



Erich Fromm Archiv

**A COMPARISON OF ASPECTS OF THE RIESMAN, FROMM AND MORRIS
TYPOLOGIES RELEVANT TO SELF-CONCEPT**

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fulfillment of the requirements
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

Typologies: An Introductory Comment

The problems involved in any typological study are those associated with the social and cultural milieu of the observer, the time or period during which any "observations" are made with respect to a "type" and the frame of reference of the observer--the interpersonal, the group, the social order--that is, the levels of social organization.¹ In sum, the approach is problematic.² Mills has stated:

Classic social science . . . neither "builds up" from microscopic study nor "deduces down" from conceptual elaboration. Its practitioners try to build and to deduce at the same time, in the same process of study, and to do so by means of adequate formulation and re-formulation of problems and of their adequate solutions. To practice such a policy . . . is to take up substantive problems on the historical level or reality.³

To type is to identify but as Max Weber points out, ". . . In its conceptual purity, this mental construct (Gedankenbild) cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality."⁴ Thus McKinney, noting that

¹Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology (4th edition) (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 15-17.

²C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 129. "In the classic tradition of social science, problems are formulated in such a way that their very statement incorporates a number of specific milieux and the private troubles encountered there by a variety of individuals; these milieux, in turn, are located in terms of larger historical and social structures."

³Ibid., p. 128.

⁴Max Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences, trans. by



Weber's ideal types "merely served as consciously devised and de-limited conceptual tools in the analysis of the empirical world,"¹ proposed that "at the opposite end of the continuum and from the pole represented by the ideal type, we have the extracted type . . . often called the empirical type."²

Ideal types abound in the social and behavioral sciences, but there has always existed the question of adequate empirical indices for ideal types in supplying data for exploration in theory building. The research and speculations of Charles Morris with his Ways to Live have provided a series of insights in this regard. His summary statement, after theorizing about the social character typologies of David Riesman and Erich Fromm, is that "the exact relations could be found only if a number of persons who rated the Ways were also classified according to the categories of the various typologies."³ In brief, then, the purpose of this dissertation study is an empirical exploration to compare aspects of the Riesman, Fromm and Morris typologies relevant to self-concept.

Self-Concept: An Introductory Definition

Essentially, self-concept is "an individual's view of himself

E. A. Shils and H. A. Finch (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Division of The Macmillan Co, 1949), p. 90.

¹ John C. McKinney, Constructive Typology and Social Theory (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 23.

² Ibid.

³ Charles Morris, Varieties of Human Value (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 108.



... and ... used in sociology is the equivalent of the self. . . .¹

This introductory definition provides a referent within which to seek the relevancy of the typological contributions of Riesman, Fromm and Morris; however, two distinctions should be noted at the outset.

There is both the conscious and unconscious aspect of the conception of self as Inkeles and Levinson point out.² Wylie acknowledges that both conscious and unconscious self-concept measures would be desirable in empirical studies, but those individuals criticizing the researcher who provides only conscious measures to the neglect of unconscious measures is faced with the fact that

The state of validation of unconscious-self-concept measures is even more parlous than the state of validation of conscious-self-concept measures. Therefore the burden of proof is presently on the person favoring the addition of the unconscious self-concept to the variables from which we try to predict behavior.³

Her concluding remark is equally trenchant:

One must remember, too, that we cannot say how much the obtained associations between conscious self-concept measures and behavior would be strengthened if the conscious self-concept measures themselves could be made more reliable and valid.⁴

Thus, the expanded self-concept definition (Chapter III - Methodology) is within the sociological perspective of this typological study.

¹Manford Kuhn, "Self-Conception," in Dictionary of the Social Sciences (UNESCO), ed. by Julius Gould and William Kolb (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964), p. 630.

²Alex Inkeles and Daniel J. Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II, ed. by Gardner Lindzey (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), p. 991.

³Ruth Wylie, The Self-Concept: A Critical Survey of Pertinent Research Literature (Lincoln, Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press, 1961), pp. 319-320.

⁴Ibid., 320.



A Typological Comparison: Riesman, Fromm and Morris

Riesman Inner-Other-Directed Social Character

The basic frame of reference with respect to typological comparison incorporates Riesman's inner-other-directed social character types¹ identified as follows:

Inner-direction.--The source of direction for the individual is inner in the sense that it is implanted early in life by the elders and directed toward generalized but nonetheless inescapably destined goals.²

Other-direction.--What is common to all the other-directed people is that their contemporaries are the source of direction for the individual--either those known to him or those with whom he is indirectly acquainted, through friends and through the mass media. This source is of course "internalized" in the sense that dependence on it for guidance in life is implanted early. The goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift with that guidance; it is only the process of striving itself and the process of paying close attention to the signals from others that remain unaltered throughout life.³

Riesman states that "I shall use the term 'mode of conformity' interchangeably with the term 'social character'--though certainly conformity is not all of social character: 'mode of creativity' is as much a part of it."⁴

In an effort to be more precise, the most important clue to the complexity of social character is the levels of abstraction Riesman employs for his ideal types. He states: ". . . it is

¹David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd (Abridged ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

²Ibid., p. 15.

³Ibid., p. 21.

⁴Ibid., p. 6.



necessary first to abstract from the real individual his 'personality,' then to abstract from that his 'character,' finally to abstract from that the common element that forms 'social character.'¹ Using these progressive elaborations about social character, the following schema indicates the conceptual levels in ascending order of levels of abstraction, I through IV.

Level IV Social Character (Mode of Conformity): inner-other directed

"Social character" is that part of "character" which is shared among significant social groups and which, as most contemporary social scientists define it, is the product of the experience of these groups. The notion of social character permits us to speak . . . of the character of classes, groups, regions, and nations.²

Level III Character

Character . . . is the more or less permanent socially and historically conditioned organization of an individual's drives and satisfactions--the kind of "set" with which he approaches the world and people.³

Level II Personality

. . . the total self, with its inherited temperaments and talents, its biological as well as psychological components, its evanescent as well as more or less permanent attributes.⁴

Level I The Real Individual

These abstractions defining the evolution of social character as stated by Riesman indicate the multi-level approach he takes in exploring an historical problem. He poses two questions: "What is the relation between social character and society? How is it that every

¹Ibid., pp. 29-30 (italics mine).

²Ibid., p. 4 (italics mine).

³Ibid., (italics mine).

⁴Ibid., pp. 3-4.



society seems to get, more or less, the social character it needs?¹
The attempt to answer these questions are involved, particularly in view of the historical influences at work even within the lifetime of an individual. But the framework of Riesman et al. can be comprehended from three general insights or observations:

- (1) . . . we ourselves were in the tradition of the neo-Freudians, particularly Erich Fromm. . . . Fromm's Escape from Freedom and Man for Himself were decidedly influential models in the application of a socially oriented psychoanalytic character-ology to problems of historical change.²
- (2) We concerned ourselves, more-over, with the upper social strata, particularly with what has been called the "new middle class of salaried professionals and managers."³
- (3) . . . it is much harder, if not impossible, to classify a particular individual as other-directed or inner-directed, and when we have done so, we may have made a statement that helps explain his social or occupational role, but not much else about him. . . .⁴

To do justice in the evaluation of The Lonely Crowd with respect to empirical research on Riesman's ideal types is to proceed and simplify that which is complex, a trap which may lead to a reductio ad absurdum; nevertheless, such an undertaking or beginning involves the risks all behavioral scientists must take.

Two perspectives.--One must posit some sort of self-concept by virtue of age alone. Whatever changes occur in self-concept over a

¹Ibid., p. 5.

²Ibid., p. xiv (italics mine).

³Ibid., pp. xv-xvi (italics mine).

⁴Ibid., p. xvi (italics mine).



period of years or span of life are due to complex influences not easily isolated and conceptualized. Yet Riesman's social character typology provides a convenient historical perspective for this research study.

A time perspective--the old and the new--is the first to be noted.

If we wanted to cast our social character types into social class molds, we could say that inner-direction is the typical character of the "old" middle class--the banker, the tradesman, the small entrepreneur, the technically oriented engineer, etc.--while "other-direction" is becoming the typical character of the "new" middle class--the bureaucrat, the salaried employee in business, etc.¹

This time perspective suggests a similarity of social character mold (inner-directed) to the era of "the rugged individualist" as reflected in the "Protestant Ethic"²--an ethic basic to the inner-directed social character structure.

Riesman also observed that "inner-directed types seem to be dominant in rural and small-town United States . . . and one notices the beginnings of dominance by other-directed types in the metropolitan centers of the United States. . ."³--the "new" era of "the organization man" as reflected in the group or "social ethic."⁴ The increase in the other-directed social character type is a post-World War II phenomenon and is due in great part to the influence of the mass media of

¹Ibid., p. 20.

²Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1930), trans by Talcott Parsons.

³Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, op. cit., p. 32.

⁴William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), p. 7.



communication on the socialization process; however, critical commentaries point out that "other-directedness" did exist in Tocqueville's description of America in the 1830's.¹

Another perspective--related to overlapping influences on socialization--presents difficulties in character distinctions:

Since we are all born into society we cannot escape some tradition-direction; since we are all born of parents and socialized by powerful elders, we cannot escape some inner-direction; since we live in groups and are socialized by peers we cannot escape some other-direction.²

As a result of further research in his later work, Faces in the Crowd, Riesman presents vignettes--"some twenty portraits or 'faces' of individuals"³ but mentions significantly, that "Indeed the portraits . . . raise questions concerning the possibility of finding any operational definitions for such very general and inclusive terms as 'inner-direction' and 'other-direction.'"⁴

A decade later, after a period of empirical research exploring social character relationships, Riesman critically re-evaluated the picture of inner- and other-direction and stated that "we did not differentiate carefully enough between character, behavior, values, and a style or ethos of particular institutions--the sorting out that this involves is a still uncompleted task for research."⁵ Hence, this

¹ Carl H. Degler, "The Sociologist as Historian: Riesman's 'The Lonely Crowd,'" American Quarterly, XV (Winter, 1963).

² Riesman, Faces in the Crowd (abridged ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 11.

³ Ibid., p. xii.

⁴ Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, op. cit., p. xxii (italics mine).

⁵ Ibid.



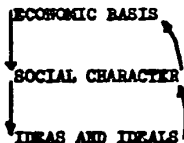
dissertation study, while focusing on Riesman's typology, expands and utilizes the relevant contributions and insights of Fromm and Morris to attain greater precision in presenting self-concepts in an expanded frame of reference.

Fromm Hoarding and Marketing Orientations

In a general sense, Fromm's social character orientations have a reciprocal influence bearing on their origin. He states:

It is not only the "economic basis" which creates a certain social character which, in turn, creates certain ideas. The ideas, once created, also influence the social character and, indirectly, the social economic structure. What I emphasize here is that the social character is the intermediary between the socio-economic structure and the ideas and ideals prevalent in a society. It is the intermediary in both directions, from the economic basis to the ideas and from the ideas to the economic basis.¹

The following scheme expresses this concept:



Fromm indicates an historical transition from the hoarding to the marketing orientation:

. . . society needs men who want to do what they have to do . . . in the nineteenth century, because of the need for capital accumulation in that period, society needed people who wanted to save. So by education, by parental example, by the whole upbringing of children, that type of social character which we would call an

¹Erich Fromm, "Individual and Social Character," Psychoanalysis and Contemporary American Culture, ed. by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek (New York: Delta Books, Dell Publishing Co., 1964), p. 31 (italics mine).

anal-boarding character was produced. Today, society needs people who want to spend, so the receptive and marketing orientations emerge.¹

Riesman noted that his other-directed social character orientation was derived from Erich Fromm's marketing orientation.² Also, Fromm was asked the following in regard to conceptual similarities:

Might there be a parallel between the marketing orientation and what David Riesman has called the "other-directed individual" or what you have referred to as the "alienated individual"?--he replied: "Very definitely. I think Riesman described it very well and gave it an interesting name. Essentially, other-directedness is closely related to what I call the marketing orientation and the alienated personality."³

One of the meanings of alienation is self-estrangement,⁴ a meaning whose most extended treatment is found in Fromm: "By alienation is meant a mode of experience, in which the person experiences himself as alien. He has become, one might say, estranged from himself."⁵ Fromm stated that ". . . as the reader familiar with the concept of the marketing orientation developed in Man For Himself will see, the phenomenon of alienation is the more general and underlies the more specific concept of the 'marketing orientation.'⁶

¹Richard I Evans, Dialogue with Erich Fromm (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966), p. 7 (italics mine).

²Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 9 (italics mine).

⁴Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), p. 789.

⁵Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955), p. 120.

⁶Ibid., p. 111 (footnote).

Morris Ways to Live

Morris has enumerated 13 Ways to Live--"world views," "philosophies of life," or "value orientations."¹ They cover a range of values that relate to the Riesman and Fromm social character orientations.

The Ways to Live are presented here in synopsis form because of their length but can be found in entirety in Chapter III. In brief,

Morris' Ways to Live are:

- Way 1 - preserve the best that man has attained
- Way 2 - cultivate independence of persons and things
- Way 3 - show sympathetic concern for others
- Way 4 - experience festivity and solitude in alternation
- Way 5 - act and enjoy life through group participation
- Way 6 - constantly master changing conditions
- Way 7 - integrate action, enjoyment, and contemplation
- Way 8 - live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment
- Way 9 - wait in quiet receptivity
- Way 10 - control the self stoically
- Way 11 - meditate on the inner life
- Way 12 - chance adventuresome deeds
- Way 13 - obey cosmic purposes

Complexities: An Expanded Framework Riesman - Fromm - Morris

An interdisciplinary approach to the study problem is relevant because in Riesman's attempt to conceptualize the inner-other-directed social character types, he acknowledges his debt to both Erich Fromm and Charles W. Morris. The contribution--theory wise--of the former is in the social psychological dimension, specifically, the marketing oriented social character;² the contribution of the latter is in the

¹Morris, op. cit., pp. 15-18.

