the Country	73. Farming is a good way to keep a family close.	1.27	-0.24	1.51**
Committed Farmers & Child Raisers	37. The family farm is a thing of the past because it cannot be operated as a business.	-1.45	0.89	2.34
Committed Farmers & Agrarian Cornerstones	77. It is better to raise children in the country because it teaches them responsibility with freedom.	1.72	-0.45	2.17
Reluctant Residents & Nature Lovers	82. Out here you are too isolated from what is going on in the world, particularly the cultural activities.	1.54	-0.92	2.46
Reluctant Residents & Guests of the Country	15. The tradition bound way of thinking you get in the country is not good for raising children. It creates closed minds that aren't suited to present conditions.	0.27	-1.65	1.92
Reluctant Residents & Child Raisers	17. Many families would hock their souls just to keep the land in the family.	1.25	-1.23	2.47
Reluctant Residents & Agrarian Cornerstones	06. Farming is the best part of the "old time religion." It reminds people how dependent they are on nature like religion reminds them how dependent they are on God.	-0.81	1.68	2.50

*continued on next page.*

The problem of determining the appropriate number of response categories for the 32 statements was more difficult. A conventional procedure of requiring only agree or disagree answers to the discriminating statements was one alternative (Mauldin, 1972).

However, we felt the reliability of a short form instrument might be improved by requiring respondents to indicate gradations in strength of their agreement or disagreement to each of the views. Three different ranges of scoring were experimentally assessed. Each was tested to determine how well each could duplicate the classifications made using the 11-point Q-sort arrangement.

These were:

- Reduce the 11 point Q-sort scale to 5 categories with the middle one as neutral
- Reduce the 11 point scale to a 3 category one with the middle category as neutral
- Dichotomize the responses into an agree-disagree scale as Mauldin (1972) successfully did.

Results showed the five-point scale was accurate 94 percent of the time; the three-point scale, 86 percent of the time; and the dichotomous agree-disagree division, 73 percent of the time. Researchers chose the three-point scale for its greater simplicity over the five-point and the relatively small loss in accuracy of placement. So it was used in a field test.

The open country residents who had completed the Q-sorts were asked to indicate whether they agreed, disagreed or were undecided about each of the 33-item value orientation statements on the new questionnaire. This questionnaire was mailed to the respondents approximately 10 months after they had completed the Q-sorts. Fifty

TABLE 5: (Cont.)

Between Orientation Types Item	Item Number and Statement	z-scores for		
		Designated Item	Other Item	Difference
Nature Lovers & Guests of the Country	21. No child should grow up without a knowledge of the forest or close contact with nature.	1.99	0.27	1.73
Nature Lovers & Child Raisers	23. I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special.	0.52	2.19	1.67
Nature Lovers & Agrarian Cornerstones	46. It will be the people on the land who will have to put things together when things all fall apart.	0.56	-1.46	2.03
Guests of the Country & Child Raisers	59. This thing that people call development will really alter life around here and it will especially hurt the children.	-2.08	0.51	2.59
Guests of the Country & Agrarian Cornerstones	51. In a sense, I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit out here on my porch and not be bothered.	2.13	-1.03	3.16
Child Raisers & Agrarian Cornerstones	90. You are free to worship as you please in the country when it comes to religion.	-1.86	1.55	3.41

\*\* Statistically significant at the .15 level. All others statistically significant at the .1 level or higher.

returned completed questionnaires but four removed their identification numbers. This left 46 usable returns.

In the scoring procedure two points was used for an appropriate agree-disagree response for each of the three items used to distinguish each residential type, a one if marked undecided and a zero for a wrong response. This made it possible for a person to receive a score of 6 for maximum agreement for a type using the 18 items and a minimum score of zero for disagreement with the statements reflecting a typology. When the

scoring technique resulted in a tie the score on the appropriate tie breaking items from the 15 statements was used. For example, if the tie score occurred between types III and V the item that best discriminated between types III and V was used. The final question of course was to see how many respondents could be placed in the same category by using the short form instrument in comparison to the original Q-sorts.

