IMAGES OF THE BUSINESS MAN IN TIME AND NEWSWEEK: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

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By Lucia Marino

Body of Abstract

This is a content analysis study of the image of the American business man which is presented in biographical articles on business men in Time and Newsweek magazines.

The theoretical foundations of the study are laid in a comparative analysis of images of the business man produced by certain ethical, social and economic theories and of those images found in popular literature.

The three main images discussed are those of the self-made man, which bears a close resemblance to David Riesman's inner-directed type, the robber baron or unscrupulous business man, and the Riesman other-directed type which is similar in many respects to Whyte's organization man.

The study defines an image as a set of written messages about the economic role, personal life and character of the business man. The image is further defined as being selective, that is, the creator of the image constructs the image out of messages selected in accordance with some set of values and purposes rather than by chance.

Moreover, it is argued, the magazines Time and Newsweek do symbolize certain values, namely, those which the business men themselves, by and large, publicly profess.

The study seeks to demonstrate that this value system approximates most closely the values embodied in the image of the self-made man.

Hence, the basic hypothesis of the study is that the newsmagazine image of the business man will stress individual action and initiative. The composition and character of peer groups such as business associates by which the other-directed business man sets his goals and standards will be vaguely defined, if present at all, in the image.

The content analysis was based on biographies of business men published in Time during the years 1925, 1935, 1945, and 1955 and those published in Newsweek in 1935, 1945, and 1955. Results of a reliability check are also included in the study.

The image of the business man in Time and Newsweek was not explicitly drawn in the language of the image of the self-made man or in the language of any of the other images discussed. However, the data seem to support the main hypothesis of the study insofar as a greater number of statements refer to the business man himself, his personal characteristics and rise in the business world through his own efforts than to the part played by business associates, friends and family in shaping his values and career pattern.

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By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate, through use of content analysis, the image of the American business man presented by Time and Newsweek magazines.

An image may be briefly defined as a description of the personality characteristics and the social and economic roles of the business man and of the interrelation of these factors.

Most of the images of the business man which have predominated in American thought have been images of the owner-manager type of business leader.

Whether he was the "good" self-made man or the "unscrupulous" robber baron, the owner-manager was the sole owner and overseer of his enterprise and, therefore, his own boss. He was not dependent on others for his rise in the business world. His chances of achieving success lay in his own ability to turn ideas and products into cash. Moreover, as he was occupied with making goods or exploiting ideas or inventions, he did not feel the need to cultivate the good opinions of others or to try to live up to their expectations of what a business man should be.

The economic doctrine of the invisible hand assured him that the greatest good for the society would result

from each individual's pursuit of his own self-interest. The Protestant Ethic, which provided the moral justification for this doctrine, advised the cultivation of personal qualities, rather than the favorable opinions of others, as necessary to success.

Thus Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote of some prominent men of her own day that their success was due to the fact that, from early life, they had cultivated the qualities of "frugality, strict temperance, self reliance and indomitable industry."[1]

The success of the corporation executive, however, is said to depend not so much on these kinds of qualities as on his ability to know what his superiors want him to be and to live up to their expectations. The executive manages a business which is owned by others. He must be concerned with what others think of him because his authority is delegated to him by others, not vested in him by virtue of his ownership of the business.

Out of the discussions of the nature of advancement in the administrative hierarchy of a corporation, the locus of authority in the corporation and the nature of the executive decision making process has come a new image of the business man.

The executive, outwardly at least, must be a "good guy."

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[1]Harriet Beecher Stowe, Men of Our Time (Hartford, Connecticut: Hartford Publishing Company, 1868) p. vii.

> . . .He must not only accept control, he must accept it as if he liked it. He must smile when he is transferred to a place or a job that isn't the job or place he happens to want. He must appear to enjoy listening sympathetically to points of view not his own. He must be less 'goal centered' and more 'employee centered.' It is not enough that he work hard; he must be a good fellow to boot.[1]

The justification for this business role has been called the Social ethic. It puts heavy stress on the desirability of cooperation and participation in group activities and on the cultivation of the skills of eliciting cooperative effort.

The main question to be explored in this study is: what image or images of the business man will be presented by the magazines to be analyzed?

The main hypothesis set forth in the study is that the image will approximate more closely an owner-manager than an executive type.

The line of argument for this hypothesis as developed in the following pages is, first of all, that business leaders of today tend to cast themselves in the image of the owner-manager when explaining their activities or "selling" free enterprise to the public in spite of the fact of the predominantly corporate nature of large business enterprises.

The newsmagazine, insofar as one of its tendencies is to defend business class interests, might be expected to

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[1] W. H. Whyte, The Organization Man (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1957) p. 175.

present the image of the business man which the business man seemingly finds it in his interest to project.

Secondly, the function of these magazines, as of the mass media in general, as transmitters of cultural values, seems to point to the presentation of the business man in traditional terms as a hard working, hard driving individual who rises to the top on the strength of his own merits, often in spite of handicaps such as poverty, lack of education or business setbacks. For, according to the cultural legend of social mobility, there is room at the top for everyone who is willing to work. Every man should be a king in his dreams and not allow temporary failures to lower his aspirations.

This thesis is divided into two chapters. Chapter I consists of four sections. Section A will offer a brief discussion of the major reasons for the dominance of the large corporation and for the rise to business leadership of the corporation executive. Section B will describe the images of the economic roles of the owner-manager and the hired executive and the theoretical bases for these images. Section C will deal with images of the business man from popular literature and the ideological foundations of these images and then will point out similarities and differences between these images and their sources and the economic role images of the business man and their theoretical foundations. Section D will discuss the part played by the mass circulation magazine in presenting the

images of the business man with particular reference to *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Chapter II consists of four sections. Section A will discuss the code employed in the content analysis of *Time* and *Newsweek*. Section B will present the results of the reliability check on the data used. Section C will present the results of the analysis and Section D will offer conclusions and discussion based on the results.

CHAPTER I

A. Corporate Dominance

As a prelude to the examination of the images of the owner-manager and the hired executive, it will be helpful to spell out the relative positions and importance of the large corporation and the owner-managed firm in the present-day business structure.

If the large corporation were a minor feature of the present-day economy, the corporation executive would be a minor figure among business men. His personality and his outlook on his work could offer no effective challenge to the traditional picture of the business man as built up through economic theory, popular legends, ethical sanctions, and the words and deeds of business leaders as described in the mass media.

But if the executive is the dominant figure in today's business world, his ascendancy represents a change in the business leader type and hence a challenge to the traditional images of the business leader.

The importance of the corporate sector of the economy must be viewed in the context of the total business population.

From the standpoint of numbers of firms, the business

population is dominated by small, individually owned firms. Owner-managed firms with less than four employees each comprised nearly four-fifths of the three and one-half million firms in operation in 1947.[1]

The total number of firms has increased relative to the population. At the turn of the century there were roughly 21 firms per 1,000 persons in the United States. By 1950 the number had risen to about 25 per thousand. Thus the growth in the number of businesses has more than kept pace with population growth.[2]

The corporate form of business organization rose to prominence after the Civil War. Prior to 1850 this form was used mainly by those enterprises affected with a public interest such as banks, insurance companies, canals, and turnpikes. Textiles offered the only example of corporate organization in manufacturing.[3]

From approximately 1870 to 1910, the number of corporations grew rapidly. Banking, insurance and public utilities continued to be organized corporately along with the newly developed railroad industry.[4]

Since the early 1900's corporate growth has been only

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[1]U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business (April 1955) p. 16.

[2]U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business (January 1949) p. 11.

[3]A. A. Berle and G. C. Means, The Modern Corporation and Private Property (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932) p. 10.

[4]Ibid., p. 13.

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[4]Ibid., p. 13.

slightly higher than the rate of growth for the rest of the business population. The proportion of corporations increased from about 9 percent of the business population in 1910 to about 13 percent in 1955.[1]

It has been said that had it not been for the great increase in the number of small service establishments, the corporation would dominate in terms of numbers much more than it actually does.[2]

The importance of the corporation does not lie in the number of firms that are corporately organized. The corporations are important because they account for a share of assets, employment, and output which is disproportionate to their numbers.

In 1909 the 100 largest industrial corporations had aggregate assets of 8.2 billion dollars. In 1948 the largest 100 had aggregate assets of 49 billion dollars.[3]

In 1951, 361 large corporations had total assets of 72 billion dollars. This is almost as great as the 76 billion accounted for by the three million small unincorporated firms and small corporations.[4]

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[1] U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business (April 1955) p. 14.

[2] U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business (March 1944) p. 12.

[3] A. D. H. Kaplan, Big Enterprise in a Competitive Economy (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1954) p. 82.

[4] U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business (May 1954) p. 19.

In 1899 the Census reported that 66.7 percent of all manufactured products were being made by corporations.[1] In 1947, 113 large corporations alone accounted for 40 percent of total manufacturing output.[2]

In 1929, 48.9 percent of the total value added by manufacture was accounted for by corporations with plural units, or 11.6 percent of the total manufacturing firms operated from a central office. These firms also employed 47.6 percent of manufacturing wage workers.[3]

In 1947, plural unit firms, 12.9 percent of the total number of firms in the country, accounted for 57.2 percent of value added by manufacture and for 58.5 percent of manufacturing wage workers.[4]

Another important factor in the dominance of the corporation has been its role in technological development. Once the responsibility of the individual entrepreneur, invention and innovation have increasingly been taken over by the research departments of corporations and other large-scale organizations.

As Schumpeter says, technological progress is becoming the function of trained specialists who work on assigned

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[1] A. A. Berle and G. C. Means, The Modern Corporation and Private Property (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932) p. 14.

[2] Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953, p. 791.

[3] A. L. Bernheim, M. J. Fields, et al., Big Business, Its Growth and Its Place, (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1937) p. 30.