²Erich Fromm, Man for Himself (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1947), pp. 107 ff.

philosophical, value dimension, specifically, Morris' Paths of Life¹-- aspects or fragments of world views--later restructured, expanded and renamed as Ways to Live.²

An Expanded Framework: Summary

In brief, a summary of the similarities to explore include the following relationships that are hypothesized in this study.

1. Both Riesman and Fromm have acknowledged conceptual links regarding other-direction and the marketing orientation as social character types.

2. Riesman and Fromm have identified character types representative of the general values, expressed or implied, in the "Protestant Ethic." Riesman expressly identifies the inner-directed³ individual and Fromm implicitly identifies the hoarding oriented⁴ individual--with the "Protestant Ethic," a value structure that provides a link between these two social character types.

3. Morris' empirical research suggested these probably links with Riesman and Fromm:

- (a) Riesman's Inner-directed character and Ways 2, 6, 12
- (b) Riesman's Other-directed character and Ways 5, 8, 13
- (c) Fromm's Hoarding orientation and Ways 1 and 10
- (d) Fromm's Marketing orientations and Ways 4 and 8

The speculations of Morris have been noted along with the

¹Riesman, Faces in the Crowd, op. cit., footnote, p. 20.

²Morris, op. cit., Chapter I.

³Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

⁴Fromm, Man for Himself, op. cit., p. 81.



Riesman and Fromm typological similarities.¹ All three authors' insights have been applied empirically to the study of the self-concept as hypothesized in Chapter III.

¹Morris, op. cit., p. 108.



TYPOLOGICAL SCHEMA¹

IDEAL TYPE

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Riesman:
Other-directed
social character

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•
•

Fromm:
Marketing oriented
social character

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•
•

Morris: Ways to Live
related to Riesman,
Other-directed
social character

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•
•

Morris: Ways to Live
related to Fromm,
Marketing oriented
social character

IDEAL TYPE

•
•
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Riesman:
Inner-directed
social character

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•
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Fromm:
Hoarding oriented
social character

•
•
•

Morris: Ways to Live
related to Riesman,
Inner-directed
social character

•
•
•

Morris: Ways to Live
related to Fromm,
Hoarding oriented
social character

¹See Chapter III (Hypothesized self-concept presentation and typological profile).



CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The Riley and Riley, Jr. and Moore Study (1952)¹

The data for the Riley Moore study was collected from 25,000 ninth and tenth grade students in the high schools of eight middle class New Jersey communities. As noted by the authors:

Respondents to a self-administered questionnaire were shown a series of twenty vignettes or brief descriptions of high-school boys and girls as they embody particular attributes, skills, activity patterns, or tendencies to elicit various responses from others in the group. Each vignette was originally prepared to represent certain values that were believed, on the basis of preliminary intensive interviewing, to be of central concern to adolescents.²

Data was presented under the following captions with supporting tables:

1. Adolescent Self-Expectations

Achievement Vignettes
Good Time Vignettes
Peer Approval Vignettes
Miscellaneous Vignettes

2. Expectations of Parents and Peers

Perceived Peer Expectations
Adolescent Self-Expectations
Adult Self-Expectations
Perceived Parent Expectations

¹Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Mary E. Moore, "Adolescent Values and the Riesman Typology: An Empirical Analysis," in Culture and Social Character, ed. S. M. Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 370-386.

²Ibid.



3. Adult Self-Expectations

4. Conflict between Internalized Norms and Peer Approval

Self-Expectations of Two Extreme Types of Adolescents:

Those Who Choose to Help
Those Who Choose Honesty

Adult Self-Expectations of the Two Extreme Types

Other-Directeds (Those Who Choose to Help)
Inner-Other-Directeds (Those Who Choose Honesty)

5. The Question of Status

Generalizations from the data in this study are modified for the sake of brevity. In the words of the authors, "Two points seem to emerge that may throw further light on the Riesman typology."¹

First, the particular form of other-direction that we are able to isolate here seems to be a peculiarly adolescent phenomenon. The desire for peer approval is in itself by no means restricted to youth; but the other-directed tendency to stress peer approval to the detriment of crucial internalized goals appears in our data primarily in the adolescent's stereotype of peer-group values, and in the aspirations of some--but not all--adolescents themselves. Yet, even these adolescents do not project this stereotype to the larger, adult world. They clearly do not look upon the adolescent peer group as the microcosm of the total societal complex. For this sample, at least, their peer group has not yet become the "measure of all things."

Second, a type of value pattern that occurs in our data with outstanding frequency is one combining elements of both inner-direction and other-direction. Individuals who espouse such combined elements apparently assume that in most situations they can, at one and the same time, value internalized norms and value approval. Implicitly, they seem to take for granted that their own goals and their desire for approval from the others, far from conflicting with one another, tend to fit together. Such a combined pattern appears in our data on the adolescent's view of the adult world. It tends also to appear

¹Ibid., pp. 384-385.



in our data on the adolescents themselves.

In their conclusion they state that,

Thus we uncover what we have called an inner- and other-directed type. Such a type does not, after all, appear anomalous in the light of such commonly accepted sociological theory. . . . Approval, or the rewarding of conformity, is itself essential for the internalization and maintenance of norms. Without such sanctions, there would be no way of defining and reinforcing the expectations of others. At the same time, these expectations are integrated with each other; they reflect, and specify for particular situations or groups, the values of a common culture. Thus an inner-directed and other-directed type merely requires that the social system be sufficiently stabilized so that the values internalized by the adolescent tend in general to approximate the norms that are institutionalized in the crucial groups to which he belongs. Our data seem to show clear traces of such stability.¹

The Graham Sofer Study (1954)

In preparing to utilize the Riesman typology for her studies, Sofer mentioned that "several of Dr. Charles Morris' 'paths of life' (Charles Morris, Paths of Life [New York: Harper and Bros., 1942]), were also adapted for use as questionnaire items; scoring for these was based on subjects' ranking in order of preference."²

Sofer comments on the fact that:

Riesman's analysis of American society and culture is largely an analysis of value and attitude. Furthermore, there is usually a high congruity between personality mechanisms, character, and value; conflicts in the value sphere that oppose conscience to group approval, or personal achievement to group morale, can be said to embody, symbolize, or realize the underlying conflict between the two opposed character types.³

¹Ibid., pp. 385-386.

² Elaine Graham Sofer, "Inner-Direction, Other-Direction, and Autonomy: A Study of College Students," in Lipset and Lowenthal, op. cit., pp. 316-348.

³Ibid., p. 320.



She states that,

The underlying hypothesis of the present study . . . is that despite masquerades, inversions, and discontinuities of various sorts, certain types of value choice are probably closely related to underlying character structure and may serve as a useful index to it. Thus the major classifications of individuals in the study are based upon their value patterns, but the substance of the investigation is the attempt to find out whether clear differences in value choice are in turn empirically related to predictable and analogous differences in behavior and personality. The establishment of such empirical connections may be viewed first of all as a kind of validation of the attitude questionnaire at a level that begins to approach more nearly Riesman's theory of character difference. It also serves the more general function, however, of attempting to tie together various strands of evidence from recent psychological study of the instructions between an individual's values and attitudes, his social and cognitive behavior, his mode of perception, and his underlying personality tendencies.¹

The subjects of Sofer's study were forty-two Brooklyn College freshmen, all men.² Under the section "Correlations with Personality Trends," Sofer relates some findings to an earlier study, two in fact--that of Witkin et al.³ and the one of Linton⁴ wherein the findings ". . . suggested that the significant personality tendencies underlying individual differences in mode of perception and in social conformity were in the areas of attitudes toward the self, the quality of coping with the environment, and the degree of emotional responsiveness to the environment."⁵

¹Ibid., p. 321.

²The value dimension Sofer selected was that of other-direction versus 'self-direction' (i.e., inner-direction or autonomy). See p. 328 of her article.

³Sofer, p. 329.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.



Rorschach Test Findings

The findings of both Witkin et al. and Linton were based primarily on indices taken from the Rorschach test. . . .¹ While the Rorschach test is not a sociological instrument, the findings are relevant here to give us some idea of the direction of research others have taken in their effort to utilize the Riesman typology.

Sofer notes the following:

Specifically, the other-directed subjects clearly show tendencies toward a weaker and more passive self-image; inner-directed and/or autonomous subjects have a stronger, clearer, and more active self-concept, which includes greater self-awareness, greater self-assertion, and less denial of their own feelings and drives.

On the other hand, although inner-directeds are more self-aware than are other-directeds, in the sense that they allow a greater degree of their own thoughts, feelings and impulses to come into consciousness, they are not necessarily more accepting of themselves or of others. One Rorschach indicator--the tendency to see more human parts than wholes--is more characteristic of inner-directeds in this study; it is variously interpreted in the Rorschach literature to stand for lack of self-acceptance, self-criticism, a wary and cautious relationship to others, a hostile and critical attitude toward others, and anxiety in relation to the self and to others.²

Personality Inventory Findings³

In another test, a personality inventory (not designated by Sofer), Sofer states that it

. . . provides us with a more direct picture of the conscious concerns, symptoms, and self-feelings of the subjects. On the inventory, as on the Rorschach, the inner-directed, autonomous group is significantly stronger in self-assertive aggression, in

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 330.

³ Ibid., p. 331.



this case often in the highly self-conscious form of marked "self-opinionation." In addition, both inner-directed and autonomous subjects tend to check more items having to do with bodily anxiety and specific bodily symptoms, as well as those indicating social withdrawal and self-sufficiency. (This finding would fit in with the Rorschach indication already mentioned that a certain type of inner-directed may have comparatively marked anxiety about himself and critical feelings toward others. Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear to what extent these findings from the personality inventory are influenced by the greater frankness, self-awareness, and lack of repression on the part of the 'self'-directed subjects.)¹

Here only a summary remark is to be noted by Sofer. She states that

It cannot be viewed as too surprising that there is lack of a clear relationship between other-directed value choices and personality indices of poor coping with the environment, found in other studies to predispose individuals to social and perceptual dependence.²

Human Figure Drawing Test³

The second projective measure used by Dr. Linton, the Human Figure Drawing Test, was scored for thirty-eight variables of the figure drawings. Sofer summarizes the findings as follows:

While interpretation is more difficult than with the better known Rorschach, we may summarize the results as suggesting that other-directeds, like field-dependents, evidence a passive, weak, sexually-immature, and mildly distorted body image. The parallels with the self-image projected by other-directeds onto the Rorschach blots are impressive. A further important implication of the figure drawing test, moreover, is that the other-directeds' comparative lack of awareness of their own emotions and impulses evidently includes avoidance and denial of libidinal drives and/or a relative lack of sexual maturity and interest. Interesting, too, is the fact that although the inner-directeds exhibit more conscious bodily anxiety and describe more bodily symptoms, it is

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 332.

³Ibid., pp. 332-333.



the other-directed adolescents who project the more unconsciously distorted body image.¹

A brief statement about some findings of another study, not referred to in the Sofer article, has relevance here. The sociologist, Manfred Kuhn, in collaboration with T. S. McPartland at the University of South Dakota, had utilized the "Twenty Statement Test."² In the footnote to their findings, we note the following remark:

The variables which result from these characteristics of responses to the Twenty Statements Test are presently being utilized in further research with special reference to clinical use. There are some interesting indications that those with few if any consensual statements to make have symptoms of emotional disturbance, while those having few statements of any kind to make are of Riesman's "radar" type, taking their cues from each specific situation and (in the phrase of John Gould) "taking their immediate others" to be their "significant others."

Kuhn and McPartland's references to consensual and subconsensual statements are, in their own words, distinguished as follows:

. . . statements which refer to groups and classes whose limits and conditions of membership are matters of common knowledge, i.e., consensual; and those which refer to groups, classes, attributes, traits of any other matters which would require interpretation by the respondent to be precise or to place him relative to other people, i.e., subconsensual.³

F-Scale

Sofer's commentary, as much as need be noted here, is rather brief. She states that "None of the subjects in the present study can be said to be truly "authoritarian"; in fact, the F-Scale had to

¹ Ibid., p. 333.

² Manfred H. Kuhn and Thomas S. McPartland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XIX (February, 1954), p. 70.

³ Ibid., p. 69.



be modified in a "liberal" direction (by dropping certain offensive items, not by changing any wording) in order to be fairly palatable to these Brooklyn College students.¹

General Statement: The Sofer Study

The more relevant aspect of this study and the four area tests administered by Sofer deserve comment. She states that

It seems to the writer that this investigation--limited as it has been to an intensive study of a small, selected group--can afford no direct confirmation of Riesman's theory, either in terms of showing a particular relationship between the form of a society and the character structures to which it gives rise, or even in the more limited sense of showing that in our present society individuals can indeed be shown to be increasingly other-directed in their character mechanisms. What has been shown is that when viewed in relief, against a relatively constant social background, the new "culture" values that Riesman perceived as forming an "other-directed" pattern, in opposition to the older nineteenth-century values, do indeed hang together as a coherent set of attitudes that can be accepted or rejected by a group of modern urban adolescents. This is to say that these attitudes can be objectified in a reasonably reliable and homogeneous attitude scale. Furthermore, the emergent value patterns can be shown to bear significant relationship to other independent attributes of behavior and personality to which they would be expected to relate. No one who has been deeply impressed, as many have, by Riesman's exceptional acuity in observing new and significant cultural patterns as they emerge on the American scene will be particularly surprised by this result; it is hoped, however, that other investigators have exploited and will continue to exploit Riesman's talent for social observation.²

Sofer's observation relative to future research is that

"It seems to the present writer that the results of this study may be important from still another point of view: the growing interest in the measurement of attitudes and values as a method of gaining

¹Sofer, p. 334.