Considering that some classifications by both methods were tenuous at best, some placements would be expected to be different by the two measures but close (near misses), some would be clearly different and wrong (far misses) and some clearly the same. The final tally was 22 clearly right, 11 near misses and 13 far misses. Even though some changes in views over the 10-month period between the Q-sort and the short form survey could be expected, the reliability of the short form was not sufficient to recommend its use for classificatory purposes.

The remaining option was to determine which items did well and which did poorly in placing respondents into types as in the initial Q-sort. If an item was answered the same way the second time as the first, it was recommended for use in a subsequent scale. If it were not, the recommendation was to exclude it and look for a better predictor. Seventy-five percent accuracy was arbitrarily set as the acceptance-rejection criterion.

Two items each for types I through IV easily qualified by this standard. However, some modification of this general procedure was required in items for types V and VI.

For type V, Item 86 (Really, the farm is sort of a hobby for me. My work has to do with other things) showed an adequate level of reliability. But, the other two statements failed to meet the arbitrary standard (see Table 4). Statement 23 "People living in the country are basically good people who are interested in you as a person and not where you come from" was not included in the short form questionnaire even though it was a strong discriminating item in the Q-sorts. Therefore, this item was chosen for the new instrument because of its discriminating capacity in the Q-sorts.

Type VI posed a similar selection problem. Item 26 (Country folk have to do things for themselves and learn for themselves) met the standard. The other two did not. But two items selected to distinguish between specific types did; namely, Item 77 (It is better to raise children in the country because it teaches them responsibility with freedom) and Item 46 (It will be the people of the land who will have to put things together when things all fall apart). (See Table 5.) Since the last appeared to fit the type better than the first, it was chosen for inclusion.

### Items Recommended for the Short Scale Version

Thus, on the basis of the resurvey research results and subsequent item analysis the following items are recommended for further testing or for actual classification purposes in the three-point format until a better instrument is devised. The recommended items with the correct agree-disagree answers for each resident typology are listed below:

#### For Type I—Committed Farmers:

- Item 30—As farmers are the backbone of the state, ways must be found in which farming can be made to pay. (Agree.)
- Item 36—The family farm is a thing of the past because it cannot be operated as a business. (Disagree.)

**For Type II—Reluctant Residents:**

- Item 49—Living out here close to nature is OK but you need to be close to people too. That is hard to come by out here. (Agree.)
- Item 33—People in the country are not that healthy, we have as many health problems and allergies as they have in the city. (Agree.)

**For Type III—Nature Lovers:**

- Item 63 —Real human qualities are the ones that develop in close communion with nature. (Agree.)
- Item 71—Landscape and trees are nice, but when they get in the way of operating the farm in a business-like manner, they must go. (Disagree.)

**For Type IV—Guests of the Country:**

- Item 7—I can just piddle around here—fix a fence once in a while—at the same time get some fresh air and exercise. (Agree.)
- Item 51—In a sense I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit out here on my porch and not be bothered. (Agree.)

**For Type V—Child Raisers (Country-life Eulogizers):**

- Item 86—Really the farm is sort of a hobby for me. My work has to do with other things. (Agree.)
- Item 22—People living in the country are basically good people who are interested in you as a person and not where you come from. (Agree.)

**For Type VI—Agrarian Cornerstones:**

- Item 26—Country folk have to do things for themselves and learn for themselves. (Agree.)
- Item 46—It will be people on the land who will put things back together when things all fall apart. (Agree.)

How accurately these twelve items would discriminate one type of person from another and how nearly they would replicate placement achieved by the use of the ninety-item Q-sort, the authors cannot say. But they hold that the twelve items represent a near best choice for use in such a scale.

**Abbreviated Type Descriptions**

An alternative method of classifying open country residents into orientation types would be to have them read descriptions about life in the country. Then ask them which one best describes their view.