[4] A. D. H. Kaplan, Big Enterprise in a Competitive Economy (The Brookings Institute, 1954) p. 233.

projects. Econ mic innovation becomes depersonalized and automatized. Bureau and committee work replace individual action.[1]

Large scale industrial research plays an important part in technological development. The large company possesses the necessary physical economic and human resources for research and is able to take the long-term financial risks involved.

The National Science Foundation has observed that 10 percent of small manufacturers with less than 500 employees each have research programs but that nearly 95 percent of the manufacturers with over 5,000 employees each have such programs.[2]

In 1947, for manufacturing concerns with 20 or more employees each, there were 51,000 corporations and 20,000 non-corporate businesses.[3]

Thus the corporation may be viewed as a source of employment for a major proportion of the work force, the locus of financial power in business and an important source of technological progress.

It is the executive's role as a determiner of policy in regard to these areas of corporate activity that gives him his position of business leadership.

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[1] J. A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949) p. 133.

[2] U.S. Department of Commerce, Proceedings of the President's Conference on Technical and Distribution Research for the Benefit of Small Business, Sept. 23, 24, 25, 1957, pp. 50-54.

[3] U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business (April, 1955) p. 19.

Corporate leadership in business is not a new phenomenon. A study by Miller indicates that in the first decade of the twentieth century, almost half of the leaders in American business were men who had been salaried officeholders virtually their entire lives.[1]

The change in business leadership from the independent owner-manager to the salaried executive involves significant changes in the rationale underlying individual business activity because it involves changes in the characteristics and aspirations of the man who aspires to business leadership.

B. The Protestant Ethic and The Social Ethic

In an owner-managed enterprise, one individual procures capital, relying on his own wealth or on such loans and credit as he is able to obtain. He invests his capital in plant and equipment, hires and manages his employees directly, and carries on any relations there are with competitors, government, and various community agencies.[2]

It is such an individual who corresponds best to some of the classical theories concerning the business man. Classical economics employed the traditional concept of property according to which a man was entitled to own the

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[1] William Miller, Men in Business (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952) p. 270.

[2] L. G. Jenks, "Role Structure of Entrepreneurial Personality," Change and the Entrepreneur, Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, Harvard (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949) p. 110.

means of his livelihood and do with it as he liked. In other words, property rights consisted not only of the right to own, but also of the right to control and use the property for personal benefit.

In this classical framework it would be unthinkable for a business man not to own his firm and not to closely supervise each detail of the business operation. Such a phenomenon would, according to the classicists, actually lead to an inefficient economic system for they regarded self-interest as the best guarantee of economic efficiency. They assumed that if the individual could be protected in the right to use his property as he saw fit and to receive the full returns on its use, his desire for personal profit would be an effective incentive to the efficient use of any business property he might happen to possess. Those who managed their property inefficiently would automatically succumb in the struggle with more efficient competitors. To use Adam Smith's words,

> . . .by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more efficiently than when he really intends to promote it.[1]

The great strength of this idea and its practice in real life, however, did not come from its endorsement

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[1]Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (New York: The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., 1937) p. 423.

by economists or politicians. Without some ethical basis the theory of economic self-interest could not have gained much influence. No real life business man would have acted in accordance with the doctrine if he could not have squared his actions with his own ethical standards. A medieval craftsman set down in the midst of the capitalistic business world would regard many of the activities of the men he observed as both sinful and dangerous to the good of society.

The ethic which ultimately became associated with the classical economic doctrines had its roots in the rise of Puritan Protestantism.[1] This ethic in turn led to the appearance of individuals who manifested a character type which was oriented to fulfill the role assigned the business man both by economic theory and the actual circumstances of life in a new continent such as America was during much of the nineteenth century.

For the Puritans, the essence of religion was the relationship of the individual soul to God. God's grace, the only means of salvation, was a direct gift of God to the individual without the mediation of any earthly institution.[2]

The state of grace could only be estimated by the degree to which the individual was able to conduct himself

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[1]R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1937) pp. 225-27.

[2]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1930) p. 153.

in accordance with God's will. And, in Puritan doctrine, God's will was that everyone, rich or poor, should labor in some calling.[1]

Because work was a commandment from God, everything that might divert the Puritan from his work was condemned. The individual was expected to wage a lonely and ceaseless battle against the corrupting forces of society which tempted him to a life of idleness and pleasure. Likewise, he was urged to cultivate diligence, moderation, sobriety, and thrift in his work in order that he might become a more profitable servant of the Lord.[2]

The acquisition of wealth was condemned insofar as it tempted a man to relax from his work and to indulge himself in luxuries. However, wealth as an outcome of the diligent performance of work was considered morally permissible. In fact, failure to conduct a business as profitably as possible was considered a dereliction of duty.

Weber quotes Richard Baxter, a Puritan minister, as having said:

> If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling and you refuse to be God's steward and to accept his gifts and use them for Him when He requireth it: you may labor to be rich for God, though not for the flesh and sin.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 155-60.

[2] Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1930) p. 162.

[3] Ibid., p. 175.

Thus success in business came to be identified with spiritual excellence and the rich man with the virtuous one. Wealth was interpreted as a sign that a man had labored faithfully in his calling and that God had blessed his labor.[1]

Likewise poverty was condemned as a moral failure. Poverty was not caused by external circumstances for these could be overcome by strong character. Poverty was the result of weakness of character or, more precisely, by a deficiency in those characterological traits which the Puritans valued.

Although Puritanism as a formal religious movement gradually waned, the virtues which it preached did not die. Moderation, sobriety, diligence, thrift continued to be esteemed not as ways of serving God but for their usefulness as means of accumulating wealth. And if wealth was no longer identified with God's blessing it was still regarded as proof of individual merit. In the competitive market place only the worthy could become wealthy.[2] The drive for wealth also served the needs of social mobility. In a country with no hereditary upper class, wealth was the easiest path to high social status.[3]

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[1]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1955) p. 176.

[2]R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1937) pp. 235-37.

[3]Robert Heilbroner, The Worldly Philosophers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955) p. 200.

The nineteenth century American business man was an example of the Protestant ethic at work. Faced with a new and undeveloped continent he was primarily occupied with altering the physical environment and with exploiting available resources to supply a growing population with goods.

Imbued with the idea of success through individual attainment, he tended to view the business world as a sort of competitive testing ground. Those who succeeded thereby proved their superiority and worth. Those who failed were merely demonstrating an inherent deficiency in ambition and ability.[1]

In Riesman's terminology, these men were inner-directed. They behaved in accordance with certain internalized rules of conduct implanted in early life. In America these rules most commonly were phrased in the language of the Protestant Ethic.[2]

The inner-directed man committed himself early to a lifetime goal. In the case of the business man, the goal was usually accumulation of wealth or property. The acclaim of others might be a by-product of striving toward this goal but if the individual felt he had fallen short of his goal no amount of praise from others could quench the feeling of personal inadequacy. In short, the individual was

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[1]David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1953) pp. 29-31.

[2]Ibid., p. 30.

impervious to external behavioral pressures if these pressures could not be reconciled with the internal code.[1]

Josephson sums up the attitude of the inner-directed business man in the following manner:

> Not to drink, to forego the gaming tables and red-lit bordelloes of the frontier camps, to be calculating forever, silently, furtively poring over books and accounts, scheming projects all night--while others drank, danced, laughed, brawled and died--this was the method and purpose of the young men who were to conquer both the wild frontier and the pioneers alike.[2]

The primary interest of the inner-directed business man lay in things and ideas rather than in other people. The behavioral virtues stressed by the Protestant Ethic were individualistic. If everyone practiced industry, sobriety, and thrift, no more attention need be given to interpersonal relations. The doctrine of the invisible hand assured that the greatest good for all would result from the pursuit of self-interest.

The main attention of the corporation executive, on the other hand, is centered on maintaining co-operative relationships with other persons. These relationships are vital to the success of the executive and his firm.

A corporation executive may be defined as a member of a managerial group with no ownership functions. The executives in the group divide the responsibility for mak-

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[1] David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1953) p. 25.

[2] Matthew Josephson, The Robber Barons (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1934) p. 55.

ing decisions regarding investment, production, sales expansion and other business activities. The group then delegates to others the work involved in making these decisions effective. Thus the actions of the executive tend to reduce to making crucial decisions and to co-ordinating the activities of those who carry out the decisions.[1]

In the field of economics most of the attention has been centered on the effect of the corporation on competition.

No new theory has emerged which demonstrates how a man can efficiently run a business which he does not own and from which he does not receive the profits. No new concepts have supplanted those of the profit motive and individual initiative. But these concepts are not adequate to explain executive action because of the nature of corporate structure and authority and the kinds of factors which enter into the executive decision making process.

The nature of corporate structure is such that the characteristics needed for the attainment of a top executive position are not those exalted by the Protestant Ethic. Success depends not so much on being acquainted with the technical aspects of the job as on having the kind of personality which is right for the job. It depends not on battling the environment but on adjusting to it or compromising with it and on helping others to adjust and compromise.

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[1] L. H. Jenks, "Role Structure of Entrepreneurial Personality," Change and the Entrepreneur, Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, Harvard (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949) p. 111.

In Barnard's words, hierarchical advancement becomes a question of a man's fitness in regard to personality, age, politics, manners, personal appearance, rather than his technical competence.[1]

In short, executive advancement depends greatly on the aspirant's ability to exploit those personal attributes which will be favorably perceived by superiors.

Technical ability has been de-emphasized because the large size of the corporation means that there is more distance between the executive and the actual processes of production. The higher up in the hierarchy he is placed, the more his task becomes that of maintaining the organization and the less he is concerned with the physical processes of production.

As one management textbook explained:

> As the administrator moves further and further from the actual physical operation the need for technical skill becomes less important provided he has skilled subordinates and can help them solve their problems.[2]

It might be said then that, as the executive moves upward in the hierarchy, he becomes less concerned with the content of what he is managing and more concerned with the techniques of management.

In order to understand the nature of executive management techniques, it is necessary to consider the basis of executive authority in the corporation.

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[1] Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) p. 199.