²Id., p. 345 (italics mine).



insight into many facets of an individual's personality and behavior.¹ While her orientation has been heavily on the psychological, even psychiatric, side of studying Riesman's typology, the following sociological attempts bear noting as perhaps an admonition to carry this empirical study further.

The Olmsted Study (1957)

This study is noted primarily because of theoretical observations made by the author in addition to some general data on a study of college girls using the Riesman typology.

Olmsted obtained data from 190 girl students who in their sociology and social science courses at X College had read and discussed The Lonely Crowd. Olmsted's general findings are:

In a series of ratings by undergraduates at a woman's college using Riesman's character typology, inner-directedness was ascribed by 10 per cent of the cases to the "average college girl," by 24 per cent to "most of the boys you know," by 33 per cent to close friends, by 38 per cent to one's self, by 42 per cent to the respondent's mother and by 64 per cent to her father. An individual's ratings of others tended to be in the same direction as her self rating, though this does not appear to reflect generalized bias. Age, sex, primariness, and "structuredness" are involved in such estimates in addition to the character traits which are ostensibly the basis of the ratings.²

Olmsted did not intend that his questionnaire discover

... whether the persons rated are "really" inner- or other-directed but only whether in the respondent's judgments they are thought to be so. The questionnaire assumed that, having read a substantial portion of The Lonely Crowd, the student would have a general idea of Riesman's categories and that within any one respondent's set of answers there were relatively

¹Ibid., p. 346.

²Michael S. Olmsted, "Character and Social Role," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (July, 1957), p. 49.



stable criteria for assessment; but it did not assume that any two respondents would necessarily define the categories in identical fashion. The ratings were thus subjective or projective, and the results constitute a study of perceptions of a certain part of the social world.¹

Olsted points out the somewhat paradoxical nature of his findings. He states:

On the one hand, it has been argued that where a respondent is assessing a person in an "unfamiliar" role, where the standards by which that person operates are not visibly derived from the group--as for instance when a daughter rates a father--then the tendency will be for the respondent to judge him as relatively inner-directed. On the other hand, it was hypothesized earlier that, where the respondent rates persons with whom she is not personally familiar--the average girl--she is inclined to see them as relatively other-directed. Lack of personal familiarity then seems to lead to opposite and contradictory effects.²

Continuing this line of exploration, Olsted noted:

Unless one of these two propositions is wholly fallacious and no reconciliation is necessary, the rapprochement lies in the clarification of what is implied in role relationships. The difference between the two situations may be characterized by two sets of distinctions. In the first place, one of these relationships is "primary" in the traditional sociological sense, while the other is "secondary"; one is the relationship of daughter to father, the other of one girl to a generalized other consisting of some two thousand fellow students. In the second place, one of the relationships involves a ranking or hierarchical organization of superordination and subordination, while the other involves a more voluntary and "unbound" as it were, relationship between equals.³

Olsted's diagram of this relationship is as follows:

	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Hierarchical or organization of roles	(1) E.g., master-servant relationship	(2) E.g., boss-worker relationship

¹ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

² Ibid., p. 55.

³ Ibid.



Equal and indeterminate roles lacking formal structure.

(3) E.G., companion-ship.

(4) E.G., casual contacts.

Types of Role Relationships¹

Specifically Olmsted notes that:

Character ratings of the sort used here suggest that persons in a type (3) relationship (rating of particular friends) would rate one another in more purely characterological terms, while persons in a type (2) relationship would rate each other in most purely role type terms. Furthermore, persons in a type (1) relationship would tend to perceive the other as inner-directed, while those in a type (4) relationship tend to rate the other as other-directed.²

What has been said here about character type and role types does not in any way invalidate the concept of social character. It may serve to suggest some of the difficulties in defining and measuring the characterological variable. . . . Social character may be thought of as a way of treating psychological factors so as to articulate them with sociological factors, the latter being perhaps best conceived of for these purposes as roles.³

In summation, there is an over-all value involvement here that Olmsted makes which is worth noting because of the interrelationships of role and behavior. He states that:

It is a fact of life, and not a mere conceptual confusion, that the roles people fill mold not only their behavior but their Weltanschauungen as well and that the organization of personal capacities and desires may influence their social position.⁴

As Olmsted points out in Parsons and Bales:

The role expectation . . . which is a unit of a system of social interaction, is itself also a motivational unit--an internalized object of the personality of the actor. When a person is fully socialized in the system of interaction it is not nearly so correct to say that a role is something an actor "has" or "plays" as that it is something that he is.⁵

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 56.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family Socialization and



In conclusion, Olmsted poses the question:

Is what we have been looking at, then, a picture of types of roles or types of character structure. . . . Whenever one person rates another's social stimulus value, whether in terms of Riesman's typology or not, we are likely to get data in which role and character factors are intermingled.¹

This is a major point of discussion also, in a more theoretical sense, perhaps, that Gutman and Wrong bring out in their paper in Lipset and Loventhal.² At least the awareness of the intermingling of role and character has been noted and will probably be discussed for some time to come.

The Littunen and Gaier Study (1959)

This study, made in Turku, Finland, was an attempt to test the relevance of the Riesman inner-other-directed character typology in a country where

. . . socialization is presumably parent-centered and the inner-directed personality relatively prevalent, where parents exert strong pressures in socialization and the child-training is authoritarian, the individual may tend to strive toward the inner-directed personality ideal, toward the old-fashioned character strength ideals included in the category of personality assets defined,³

in the study.

The sample of 271 subjects was drawn from residents of Turku

Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955), p. 107.

¹ Ibid., p. 57.

² Robert Gutman and Denis H. Wrong, "David Riesman's Typology of Character," in Lipset and Loventhal, op. cit., pp. 295-315.

³ Yrjo Littunen and Eugene L. Gaier, "Occupational Values and Modes of Conformity," The Journal of Social Psychology, LI (1960), pp. 123-133.

with ages between twenty and sixty-five. In the words of the joint authors, "Turku is in many respects representative of the general characteristics of the expanding, urban sub-culture of Finland, which at present, is in the middle of a rapid industrial development." The authors also pointed out Riesman's suggestion "that the countries of the Protestant, northern Europe, are primarily inner-directed in their socialization orientations."¹

Subjects for the test "were asked to list three each of what they considered their greatest personality assets and greatest personality liabilities." Indexes utilized in part, were taken from Rosenberg² and were "indices of the two so-called capitalistic occupational values of individualism and self-initiative. . . ."³ All "items were presented in the form of choice interview questions. . . ."⁴ "The 381 obtained personality assets were classified into three major categories: Group Behavior, Character Traits, and Achievement."⁵

No significance was obtained between personality assets and self-initiative and group initiative value supporters, nor between the personality assets and self control and group control values. "An hypothesis of perceptual defense was posited to support these results"⁶ (as stated in the first paragraph of this section).

¹ Ibid., p. 125.

² M. Rosenberg, Occupations and Values (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957).

³ Littunen and Gaier, op. cit., p. 125.

⁴ Ibid., p. 126.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p. 132.



The Kassarjian Study (1962)

This study entitled "A Study of Riesman's Theory of Social Character,"¹ assumes that "inner-other-directedness can best be conceived of as a continuum."² The author developed an inner-other-directed scale (a five-point rating scale) for thirty-six "forced-choice type of item worded in the first person singular."³ The test, after establishing reliability and validity, was given to 150 undergraduates enrolled in introductory classes in psychology at the University of California, Los Angeles (U.C.L.A.). Also included in the validation studies for the I-O Scale were certain groups of graduate students (number not specified) who were chosen from fields of study that would best indicate a clear divergence of inner-other-directedness. For example,

The inner-directed sample was randomly drawn from students majoring in any of the natural sciences, philosophy, physical anthropology, or archaeology. The other-directed sample consisted of randomly chosen graduate students in the School of Education, in social welfare, political science, and various areas of business administration. One hundred copies of the I-O Scale were mailed out to each group of subjects, of which roughly 50 per cent were returned.⁴

In addition, certain preliminary data from the Centers Study⁵ on the Greater Los Angeles area was included in a partial analysis

¹ Waltrud Marggraff Kassarjian, "A Study of Riesman's Theory of Social Character," Sociometry, XXV, No. 3 (September, 1962), pp. 213-230.

² Ibid., p. 216.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 218-219.

⁵ See next section (The Centers [Centers-Horowitz Study]), 1962.



in an attempt to test the I-O Scale as it applied to a general population.

Findings relative to city-town size are cited by Kassarijian:

The undergraduate sample shows a tendency, although insignificant, that persons coming from towns of less than 25,000 inhabitants, tend toward inner-direction. In the graduate sample the difference becomes more pronounced, to the point of yielding a .05 significance: persons from small towns (less than 25,000) are mainly inner-directed, while subjects from towns larger than that tend mainly toward other-direction. A sample from an area more diverse with regard to size of towns may yield more definite results.¹

General Statement

Kassarijian has noted that in this additional phase of the study, that is, the extension to the Greater Los Angeles area,

it was determined that the variable of inner-other-directedness extends beyond the original college sample to the general population in Greater Los Angeles. . . . Not all of the expected correlations between personal data and I-O Scale in the sample of the general population were confirmed.²

It is concluded that inner-other-directedness exists as a relatively independent variable and can be measured reliably and validly by means of the present confirmation of Riesman's theoretically proposed continuum of inner-other-directedness.³

The Centers (Centers-Horowitz) Study (1962)⁴

In two separate papers, reference is made to one study on the

¹ Ibid., p. 221.

² Ibid., pp. 225-226.

³ Ibid.

⁴ N.B. First paper cited by joint authorship: Richard Centers and Miriam Horowitz, "Social Character and Conformity: A Differential in Susceptibility to Social Influence," Journal of Social Psychology, LX (1963), p. 345.



metropolitan area of Los Angeles relative to the Riesman typology.

In the first and preliminary paper, "Social Character and Conformity: A Differential in Susceptibility to Social Influence," the principal hypothesis was:

... that other-directed people are more susceptible than inner-directed people to the influence of others. Hence they will tend to conform to the opinions of other persons, especially if those in question are perceived as being socially important. In a sense a test of this hypothesis is a validity test of Riesman's theory, for if other-directed persons are not more susceptible to the influence of others the whole concept of other-directedness is meaningless and empty. Such a statement, of course, implies a reasonably valid and reliable measuring instrument, and the I-O Social Preference can qualify here, with a reliability coefficient of .85 and a validity coefficient of .69.¹

The Centers-Horowitz article points out, as noted previously in the quotation just cited, that conformity and other-directedness are crucial to basic conceptions of Riesman, though conformity is applicable to the inner-directed also.

The reader should refer to an earlier cited work before returning to the Centers-Horowitz article. Kassarjian states that:

At first glance, one might call an other-directed person a 'conformist,' as compared with the 'individualistic' inner-directed person. However, such a classification will not hold up under close scrutiny, at least not without further qualifying the term 'conformity.' To the layman the word conformity means compliance with established norms. In Merton's words² social conformity usually denotes 'conformity to the norms and expectations current in the individual's own membership group.' No doubt an other-directed person tries to go along with the group to gain its approval and acceptance. His behavior depends almost exclusively upon the expectations and influences of his peers. But the inner-directed individual may be just as much a

¹ Ibid.

² Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), pp. 225-386.



conformist, if not more so. Riesman points out that he conforms for different reasons and in a different manner. He conforms almost rigidly to the established standards and values associated with his position and status in society, as he has learned them. He may also conform in a more definite group situation or even under group pressure, especially in order to get a certain task done. His drive for success and accomplishment may make him conform, rather than the need for approval which the other-directed individual must meet.¹

Centers and Horowitz used data obtained by administering the I-O Social Preference Scales to 364 students enrolled in an elementary class in psychology at UCLA.

General Statement

Centers and Horowitz indicate that "The hypothesis that other-directed persons would be more influenced to conform in their views in the direction of fictitious important people than the inner-directed seems to be substantially confirmed. . . ."²

It is worthy of note that highly other-directed subjects will conform to the attitudes of persons whom they feel fit this designation, even though there is no implication that they will be rewarded in any external way for doing so. There is here, then, not only an indication that the other-directed person looks to external sources for guidance, but the suggestion that conformity for itself becomes for him a desirable goal. The process of conforming then is apparently self-rewarding.³

In summary, then, the authors state that

It was found that other-directed persons were more susceptible to the social influence of the reported opinions of others or to prestige suggestion from a vaguely defined source than were inner-directed persons. The result is interpreted as positive support for the hypothesis.⁴

¹Kassarjian, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

²Centers and Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 347-348.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 348.



The Centers Study (1962)¹

This paper on the Centers Study was first referred to in the initial article (section preceding this one), by Centers and Horowitz. Now we have Centers' own summary of data obtained from the greater Los Angeles metropolitan survey.