After trying to classify people into categories by the way they agree or disagree with some separate statements of key discriminating views, as others have done, we found the method insufficiently reliable. So we suggest that respondents be asked to read the following descriptions of types of viewpoints. Then ask them to indicate which of the types—I to VI—best describes the way they feel about living in the country. (Using numbers rather than labels will help avoid bias in their responses.)

**Committed Farmers:** Since farming is the backbone of society some way must be found to make it pay. Family farms can be operated as a business. Furthermore, family

farms are important to the welfare of a society, from the standpoint of cheap food and the moral fiber of the nation. Being close to the land and nature one can learn how God really meant things to be. Unlike the city, out here you really get to know your neighbors.

**Reluctant Residents:** Living close to nature is OK, but you need to be close to people too. That is hard to come by out here. It's nice to be away from the city. But make no mistake, the country is not the source of the good life. You are isolated from what is going on in the world, also people in the country are no healthier than in the city.

**Nature Lovers:** The real human qualities of mankind are the ones that develop in close communion with nature. Trees and the environment must be preserved, even at the expense of farming. No child should grow up without knowledge of the forest and close contact with nature. Here one can have something to show for his hard work.

**Guests of the Country:** In a sense I am kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit on the porch and not be bothered. I can just piddle around, fix a few fences once in a while, and at the same time get some fresh air and exercise. People here do things for each other and actually care for each other.

**Child Raisers:** Really, the farm is sort of a hobby for me. My work has to do with other things. But, there is something special about living in the country. It is a better place for children to grow up. I like the peacefulness of the environment, the open air and seeing things grow despite the constant hassle with nature. People out here are basically good, they are interested in you as a person, and not where you come from. It's just a good place to live.

**Agrarian Cornerstones:** It will be people on the land who have to put things together when they fall apart. It is here that the real meanings of life are found, not in science. Country folk develop a strong sense of self reliance, thrift, and responsibility. They learn to do things for themselves and keep their wants down better than in the city. Farming reminds people how dependent they are on nature, which like religion, reminds one how dependent we are on God.

## CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

People live in the country for a variety of reasons supported by a diversity of underlying philosophies. But in this diversity there is sufficient homogeneity to identify commonalities in philosophies about country living. Q-methodology and factor analysis applied to a small sample of rural residents selected for diversity enabled us to distinguish six types. These were descriptively labelled Committed Farmers, Reluctant Residents, Nature Lovers, Guests of the Country and Agrarian Cornerstones. These types are regarded as both exhaustive and typical of rural residents in Missouri.

Their relative incidence in the Q-sample and the nature of their orientations suggests many open country residents have little or no commitment to commercial agriculture. Of those who do, a considerable number are not likely to be actively involved in agricultural production. Those with non-agriculture interests are almost certain to be diverse in their orientation to country life. They would seem to range from those who regard themselves captives of the country and who long for the amenities and advantages of city life (Reluctant Residents) to those who for varying reasons truly enjoy country living. Some enjoy it because of close communion with nature (Nature Lovers). Others, mostly because

of the qualities of the people who live there (Child Raisers). Guests of the Country like the relaxed atmosphere. The Agrarian Cornerstones live in the country because they want to preserve a way of life they feel is essential to the continued well being of mankind.

Each may be expected to selectively perceive matters of local, national and international concerns differently. Nature Lovers will want to save the trees, preserve wildlife and protect the environment even at very high costs. Committed Farmers will likely want all forces and conditions detrimental to production agriculture vigorously attacked. Child Raisers can be expected to be more favorable to increased school levies than either Reluctant Residents or Guests of the Country. Each type of person will assign different meanings to the same situations and conditions and respond differently to influences that they have selectively perceived.