[2] R. L. Katz, "Skills of an Effective Administrator," E. C. Brusk (ed.) Human Relations for Management (New York: Harper and Bros., 1951) p. 177.

Theoretically, the amount of authority exercised by an executive is directly related to his position in the organizational hierarchy. If this hierarchy is viewed as a chain of communication, then the executives who are at the key points in the chain may be said to be the ones with the most authority. It is their job to co-ordinate the various parts of the organization's activities so that the whole runs smoothly.

If, however, the executive is unsuccessful in this task he will have no real power in the organization no matter how much formal authority he has. For the executive's authority depends on the degree to which his orders (communications) are accepted and followed. Under this definition, the decision as to whether an order is authoritative or not lies with the persons to whom the order is given and not with the "persons of authority" who issue the order.[1]

Thus the executive's authority in actuality rests on his ability to elicit co-operative responses from his subordinates.

The same skill must be brought to bear in the executive decision making process. Jenks has said that executive decisions in large corporations tend to involve co-operation and compromise among groups in and outside of the corporation. These include stockholders, labor unions, and government agencies. The executive cannot be concerned

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[1] Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) pp. 163-75.

with just the economic or technical factors involved in the decision. He must also consider the attitudes and reactions of various interested groups.[1]

Secondly, the executive is concerned with maintaining the continuity of his organization. The continuity of a large mass production unit depends on the maintenance of a large sales volume. The executive is not so much concerned with maximizing profit on a single sale as he is with strengthening his company's overall sales position. Hence public approval becomes important especially for companies in oligopolistic or monopolistically competitive selling positions.[2]

Businessmen recognize the new orientation to non-economic considerations when they speak of themselves as trustees for a number of publics. And while they try to manipulate these publics they themselves are influenced by the expectations which the public has, or is thought to have, of them.[3]

In summary, it may be said that the profit motive and the operation of individual initiative have been subordinated to the need for co-operation and compromise. This involves ethical principles based, like the Protestant

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[1] L. G. Jenks, "Role Structure of Entrepreneurial Personality," Change and the Entrepreneur, Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, Harvard (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949) p. 118.

[2] Oswald Knauth, Managerial Enterprise (New York: W. W. Noton, 1948) pp. 21-3.

[3] David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1953) p. 188.

Ethic, on a particular view of the nature of man and society. Of those who hold this view, Elton Mayo has been a pioneer in applying the ideal of co-operation to human relationships in industry.

Mayo believes that co-operation between human beings is the essential condition of social integration. The tight organization of the simple, primitive community arises from the fact that the interests of each individual, by his own desire, are subordinated to the interests of the group. This is possible because the individual identifies himself from early life with the group and with the group purpose.[1]

Industrialization changes this. Immigration and increased geographical and social mobility weaken old group ties. Thus, in the industrial environment, the individual has little chance to gain experience with co-operative social relations and is little able to understand them. His groups consequently represent a lower degree of unity and obligation to the common purpose than do the primitive social groups. In industrial society, Groups show less willingness to co-operate with each other and manifest attitudes of distrust and hostility. The result is progressive social disintegration, characterized in industry by low worker morale, conflicts between management and workers, outbreaks of strikes and violence.[2]

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[1]Elton Mayo, The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933) pp. 128-9.

[2]Ibid., pp. 142-43.

Mayo believes that, while our society has expended great effort and energy in achieving material progress, it has not directed enough attention to securing human co-operation. He does not blame this one-sidedness on the simple fact of industrialization. "Eccentricities" of economic and political theory and defects in the educational system are also to blame.

The "rabble hypothesis" which pictures society as a horde of unrelated individuals has outworn any usefulness it had. Yet, under its influence, we are still talking about economic man, motivated only by self-interest, and neglecting to educate young people in social skills.[1]

Effective communication, Mayo believes, is the key to restoring human co-operation and social integration. Hostility and hatred in the factory and in the world can be removed if people can learn to communicate with each other about the issues that divide them.[2]

What is the relevance of all this for the business man? Administrators in all organizations must be skilled communicators. They must be able to create an atmosphere in which people will feel free to discuss their problems. It is as necessary to train administrators to listen to what others have to say as it is to train them to express their

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[1]Elton Mayo, The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933) p. 145.

[2]Ibid., pp. 118-9.

own ideas clearly.[1]

The need for improved human relations has been embodied in a new creed which Whyte has called the Social Ethic. The essence of this creed is that man does desire to be creative and to achieve but that he also needs security. Only as a member of a group can he satisfy these needs. He can feel he has achieved something only in collaborating with others for, by becoming part of the group, he participates in the creation of an end product superior to the product of any single member. Moreover, by directing his efforts toward the group purpose, he attains the feeling of belonging or security.

Ideally there should be no conflict between the individual interest and the group interest. What appear to be conflicts are really only breakdowns in communication which can be eliminated by the scientific application of human relations techniques.[2]

The concern with people and interpersonal relationships, Riesman says, is typical of a society of material abundance. The production of goods is no longer a problem. People still continue to work at the rapid pace of an earlier time but more of their work is directed toward securing the approval of the group. The product in demand is a personality rather than a material commodity or a

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[1] Elton Mayo, The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933) p. 172.

[2] W. H. Whyte, The Organization Man (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957) pp. 7-8.

machine.

Persons do not look to an inner behavioral code to guide them. They are other-directed, that is, their contemporaries are their source of guidance. The goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift as he moves from group to group or as the actions and wishes of his group change.

The other-directed person seeks not merely outward behavioral conformity. He wants to be like others not in outward appearance so much as in inner experience. He wants to think and feel as his guides do.[1]

Upward mobility in an executive hierarchy may be viewed as an exercise in other-directedness and human relations may be regarded as an effort to facilitate other-directed behavior.

How this other-directedness operates in an actual situation is indicated by a personality study of 100 executives conducted by the sociologist William Henry.

Henry noted a tendency for most of the men to identify with their superiors as symbols of superior achievement and to regard them not as threats to their own advancement but as sources of helpful advice and guidance.

By contrast, a few "self-made" types were unable to recognize any source of authority outside themselves and were unable to relate themselves to their superiors.

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[1]David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1953) pp. 63-6.

Instead they perceived superiors as threats to their goals and constantly did things to obstruct co-operative tasks and to assert their independence.[1]

The former type of executive seems to be more in demand by many firms than the "self-made" type.

Several years ago Fortune conducted a survey among company presidents and personnel men regarding the kind of man needed most in the modern corporation.

The choice was phrased as follows:

1. Because the rough and tumble days of corporation growth are over, what the corporation needs most is the adaptable administrator, schooled in the managerial skills and concerned primarily with human relations and the techniques of making the corporation a smooth working team.

2. Because the challenge of change demands new ideas to keep the corporation from rigidifying, what the corporation needs most is the man with strong personal convictions who is not shy about making unorthodox decisions that will unsettle tested procedures--and his colleagues.

Of the 38 persons who replied, many were unwilling to make a choice one way or the other. They usually made the point that both types were needed to balance each other or that the kind of firm and its stage of development should determine which should be dominant.

Sixty-three executives made a choice. The vote was 40 to 23 in favor of the administrator.

Those in the minority expressed the feeling that imagination, vigor, initiative, and dynamism were important

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[1] William Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role," American Journal of Sociology LIV (January 1949) pp. 286-90.

qualities for an executive. They conceded that these qualities might have to be tempered but felt that they could be tempered too much. Care should be exercised, they said, that preparation for an executive career did not cause a man to submerge these important qualities.

The majority view was that new ideas and creative persons were needed in the corporation. However, the majority felt that this was not the duty of the executive but of those in staff positions under him. Their definition of an executive was of a person who in the sense of work as some specific performance or as creation of ideas, does not work but encourages or motivates others to work and to create.[1]

Several years ago placement officers at Northwestern University questioned a number of companies on the characteristics of their outstanding men. The 97 companies that replied most often cited ability to work with people. Mental ability received only half as many mentions, yet three-fourths of the men had superior scholastic records. Initiative and leadership were ranked even lower than mental ability.

One conclusion drawn from the study was that many companies are seeking not brilliance or leadership, but

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[1]"Crown Princes of Business," Readings in Personnel Management from Fortune (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957) pp. 51-4.

the talent of getting along with co-workers.[1]

Well-roundedness is the key word. It means that no single trait juts out to set a man apart from his fellows. The well-rounded man is present unobtrusively to mediate other people's ideas so democratically that he never lets his judgment override the decisions of the group.[2]

The appeal of corporation life today to young aspiring business leaders seems to be considerable. These young men want neither the risks associated with starting a business nor the rewards which, in the tradition of the Protestant Ethic, were supposed to accompany them. They will turn down a job with a small company at 15,000 dollars a year in favor of an equivalent job with a large corporation at 8,000 dollars a year plus pension plans and other benefits. These young men are searching for security and security is achieved by working with others, helping others, becoming a part of the team.[3]

Whyte says:

> Talk with members of the younger generation of management and one is struck by the curious strain of resignation that often runs through their discussion. Dispassionately they describe themselves primarily as members of their environment, men more

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[1] Herryman Maurer, "The Worst Shortage in Business," Readings in Personnel Management from Fortune (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957) p. 25.

[2] "Crown Princes of Business," Readings in Personnel Management from Fortune, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957) p. 55.

[3] W. H. Whyte, Jr., "Groupthink," Readings in Personnel Management from Fortune (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957) p. 78.

> acted upon than acting. They are neither angry nor cynical about it. They are caught in a treadmill from which they will never escape perhaps but the treadmill is pleasant enough they explain and in the group role they find the emotional security they want so very badly.[1]

Whyte reports that a Youth Institute survey of 4,000 young men indicated that only 20 percent felt that they could not achieve their economic desires by working for someone else. He states that placement officers find that of the students who intend to go into business, less than 5 percent express a desire to be independent business men. Most desire to join one of the big corporations. The reason is partly fear of economic risk. Many also see the old-time independents as greedy figures essentially unhappy despite their wealth.[2]

Even the independent small business is being urged to become more team-minded, more aware of the importance of human relations. A small business representative speaking before a president's conference on small business in 1957, said that while rugged individualism is admirable, it should not be carried to the point where the business man is unwilling to take advice that might help him. He recommended that the small business man select a management team. He did not specify who should be on this team but mentioned that it could be added to and strengthened by establishing

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[1] W. H. Whyte, Jr., "Groupthink," Readings in Personnel Management from Fortune (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957) p. 78.