This study is important because it is the first of its kind to extend the limits of the population, that is, in Centers' person-to-person interview survey involving a cross-section sample of 1,077 adults in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, where is a better opportunity to test Riesman's typology as contrasted with most, in fact, all of the previous studies limited to college students. Centers states:

In order to determine the distributive characteristics of the Riesman social character typology a personal interview survey was conducted with a cross section of adults in greater Los Angeles. Respondents were administered a test to measure inner-other directedness, and, in analysis of the data, their scores were related to several variables, with particular attention being given to testing the validity of Riesman's assertions that other-directedness is most prevalent in the middle class and is increasing. Inner-other directedness was found to be normally distributed, without appreciable correlation with socio-economic indices, but with other-directedness being more common in younger people. The latter finding is interpreted as supporting Riesman's claim that other-directedness is becoming more prevalent in America.²

¹Centers alone is responsible for this summary article. It should be noted, in point of time, that the first joint article was submitted for publication in November, 1961; however, the second Centers article was published in September, 1962. The first joint article, then, was published in 1963, evidently in order to supply more data about the complete study.

²Richard Centers, "An Examination of the Riesman Social Character Typology, A Metropolitan Survey," Sociometry, XIV, No. 3 (September, 1962), p. 231.



Using the I-O Social Preference Scales developed by Kassarjian with minor modifications made for use in personal survey procedure, Centers included twenty-five of the most efficient and discriminating items. The instrument developed had a reliability coefficient of .85 and a validity of .69. (This fact was noted earlier in comments about the Centers-Korovitz study.)

In addition, a three-item Guttman-type scale of feelings of self-competence developed at the Michigan Survey Research Center was included, as well as questions on education, occupational, religion, political affiliation, social class identification, place of birth and age. Sex, race, and socio-economic status were noted by the interviewer.¹

One or two special items are noted with regard to this study. Briefly, "The correlation of education with inner-other-directedness is itself very small in magnitude, but does indicate a slight tendency for more highly educated individuals to be more inner-directed and for less educated individuals to be more other-directed."²

Another finding of Centers' is:

Riesman's statement that other-directedness is most marked among the middle class is not borne out by our test, but there is some slight support for his assertion that America is tending to become a more other-directed society i. our finding that younger people tend to be more other-directed than older people.³

Continuing further, he states:

Although we have interpreted the positive relationship between youthfulness and other-direction as supporting Riesman, it should be recognized that an alternative interpretation is possible. It may be that as people grow older they also become more inner-

¹Ibid., pp. 235-236.

²Ibid., p. 237.

³Ibid., p. 237.



directed, although the investigator recalls nothing in Riesman's descriptions of his types that would imply this. In fact, his as well as other theories of character types strongly emphasize stability of such structures rather than change.¹

Finally, he points out that:

Inner- and other-directedness as measured by the I-O Social Preference Scale was found to be essentially normally distributed in the sample, with a slight tendency for more highly advanced people and older people to be more inner-directed. Also, more males were found in the inner-directed category. None of the other variables appeared to have more than a negligible relationship to directedness.²

The Peterson Study (1962-1963)

Richard A. Peterson at the University of Wisconsin, in reviewing previous empirical studies of the Riesman typology, notes that "All of these empirical investigations of Riesman's typology of social character assume, at least implicitly, that inner-direction and other-direction form a single dimension. This study takes as problematic the assumption of unidimensionality."³

In the prefatory remarks, Peterson states, in part, that

Most empirical studies using inner- and other-direction assume that they form poles of a single dimension. However, the factor analytic manipulation of items generated to tap these conceptions of social character reported here suggest that inner- and other-direction are more accurately conceptualized as cells in a relatively complex property-space, definable in terms of more familiar concepts such as extroversion-introversion, external conformity-independence, and the like. An analysis of demographic variables adds weight to the property space conceptualization of inner- and other-direction.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 238.

²Ibid., p. 240.

³Richard A. Peterson, "Dimensions of Social Character: An Empirical Exploration of the Riesman Typology," Sociometry, XIVII, No. 2 (June, 1964), p. 195.

⁴Ibid., p. 194.



Peterson used as a test of the Riesman typology sixty-eight simple declarative statements to which respondents were asked to answer along a seven-point Likert-type agree-disagree continuum. An additional set of eleven demographic questions were included.

The research was conducted among 547 undergraduates taking introductory sociology courses during the fall term of 1962-1963 at the University of Wisconsin.

The items defining the Eight Factors Peterson used were as follows:

- Factor 1: Affiliation-Achievement
- Factor 2: Principle
- Factor 3: Task Focus
- Factor 4: External Conformity-Individuality
- Factor 5: Extroversion-Introversion
- Factor 6: Self-Other Sources of Socialization Patterns
- Factor 7: Pragmatism
- Factor 8: Struggle

The fact of a lack of relatively few positive correlations was noted by Peterson; however, some interesting observations are made with regard to data of the father's socio-economic status (SES) that conform to Riesman's prediction. They are as follows:

1. Inner-directeds are more common among those low in SES, and other-directeds are more common among those high in SES.
2. When specific occupations of respondents' fathers are noted, the children of professionals tend to be other-directed more often than others. This tendency is less marked for the free professionals than among technicians and engineers.
3. Children of managers, as distinct from owners, tend to be other-directed more often, while children of unskilled blue-collar workers tend more often to be inner-directed.
4. The only occupational group to violate the prediction derivable from Riesman is the skilled blue-collar; their children were predominantly other-directed.

¹Ibid., pp. 200-201.



5. No differences were found between inner-directed and other-directed groups in entrepreneurial versus bureaucratic source of family income.¹

A final comment refers to the mobility aspect. Peterson notes that

Riesman characterizes the other-directeds as highly mobile; however, no difference was found between the two groups in the number of homes in which they had lived over their lives. However, in line with Riesman's predictions, other-directeds more often than inner-directeds came from large urban centers and towns growing rapidly during the period 1940-1960.²

The Kallen Study (1963)

David J. Kallen in a study, "Inner-Direction, Other-Direction, and Social Integration Setting,"³ sought to test the assumption of Riesman and others about the relationship between culture and personality such that "individuals who are related to the social structure through relatively entrepreneurial roles should be more inner-directed and persons who are related through bureaucratic roles should be more other-directed."⁴

Citing that the nature of the distinction between inner- and other-direction is in the source of the individual's goals and goal pathways, Kallen states that

For the inner-directed individual, behavior directives are drawn from internalized goals, values and standards. The ways in which his goals are achieved may be similarly determined by internal mechanisms or by expediency. Because of the importance

¹Ibid., p. 205.

²Ibid.

³David J. Kallen, "Inner-Direction, Other-Direction, and Social Integration Setting," Human Relations, XVI, No. 1 (February, 1963), pp. 75-87.

⁴Ibid., p. 76.



of the achievement of goals which are implanted early in life, it seems likely that when choice is necessary the inner-directed individual will choose disvalued pathways to the goal rather than abandon the goal.

The other-directed individual seeks both the goal and the goal pathway from those around him rather than from within himself. Both the goals and the pathways, with the exception of the search itself, and a seeking of acceptance from others, are relatively short term, changing as the expectations of others change.¹

In this study, he introduces an interesting research distinction, not new, for example, levels of character structure since it is not a unitary concept, that is, with reference to Riesman's conceptualization, that the "individual may be inner-directed in some areas and other-directed in others. Behaviors which appear other-directed may be due to strong internalized goals, and vice versa."²

Kallen proposes the distinction that there are "two levels of character structure: one at the value level, the other at the behavioral level. These are referred to as value and action character structure."³

Value character structure is probably more enduring and less amenable to change. "Values, following Lewin, have a potential for including forces which determine which types of activity will have positive and which will have negative valence for an individual in a given situation. Values influence behavior, but according to this definition, do not arouse it. Most simply put, values determine the valence of goals and paths to the goal" (Hubbell, 1956). "Value based character structure represents the major directives for action the individual would take if he were not influenced by social forces other than those which influenced the development of his character structure. . . . It then represents the prototype of the action character structure the individual

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



would have if (a) significant others consistently reacted favorably to his initial attempts at expressing these early value directions, and (b) the immediate social milieu was one in which behaviors resulting from this prototype of later characterological formation were, at the minimum, within the range of acceptable behaviors (Kallen, 1958).¹

Continuing with the distinction between levels of character structure, Kallen states that

Behavioral consistency will, through the responses of significant others, become integrated into the self-concept of the individual. Consistently behaving in an other-directed manner, for whatever reason, will lead both to a part of the individual's self-concept entailing other direction, and to other people expecting the individual to act in this manner. It is this part of the self system, the individual's perception of himself as acting primarily in inner- or other-directed ways, that is meant by action character structure. It should be noted that the emphasis here is not on direct observations of behavior, but on the perception that the individual has of his own behavior.²

The subsequent portion of Kallen's study refers to the designation of three settings: the Social Integration Setting, The Entrepreneurial Integration Setting, and the Bureaucratic Setting. The first cited

. . . refers to the nature of the ties the individual has with the social system of which he is a member. The entrepreneurial and the bureaucratic settings, as employed in this study . . . represent qualitative differences in the relationship between the individuals and the social structure.³

The latter two "represent different parts of the articulated whole of urban industrialized society. With the increasing differentiation and specialization of the various role complexes, the economic role has assumed primacy, in an interdependent set of role systems."⁴

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 76-77.

³Ibid., p. 77.

⁴Ibid., . . .



Specifically, the historical transition is as follows:

The entrepreneurial integration setting developed with the growth of urbanization and industrialization. The great population movements, from both Europe to the United States and from rural communities to the developing urban centers, served to loosen the primary and nomative ties of the migrants. The traditional skills and styles of life were no longer appropriate or effective. But the norms were not clear or well developed.¹

Kallen then lists four characteristics that are elaborations in a more specific sense of the above noted general expression of the entrepreneurial integration setting. In like manner, he continues to the Bureaucratic Integration setting:

The bureaucratic integration setting is the outgrowth of the entrepreneurial. As the productive and managerial organizations grew, they developed interlocking structures where changes in one led to changes in the others, and where the very size of the organization enabled it to overcome minor changes in supply and demand. The size, demanded skills, and interpersonal relations of the bureaucratic setting made it almost the polar opposite of the entrepreneurial.²

After listing five characteristics of the bureaucratic integration setting, he concludes by noting that

It should be clear, then, that the role demands of the entrepreneurial and bureaucratic settings differ, and it is their differences that lead to differences in the character structures which are expected to be found associated with the different integration settings.³

Kallen's only hypothesis is a statement of the relationship between character structure and the integration settings noted. He hypothesized:

Individuals who are related to society through the entrepreneurial

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 78.

³Ibid., p. 79.



integration setting will have value inner-directed character structures, and individuals who are related to society through the bureaucratic integration setting will have value other-direction character structures.¹

The study sample included fifty-two high school juniors and seniors, male and female, residing in the suburbs of Chicago, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Background of all the students in the study are middle or upper middle class.²

Measurement of the three integration settings by Kallen were as follows:

Measurement of Integration Setting³

The integration setting of the adolescent was considered to be determined by the economic role of his father. An individual considered to be related to society through the entrepreneurial setting if his father met any of the following conditions:

1. Was foreign born
2. Ever lived on a farm
3. Was self-employed
4. Worked for a company with two or fewer levels of supervision.

He was considered to be part of the bureaucratic integration setting if his father met all of the following conditions:

1. Was native born
2. Never lived on a farm
3. Was not self-employed
4. Worked for an organization with three or more levels of supervision.⁴

Measurement of Value Character Structure⁵

Value character structure was defined above as the value base for the major action directives of the individual. It is seen

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 80.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 81.



as the character structure the individual would have if he was not influenced by his social environment. It was measured in the following way:

Each subject rank-ordered twelve of the thirteen "Ways to Live" or "Paths of Life" written by Dr. Charles Morris (1957). These "Paths of Life" present capsule statements of major value orientations. Each Path was rated by four independent raters on two separate five-point scales for inner- and other-direction. The difference between the inner- and other-direction rating was computed, resulting in a seventeen point scale. The individual scores were computed, by multiplying the individual's rank-order of the Path by its scale score and summing for all items. This resulted in a scale with individual scores ranging from 29 to 118 and a median of 79. Scores below the median were considered indicative of other-direction, and the scores above the median were considered indicative of inner-direction.

Measurement of Action Character Structure¹

As part of the larger study involved, each respondent was interviewed about the ways in which he made his decisions. The respondent was asked to give an example of a conflict with his parents (Shall I do what my parents want me to do or what I think is right?) and of a conflict with his peers (How can I be myself and still go along with the gang?). He was interviewed about a number of aspects of each decision, the same questions being used for each situation.

For each decision, the respondent was first asked, "What do you usually decide?" Replies of "What I want," and "What I think is right" were scored as inner-directed; all other responses were scored as other-directed. The second question was, "In making a decision like this, which is the most important influence: yourself, other people, or the situation?" A response of "myself" was scored as inner-directed; replies of "other people" or "the situation" were scored as other-directed.

A subject was considered to be action-based inner-directed if he gave three or four inner-directed responses to these questions. Three or four other-directed responses were considered indicative of other-direction. A person who gave two inner- and two other-directed replies was considered to be mixed (or inconsistent) in his action character structure.