The various types of country residents will respond to mass media messages, first as individuals and second as categories of people. Categories of people, defined in terms of social and cultural meanings, are central to efficiently providing the services that people want and to the support of educational programs. Imagine the response of a Reluctant Resident or Guests of the Country to the Missouri Small Farm Family Program or the family centered Balanced Farming Program of years past. Imagine also how Committed Farmers would respond to a save the trees campaign. The identification of clienteles in terms of their basic value orientations offers a great potential for more effectively designing educational programs that serve their interest and needs. The people might be expected to respond with greater enthusiasm and more favorably to educational programs that take into account their value orientations related to country living.

It follows that a simplified method for classifying rural residents is needed. Administering the full 90-item Q-sort and subsequent scoring would be too costly and time consuming for busy action-oriented staff and program planners.

However, the attempt to formulate a reliable short form questionnaire for classifying rural residents into type categories fell short of its mark. But items that could be used for such a scale were identified. We recommend further research to refine the three-point scale until a satisfactory level of reliability can be achieved. In the meantime, we recommend the descriptive approach, used with a simple agree-disagree dichotomy. This procedure starts with a brief description of the six types. Respondents read the descriptions and indicate which best describes their views about living in the country. In the final analysis this approach might be as appropriate as a short form questionnaire, where difficulties could arise regarding the category that best represented the respondent's value orientations.

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## APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE 1: Z-SCORE RATINGS ASSIGNED TO STATEMENTS BY RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY RURAL RESIDENT TYPE AND UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHIES

Underlying Philosophies Statements	Z-Scores for Types of Rural Residents					
	I Committed Farmers (Z-Scores) (N=28)	II Reluctant Residents (Z-Scores) (N=7)	III Nature Lovers (Z-Scores) (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country (Z-Scores) (N=6)	V Child Raisers (Z-Scores) (N=4)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones (Z-Scores) (N=3)
<b>PROTESTANT ETHIC</b>						
89. You wonder whether farming is worth it. About when you have it made, it rains too much or gets too dry or storms or freezes.	1.2	1.1	-0.6	1.3	0.9	0.1
41. Here people enjoy the sense of independence. They are not beholden to anyone for a salary. What you do you do for yourself.	0.2	-0.3	0.6	-0.3	-0.6	-0.2
31. I enjoy farming because I always have something to do and there is always a job.	0.6	-0.6	0.5	1.4	0.0	1.6
10. The possession of a farm not only makes a man independent but it also obliges him to use initiative.	1.0	0.3	0.8	1.0	1.1	-0.2
24. What farming really adds up to is slave labor.	-1.2	-0.5	-1.8	-2.0	0.0	-1.7