[2] W. H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957) pp. 75-5.

good relations with a banker, a lawyer, and a certified public accountant.[1]

But the most important aspect of all, he stated, was that of human engineering. The successful business depends on good human relations and one who does not like and trust people should not become involved in small business management.[2]

The nineteenth century owner-managers and probably many of their present day counterparts were not primarily concerned with people. Their chances for success, they felt, lay in their ability to turn products and ideas into cash. This was the goal to which most of them were committed. No amount of praise from others could satisfy the man who felt that his achievements did not measure up to the goal he had set for himself.

For the corporation executive, on the other hand, popularity or the esteem of others is the main objective. His success depends on eliciting the right responses from others rather than on making products or inventing things. The way to behave is the way in which others want and expect one to behave. The executive's most important business asset is not a product or a skill. It is his personality.

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[1]U.S. Department of Commerce, Proceedings of the President's Conference on Technical and Distribution Research for the Benefit of Small Business, September 23, 24, 25, 1957, p. 80.

[2]Ibid., p. 81.

C. Popular Images of the Business Man

In the sense used here, Adam Smith's entrepreneur, Whyte's organization man, Riesman's inner and other-directed types are images of the American business man. That is, they are descriptions of the economic and social roles of the business man and of the personality and status requirements associated with the roles. The purpose of these descriptions might be said to be the exposition of the business man's place and function in the society.

However, the business man in America is much more than an organizer and co-ordinator of production. He is a cultural symbol as well. He has come to symbolize the American belief that any man, however humble, can attain a fortune through the practice of industry, frugality, and sobriety. In short, he has become the prototype of the self-made man.

The evolution of the self-made hero in American business involves the incorporation of the doctrines of the Puritan calling and of individualism into the body of cultural belief, the positive valuation placed on material success, and the opportunities provided by the existence of a vast and undeveloped continent.[1]

As Merton points out, American culture enjoins the acceptance of the idea that all should strive for success since it is possible for all to succeed. No one can fail

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[1]Marshall Fishwick, American Heroes--Myth and Reality (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954) p. 145.

if he is ambitious for failure consists only in the withdrawal of ambition.[1]

This has been the theme of a large body of literature ranging from Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac to McGuffey's Readers. Commonly called self-help literature, its purpose was to instruct readers on how to develop within themselves those qualities necessary to success; namely honesty, industry, sobriety, thrift, and diligence.[2]

Until the 1890's the self-help writers further insisted that college education and a high degree of intelligence were not necessary to business success and, in fact, tended to be detrimental to such success. The college man and the genius were described as vain, lazy, impatient persons who wanted prestige and wealth without having to work for them. Moreover, college training burdened the mind with useless information and wasted the years that should be spent in getting a start in the business world.[3]

The image of the business man as a self-made type took on strength and authenticity from the books and speeches of many of the prominent business leaders. Three testimonials to the value of self-help bear the name of Andrew Carnegie. Other members of the business elite put their

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[1]Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957) p. 139.

[2]Marshall Fishwick, American Heroes--Myth and Reality (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954) pp. 149-50.

[3]Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) pp. 100-3.

were not necessary to business success and, in fact, tended to be detrimental to such success. The college man and the genius were described as vain, lazy, impatient persons who wanted prestige and wealth without having to work for them. Moreover, college training burdened the mind with useless information and wasted the years that should be spent in getting a start in the business world.[3]

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[3] Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) p. [illegible].

ideas into the hands of professional writers.[1]

Washington Irving wrote of John Jacob Astor that he brought to his work "a persevering industry, rigid economy, and strict integrity." Prominent journalists used similar terms when describing the careers of business leaders in the popular press.[2]

Of all creators of fictional self-made types of business men perhaps none is so well known as Horatio Alger who used the rags to riches theme in 135 novels.

What is sometimes not so well recalled is that the Alger hero, although poor, hardworking and morally upright, did not advance very far until, through sheer luck, he met a wealthy and powerful benefactor who got him started.[3]

This should not imply that Alger was counseling his readers to rely on luck to make them successful. In Alger's world, only the virtuous have good luck; moreover, the story stops after a stroke of good fortune has enabled the hero to make his first step upward, presumably to leave room for the continued exercise of his good qualities to justify the success and to make it permanent.[4]

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[1]Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) p. 118.

[2]Ibid., p. 119.

[3]R. Richard Wohl, "The Rags to Riches Story: An Episode in Secular Idealism," (R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, eds.) Class, Status and Power (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953) pp. 390-91.

[4]Ibid., p. 394.

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[2] Ibid., p. 119.

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[4] Ibid., p. 394.

Miller contends that even historians have helped to perpetuate the image of the self-made man by ever-emphasizing the factors of poverty and of starting business at an early age in their discussions of business leaders. The business men included in their duscussions are the well known figures such as Carnegie and Rockefeller who did rise from obscurity to fame but who are not representative of the business class as a whole.[1]

Neu and Gregory investigated the backgrounds of 303 men in top positions in textiles, steel, and railroads during the 1870's. They summarize their results by stating that the typical industrial leader of the 1870's seems to have been of English stock and New England background, Protestant in religion and urban in early environment. He was born and bred in an atmosphere in which business and a relatively high social standing were intimately associated with his family life.[2]

Miller, in another study of business class origins, chose 187 company presidents and board chairmen from the fields of manufacturing and mining, railroads, public utilities, and finance. Most of these men's families had been Americans for many generations. Fifty-five percent of them were born in the eastern United States. Sixty

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[1] William Miller, "American Historians and the Business Elite," Journal of Economic History, IX (May, 1949) p. 188.

[2] Frances W. Gregory and Irene D. Neu, "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's," (William Miller, ed.) Men in Business (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952) pp. 183-90.

percent were from urban areas.

Eighteen were born abroad although 2 of these were of American business families residing temporarily in Canada. Another 4 were from families representing large foreign businesses. Fifty-six percent of the sample had fathers who had been in business.

Only 1 in 5 had a job before the age of sixteen. Slightly more than half had jobs before the age of nineteen. Of those who did not work until nineteen or older, 76 percent had gone to college. Miller concludes that "poor immigrants and poor farm boys have always been more conspicuous in American history books than in the American business elite."[1]

In another study emphasizing career patterns, Miller found that out of 185 of his top business men, 14 percent had either started the firm which they headed or purchased the firm and the high position with resources accumulated in independent ventures. Twenty-seven percent had inherited their jobs. Twelve percent had attained eminence in the field of law before entering business.

Forty-seven percent of the men had gained prominence through bureaucratic ascent, "not infrequently after their family status, education and other social endowments had helped them to get a proper start."[2]

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[1] William Miller, "American Historians and the Business Elite," Journal of Economic History, IX (May 1949) p. 190.

[2] Ibid., p. 187.

Taussig and Joslyn, the only investigators to include subordinate executives and the heads of smaller businesses in their sample, agree that the typical business man is the son of a business man rather than of a farmer or wage worker.

The composition of their group was also typically bureaucratic, only 779 members out of 7,371 being either owner-managers or partners.[1]

The large size of the sample enabled the investigators to split it into subsamples based on the age of the subjects and to make comparisons between subgroups.

When analyzed in this manner, the data on occupational origins revealed a progressive decline in the proportion of farmer's sons from the oldest to the youngest group. There was a corresponding increase in the number of sons of business men, especially salaried executives.[2]

College training appeared to be related both to age and to the importance of the position held. The proportion of college graduates in the oldest group, 65 to 69 years, was 20.8 percent, while in the youngest group, 35 to 39 years, the proportion was 42.5 percent. In all age groups the proportion of college men tended to increase as the size of the business and the responsibility of the

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[1]F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, <u>American Business Leaders</u> (New York: Macmillan, 1932) p. 32.

[2]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 103.

position increased.[1]

Taussig and Joslyn found no clear evidence that the degree of business achievement of the members of their sample was influenced by the factors of influential business connections or financial aid.

A largerproportion of chief executives in businesses with a yearly volume worth $5,000,000 or more had influential connections than did subordinate executives in companies of the same size. The proportion of partners and owners of large businesses having influential connections was also larger than the proportion of subordinate executives having such connections.

However, in businesses with volume under the $5,000,000 level, the proportion of respondents with influential connections tended to be larger among those holding less responsible positions.

Influential connections were found to make a slight difference in the time required to achieve a given position, however. The data indicated that those respondents who had influential connections somewhere in their careers were enabled, by reason of that fact, to reach the position held at the time of the study on an average of two years earlier than those without such connections.

Financial aid was similarly found to influence the time required to achieve a position, but not the importance

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[1] F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders (New York: Macmillan, 1932) pp. 164-69.

of the position achieved.[1]

An image of a group composed entirely of salaried executives has been provided by a Fortune survey of 900 of the highest paid men in the largest coporations.

It appears that the typical big company executive is the son of a business man and was born in the East or Middle west. He had four years of college training in business or science. He started his business career in a clerical or administrative job and worked his way up through sales or operations. However, if he holds the top job in his company he is as likely to have come up through sales or management.[2]

It is Miller's contention that success in corporate business must be at least partially explained in terms of the individual's success in exploiting factors of personal or family status. Like Barnard, he believes that many men cannot be promoted to top positions because they "do not fit."[3]

The first attack on the image of the self-made man, however, did not arise from the fact that he might not be representative of the business class. The point of criticism was not the nature of the business man's background

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[1]F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders (New York: Macmillan, 1932) pp. 189-95.