Results

With respect to Integration Setting and Value Character Structure, Kallen found that "the original hypothesis, that those re-

¹Ibid.



lated to society bureaucratic setting will be other-directed, in value character structure and those related through entrepreneurial roles will be inner-directed, is supported. At the same time, the relationship is far from perfect.¹

With respect to Value and Action Character Structure, Kallen notes that "value inner-directed persons will be clear on the acceptance of or rejection of influence (or have either inner- or other-action character structures) whereas those whose value-based character structure is other-directed will be mixed (or inconsistent) in the action measure, is not supported. Though there is a slight tendency in this direction, the results do not come close to an acceptable level of significance.²

With respect to Integration Setting and Action Character Structure, Kallen found

. . . persons related to society through entrepreneurial roles will be clearly inner- or other-directed in behavior, whereas those related through bureaucratic roles will be mixed in their action character structure. . . . This expectation demands some modification. More entrepreneurs are inner-directed on the action measure of character structure than are either mixed or other-directed, with just under half the entrepreneurs being inner-directed. At the same time, of the entrepreneurial group, the proportion of other-directed on the action measure is only slightly greater than the proportion of mixed.

The relationship is clearer among those related through bureaucratic roles. They are clearly not inner-directed in action; but may be either other-directed or mixed in their action character structure.³

Conclusions

Kallen concluded that "Different levels of character structure

¹Ibid., p. 82.

²Ibid., p. 83.

³Ibid.



have been identified; these did not relate well to each other--but each related to whether the individual was integrated into society through entrepreneurial or bureaucratic economic organizations.¹

Highlights of Kallen's conclusions are as follows:

The results of this examination, and of the larger study of which it is a part, while leaving many questions unanswered, do not reveal the blind following of the peer group, the dissolution of the self into the group, that Riesman predicted. Only a small portion of the sample was completely other-directed in values and behavior. Above all, the results seem to support the growth of autonomy and flexibility, a greater give and take, in ways that are consistent with the role demands of different portions of the social system for the different sexes. As was expected, the shift from an inner- to an other-directed orientation was found more among those related to bureaucratic than among those related to entrepreneurial settings, and more among boys than among girls, but all these youngsters are being prepared for their future roles; to the extent that society becomes more bureaucratic it will demand a greater other-direction in behavior if not in value. There will, however, still be a place for the inner-directed. Among males, the occupational system may, for a long time, have a place for the individual entrepreneur. Even more important in the bureaucracies--industrial, government, labor, and academic--there is still a need for the risk taker, for the individual who can be less concerned with adjustment and cooperation and more concerned with getting the job done.²

Finally, Kallen summarizes with the observation that

. . . the results are less pessimistic than Riesman's analysis. Neither the rigidity among the inner-directed nor the denial of self among the other-directed that Riesman implied in his writing is found in this sample. Whether the self regard and flexibility will continue into adulthood, leading to autonomy, is uncertain.³

The Kassarjian and Kassarjian Study (1965)

The study by H. H. and W. M. Kassarjian on "Occupational Interests, Social Values and Social Character"⁴ utilizes Riesman's

¹ Ibid., p. 86.

² Ibid., p. 86.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Harold H. Kassarjian and Waltrud M. Kassarjian, "Occupational



social character types in an attempt to "link social character to occupational interests and social values."¹

The authors noted the following:

From his theoretical orientation Riesman states that generally speaking certain occupations attract inner-directed persons while others appeal to other-directed individuals. However, Riesman also points out that were a survey to be done one would find that this occupational classification is not absolute--one would find many inner-directed individuals in other-directed occupations and vice versa.²

Accordingly, they hypothesized that

. . . although a person may be engaged in a job inconsistent with his social character type, his occupational interests and preferences would still be in accord with those of the inner- or other-directed typology. A test of the hypothesis should be feasible only by a comparison of an individual's score on an instrument measuring inner-other-directedness with his performance on an occupational interest test.³

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank (1938) was selected for one aspect of the research. The Kassarjians stated also that "inner-direction would be related to the theoretical and aesthetic types of man while other-direction is related to the economic, social and political values. . . ."⁴

From a sample of 233 students who had been given the Kassarjian I-O Social Preference Scale, a group of fifty inner-directed and fifty other-directed subjects, male and female, were given the two tests (SVIB) and (SV) noted previously.

Interests, Social Values and Social Character," Journal of Counseling Psychology, XII, No. 1 (1965), pp. 48-53.

¹Ibid., p. 48.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁴Ibid., p. 49.



With respect to Occupational Interests, the authors noted that "the Strong profiles of the inner-directed and other-directed groups exist for both males . . . and females . . . in the sample."¹ Using the .05 level of significance, "subsequent t tests resulted in seventeen occupations for women out of twenty-seven tapped by the SVIB which clearly showed differences between inner- and other-directed individuals. Of the forty-five occupations of the Male Form again seventeen became significant."²

Their comment relative to this portion of the research was that

Generally the positive results of the individual scales on the Strong Blank are as expected from Riesman's theory. However, it also becomes apparent that inner- and other-directed persons did not show significant differences in interest for a considerable number of occupations, some of which should differentiate according to the theoretical descriptions.³

With respect to Social Values, they noted the following:

The theoretical scale . . . is purported to tap values of people characterized as intellectualists, since their interests are concerned with unearthing the truth, be it by empirical, rational, analytic or critical means. The hypothesis that inner-directed individuals would score significantly higher on this scale than the other-directed was substantiated at the .01 level of confidence. However, . . . when the sexes are considered separately significance is reached only by the female group.⁴

The economic scale aims at individual interested in the utility of things and the accumulation and maintenance of tangible wealth. The economic man embraces the practical affairs of the

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 51.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 52-53.



business world--the production, marketing and consumption of goods and the elaboration of credit. The hypothesis that other-directed individuals would score higher on this scale was substantiated at the .05 level for both sexes.¹

The aesthetic person tends toward individualism and self-sufficiency. Business processes and advertising are considered a ruthless destruction of what are his most important values. He may show interest in the beautiful aspects of many diverse subjects--art, religion, human beings, pomp and power, etc. It was hypothesized and confirmed by the data at the .001 level that the aesthetic values type is primarily related to inner-direction rather than other-direction for both males and females.²

The social value measured by the scale is centered around an altruistic, philanthropic love of people rather than more general strivings for social interaction. It was expected and hypothesized that the social value scales scores would be higher among the other-directed people. This was found to be the case for the female subjects but definitely not among males.³

The political scale is devised to measure desire for power rather than zest for political activities. . . . Riesman thought that if an other-directed person does become involved in politics the motivation is to increase his contacts with other people. He is more likely to become the "inside dopester," interested in appearing informed to other people. The inner-directed individual on the other hand, tends to turn up among the moralizers in politics or be involved in a particular cause. Thus it was hesitatingly hypothesized that other-directed individuals would score higher on the political scale. This hypothesis was confirmed at the .05 level of confidence for the total group and for the male group when considered separately. . . .⁴

The religious man is mystical, involved in trying to comprehend the cosmos in its totality and searching for the divine in every event. The present authors felt no prediction or hypotheses could theoretically be made as the religious value does not appear to be related to inner- and other-direction. Results indicated that for the total group there were no significant differences on the religious scale between inner- and other-directed subjects.⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 53.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 54.



In reviewing the data, the authors note that:

. . . in spite of the significant group differences, single individuals do not seem to score consistently from one scale to another in an expected direction based on which group they belong to. The subjects which are high scorers on one scale within a group are not generally the same as those who score high on another scale or even though statistics on the means of the various scales were found to differentiate between inner- and other-directed groups. Hence, in spite of the overall positive results obtained, an attempt to predict the profile of social values for any given inner- or other-directed individual does not seem justified or rewarding on the basis of this study.¹

Among the suggested explanations summarized by the authors with respect to the first part of their study on occupational correlates with the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, "they suggested that rather than actual occupation, an individual's occupational interests were a better reflector of his social character."² In addition, they pointed out that "a need seemed to exist for a study of the underlying social value system of the inner- and other-directed persons."³

With respect to the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values, their data "showed that the inner-directed group scored higher on the theoretical and aesthetic value scales and lower on the economic, social and political scales and thus substantiates the hypothesis."⁴

A concluding insight with respect to occupational interests as they relate to inherent satisfactions is gained from Raymond W. Mack's study of determinateness of role and occupational ideology.⁵

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Raymond W. Mack, "Occupational Ideology and the Determinate Role," Social Forces, XXVI, No. 1 (October, 1957), pp. 37-44.



Hypothesizing the requirements for entry into an occupation, he proposed a continuum of determinate and indeterminate occupational status, the former requiring elaborately prescribed conditions for entry by the incumbent, e.g., the physician, the latter characterized by far less stringent requirements, e.g., the garbage collector. Empirical verification by Mack supports his hypothesis that,

. . . people in indeterminate occupational roles are means-oriented, viewing their work as instrumental and showing a greater tendency to define life goals in monetary terms, while incumbents or more determinate statuses are more likely to view their work as an end in itself and define life goals in occupational terms.¹

In reference to determinateness specifically, Mack,² citing Caplow and Moore, points out that these authors "have called attention to the necessity in our bureaucratic industrial society for a man to play a less specialized role as he ascends the ladder of authority."³ This implication of diffusion in the relation to authority suggests that a less narrow concept such as social character is more adequate to interest differentiation than role which tends to be rather specific in all social implications. That this distinction may present greater problems in empirical verification cannot be denied.

The Kassanjian and Kassanjian Study (1966)

In a study, "Personality Correlates of Inner- and Other-

¹Ibid., p. 44.

²Raymond W. Mack, "Occupational Determinateness: A Problem and Hypothesis in Role Theory," Social Forces, XXXV (October, 1956), p. 23.

³Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954); Wilbert E. Moore, Industrial Relations and the Social Order (Rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1951).



Direction,¹ the joint authors point out that "this study is a correlation type of analysis between two psychological instruments. . ."²

They note:

Since the introduction of David Riesman's conceptualizations on social character (10), both laymen and social scientists have philosophized about the relationship of tradition-, inner-, and other-directedness to the personality variables.³

Specifically, they emphasize that

Although Riesman made it quite clear that he is concerned about something akin to "national character" and not personality, one often hears inner- and other-direction being associated with introversion-extroversion, security-insecurity, strength of self-concept, or ego, and a variety of other personality continua.⁴

The authors proceeded in their project to identify, if possible, personality variables with inner-other-directedness. They used the I-O Social Preference Scale (see Kassarjian study, 1962) combined with the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). The guiding hypothesis was "that personality variables cut across social character in such a way that no discernible personality differences exist between inner- and other-directed subjects."⁵

The subjects were a sample of 100 undergraduate male business administration students. Using analysis of variance and Pearsonian

¹Harold H. Kassarjian and Waltraud M. Kassarjian, "Personality Correlates of Inner- and Other-Direction," The Journal of Social Psychology, LXX (1966), pp. 281-285.

²Ibid., p. 281.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., pp. 281-282.

correlational analysis, their findings revealed the following:

1. Significant differences existed on the Hysteria, Masculinity-Femininity scales.
2. The Ego Strength and Dominance Scales differentiated between the two extreme groups.
3. The Social Responsibility and Anti-Semetic Prejudice Scales were significant.

The authors note that "it is interesting . . . that the inner- and other-directed subjects do not differ on the Introversion-Extraversion Scale nor on the Personal Defensiveness Scale, although a relationship is often assumed."¹

Additional comparisons were stated as follows:

On the other hand, the inner-directed person, as compared with the other-directed person, could be said to be somewhat more feminine and to indicate greater ego strength and social responsibility combined with less dependency and prejudice.²

The general summation of their study is:

The significance of these minor differences, however, is in serious question when one examines the great similarities in the overall profiles. . . . Not only are all the scores well within the normal range, but the significant differences between the groups are generally only about 2 or 3 raw score points, which could hardly be useful for predictive purposes in individual cases.

The additional statistical treatment--Pearsonian correlation coefficients computed on the total sample of 100 subjects between the I-O scores and MSPJ scales--lends further support to this cautious interpretation of the above positive results. . . .³

¹Ibid., pp. 283-84.

²Ibid., p. 281.

³Ibid., p. 284.



. . . clearly the results indicate rather poor relationships between personality variables and social character. Of the 25 statistics only one (D_y) is significantly different from zero at the 5 per cent level of confidence, and this could well have occurred by chance. Hence, on the basis of the correlational analysis, a relationship between inner- and other-direction and personality variables as measured by the KPI is not indicated. These data, in conjunction with the analysis of variance results and inspection of the profiles, lead to the conclusion that in spite of the statistically positive results in one aspect of the study, it cannot be properly deduced that socially significant personality differences between inner- and other-directed subjects exist.¹

¹Ibid., pp. 284-285.



CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Theoretical Sources and Empirical Referents: Riesman, Fromm, Morris

Riesman Social Character

The complexity of the social character designations has been noted in Chapter I of this study. A further emphasis in Riesman's words indicates the empirical difficulties with respect to research on his typology of inner-other direction: ". . . there can be no such thing as a society or a person wholly dependent on . . . inner-direction, or other-direction: each of these modes of conformity is universal, and the question is always one of . . . degree."¹ He continues in pointing out that:

. . . all human beings are inner-directed in the sense that, brought up as they are by people older than themselves, they have acquired and internalized some permanent orientations from them. And, conversely, all human beings are other-directed in the sense that they are oriented to the expectations of their peers. . . .²

The multidimensional aspects of Riesman's social character conceptualization are specified in his definition (repeated here for the sake of providing a bridge to the theoretical links between Fromm and Morris):

¹Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, op. cit., p. 30.

²Ibid.



Social character is that part of "character" which is shared among significant social groups and which, as most contemporary social scientists define it, is the product of the experience of these groups. The notion of social character permits us to speak . . . of the character of classes, groups, regions, and nations.¹

The problems facing the researcher with respect to empirical criteria have been borne out in the previous research conducted by other behavioral scientists interested in operationalizing these ideal types.