34. We like living here because it gives us the possibility to make money with imagination and hard work.	0.7	-0.3	0.6	0.1	-0.6	0.6
78. Out here you can get away from the urban hassle and still make money if you work.	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.6	-0.6	1.4
74. If I couldn't go out on my own land and poke and nose around, I would go crazy.	0.2	1.2	0.4	0.3	-0.8	-0.7
85. I like being away from the rush of city life. But the loneliness out here is hard to take.	-1.0	1.7	-0.9	1.1	-0.7	-1.4
27. Country people have better common sense and a better idea of what hard work is.	0.9	-1.9	0.3	0.9	0.8	0.9
26. Country folk have to do things for themselves and learn for themselves.	0.6	0.3	0.7	-0.3	0.6	1.6
79. The idea that you get mental discipline from hard work on the farm does not apply anyplace now, not even on the farm.	-0.9	0.7	-0.8	-0.2	-0.4	-0.9
77. It is better to raise children in the country because it teaches them responsibility with freedom.	1.7	-0.2	0.9	0.3	1.1	-0.4
75. Kids have so many activities in the city they cannot excel in anything.	-1.0	-2.2	-1.2	-0.9	-0.6	-1.4
18. Farms are good for kids because you know where they are all the time.	-0.7	-1.6	-0.5	-1.0	-0.3	-0.9
38. When you grow crops, you can see the results of your work. You feel like you have accomplished something after the harvest.	2.0	0.9	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.4
62. Organic farming might be more in harmony with nature than most commercial farms. But the first requirement is to make a living.	-2.0	-1.2	-2.0	-1.1	-0.9	-1.8
07. I can just piddle around here -fix a fence once in a while- at the same time get some fresh air and exercise.	0.2	0.3	0.2	1.7	-0.1	0.0
<b>CONSUMERISM</b>						
57. The idea that owning even a little land makes a person secure seems silly.	-0.7	-0.6	-0.6	-1.1	-0.9	-0.5
86. Really the farm is sort of a hobby for me. My work has to do with other things.	-0.7	0.6	0.6	0.3	2.2	-1.0
64. It's not the living that we make on the farm; it's the life we have here that is so wonderful.	0.8	0.4	1.8	0.8	1.1	1.6
42. Farming is mostly a matter of status achievement, as long as farmers can get credit they will buy a lot of things they don't need.	-1.8	-0.2	-1.2	-1.3	-1.6	0.0
01. At the end of my working career I can live from renting out my land. I can still do something after I retire.	-0.1	0.3	0.0	1.2	0.2	-0.2
68. Most people are farmers because of the unlimited income potential; it is just like gold-mining.	-0.2	-1.0	-1.5	-0.6	-1.1	-0.5
67. People are just tired of living right up next to each other. In town you can't stretch out your legs and really feel free.	0.6	1.1	1.3	0.2	1.0	-0.3
16. We really have to live here; it simply costs too much to live in the city.	-0.9	-1.1	-0.5	-0.3	-0.7	0.9
39. If escape from city influences and development is what you want, you can't find it in the country either.	-0.7	-0.1	-0.7	-0.5	0.1	1.1
59. This thing that people call development will really alter life around here and it will especially hurt the children.	-0.4	-1.4	0.1	-2.1	0.5	-1.0
36. It is important today to keep material wants down. The chances of doing this are better in the rural communities.	0.1	-0.4	1.0	0.8	-0.2	2.0
82. Out here you are too isolated from what is going on in the world, particularly the cultural activities.	-1.5	1.5	-0.9	-1.7	-0.1	-0.9