[2]Perrin Stryker, "Who is an Executive," Readings in Personnel Management from Fortune (New York: Henry Holt, 1957) p. 15.

[3]William Miller, Men in Business (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1952) p. 298.

but the methods he used in achieving success.

The biographers of business leaders had always been faced with the problem of dealing with the faults of their subjects. They had usually faced the problem by frankly pointing out the bad as well as the good qualities and then admonishing their readers to imitate the good only.

> The success cult took its texts from the Bible, not from the writings of Darwin and Spencer. It preached no warfare of each against all, but rather a warfare of each man against his baser self. The problem of success was not that of grinding down one's competitors but of elevating one's self--and the two were not equivalent. Opportunities for success, like opportunities for salvation were limitless: heaven could receive as many as were worthy.[1]

The Protestant Ethic with its emphasis on success through personal virtue and on the virtuous uses of wealth provided the ethical justification for the individual pursuit of profit. It was a useful concomitant to the theory of the invisible hand but it was not built into this theory. According to the laissez faire principles on which, theoretically at least, the nineteenth century American economy operated, the business man was guided only by his desire to maximize profits. There was room at the top only for those most efficient, that is, those who made the greatest profit. The fact that the business man justified his profit as a sign of superior virtue or merit did not always indicate that he had, in fact, made his profit virtuously.

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[1] Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) p. 84.

The similarity between the theory of the invisible hand and the theory of natural selection is clear. And what some observers saw in the business world approximated more closely a Darwinian jungle than a community of saints.

The main lines of attack on the image of the self-made man have been those of the aristocratic tradition, critical realism and socialism.[1]

The aristocratic tradition was not so much concerned with business immorality as with the effects of the pursuit of wealth on aesthetic values.

The aristocratic argument postulated an elite of birth, education, and manners rather than an elite based on wealth. What the self-made man possessed in material wealth he lacked in non-material values. The belittlement of classical learning to which the self-made man was given and his standards of taste as reflected in the gaudy ostention of his home were cited as proof that the pursuit of wealth subverted higher educational and cultural standards.[2]

This viewpoint never had wide appeal. The self-made man was a hero to ordinary people because he capitalized on ordinary qualities to attain success. He was proof that any ordinary person could rise to the top.

The aristocratic argument was that elite status was a matter of inherited factors such as intelligence or of

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[1]John Chamberlain, "The Businessman In Fiction," Fortune XXXVI (November 1948) p. 130.

[2]Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) pp. 135-40.

being born into a background of culture and refinement.

Secondly, this argument did not touch on the factor of immorality. The self-made man might be an enemy of education and cultural values but the aristocratic argument failed to demonstrate that he might also be an enemy of the society that idolized him.

On the other hand, the image of the business man offered by the critical realists and the socialists was the image of an immoral and dangerous man. The difference between the critical realists and the socialists was in the different conclusions which they drew from the evidence.

The critical realist was not opposed to all business men or to the business system. He sought evidence of business corruption in the hope that reforms would be made. Ida Tarbell concluded from her study of the Standard Oil Company that Rockefeller had been unhampered in his business dealings by any ethical considerations. She did not draw any derogatory conclusions about the morality of other business men or advocate abolition of the business system which allowed Rockefeller to prosper.[1]

Henry George, author of Progress and Poverty, was concerned because he felt that the wealth rightfully belonging to both workers and industrialists was being expropriated in the form of rent by persons who made no productive contribution to society. George had in mind a specific reform

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[1]Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) pp. 147-48.

proposal, a single tax on land, which would absorb rent and increase wages and the honest profits of capital.[1]

The socialists, however, sought not reform, but the replacement of the capitalistic system with that of socialism. Every instance of business corruption was, to the socialist, merely evidence that the whole business system was evil. Upton Sinclair wrote The Jungle not as evidence that reforms were needed in meat packing but as proof that capitalistic institutions should be abolished.[2]

The socialist critics, like the aristocratic school, belittled the business man for crudeness and stupidity. The socialist here, however, was not the educated gentleman but the honest, downtrodden worker.

In answer to the attacks made on business men, the self-help writers used their arguments to justify and defend the makers of the great fortunes. Where the self-made man had once symbolized the democratic ideal of opportunity for all, he now became identified with entrenched financial power. The image of the self-made man became an instrument of social control.[3]

With the rise of the corporation executive, the image of the self-made man had to undergo modification. By

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[1]Robert Heilbroner, The Worldly Philosophers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953) pp. 179-80.

[2]Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) p. 150.

[3]Ibid., pp. 154-67.

altering their doctrines on education and by emphasizing personality improvement and getting along with others, the self-help writers sought for a time to make the manager into the modern version of the self-made man. The basic doctrine, however, remained unchanged. The secret of success still had to be found in the man rather than in the society and in cultivated rather than in inherited factors.[1]

This doctrine seems to have carried over into some contemporary business fiction. The typical hero of these novels is found exclusively in corporate business. He is in his late 30's and is somewhere below the top of the hierarchy. Should he settle down into a comfortable rut or risk all in a try for a top job?

He is a member of a socially obscure family and a graduate of a small, unknown college. He must win his place in society through his own talents which he conceives of in terms of "creativity" or integrity. The problem is: can he retain his essential integrity and still succeed? Among his enemies are timid management, the deadly atmosphere of groupthink, unscrupulous opportunists, and his own ambition to succeed.[2]

Not all of the heroes achieve a clear-cut victory. Either their ambition overcomes their integrity or they are forced by others to leave the company.

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[1]Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954) pp. 169-70.

[2]Paul Pickrel, "Men Making Money," Harper's (January, 1959) pp. 80-8.

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[2] Paul Pickrel, "Men Making Money," Harper's (January, 1959) pp. 80-8.

A notable exception is Don Walling, the hero of Cameron Hawley's best seller Executive Suite. Walling's chief qualities are his talent as an architectural designer and his personal integrity. He becomes president of his company without losing these qualities despite the finagling of several vice-presidents and a ruthless financier.[1]

In these novels, the theme of success through virtue takes on a new twist. The hero must fight not only against his own unworthy motives but also against an atmosphere which is indifferent or hostile to the personal qualities which he prizes so highly.

Most of the writers of these novels are represented as having had wide background in the businesses of which they write. They are not uniformly approving of the business world. However, their main concern is not with questions of business morality but with the efforts of the hero to uphold high standards in his work. His failures and compromises seem to be offered as evidence of the difficulty in maintaining high ethical standards in present-day American business. As an image of the self-made man in the modern corporation, he is a symbol of failure as well as a symbol of success.

All of the descriptions of the business man discussed above are images of the business man. That is, they are expressions in written symbols of someone's knowledge, or

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[1]Cameron Hawley, Executive Suite (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952).

what someone believes to be true about a business man or business men.[1]

These images may be divided into two general types. First, there are the analytical or theoretical images such as those developed to define and describe the business man's role. Riesman, Whyte, and Miller have done this by direct observation and analysis of the activities of business men, by statistical sampling, surveys, and other investigative techniques.

On a public-private continuum, these images would be classified somewhere near the private end. No image, of course, is purely private if it is put into symbolic form and transmitted to others. However, these analytical images doubtless are more individualistic and less popular than the images of the self-made man or the robber baron. The latter are public images which are or have been shared by groups of individuals in the society.[2] Transmitted from one generation to another by print and word of mouth, these images have tended to persist regardless of information which contradicts them.

The message, the raw material out of which an image is built, may affect an image in various ways. The message may add something to the image, produce a change or conversion from one image to another, clarify all or part

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[1]Kenneth E. Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956) p. 6.

[2]Ibid., pp. 47-8.

of a vague image or introduce elements of doubt or uncertainty into the image; or it may leave the image unaffected.

However, when a message conflicts with the image which the receiver already possesses, his first impulse is to reject the new image as untrue. The old image thereby acquires a false stability. "As the world moves on, the image does not."[1]

According to one story, J. P. Morgan, during the Civil War, personally took delivery of a shipment of carbines at a Federal arsenal and refused to ship them to the troops until the government paid him an exorbitant sum. Although there are documents which show that Morgan knew nothing of this transaction, the legend persists. Fishwick suggests that no matter how many facts are uncovered to exonerate Morgan, he will still remain a symbol of economic greed.[2]

This image of Morgan is similar to that noted by Mills. He states that some persons connect the business man with "the financial magnate who, living in the lawful shade of society, uses other people's money for his own profit."[3]

However, in a national sample covering all occupational groups, only minorities in each category said that dis-

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[1]Kenneth E. Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956) p. 75.

[2]Marshall Fishwick, American Heroes--Myth and Reality (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954, pp. 14-22.

[3]C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957) p. 22.

honesty or unscrupulous practices were factors in the accumulation of wealth. In terms of this study, the idea of getting rich did not call forth many associations with robber baron tactics.[1]

On the other hand, there was less agreement as to the factors responsible for an individual's success. Sixty-two percent of the large business men in the sample said that ability alone was responsible. Only about 25 percent of unskilled workers gave this response. The lower the occupational level of the respondent, the more frequently was he likely to mention such factors as luck, pull, or superior opportunities.[2]

Kahl's findings seem to indicate skepticism among the lower occupational classes as regards their chances of upward mobility.

His study indicates that the self-made image is more prevalent among middle and upper occupational groups (managerial and professional) than among lower groups (skilled and semi-skilled trades).

Most respondents in these latter groups saw the business man primarily as a person with extensive formal education. They felt that people like themselves who were not

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[1] Richard Centers, "Attitude and Belief in Occupational Stratification," (Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, ed.) Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Dryden Press, 1954) p. 136.

[2] Ibid., p. 137.

outstandingly bright or ambitious were justified in not wanting to rise into the business class.

> They felt that common people like themselves were lucky to have a regular job, that the sons would be as the fathers, that such was life and why think about it?[1]

Another study indicates that business occupations seem to rank lower in prestige for the population as a whole than medicine, law and certain high governmental occupations.