Riesman states that:

The distinction between character structure and its manifestations in behavior is at best a shadowy one. Moreover, inner-direction and other-direction are abstract concepts and, as this book and its companion volume (*Faces in the Crowd*) seek to make plain, no individual is ever entirely one or the other, particularly if his life is viewed as a whole, and not at any one moment. Thus, while it is interesting to compare individuals in terms of degrees of inner-direction and other-direction, such work can hardly be conclusive, and those who have called for a large-scale empirical test of these traits, applied to a whole population, have little appreciation of the complexity and scope of the theoretical analysis and empirical investigation that would be required before such work could even begin.²

The selection of the sample subjects for reliability and validity data in this study, i.e., Certified Public Accountants and advertising agency presidents, was based on the pragmatic but real use of experienced, mature men, who provided the guidelines for ideal type extremes as an occupational group within the Riesman inner-other-directed typological framework. Riesman emphatically noted that his focus was on a particular group, i.e., "with the upper social strata, particularly with what has been called the 'new middle class' of salaried professionals and managers."³

¹Ibid., p. 4.

²Ibid., p. xviii (italics mine).

³Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.



Ideal type criteria.--No strict typology exists of indexes to these character traits of inner-other-directed; however, Brodbeck¹ has presented some formal criteria by which individuals may be classified as to their mechanism of conformity.

Brodbeck notes that:

. . . these criteria have been obtained by comparing all indicators for all the roles discussed in The Lonely Crowd and attempting to see which of these indicators are used recurrently in all roles or are continually stressed. They are not value criteria, although they may be so analyzed, since all mechanisms contain patterns of scope and base values.²

The Brodbeck statements used to delineate self-concept are based on the need for test references or questions on authority, success in life, goals, responsibility, etc., all of which are important facets of a reflective, mature self-concept.

Mechanisms of Conformity³

Inner-directed

4. Criteria for success clear cut and stable.
6. Authority is directly exercised; people set themselves up as models.

Other-directed

4. Criteria for success vague and constantly changing.
6. Authority is masked behind reasonableness and manipulation; no one wants to appear to be "boss."

¹Arthur J. Brodbeck, "Values in The Lonely Crowd: Ascent or Descent of Man?" in Lipset and Lowenthal, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

²Ibid., p. 70.

³See Appendix for complete list of twenty-three paired Inner-Other-directed statements used in questionnaire on Self-concept study of bank presidents, Certified Public Accountants and advertising agency presidents. Numbers above correspond to original Brodbeck statements.



Mechanisms of Conformity--Continued

- | | |
|--|---|
| 7. Feeling of personal responsibility for one's fate. | 7. More tendency to project blame for one's fate on others. |
| 10. Preference for thinking for one's self. | 10. Preference for group discussion and thinking. |
| 11. Sharp separation between work and pleasure. | 11. Work should be fun; one must "work" at play. |
| 13. Work skills more important than social skills. | 13. Social skills more important than work skills. |
| 14. Great emphasis on <u>changing</u> self, building "character." | 14. Great emphasis on <u>expressing</u> self, being "personable." |
| 18. Success measured in terms of attaining an impersonal standard. | 18. Success measured in terms of making friends and receiving approval. |
| 20. Committed to long-term goals. | 20. Looks for an immediate pay-off. |
| 21. Success attained by one's own efforts. | 21. Success attained by the intervention of others. |

The Fromm Social-Character Orientations (Positive)

Erich Fromm states that:

In the process of living, man relates himself to the world (1) by acquiring and assimilating, and (2) by relating himself to people (and himself). The former I shall call the process of assimilation; the latter, that of socialization. Both forms of relatedness are "open" and not, as with the animal, instinctively determined.¹

Fromm believes that "there must be certain affinities between the various forms of orientations in the process of assimilation and socialization, respectively."² He has developed a schema which is as

¹Fromm, Man for Himself, op. cit., p. 58.

²Ibid., pp. 110-111.

follows:

<u>Assimilation</u>	<u>Socialization</u>	
I. Non-productive orientation		
a) Receiving (Accepting)	Masochistic (Loyalty)	} --Symbiosis
b) Exploiting (Taking)	Sadistic (Authority)	
c) Hoarding (Preserving)	Destructive (Assertiveness)	} --Withdrawal
d) Marketing (Exchanging)	Indifferent (Fairness)	

II. Productive orientation

Working Loving, Reasoning

Fromm fully realizes and states that "in reality, we always deal with blends (of orientations), for a character never represents one of the non-productive orientations exclusively."¹ He has developed a definition of character as "the relatively permanent form in which human energy is canalized in the process of assimilation and socialization."²

Of Fromm's four social character orientations--the receiving, exploiting, the hoarding and marketing orientation--the last two were selected for this typological study since the elaboration in Chapter I points out the historical genesis of Riesman's inner-other-directed social character. In a parallel historical manner, Fromm noted a similar historical transition when he referred to the need for capital accumulation and the hoarding oriented social character of the last

¹ Ibid., p. 112.

² Gerald S. Blum, Psychoanalytic Theories of Personality (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1964), p. 174.



century to the newer and modern marketing (alienated) social character.¹

Among the descriptive words and/or phrases selected for use with each type of social character, one justification was based on the need for simple, direct comprehension of the essential meaning; hence, the preference for one word self-descriptions. Another justification for selection was purely pragmatic, namely, the need for equal numbers of identifications for each orientation, i.e., the hoarding and the marketing orientation.

The Hoarding Orientation.²--The hoarder bases his security on saving and keeping what he has. Spending is felt to be a threat and arouses anxiety. He surrounds himself by a protective wall and aims to bring in as much as possible while letting virtually nothing out. This miserliness extends to feelings and thoughts as well as money and material things. Even love is viewed as a means of possessing the loved one. Pedantic orderliness, compulsive cleanliness, obsessive punctuality, and obstinacy characterize his behavior. The mouth tends to be tight-lipped, and his gestures express the withdrawn attitude. Suspicion and fear of intimacy are usual accompaniments.

Fromm lists the positive aspects of this orientation³ as follows:

¹Richard I. Evans, op. cit., p. 7.

²Ibid., p. 176.

³Fromm, Man for Himself, op. cit., p. 115.



Hoarding Orientation (Preserving)¹

- * practical
- * economical
- * careful
- * reserved
- * patient
- * cautious
- * steadfast, tenacious
- * imperturbable
- * composed under stress
- * orderly
- * methodical
- * loyal

The Marketing Orientation.² --People in this category regard their personalities as commodities to be bought and sold. They mold themselves to fit whatever qualities are in demand by others. They have no stable and genuine character, no real experience of being able to guide their own destiny. Feelings of emptiness and anxiety are basic. The marketing orientation also affects thinking. The latter assumes the function of grasping things quickly so as to be able to manipulate them successfully. This leads to superficiality rather than penetrating to the essence of the phenomena. Such persons must remain free of all individuality in order to fill roles which are currently most salable on the market.

Fromm lists the positive aspects of this orientation³ as follows:

¹ - denotes selection for questionnaires: self-concept of bank presidents, Certified Public Accountants, and advertising agency presidents.

² Blum, op. cit., p. 176.

³ Fromm, Man for Himself, op. cit., pp. 115-116.



Marketing Orientation (Exchanging)

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| * purposeful | * efficient |
| * able to change | * curious |
| youthful | * intelligent |
| * forward looking | * adaptable |
| * social | * tolerant |
| * open-minded | * witty |
| experimenting | * generous |
| * undogmatic | |

Morris Thirteen Ways to Live

The synopsis or capsule version of each Way to Live that was presented in Chapter I is used throughout this study for the sake of brevity; here, though, it is necessary to present the complete Ways to Live. Collectively, they are referred to as "world views," "philosophies of life," or "value-orientations."

The Ways do not for the most part give reasons for adopting the mode of life that they advocate. A person who favors one of these alternatives or some combination of them is normally prepared to justify his choice by statements about himself, about the nature of man, about man's place in the cosmos, and about the cosmos itself. Hence it becomes possible to explore the relation of conceptions of the good life to the wider-belief system in which these conceptions are imbedded and in terms of which they are defended.¹

1. In this "design for living" the individual actively participates in the social life of his community, not to change it primarily, but to understand, appreciate, and preserve the best that man has attained. Excessive desires should be avoided and moderation sought. One wants the good things of life but in an orderly way. Life is to have clarity, balance, refinement, control. Vulgarity, great enthusiasm, irrational behavior, impatience, indulgence are to be avoided. Friendship is to be esteemed, but not easy intimacy with many people. Life is to have discipline, intelligibility, good manners, predictability. Social changes are to be made slowly and carefully, so that what has been achieved in human culture is not lost. The individual should be active physically and socially, but not in a hectic or radical

¹Morris, op. cit., p. 14.



way. Restraint and intelligence should give order to an active life.

2. The individual should for the most part "go it alone," assuring himself of privacy in living quarters, having much time to himself, attempting to control his own life. One should stress self-sufficiency, reflection and meditation, knowledge of himself. The direction of interest should be away from intimate associations with social groups, and away from the physical manipulation of objects or attempts at control of the physical environment. One should aim to simplify one's external life, to moderate those desires whose satisfaction is dependent upon physical and social forces outside of oneself, and to concentrate attention upon the refinement, clarification, and self-direction of oneself. Not much can be done or is to be gained by "living outwardly." One must avoid dependence upon persons or things; the center of life should be found within oneself.

3. This way of life makes central the sympathetic concern for other persons. Affection should be the main thing in life, affection that is free from all traces of the imposition of oneself upon others or of using others for one's own purpose. Greed in possessions, emphasis on sexual passion, the search for power over persons and things, excessive emphasis upon intellect, and undue concern for oneself are to be avoided. For these things hinder the sympathetic love among persons which alone give significance to life. If we are aggressive we block our receptivity to the personal forces upon which we are dependent for genuine personal growth. One should accordingly purify oneself, restrain one's assertiveness, and become receptive, appreciative, and helpful with respect to other persons.

4. Life is something to be enjoyed--sensuously enjoyed, enjoyed with relish and abandonment. The aim of life should not be to control the course of the world or society or the lives of others, but to be open and receptive to things and persons, and to delight in them. Life is more a festival than a workshop or a school for moral discipline. To let oneself go, to let things and persons affect oneself, is more important than to do--or to do good. Such enjoyments, however, require that one be self-centered enough to be keenly aware of what is happening and free for new happenings. So one should avoid entanglements, should not be too dependent on particular people or things, should not be self-sacrificing; one should be alone a lot, should have time for meditation and awareness of oneself. Solitude and sociality together are both necessary in the good life.

5. A person should not hold on to himself, withdraw from people, keep aloof and self-centered. Rather merge oneself with a social group, enjoy cooperation and companionship, join



with others in resolute activity for the realization of common goals. Persons are social and persons are active; life should merge energetic group activity and cooperative group enjoyment. Meditation, restraint, concern for one's self-sufficiency, abstract intellectuality, solitude, stress on one's possessions cut the roots which bind persons together. One should live outwardly with gusto, enjoying the good things of life, working with others to secure the things which make possible a pleasant and energetic social life. Those who oppose this ideal are not to be dealt with too tenderly. Life can't be too fastidious.

6. Life continuously tends to stagnate, to become "comfortable." Against these tendencies, a person must stress the need of constant activity--physical action, adventure, the realistic solution of specific problems as they appear, the improvement of techniques for controlling the world and society. Man's future depends primarily on what he does, not on what he feels or on his speculations. New problems constantly arise and always will arise. Improvements must always be made if man is to progress. We can't just follow the past or dream of what the future might be. We have to work resolutely and continually if control is to be gained over the forces which threaten us. Man should rely on technical advances made possible by scientific knowledge. He should find his goal in the solution of his problems. The good is the enemy of the better.

7. We should at various times and in various ways accept something from all others' way of life, but give no one our exclusive allegiance. At one moment one of them is the more appropriate. Life should contain enjoyment and action and contemplation in about equal amounts. When either is carried to extreme we lose something important for our life. So we must cultivate flexibility, admit diversity in ourselves, accept the tension which this diversity produces, find a place for detachment in the midst of enjoyment and activity. The goal of life is found in the dynamic integration of enjoyment, action, and contemplation, and so in the dynamic interaction of the various paths of life. One should use all of them in building a life, and no one alone.

8. Enjoyment should be the keynote of life. Not the hectic search for intense and exciting pleasures, but the enjoyment of the simple and easily obtainable pleasures: the pleasures of just existing, of savoring food, of comfortable surroundings, of talking with friends, or rest and relaxation. A home that is warm and comfortable, chairs and a bed that are soft, a kitchen well stocked with food, a door open to the entrance of friends--this is the place to live. Body at ease, relaxed, calm in its movements, not hurried, breath slow, willing to nod and to rest, grateful to the world that it is its food--so should the body be. Driving ambition and the fanaticism of ascetic ideals are the



signs of discontented people who have lost the capacity to float in the stream of simple, carefree, wholesome enjoyment.

9. Receptivity should be the keynote of life. The good things of life come by their own accord, and so come unthought. They cannot be found by resolute action. They cannot be found in the indulgence of the sensuous desires of the body. They cannot be gathered by participation in the turmoil of social life. They cannot be given to others by attempts to be helpful. They cannot be garnered by hard thinking. Rather do they come unthought when the bars of the self are down. When the self has ceased to make demands and waits in quiet receptivity, it becomes open to the powers which nourish it and work through it; and sustained by these powers it knows joy and peace. To sit alone under the trees and the sky, open to nature's voices, calm and receptive, then can the wisdom from without come within.