TABLE 1: (Cont.).

Underlying Philosophies Statements	Z-Scores for Types of Rural Residents					
	I Committed Farmers (Z-Scores) (N=28)	II Reluctant Residents (Z-Scores) (N=7)	III Nature Lovers (Z-Scores) (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country (Z-Scores) (N=6)	V Child Raisers (Z-Scores) (N=4)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones (Z-Scores) (N=3)
40. Being able to have a cow, horse or dog is a poor substitute for the better schools that children have in the city.	-1.3	0.3	-1.4	-1.1	-0.2	-1.8
83. Farms protect kids from the temptations of the city like dope and sex and motorcycles.	-1.0	-2.5	-1.6	-1.2	-2.0	-2.0
23. I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special.	0.4	0.4	0.5	1.3	2.2	0.8
44. Home grown foods are O.K. but they have dietary deficiencies too.	-0.8	-0.8	-1.3	1.7	-0.6	-1.3
28. We live in the country because we loved the open air and the peace.	1.4	1.2	1.9	0.8	1.8	1.1
66. When you are in the middle of land and it is just after a snow, you feel you have something beautiful that no one else has.	0.5	1.1	1.7	-1.1	0.8	0.1
NEW NATURALISM						
48. Every person should have the right and the privilege to a personal use of some part of the earth.	0.2	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.1	-0.8
62. To put it simply, the most important thing you get from farming is money.	-2.0	-1.2	-2.0	-1.1	-0.9	-1.8
58. Just look at these nature lovers and you see they have all the luxuries of the city.	-0.2	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.4	-0.2
72. Farming provides an opportunity for working in harmony with nature and still make a living.	1.2	0.7	1.5	0.9	0.6	0.7
09. The farmer does not have full command of his situation until the landscape is a part of his farming.	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.8	0.0	-0.3
71. Landscape and trees are nice. But when they get in the way of operating a farm in a business like manner they must go.	-0.1	-0.5	-1.4	0.0	0.0	-0.3
51. In a sense, I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit out here on my porch and not be bothered.	-0.5	0.9	0.9	2.1	0.4	-1.0
49. Living out here close to nature is O.K. But you need to be close to people too. That is hard to come by out here.	-0.8	1.7	-1.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.8
45. The whole atmosphere out here in the country keeps you from getting upset.	-0.9	0.1	0.4	-0.4	-0.8	0.2
13. Cultivation of the land was the original destination of man. This is one important reason why so many now want to live on the land.	0.9	-0.2	-0.2	-1.5	0.8	1.1
52. Being a farmer appeals to me because farmers are the custodians of our national wealth.	0.5	-0.1	-0.5	-0.6	-0.7	0.0
84. City life goes to extremes; country life, while it is varied, is more even and stable.	0.1	-0.5	0.7	0.2	-0.2	1.4
08. The way some nature lovers in the country act, it would lead kids to believe that man was made for animals rather than the other way around.	-1.0	-0.7	-1.0	0.0	0.4	-0.7
25. Kids ought to get a sense of permanency that comes from living in the country. I want to build a home and plant a tree and never move again.	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.9	0.0	-0.8
21. No child should grow up without a knowledge of the forest or close contact with nature.	1.4	1.6	2.0	0.3	1.0	0.5
61. Nature cannot be antagonistic to man, seeing that man is a product of nature.	-0.3	-0.4	0.3	-1.1	-0.8	0.2
20. Farming is a continuous fight with nature which includes weeds, weather, diseases and insects.	1.4	1.0	-0.5	1.3	1.4	1.1
33. People in the country are not that healthy. We have as many health problems and allergies as they have in the city.	0.2	1.5	-0.5	-0.2	-0.1	0.9
AGRARIANISM						
69. People who glorify country life for its independence are kidding themselves. People are just as dependent on each other in the country as in the city.	0.1	1.6	-0.3	0.4	1.3	0.9
19. We are on the farm because we were raised out here and that is all we know.	-1.0	-0.7	-0.8	0.0	-0.3	-0.9
17. Many families would hock their souls just to keep the land in the family.	0.3	1.2	-0.1	-0.5	-1.2	0.2
37. The family farm is a thing of the past because it cannot be operated as a business.	-1.4	-0.3	-0.7	-0.1	0.9	-0.5
30. As farmers are the backbone of the state, ways must be found in which farming can be made to pay.	1.7	0.6	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.2

TABLE 1:(Cont.).