The two criteria most often mentioned for a high prestige job were service to humanity and good pay. Apparently business men are perceived as being less well paid or less essential to humanity than lawyers, doctors, or Supreme Court justices.[2]

Business men themselves, feeling the existence of a high degree of public misconception about their role, have attempted, especially since the 1930's, to present their own image of themselves.

Whyte has noted that the business men have tended to phrase their messages in terms of the Protestant Ethic, extolling the virtues of thrift and independence, the sacredness of private property. They point to the corner newsboy and say:

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[1] J. A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Common Man Boys," Harvard Educational Review (Summer 1953) pp. 182-83.

[2] National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations, A Popular Evaluation," (R. Bendix and S. Lipset, eds.) Class, Status and Power (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953) p. 490.

> When you talk about monopolies and more taxes on big business, that's the fellow you're attacking. 'Cause if you wrap up every big question about our free enterprise economy, what he does answers it.[1]

Viewing the mass circulation magazine as one source of image building messages, which of the images of the business man does the magazine re-inforce with its messages? Is it directly concerned with changing a particular image? Or has it created an image altogether new?

D. Images of the Business Man in the Mass Circulation Magazine

When Sumner Blossom became editor of the American Magazine in 1929, he allegedly told his staff that "Horatio Alger doesn't work here any more."[2]

Yet the mass circulation magazine has continued to print success stories and inspirational material reminiscent of the self-help literature of the past.[3]

According to Merton, these are "the living documents testifying that the American Dream can be realized if one but has the requisite abilities."[4]

He takes examples of biographies of business men from the magazine Nation's Business and discusses their

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[1] W. H. Whyte, Is Anybody Listening? (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952) pp. 30-3.

[2] J. P. Wood, Magazines in the United States (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949) p. 232.

[3] Ibid., p. 283.

[4] R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957) p. 157.

sociological implications.

The first main theme that seems to run through these stories is that all must retain their lofty aspirations. For however humble his beginnings, the man of true talent can rise to the top.

Secondly, failure should not lead to discouragement. "Gratifications may seem forever deferred but they will finally be realized as one's enterprise becomes the biggest of its kind."[1]

The third theme is that if the present-day trend of the economy is toward big business, one may still advance within one of the large corporations.

> If one can no longer be king in a realm of his own creation, he may at least become a president in one of the economic democracies. No matter what one's present station, messenger boy or clerk, one's gaze should be fixed at the top.[2]

The biography of the business man may not only be a testimonial to the American Dream, but also a means of publicizing and dramatizing the accomplishments of business.

To George Horace Lorimer, editor of the Saturday Evening Post, business was a "wonderful, romantic, adventure."[3]

Both Lorimer and Curtis, the publisher, regarded business as one of the most characteristic expressions of

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[1] R. M. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957) p. 137.

[2] Ibid., pp. 137-38.

[3] John Tebbel, George Horace Lorimer and the Saturday Evening Post (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948) p. 150.

American energy. Articles on business and finance were a main feature of the Post with emphasis on biography and autobiography.[1]

Besides recounting the deeds of business men, these stories were also meant to inspire and to teach the reader. As a piece of Post promotional material stated:

> Much is to be learned between the lines of an autobiography as well as in the lines. More from an actual record of life than from deliberate and deadly attempts to tell the young man to be good and he will be happy.[2]

The business biography, however, seems to be less prevalent in some mass circulation magazines than it once was.

Lowenthal has noted, in an analysis of biographies from the Saturday Evening Post and Collier's, that, after 1920, subjects tended increasingly to be drawn from the sports and entertainment fields rather than from business and the professions. More content was devoted to the leisure time activities of all subjects.[3]

To a great extent, Lowenthal believes, biographies before 1920 may be looked upon as examples of success to be imitated by the reader. They reflect unshaken confidence that opportunities are open to all.

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[1] John Tebbel, George Horace Lorimer and the Saturday Evening Post (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948) p. 144.

[2] Ibid., p. 170.

[3] Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," (Morris Janowitz and Bernard Berelson, eds.) Reader in Public Opinion and Communication (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1953) p. 290.

In the biographies written after 1930 he found that the typical subject either did not belong to the vocations essential to society or that he amounted "more or less to a caricature of a socially productive agent."[1]

Johns-Heine and Gerth's study of values in mass periodical fiction also shows a shift away from emphasis on business heroes, especially the business executive class.[2]

Riesman says that, in the era of inner-direction, the emphasis of the story was on the hero's work-minded rise to success. Today the emphasis is on his taste in dress, food, and recreation.[3]

The reader may attempt to compete with the hero in the sphere of consumption while he cannot imagine himself as the head of a large corporation. Consequently, to use Lowenthal's terms, the "idols of consumption" have replaced the "idols of production" in many mass media publications.

This trend, however, may not hold true for all publications, insofar as biographies of business men are concerned. Certain sections of the press, including the magazines Time and Newsweek, appear to support an ideology which glorifies business activity.

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[1] Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," (Morris Janowitz and Bernard Berelson, eds.) Reader in Public Opinion and Communication (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950) pp. 299-95.

[2] Patricke Johns-Heine and Hans Gerth, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXXI (Spring, 1949) pp. 105-13.

[3] David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1953)

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[1] Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," (Morris Janowitz and Bernard Berelson, eds.) *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950) pp. 293-95.

[2] Patricia Johns-Heine and Hans Gerth, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI (Spring, 1949) pp. 105-15.

[3] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1953)

Marver Bernstein, in an analysis of opinion contained in these journals, believes that private enterprise is regarded by them as the cornerstone of democracy. Thus private enterprise activity becomes the most important to the democratic society. The individual's contribution to the direction of private enterprise largely determines his status and prestige in the society.[1]

In such publications, it would seem, there is still an important place for the "idols of production." The business man is viewed as essential to society and as a productive person. Moreover, there may be a feeling among the policy-makers of these publications that the public is not sufficiently aware of the importance of private enterprise. Time's publisher states that "although the U.S. is the world's greatest example of a free enterprise economy that works, Americans are inclined to take this for granted."[2]

Each week, Time selects that news of business it thinks most important for its readers to know about.

> It may be about beef cattle, movies, models, railroads, hotels, airplanes, automakers and scores of other dissimilar topics. It may be an old-fashioned success story--in many ways the life blood of a free enterprise economy. Sometimes it is a story of business failure.[3]

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[1] Marver H. Bernstein, "Political Ideas of Selected Business Journals," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XVII (Summer, 1953) p. 283.

[2] Time, May 29, 1950, p. 13.

[3] Ibid., p. 13.

It may be concluded from this statement that, while not all business news is told in terms of individuals, stories of personal triumph and failure in business are a component of the business news section. Furthermore, the success story seems to be only one of the types of business biography that appears. Making readers aware of the importance of business and of the business man's role seems to be the primary aim.

Personalizing business news seems to have been a Time policy since the beginning years of the magazine.

> In the 1920's business news was especially depersonalized. To get business out of the dusty gloom of the financial pages, to tell what one Time editor called 'the vast and lurid and beautiful bibliography of the balance sheets,' Time broke new ground. It went to great pains to get a picture of Josephine Baker. . .introduced the Hartford brothers to A & P store customers.[1]

The selection of Time and Newsweek for content analysis represents an effort to apply the observations of Merton and Lowenthal to two mass circulation magazines which seem to have the outlook that the business man's role is the most important to society. Such publications may devote space to "idols of consumption" but business leaders will be depicted as "idols of production." That is, the orientation of the story will be toward the subject's business career rather than to those spheres in which he is a consumer.

Merton's comments on the role of the mass circulation magazine as a transmitter of the success values may be

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[1] Time, March 8, 1948, p. 62.

applicable to the kinds of magazines analyzed by Bernstein insofar as these magazines make use of the rags to riches formula.

Although statements of policy comparable to those in Time are not available for Newsweek, it may be inferred from the similarity in function of the magazines,[1] from similarity in general outlook on the importance of business, and from the existence of business biographies in both, that certain similarities hold between the image of the business man presented by Time and that presented by Newsweek.

The purposes of the newsmagazines in presenting stories on business men may be listed as follows:

1. To create interest in business news by personalizing it in terms of the careers of individuals.
2. To make the business man known to the reader in his role as a director of private enterprise activity.
3. To print success stories.

This is not to imply that all biographies of business men in Time and Newsweek will be of the rags to riches variety. The first two purposes may be said to be more important than the second. Persons who are considered newsworthy because of their business activities will be chosen as biographical subjects whether or not their careers fit the rags to riches formula.

It is not likely that the contributions of these individuals will be explained in terms of the Social Ethic.

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[1] James Wood, Magazines in the United States (New York: Ronald Press, 1949) p. 197.

Rather it may be predicted that their careers will be explained in terms of the Protestant Ethic. For one thing, the Social Ethic is an inconvenient framework for making the business man known as an individual. For, according to the Social Ethic, the business man is successful not because he stands out as a strong individual but because he is able to be an harmonious team player.

Moreover, to the degree that these publications act as transmitters of cultural values, and of the values of the business class, they will use an explanation which fits these values. The cultural ideal, especially that voiced by the business class, is still that of cultivating qualities which enable the individual to overcome or rise above his environment.

It may be argued that the ability to manipulate the personalities of oneself and others, to elicit co-operation, calls just as much upon cultivated personal qualities as does the Protestant Ethic.

However, the behavioral virtues stressed by the Protestant Ethic were implanted within the individual early in life by parents or other older persons. The individual practiced these virtues in all situations. The situation might change, but his manner of response remained fixed.

The values and behaviors of the other-directed individual are taken from his contemporaries. They change as he moves from one peer group to another or as the values of his peers change. In short, he is sensitive to the

behavioral cues emanating from others. Moreover, in the case of the executive, inherited or unalterable traits such as age, nationality, or family background may also be important.

The image to be predicted from the analysis of business biographies in Time and Newsweek might be described as one of a clearly defined figure (the subject) who advances or appears to advance autonomously to a position of business leadership.