10. Self-control should be the keynote of life. Not the easy self-control which retreats from the world, but the vigilant, stern, manly control of a self which lives in the world and knows the strengths of the world and the limits of human power. The good life is rationally directed and holds firm to high ideas. It is not bent by the seductive voices of comfort and desire. It does not expect social utopias. It is distrustful of final victories. Too much cannot be expected. Yet one can with vigilance hold firm the reins to his self, control his unruly impulses, understand his place in the world, guide his actions by reason, maintain his self-reliant independence. And in this way, though he finally perish, man can keep his human dignity and respect, and die with cosmic good manners.

11. The contemplative life is the good life. The external world is no fit habitat for man. It is too big, too cold, too pressing. Rather it is the life turned inward that is rewarding. The rich internal world of ideals, of sensitive feelings, of reverie, of self-knowledge is man's true home. By the cultivation of the self within, man alone becomes human. Only then does there arise deep sympathy with all that lives, an understanding of the suffering inherent in life, a realization of the futility of aggressive action, the attainment of contemplative joy. Conceit then falls away and austerity is dissolved. In giving up the world one finds the large and finer sea of the inner self.

12. The use of the body's energy is the secret of a rewarding life. The hands need material to make into something: lumber and stone for building, food to harvest, clay to mold. The muscles are alive to joy only in action, in climbing, running, skiing and the like. Life finds its zest in overcoming, dominating, conquering some obstacle. It is the active deed



which is satisfying, the deed adequate to the present, the daring and adventuresome deed. Not in cautious foresight, not in relaxed ease does life attain completion. Outward energetic action, the excitement of power in the tangible present--this is the way to life.

13. A person should let himself be used. Used by other persons in their growth, used by the great objective purposes in the universe which silently and irresistibly achieve their goal. For persons and the world's purposes are dependable at heart, and can be trusted. One should be humble, constant, faithful, unisistent. Grateful for the affection and protection which one needs, but undemanding. Close to persons and to nature, and secure because close. Nourishing the good by devotion and sustained by the good because of devotion. One should be a serene, confident, quiet vessel and instrument of the great dependable powers which move to their fulfillment.

Self-Concept

The presentation of self-concept as used in this study is included for a measure of precision within the limits of the study. Self-concept is used in the behavioral sciences with a number of variations in meaning as noted in Chapter I. The most generally acceptable sociological definition has been selected with full knowledge that self-concept theory is 'open' to multiple disciplinary interpretations.

Wylie has noted in this regard that,

When one reads the empirical literature pertaining to self-concept theories, one finds that a bewildering array of hypotheses, measuring instruments, and research designs has been used. As a consequence, one cannot prepare a simple synthesis of established results.¹

Self-Concept

A self-conception consists, in addition to
(a) a view of identity, of

¹Ruth Wylie, op. cit., p. 3.



- (b) notions of one's interests and aversions (that is, his attitudes towards objects, cognitively, affectively, and evaluatively)
- (c) conception of one's goals and his successes in achieving them
- (d) a picture, sometimes quite sketchy, of the ideological ('world view') frame of reference through which he views himself and other objects, and
- (e) some kind of evaluation.¹

Questionnaire Schema

A questionnaire (see Appendix) was devised in four parts to obtain the necessary data regarding the self-concept with respect to the Riesman, Fromm, and Morris typologies.

The questionnaire utilized a Likert-type scale with ranks from 1 through 7. The questionnaire schema is as follows:

1. Riesman² - The Sociological Dimension: Parts IA and IIIA

- a. Inner-directed questions: Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9;
42, 44, 46, 48, 50
- b. Other-directed questions: Nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10;
43, 45, 47, 49, 51

2. Morris³ - The Philosophical Dimension: Part II

- a. Ways to Live (#5, 8, 13): questions No. 33, 36, 41 respectively and related to Riesman's Other-directed social character.
- b. Ways to Live (#2, 6, 12): questions to No. 30, 34, 40 respectively and related to Riesman's Other-directed social character.
- c. Ways to Live (#3, 8): questions No. 32, 36 respectively and related to Fromm's Marketing oriented social character.
- d. Ways to Live (#1, 10): questions No. 29, 38 respectively and related to Fromm's Hoarding oriented social character.

¹ Kuhn, "Self Conception," op. cit., p. 631.

² Brodbeck, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

³ Morris, op. cit., chap. I.



3. Fromm¹ - The Social Psychological Dimension: Parts IB and IIIB

- a. Marketing oriented questions: Nos. 12,15,18,21,24,27;
Nos. 53,56,59,62,65,68.
- b. Hoarding oriented questions: Nos. 11,14,17,20,23,26;
Nos. 52,55,58,61,64,67.

4. The Demographic Dimension of Sample: Part IV

- a. Age of subjects: No. 70
- b. Education of subjects: No. 71
- c. Gross Income:
- Certified Public Accountants No. 73
 - Advertising Agency President No. 73
 - Bank Presidents No. 80

The self-concept questionnaires were identical in structure with respect to the first 69 questions as noted above in Parts IA and IIIA; Part II and Parts IB and IIIB.

Scale and Scoring Procedure

Individual Examination of Each Question

A Likert-type scale was used to measure self-concept data.²

Responses were scaled as follows:

- 7 - I agree ... very much
- 6 - I agree ... quite a lot
- 5 - I agree ... slightly
- 4 - I am indifferent
- 3 - I disagree ... slightly
- 2 - I disagree ... quite a lot
- 1 - I disagree ... very much

¹Fromm, Man for Himself, op. cit., chap. III.

²Thomas G. McCormick and Roy G. Francis, Methods of Research in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 131.



Response language was modified for Morris' Ways to Live by reference to "like" or "dialike" with the same scale.

Theoretically, the ideal inner-directed type should rank himself all 7's on Riesman's inner-directed questions, all 7's on Fromm's bonding oriented questions, and all 7's on Morris' (Inner-directed) Ways to Live Nos. 2, 6, 12. He should also rank himself all 1's on the above questions that are considered as paired opposites.

Conversely, the ideal other-directed type should rank himself all 7's on Riesman's other-directed questions, all 7's on Fromm's marketing oriented questions, and all 7's on Morris' (Other-directed) Ways to Live Nos. 5, 8, 13. He should also rank himself all 1's on the above questions that are considered as paired opposites. Thus, the total score for the ideal inner-directed type, the ideal other-directed type and the non-committed (rank of 4) type would be the same. Consequently, each question had to be examined individually; no grand total of ranks could be interpreted.

A Methodological Comment

Cohn has noted that "the tendency to endorse items on a scale independently of the content of the items is termed a response set. This response set is more likely to appear when the scale items are ambiguous."¹ Bass has also noted that "response set to acquiesce increased as items became more ambivalent."² A more complete clinical

¹Thomas S. Cohn, "The Relation of the F Scale to a Response to Answer Positively," American Psychologist, VIII, (1953), p. 335 (italics mine).

²Bernard M. Bass, "Authoritarianism or Acquiescence?" Journal



study by Couch and Keniston, "Yeasayers and Naysayers: Agreeing Response Set as a Personality Variable," points out that:

Yeasayers were shown to be individuals with weak ego controls, who accept impulses without reservation, and who "agree" and easily respond to stimuli exerted on them. The naysayer inhibits and suppresses his impulses, in many ways rejecting all emotional stimuli impinging on him.¹

Their conclusions, important for the clinician and the testing milieu, is that the study

. . . has demonstrated both the far-reaching importance of response set in the area of psychological tests and the major proposition that the agreeing response tendency is based on a central personality syndrome.²

The methodological insights of these three studies are relevant to all research; however, the maturity of the typological study sample subjects argues in favor of a more realistic insight to self-concept as indicated from the following suggestion with respect to sample subjects and their success/authority dimensions.

Sample Subjects, Sample Size and Response.

Preface

In the on-going process of living, aging and socialization continue in daily social interaction; however, two "givens" in this typological study relative to sample subjects, bank presidents, ought

of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LI (November, 1955), p. 623.

¹Arthur Couch and Kenneth Keniston, "Yeasayers and Naysayers: Agreeing Response Set as a Personality Variable," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LX, No. 2 (1960), p. 173.

²Ibid., p. 173.



to be noted: (1) they are mature men in terms of age, and (2) they have been socialized into their occupation. These two facts--maturity and specific socialization--are applicable equally with respect to the occupational groups used to test the validity of Riesman's social character types, that is, "inner-directed" Certified Public Accountants and "other-directed" advertising agency presidents; against these two groups, the bank president in the small bank and the large bank, respectively, are compared.

In the dissertation author's early correspondence with Riesman, reference was made to the choice or selection of occupational groups representing inner-other-directed types. The Certified Public Accountant was adopted as the example of the inner-directed social character. Two groups were presented as examples of other-directed social character, i.e., salesmen and advertising men. The latter was selected, though not referred to, in Riesman's reply; however, he makes specific reference to the "other-directed" advertising man in The Lonely Crowd (pp. xvii-xviii). That all groups used in this typological study either by education or executive responsibility (socialization into their respective occupations) have reached the highest levels in their occupations is an important facet not to be overlooked; thus, it is an assumption that in answering the questionnaire on self-concept, the respondents would not be adversely influenced by any outside pressure. For example, such pressure that may intervene when a management consulting firm is evaluating executive personnel below top management level--such pressure may introduce apprehension, however minimal, in



respondents with respect to job placement. In brief, each of the respondents was assumed to answer as frankly as possible without fear of any questionnaire information being used adversely should such data inadvertently be examined by a higher level executive if the respondents had been other than top executives; hence, each respondent was presumed to answer questions with a maximum openness.

Sample Subjects

Bank presidents.--The bank president is defined as the legally responsible executive officer of a commercial bank. Occupationally stated:

Definition of Bank President: Assume designated responsibilities to act as the Chief Executive and Administrative Officer of the bank. Manage all aspects of the bank's activities to insure maximum profits commensurate with the best interests of all concerned; customers, shareholders, employees, and the public. Act as principal spokesman for the bank, and make decisions on major programs and problems. Responsible for the development and maintenance of structure and personnel; guide and train members of the bank, and coordinate their activities; interpret and administer policies established by the Board of Directors for all the bank's activities; approval of all budgets, appropriations, studies, and reports to be submitted to the Board of Directors; perform activities for inter-company relations on all proper matters in the Banking Industry; establish and maintain relations with other banks, business and community associations and governmental agencies in order to facilitate a flow of information, and reflect favorably on the business operations. May secure services of consultants relative to special studies.

Requirements:

Education: Varying
Experience: Varying--usually twenty or more years of experience in order to achieve desired performance standards.¹

¹Louis Falvey, Encyclopedia of Job Descriptions in Banking, (1st ed.; Milwaukee, Wisconsin: 1959), p. 87. Prepared by Joseph E. DeLucia, President, Personnel Education Institute Publications.



The above occupational definition or job "specification" is included to give some idea of the "executive" nature of the bank president's job; however, it is important to remember that in the small bank, the president may be merely a figurehead who is primarily interested in another line of business.

Sample Size and Response

Bank presidents of commercial banks¹ in this study are drawn from two populations, Large Banks and Small Banks. As of December 31, 1965, the official total of United States commercial banks was 13,673.²

The total of bank presidents selected for this study included 762, both large and small banks, as follows:

Large Bank: Total deposits of \$ 100 million or more on up to the largest bank. As of December 31, 1965, the total number in this study was 379.³

¹A name given to one of the classes of non-governmental banking institutions under Bank. Commercial banks are designed primarily to finance the production, distribution, and sale of goods, i.e., to lend short-term funds, as distinguished from the service of lending long-term or capital funds. The bulk of deposits of commercial banks consists of demand deposits which are invested in short-term loans. National and state banks are the best examples of commercial banks, although in most states trust companies are also permitted to engage in commercial banking. Private banks are usually commercial banks. (Glen G. Munn, Encyclopedia of Banking and Finance, ed. F. L. Garcia (1st ed.; Boston, Mass.: The Bankers Publishing Co., 1962), p. 39.

²R. L. Polk's Bank Directory (Nashville, Tennessee: Spring, 1966).

³The official figure in Polk's Directory is 397. This discrepancy is accounted for because banks that are part of bank holding companies were not included, thus minimizing bias in data as a result of holding company influence in the selection of bank presidents "within" the holding company.



Small Bank: Total deposits of \$ 9 million to \$ 9,999,999.
As of December 31, 1965, the total number for
this study was 383.

Of the 13,673 commercial banks, 9,936 banks have total deposits of less than \$10 million. As noted in Polk's Bank Directory, the largest group of banks is in the \$5 million to \$10 million range, small banks, from which the sample was taken.

Thus, in taking two extremes in bank deposit size, there is also a difference of organization size, population of city or town where bank is located--items that were judged to be important with respect to socialization and social character self-concepts. The total response to questionnaire was as follows:

Bank presidents, large bank -- 163 (43%)
Bank presidents, small bank -- 171 (44%)

An important point with respect to responses of the bank presidents should be clarified as indicated by total responses. Two mailings of the questionnaire to bank presidents were sent out. The first mailing questionnaire was unmarked; the second mailing questionnaire was marked in order to check on first or second response request. Results from these two mailings were as follows:

<u>First Mailing date: May 15, 1966</u>	<u>Response</u>
Bank President, Large Bank -----	116
Bank President, Small Bank -----	116
 <u>Second Mailing date: June 15, 1966</u>	
Bank President, Large Bank -----	47
Bank President, Small Bank -----	55

A random selection of the responses to the second mailing indicated no significant differences from the first and second respondents; thus, when the self-concept questionnaires were mailed to adver-



tising agency presidents (October 15, 1966) and when the questionnaires were mailed to the Certified Public Accountants (October 19, 1966) it was decided to use one mailing only to each of the groups used for validity and reliability data.