Underlying Philosophies Statements	Z-Scores for Types of Rural Residents					
	I Committed Farmers (Z-Scores) (N=28)	II Reluctant Residents (Z-Scores) (N=7)	III Nature Lovers (Z-Scores) (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country (Z-Scores) (N=6)	V Child Raisers (Z-Scores) (N=4)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones (Z-Scores) (N=3)
56. You can say that we couldn't exist without farmers supporting everybody else.	0.7	0.7	0.3	-0.7	0.7	0.2
11. You can be a real, honest-to-goodness farmer without owning a lot of land.	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.8	0.6	0.9
55. If you were raised on a farm the city won't do. On a farm you can do your own thing.	-0.2	-0.6	0.2	1.6	-0.8	-0.6
12. In the country you can't have any privacy. Everybody knows what you are doing and has something to say about it.	-1.3	-0.3	-0.9	-1.8	0.4	-1.0
46. It will be the people on the land who will have to put things together when things all fall apart.	0.3	-0.5	0.6	-0.2	-0.4	-1.5
80. Most people will have to live in cities. So the thing to do is to build a good life there.	0.2	1.3	-0.2	0.6	0.6	-0.3
06. Farming is the best part of the "old time religion." It reminds people how dependent they are on nature like religion reminds them how dependent they are on God.	0.9	-0.8	0.4	-0.5	0.9	1.7
15. The tradition bound way of thinking you get in the country is not good for raising children. It creates closed minds that aren't suited to present conditions.	-1.8	0.3	-1.3	-1.7	-1.1	-0.9
87. Country kids are a lot smarter than city kids because of common sense and experience.	-0.5	-2.5	-1.1	-0.3	-2.2	-1.0
60. I'm from a family who is a great believer in family life. That is why we live in the country.	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.0	-0.2	0.0
05. The real meanings of life come from living in the country and not from science.	0.0	-1.1	0.6	-1.0	-1.9	2.2
47. A person needs to be a farmer first and a naturalist second.	-0.3	-0.4	-0.8	1.2	-0.9	0.3
03. Getting close to land and nature, one can learn how God meant things to be.	1.5	0.5	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.7
HUMANISM						
04. You can glorify farming as a way of life all you want. But I say it is mostly slave labor.	-1.3	-0.2	-1.6	-2.3	-0.5	-1.2
88. Rural people seem more friendly and willing to do things for each other.	1.4	-0.4	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.4
65. People have a deep rooted need to participate in community life. If people are unable to participate, then they might have a grave injury to their personalities.	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.6
29. Farmers have a moral obligation to increase their agricultural production.	-0.4	0.4	-1.0	0.4	-1.1	-0.1
76. When the going is good for him, the farmer robs the rest of us; when the going is bad he comes bawling for help out of the public till.	-2.6	-0.2	-1.5	-1.9	-2.5	-1.2
50. If the family farmer goes, then cheap food would also go. Labor would get control and get what they want at the price they want.	1.6	-0.9	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	0.9
32. When you live in the city, you feel like things are closing in on you.	0.0	0.6	1.0	0.2	0.6	-0.1
35. In the country, people care for each other and help each other out.	1.3	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.3
90. You are free to worship as you please in the country when it comes to religion.	0.0	-1.0	-0.1	-0.1	-1.9	1.5
53. Today people who live in the country have such a diversity of interests that the sense of community and cultural concern for each other is lost.	-1.5	-0.6	-1.0	-0.8	-1.7	0.1
22. People living in the country are basically good people who are interested in you as a person and not where you came from.	0.8	-2.3	0.6	0.0	2.1	1.4
54. The home and the community preserves of the most important values of our cultural inheritance. Home and community are best preserved in the country.	0.5	-0.9	0.6	-0.3	-0.5	0.2
73. Farming is a good way to keep a family close.	1.3	0.1	0.8	-0.2	0.6	0.3
70. I've always thought that farm children are different. They seem to be happier and show more respect for people in general.	1.3	-1.5	0.2	0.4	1.4	0.2
43. The personality make-up that one needs today is more likely to be developed in the city and not in the country.	-1.3	-0.8	-1.3	-0.6	-1.3	-0.6
14. Everything that removes us one step further from the earth is a distinct loss to the people.	0.2	1.1	1.4	-0.7	-1.0	-1.5
81. When it comes to farming, trees are mostly in the way. When that is the case, they must go.	-0.5	-0.6	-1.9	-0.3	-0.9	-0.2
63. Real human qualities are the ones that develop in close communion with nature.	0.6	-0.6	1.3	-0.6	0.2	-0.2

TABLE 2: CONSENSUS ITEMS AND Z-SCORES RELATIVE TO REASONS FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY\*

Item Number	Statement	z-score
11	You can be a real, honest-to-goodness farmer without owning a lot of land.	0.98
72	Farming provides an opportunity for working in harmony with nature and still make a living.	0.94
60	I'm from a family who is a great believer in family life. That is why we live in the country.	0.14
58	Just take a look at these nature lovers and you see that they have all the luxuries of the city.	0.10
09	The farmer does not have full command of his situation until the landscape is a part of his farming.	-0.31
19	We are on the farm because we were raised out here and that is all we know.	-0.63
57	The idea that owning even a little land makes a person secure seems silly.	-0.72
43	The personality make-up that one needs today is more likely to be developed in the city and not in the country.	-1.00

\* Defined as a range of no more than one z-score variation among factored types.