The subject may rise through his initiation of specific acts such as the purchase or organization of companies, merging of companies, invention, production or sale of goods. If Schumpeter's analysis is taken as a guide, then a relationship to products may be less common than executive advancement or merger activities.

In the second case, the subject may appear to be acting autonomously because the cues emanating from others are not clearly specified or are not mentioned at all. Stating only that X got a promotion in corporation Y gives the impression that X grabbed the promotion out of thin air if, at the same time, there is no mention of the part others played.

On the other hand, the subject may owe his rise in the business world to the cues which he receives from others and which alter or affect his career. The subject may also ask for specific cues by turning to others for help or advice.

These relationships to people and products constitute the business career of the subject. Other aspects of business career to be considered are employer-employee relationships and the relationship of the subject, in his business role, to the government and to the public.

The image will be chiefly in the context of the business role rather than the role of private citizen. Personalization of business news is an attempt to create interest in and understanding of business rather than of an individual's private life.

More emphasis will be placed on the individual's business career than on his personal history, that is, his life before he entered business. His family background and educational attainments along with his present private life will be vague shadows in the background of the image if present at all. What is important is the subject's business activities, not his private or family life.

There will be emphasis, however, on personal description whereby the element of personal qualities or abilities is clearly fixed in the image. This element may be said to heighten the impression of the dominance of the subject or of his individuality.

The most clearly defined element in the image besides the business role and the personality of the subject himself will be that of the organizational setting in which he operates. By organizational setting is meant the size of the company, the amount of assets and other indicators

of the size and power of the company in which the subject works.

On the basis of this discussion the following hypotheses may be drawn.

1. A greater number of statements will indicate an autonomous rise to success than will indicate help received from others.

2. A greater number of statements will show an autonomous rise to success than will describe the subject's relationship to products or production.

3. A greater number of statements will describe the production and sales activities of the subjects than will describe help received from business associates.

4. A greater number of statements will show the subject in an equal or dominant relationship to government, employees and the public than will show him as the subject of the actions or policies of these groups.

5. A greater number of statements will be devoted to describing the subject's business career than to describing his past and present personal life.

6. A greater number of statements will be devoted to personal qualities than to present personal life.

7. A greater number of statements will be devoted to personal qualities than to personal history.

8. A greater number of statements will be devoted to personal life than to personal history.

9. A greater number of statements will describe business career than will describe organizational setting.

10. A greater number of statements will describe the subject's personal qualities, past and present personal life than will describe organizational setting.

CHAPTER II

A. The Code

The content analysis code used in this study was organized around a series of concepts growing out of the analysis of the material discussed in the preceding chapter and of the business biographies appearing in Time and Newsweek.

From the concepts of the self-made man and inner-other directedness was extracted the notion of autonomy versus influence from others. That is, items were coded according to whether they seemed to illustrate the subject acting on his own, dominating people and things, subduing his physical environment, or showed him acting in response to others, seeking the help of others or being acted upon by forces outside his control. This was the pattern followed in categories 5 through 15.

Categories 16 through 18 deal with items which describe the subject as a person or describe his personal or family life.

Category 19 is a listing of statements which refer to the business unit which the subject owns or manages.

Categories 1 through 4 are intended to summarize information contained in category 17 for purposes of convenience in analyzing results. The occupational stratification scale in category 3 has been adapted from

The Code

[illegible] code used in this study was organ-
[illegible] concepts growing out of the analysis
of [illegible] in the preceding chapter and of
the [illegible] appearing in Time and Newsweek.

[illegible] the self-made man and inner-other
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[illegible] that is, items were coded according
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[illegible] and things, subduing his physical
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[illegible] or being acted upon by forces
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[illegible].

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[illegible] son or describe his personal or
[illegible] life.

[illegible] ing of statements which refer to
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[illegible] egory IV for purposes of con-
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[illegible] 3 has been adapted from

J. A. Kahl.[1]

Kahl states that minor white collar, skilled and semi-skilled occupational groups constitute the common man class or working class by the definition of persons in those groups. Hence the coding instructions specified that any subject whose father's occupation fell into one of these groups be classified, in category 21, as having a humble to high career pattern.

Farmers were added to Kahl's scheme as a separate classification because of the prominence of the farm background in the image of the self-made man.

Whether or not a subject's career followed the come-back from failure pattern was deduced from statements in one of the categories relating to business career.

The coding unit used was the statement. A statement was defined as the expression of one complete idea, that is, one subject, one verb and one predicate. Examples of statements may be found in the coding instructions.[2]

Statements were coded according to referent only. Each of the categories 5 through 20 has reference to the subject's relationship with other persons, things, or institutions or refers to the subject himself. The subject and the objects to which he is related are the

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[1] J. A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review (Summer, 1953) p. 180.

[2] The code and the coding instructions are Appendices A and B of this thesis.

referents.

After the coding had been completed, a reliability check was performed on 14 issues of Time and Newsweek, 2 issues from each sample year. The sample years were, for Time, 1925, 1935, 1945 and 1955, and, for Newsweek, 1935, 1945, 1955. Newsweek did not begin publication until the 1930's, therefore no issues comparable to those of Time in 1925 were available.

B. Reliability

Before the results of the study were analyzed, a reliability check was performed by an independent coder. Two issues of each magazine for each sample year were checked. The total number of items coded was 14 or 7.4 percent of the total number of items in the sample (189).

Coders A and B were in agreement on the inclusion or exclusion of 100 percent of the content of the 14 issues chosen.

A correlation coefficient was computed to test the degree of association between the results of coders A and B for category 1, the age of the subjects. (See Table 1, page 63.)

The degree of agreement between coders A and B for categories 2 through 21 is indicated by percentage figures. (See Tables 2 through 5, pages 63, 64, and 65.

Table 1.--Age of Subjects

70 or older						3
60-69					3	1
50-59				3		
40-49			3			
30-39						
under 30	1					
	under 30	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70 or older
			r = .39			

Table 2.--Birthplace of Subjects

Don't know		1	1	4
US Urban			3	1
US Rural		1		
Foreign Born	3			
	Foreign Born	US Rural	US Urban	Don't know
	Agree=11	Disagree=3	% Agree=79	

Table 3.--Subjects' Educational Level

Don't Know			1	7
College			6	
High School				
Grade School				
	Grade School	High School	College	Don't Know
	Agree=13	Disagree=1	% Agree=95	

Table 4.--Career Pattern

Don't Know	2	1	1	4
Comeback from Failure				
Success to Success		3		
Humble to High	3			
	Humble to High	Success to Success	Comeback from Failure	Don't Know
	Agree=10	Disagree=4	% Agree=71	

Table 5.--Reliability Results for Categories 5-20

	Number of Statements by Category																
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Total
Identically Coded by A & B	25	32	38	18	2	3	2	2	1	0	15	23	36	56	57	0	310
Coded By A Only	4	2	9	5	0	0	1	0	2	0	8	5	1	6	0	1	44
Coded By B Only	5	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	8	5	0	32
Total	34	40	51	23	2	3	3	2	3	0	24	30	38	70	62	1	386
Percent Coded Identically	73	80	75	78	100	100	66	100	33	100	62	76	84	80	90	0	80

It will be noted that the percentages of agreement in the reliability check on categories 1 through 4 and category 21 depend mainly on agreement on "don't know" items.

These categories were intended only to summarize descriptive information about the subjects of the business biographies analyzed. They were included in the analysis of results for descriptive purposes only and were not used in the testing of the hypotheses.

Frequencies obtained for categories 5 through 19 were the ones used in testing the hypotheses. In the light of the reliability check, it was decided that any category where less than 70 percent of the statements were coded identically by A and B would not be used in testing the hypotheses of the study. Thus categories 11, 13, and 15 were excluded. Category 14 was also excluded because the reliability check provided no clue as to the degree of agreement or disagreement on inclusion of statements in that category.

However, the 100 percent agreement indicated for categories 9, 10, and 12 may also be suspect because of the small frequencies observed for each of these categories. The fact that overall reliability was 83 percent and in no other single case higher than 90 percent seems to lend weight to this suspicion. Overall reliability rises to 84 percent with the omission of categories 11, 13, 14, 15 and 20 (the residual category).

These seem to be reasonably high figures. Carter, for his study of segregation and the news, reports reliability percentage figures of 82 percent, 90 percent, and 69 percent for the several portions of his code.[1]

In their study of the presentation of news of the 1956 presidential campaign, in Pennsylvania daily newspapers, Markham and Stempel report 63 percent reliability in the coding of size and direction (favorable-unfavorable) of headlines. Three successive checks on the coding of theses or issues mentioned produced percentages of 75, 76, and 65.[2]

C. Results

The first four categories and category 21 were intended to summarize some information on the backgrounds of business men selected as the subjects of newsmagazine biographies.

Age was the only item covered in which the number of classifiable statements exceeded the number coded as "don't know." This may be explained by the fact that personal history is one of the lesser elements in the business man image as will be demonstrated later.

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[1]Roy E. Carter, Jr., "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," Journalism Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1957) pp. 15-16.

[2]James W. Markham and Guido H. Stempel, "Analysis of Techniques in Measuring Press Performance," Journalism Quarterly, XXXIV (Spring, 1957) p. 190.

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Table 6.--Age of Subjects

Age	Number
Under 30	2
30-39	11
40-49	35
50-59	36
60-69	27
70-older	25
Don't know	23
Total	189
Median Age = 55 Years	

The information from categories 2, 3, and 4 was taken from category 17 (personal history). In category 2 (birthplace of subject) 61 percent of statements classified the subject as being to U.S. urban birth. Foreign born subjects comprised 7 percent of the total and U.S. rural born subjects 6 percent. A subject was classified as rural born if it was stated that he was born on a farm or if the name of the county but not the city of birth was given.