The total of bank president responses, large bank and small bank, was 43 per cent and 44 per cent respectively. Grand total figures (first and second responses combined) were used for each group of bank presidents, i.e., as separate categories.

Advertising Agency Presidents

Advertising agency presidents selected for reliability and validity data in this study were taken from the 1966-67 roster of The American Association of Advertising Agencies. The total membership of this group included 354; however, since some members were not listed by title, their names were omitted. The final list included 324 members, all presidents of their agencies. Total response to self-concept questionnaire was 117 (36%).

Certified Public Accountants

Certified Public Accountants selected for reliability and validity data in this study were taken from the American Institute of Certified Public Accountant's Directory, 1965 edition. Of the total membership, 53,709, listed alphabetically by state, a one per cent random sample (every 100th name) was used. The total number of Certified Public Accountants polled was 558. Total response to self-concept questionnaire was 219 (38%).



Hypothesized Typological Profile

With respect to the hypotheses about self-concept, the hypothesized typological profile is summarized as follows:

<u>Self-concept</u>	<u>Self-concept</u>
Riesman <u>OTHER-DIRECTED</u>	Riesman: <u>INNER-DIRECTED</u>
Q. Part IA No. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10; Q. Part IIIA No. 43, 45, 47, 49, 51.	Part IA No. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; Part IIIA No. 42, 44, 46, 48, 50.
Fromm <u>MARKETING-ORIENTED</u>	Fromm: <u>BOARDING ORIENTED</u>
Q. Part IB No. 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27; Q. Part IIIB No. 53, 56, 59, 62, 65, 68.	Q. Part IB: No. 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26 Q. Part IIIB 52, 55, 58, 61, 64, 67.
Morris: <u>Ways (Part II)</u>	Morris: <u>Ways (Part II)</u>
as related to Riesman (Other-directed)	as related to Riesman (Inner-directed)
Q. 33 ----- Way 5 Q. 36 ----- Way 8 Q. 41 ----- Way 13	Q. 30 ----- Way 2 Q. 34 ----- Way 6 Q. 40 ----- Way 12
Morris: <u>Ways</u>	Morris: <u>Ways</u>
as related to Fromm (Marketing Oriented)	as related to Fromm (Boarding Oriented)
Q. 32 ----- Way 4 Q. 36 ----- Way 8	Q. 29 ----- Way 1 Q. 38 ----- Way 10

Q = questionnaire numbers.



Hypotheses

Self-Concept, Bank President, Large Bank (1 through 4)

Riesman Other-directed Social Character (hypothesis 1)

- H₀: There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank and the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank with reference to Riesman's OTHER-DIRECTED social character as indicated in the following Other-directed statements taken individually.

Other-directed Statements

Questionnaire - Part I A

- Q. 2. Social skills are more important than work skills.
- Q. 4. One should emphasize expressing self, being 'personable.'
- Q. 6. Success is measured in terms of making friends and receiving approval.
- Q. 8. One should look for an immediate pay-off or reward.
- Q. 10. Success is attained by the intervention of others.

Questionnaire - Part III A

- Q. 43. Criteria for success in life are vague and constantly changing.
- Q. 45. Authority is masked behind reasonableness and manipulation.
- Q. 47. The responsibility for one's fate is due to others.
- Q. 49. A person should prefer group discussion and thinking.
- Q. 51. Work should be fun; one must 'work' at play.

- H₁: The self-concept of the bank president in the large bank is more OTHER-DIRECTED than the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank as indicated in the Other-directed statements (Questions 2, 4, 6, 8, 10; 43, 45, 47, 49, 51) taken individually.



Fromm Marketing Oriented Social Character (hypothesis 2)

H₀: There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank and the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank with reference to Fromm's **MARKETING ORIENTED** social character as indicated in the following word by word phrase self-descriptions taken individually.

Marketing Oriented Self-descriptions

Questionnaire - Part I B

- Q. 12. I am ... purposeful
- Q. 15. I am ... able to change
- Q. 18. I am ... forward looking
- Q. 21. I am ... open minded
- Q. 24. I am ... social
- Q. 27. I am ... undogmatic

Questionnaire - Part III B

- Q. 53. I am ... efficient
- Q. 56. I am ... curious
- Q. 59. I am ... adaptable
- Q. 62. I am ... tolerant
- Q. 65. I am ... witty
- Q. 68. I am ... generous

H₁: The self-concept of the bank president in the large bank is more **MARKETING ORIENTED** than the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank as indicated in the marketing oriented word by word phrase self-descriptions (Questions: 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27; 53, 56, 59, 62, 65, 68) taken individually.



Morris Ways to Live (Related to Riesman's Other-directed)
(Hypothesis 3)

H_0 : There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank and the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank with reference to Morris' WAYS TO LIVE Nos. 5, 8, 13 taken individually.

Ways to Live (Synopsisized)

Questionnaire - Part II

- Q. 33. Way No. 5. Act and enjoy life through group participation.
- Q. 36. Way No. 8. Live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment.
- Q. 41. Way No. 13. Obey cosmic purposes.

H_1 : The self-concept of the bank president in the large bank is more likely to rank high on WAYS TO LIVE Nos. 5, 8, 13 than the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank as indicated in the complete Ways to Live Nos. 5, 8, 13 (Questions: 33, 36, 41) taken individually.



Morris Ways to Live (Related to Fromm's Marketing Orientation)
(hypothesis 4)

H₀: There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank and the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank with reference to Morris' WAYS TO LIVE No. 4 and 8 taken individually.

Ways to Live (Synopsised)

Questionnaire - Part II

Q. 32. Way No. 4. Experience festivity and solitude in alternation.

Q. 36. Way No. 8. Live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment.

H₁: The self-concept of the bank president in the large bank is more likely to rank high on WAYS TO LIVE No. 4 and No. 8 than the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank as indicated in the complete Ways to Live No. 4 and No. 8 (Questions: 32, 36) taken individually.



Self-concept, Bank President, Small Bank (5 through 8)

Riesman Inner-directed Social Character (hypothesis 5)

H₀: There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank and the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank with reference to Riesman's INNER-DIRECTED social character as indicated in the following inner-directed statements taken individually.

Inner-directed Statements

Questionnaire - Part I A

- Q. 1. Criteria for success in life are clear cut and stable.
- Q. 3. Authority is directly exercised; people set themselves up as models.
- Q. 5. One should have a feeling of personal responsibility for one's fate.
- Q. 7. A person should prefer thinking for one's self.
- Q. 9. There is a sharp separation between work and pleasure.

Questionnaire - Part III A

- Q. 42. Work skills are important more than social skills.
- Q. 44. One should emphasize changing self, building 'character.'
- Q. 46. Success is measured in terms of attaining an impersonal standard.
- Q. 48. One should be committed to long-term goals.
- Q. 50. Success is attained by one's own efforts.

H₁: The self-concept of the bank president in the small bank is more INNER-DIRECTED than the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank as indicated in the inner-directed statements (Questions: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; 42, 44, 46, 48, 50) taken individually.



Fromm Hoarding Oriented Social Character (hypothesis 6)

H_0 : There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank and the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank with reference to Fromm's HOARDING ORIENTED social character as indicated in the following word by word phrase self description taken individually.

Hoarding Oriented Self Descriptions

Questionnaire - Part I B

- Q. 11. I am ... Practical
- Q. 14. I am ... Economical
- Q. 17. I am ... Careful
- Q. 20. I am ... Reserved
- Q. 23. I am ... Patient
- Q. 26. I am ... Cautious

Questionnaire - Part III B

- Q. 52. I am ... steadfast, tenacious
- Q. 55. I am ... imperturbable
- Q. 58. I am ... composed under stress
- Q. 61. I am ... orderly
- Q. 64. I am ... methodical
- Q. 67. I am ... loyal

H_1 : The self-concept of the bank president in the small bank is more HOARDING ORIENTED than the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank as indicated in the hoarding oriented word by word phrase self descriptions (Questions: 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26; 52, 55, 58, 61, 64, 67) taken individually.



Morris Ways to Live (Related to Riesman's Inner-directed)
(Hypothesis 7)

H₀: There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank and the self-concept of the bank president of the large bank with reference to Morris' WAYS TO LIVE Nos. 2, 6, 12 taken individually.

Ways to Live (Synopsised)

Questionnaire - Part II

- Q. 30. Way No. 2 Cultivate independence of persons and things.
- Q. 34. Way No. 6 Constantly master changing conditions.
- Q. 40. Way No. 12 Chance adventuresome deeds.

H₁: The self-concept of the bank president in the small bank is more likely to rank high on WAYS TO LIVE Nos. 2, 6, 12 (Questions: 30, 34, 40) taken individually.

Morris Ways to Live (Related to Fromm's Hoarding Orientation)
(hypothesis δ)

H_0 : There is no difference between the self-concept of the bank president in the small bank and the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank with reference to Morris' WAYS TO LIVE No. 1 and No. 10 taken individually.

Ways to Live (Synopsised)

Questionnaire - Part II

Q. 29. Way No. 1. Preserve the best that man has attained.

Q. 38. Way No.10. Control the self stoically.

H_1 : The self-concept of the bank president in the small bank is more likely to rank high on WAYS TO LIVE No. 1 and No. 10 than the self-concept of the bank president in the large bank as indicated in the complete Ways to Live No. 1 and No. 10 (Questions: 29, 38) taken individually.



The Null Hypothesis

The null hypothesis was always stated as indicating no difference in self-concept. Thus, rejection of the null hypothesis indicates a difference in self-concept.

Type I error, rejecting a true null hypothesis was felt to be more important than Type II error, accepting a false null hypothesis. Hence the level of significance for the Mann-Whitney U Tests was: $\alpha = .05$ (1 tail).

The probability of a Type II error, β was automatically set as a function of N (sample size) and α . Thus, β could not be specified previous to the research, that is, until total responses were known. However, since N in all cases was greater than 117, the resulting power function was excellent.¹

¹Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 8-11.



Individual Question Testing

As noted in Chapter I, when Riesman conceptualized inner-other-directedness with respect to social character, he also made reference to the earlier theoretical writings of Erich Fromm and Charles Morris. Where their concepts could be incorporated into this study, it was deemed important to link empirical data clarifying possible relationships between the three authors--Riesman with inner- and other-directed social character, Fromm with the marketing and boarding oriented social character and Morris with Ways to Live.

With respect to the problem of individual question testing, the approach in this study was not to group questions revealing inner-other-directedness or other self-concept items (Fromm and Morris) because those questions revealing highly significant differences would have been lost or buried by the remaining questions that revealed no significant differences. One objective of the study was to find those questions that are better at revealing self-concept and differences in self-concept in view of the three dimensional approach--the primary dimension a sociological one, that of Riesman and the links with Fromm, the social psychological dimension together with the philosophical (value) dimension of Charles Morris.



Preface: The Statistical Study of Man

Critiques with respect to methodology and statistical techniques used in behavioral science research are many.¹ Two facets of these critiques are most relevant to mention at this time. First and most important is man, that complex "rational animal" so designated by some philosophers, theologians, social scientists, writers--in brief, those persons involved in studying the mystery of man. Thus, when one speaks of self-concept, ego, or identity, a profound sense of humility is needed to realize that no single individual plumbs the depths of the mystery of man by any technique.² Certainly the insights of Plato or Aristotle, Dostoevsky, Goethe, Freud, de Chardin--to name but a few among many great minds interested in the human condition--are profound and deserve study. The second facet is that of the almost idolatrous reverence to methodology and statistical techniques³ to probe the mystery of man. While one can dismiss

¹Pitirim Sorokin, Fads and Follies in Modern Sociology (Chicago, Ill.: Gateway Edition, Henry Regnery Co., 1965).

²See "Culture and Personality: The Natural History of a False Dichotomy," in Melford E. Spiro, Psychiatry, XIV (February, 1951); Alfred R. Lindemann and Anselm L. Strauss, "A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings," American Sociological Review, XV (October, 1950); Dennis H. Wrong, "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology," American Sociological Review, XXVI (1961); and Robert Cooley Angell, Free Society and Moral Crisis (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

³See critiques that point up limitations in this respect: E. A. Tiryakian, "Methodology and Research," Contemporary American Sociology, ed. Joseph S. Roucek (Patterson, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams Co., 1961), pp. 151-166; Roy G. Francis, "The Use of Statistics in Social Science Research," op. cit., pp. 601-623; Robert Bierstedt, "A



metaphysics (at great risk), the use of such terms as operationalism, empiricism and nominalism, indicates a metaphysical position with respect to the "realities" studied by behavioral scientists; however, this is a challenge to research especially in the sociology of knowledge.

Critique of Empiricism in Sociology, " American Sociological Review, XIV (October, 1949); Herbert Feigl, "Operationism and Scientific Method," The Psychological Review, LII, No. 5 (September, 1945); Gideon Sjoberg, "Operationalism and Social Research," Symposium on Sociological Theory, ed. Llewellyn Gross (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), pp. 603-625; Robert Boguslaw, The New Utopians (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965); Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1966); C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).