For category 3 (father's occupation) the breakdown was as follows: don't know, 59 percent; major white collar, 19 percent; minor white collar, 7 percent; middle white collar, 6 percent; skilled labor and service, 4.[illegible] percent; farmers, 4 percent; unskilled labor, .1 percent.

Thus, for category 21 which coded the subjects' [illegible]

patterns as based on fathers' occupations, the percentages were don't know, 59 percent; success to success (father from white collar classes) 31 percent; humble to high (father a manual worker or farmer) 10 percent. In addition 3 or .016 of the don't know subjects had a career pattern of personal failure in business followed by a comeback and achievement of business success.

Category 4 (subjects' educational background) revealed that the educational background of 55 percent of the subjects was not known. Thirty-eight percent were college educated; 6 percent had high school education; 1 percent had grade school education.

If the percentages of don't know statements are disregarded, the picture that emerges is one of an urban born, college educated man of business or professional class background. This picture is similar to that given by the various statistical studies discussed earlier. However, taking into account the large percentages of don't know results, the conclusion for this study is that the newsmagazine biography of the business man is a poor place from which to gain information regarding the early environment, education, and family background of the business man. The business man's career pattern in the Horatio Alger sense of rags to riches or in the pattern of success to success as indicated by the statistical profiles does not emerge in the newsmagazine.

A check of the formal legal status of each subject, owner-manager or executive, was made although not included in the code. No reliability check was made for this item. As nearly as could be determined, 94 stories dealt with individuals who were either owners or part owners of their business firms. This includes those whose business activities were primarily buying, selling, and merging companies. Ninety-five stories concerned individuals who were managing enterprises with no mention of ownership made.

Out of 134 stories in Time, 73 or 54 percent were about owner-managers and 45 percent concerned managers. In Newsweek, 62 percent of items concerned managers and 38 percent owner-managers. Hence the Newsweek image seems more clearly one of an executive than does the Time image. This is substantiated by other evidence to be discussed later.

Table 7.--Numbers and Percentages of Owners and Owner-Managers

	Time		Newsweek		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total Number
Owner	73	54	21	38	94
Manager	61	45	34	62	95
Totals	134	100	55	100	189

A percentage of frequency table on the next page gives, for each publication, the percentage of the total number of statements which were coded in each category. The categories

Table 8.--Correlation of Category Emphasis

Time				Newsweek			
Category	Number	Percent	Rank	Rank	Category	Number	Percent
Business Dominance	655	21	1	2	Personal Qualities	477	22
Business Setting	565	18.2	2	3	Business Dominance	324	15
Personal Qualities	451	14.5	3	1	Business Setting	256	12
Personal Life	291	9.4	4	4	Personal Life	253	12
Personal History	271	8.7	5	5	Personal History	224	10.4
Help from Others	227	7.5	6	6	Help from Others	127	6.0
Producer	202	6.5	7	7	Producer	120	5.6
Employer	112	3.6	8	8	Employer	74	3.4
Salesman	82	2.6	9	9	Salesman	71	3.3
Effect of Non-Human Forces	69	2.2	10	11	Public Figure	54	2.5
Government Figure	65	2.1	11	12	Effect of Non-Human Forces	33	1.5
Public Figure	39	1.2	12	10	Government Figure	28	1.3
Effect of Government	33	1.0	13	13	Effect of Government	19	*
Effect of Employee Actions	11	*	14	15	Effect of Public Opinion	8	*
Effect of Public Opinion	8	*	15	14	Effect of Employee Actions	2	*
Residual	51				Residual	60	
Total	3092				Total	2130	

r=.975
*Less than .01

are listed, for each magazine, according to the number of statements each contained after the coding was completed.

If the categories are compared by groups of 3, it will be noted that no major differences in emphasis are present. However, particularly in the case of the top 5 categories, business dominance of the subject, business setting, and personal qualities, the difference in frequency distribution between the magazines seems to suggest that Newsweek concentrates a bit more on personality than does Time. Time seems more concerned with the business unit in which the subject operates. This seems to be in line with the magazine's stated purpose of making the American business system better known to readers by presenting the story of business in terms of individuals.

The Newsweek story tends to be the portrait of an individual who is interesting because of his personality as well as his contributions to the business world. The Time story is the story of American business as personified by the career of the individual business man. Nevertheless there seems to be a rather high degree of overall similarity as revealed by the rank order correlation of .975 for the categories as shown on the table on page 71.

The hypotheses presented on the following pages were all tested by means of the chi-square one sample test in order to determine whether or not a significant difference existed between the observed number (frequency) of statements coded within each category and the expected number

(frequency) based on the null hypothesis.

The confidence level chosen was .01, degrees of freedom 1 in each case, and the critical chi-square value was 6.64.

Each hypothesis was tested separately for each publication to avoid the possibility that significant results that might be obtained when the hypotheses were tested for both publications together might not be valid for each publication taken individually. Although the hypotheses make no predictions about differences between the magazines, it was felt that this method of testing would show up any differences that were present and that might affect the degree to which the hypotheses might be supported.

Hypothesis I:

<u>A greater number of statements will indicate business dominance than will indicate help received from associates.</u>

The data tend to support the hypothesis both for <u>Time</u> and for <u>Newsweek</u>.

<u>Time</u>		<u>Newsweek</u>	
business dominance	635(431)	business dominance	324(225.5)
help from others	227(431)	help from others	127(225.5)
total	862	total	451
x^2=193.10		x^2=86.04	

Categories 7 and 8 were set up in order to determine the extent to which the magazines, in describing the subject's rise to business success, focused on his own actions rather than on the role played by business associates.

In <u>Time</u>, approximately 53 percent of the statements

describing business dominance were devoted to describing non-managerial activities. The picture was one of a rise to dominance through ownership and manipulation (buying, selling, merging) of business properties. Thirty-two percent of the statements described how the subject got jobs and promotions in companies with no mention of election or choice or help given by others.

Another 9 percent of statements described the dominant place of the subject in business, the pinnacle of his achievement (a captain of industry, an absolute autocrat, etc.). Six percent of the statements described the subject as one whom associates rely on for help or advice or described specific instances in which the subject helped or advised associates.

In Newsweek, however, only 30 percent of the statements with the theme of business dominance were devoted to non-managerial routes to success. Forty-nine percent of statements were devoted to executive advancement. Fourteen percent of the statements concentrated on the dominant position achieved by the subject and 7 percent depicted him as a giver of help or advice.

These figures seem to bear out the conclusion that the Newsweek image is somewhat more heavily centered on the executive than is the Time image. However, regardless of the official status of the subject, his career is more often described in both publications in terms of an autonomous rise to business dominance than in terms of assistance

from others.

As regards help from others, the largest percentage of statements in both magazines (63 percent--Time; 63 percent--Newsweek) concerned the help given by business associates in organizing companies and in getting jobs and promotions. Only 16 percent of statements in Time and 11 percent in Newsweek dealt with actions of associates which hindered the subject's business career (executive demotions, disagreements which cost the subject his job, etc.).

Fourteen percent of Time statements and 22 percent of Newsweek statements were evaluations or opinions of the subject expressed by business associates. The subject working as a partner on an executive team was the theme of 7 percent of Time statements and 4 percent of Newsweek statements.

Hypothesis II:

A greater number of statements will show an autonomous rise to business dominance through executive channels or through ownership and manipulation of business properties than will indicate a relationship to products or production.

Time		Newsweek	
producer-salesman	284(459.5)	producer-salesman	191(257.5)
business dominance	635(459.5)	business dominance	324(257.5)
Total	919	Total	515
x^2=434.88		x^2=35.12	

The data support the hypothesis. In computing this chi-square, the obtained frequencies for the producer and salesman categories were combined. The distinction between

these categories and the category whose theme is business dominance is that between a business man who comes in actual contact with the processes and problems of production and sales and one who supervises the work of others along these lines or whose contacts with business firms are primarily of a financial nature.

In the category entitled producer, 76 percent of Time statements and 78 percent of Newsweek statements described the subject as an introducer of new products and production methods or told how he came up with solutions to various production problems.

Sixteen percent of statements in Time and 20 percent in Newsweek stated simply that the subject manufactured or produced or built some product.

Ten percent of statements in the category (Time--9 percent; Newsweek--2 percent) described how the subject's products and innovations had paid off for his company.

In the category entitled salesman, 44 percent of statements from Time and 65 percent in Newsweek described the methods by which the subjects sold products. Forty-seven percent of Time statements and 28 percent of Newsweek statements reported that the subject sold something. Nine percent of Time statements and 6 percent of Newsweek statements pointed out how the subject had increased the sales of his company.

On the basis of this breakdown, the distinction between the producer-salesman and business dominance categories may

now be made clearer. That element of the image which concerns executive advancement per se or speculative and financial business ventures is significantly greater than that element devoted to specific achievements in the production and sale of goods and services. This is not to imply that such achievements never accompanied the executive advancement or financial ventures of the subjects, but only that less space was devoted to telling about them.

Hypothesis III:

<u>A greater number of statements will describe the production and sales activities of the subjects than will describe help received by the subject from business associates.</u>

Time		Newsweek	
producer-salesman	284(255.5)	producer-salesman	191(159)
help from associates	227(255.5)	help from associates	127(159)
total	511	total	318
$x^2 = 7.20$		$x^2 = 12.88$	

The data support the hypothesis. This was, in effect, a test of the degree to which the subjects are production and sales oriented as well as of the degree of autonomy of action. It appears that, while production and sales achievements are a less important element than an autonomous rise by other means, they are a significantly greater element than a rise to success through aid from others. Thus it may be concluded that the careers of subjects are explained more often in terms of their own actions than in terms of help from others.

Hypothesis IV:

A greater number of statements will show the subject in an equal or dominant relationship to government than will show him as the subject of government policies or regulations.

Time		Newsweek	
government figure	65(49)	government figure	28(23.5)
subject of government	33(49)	subject of government	19(23.5)
total	98	total	47
x^2=10.44		x^2= 1.72	

The data support the hypothesis for Time but not for Newsweek. In the category with the theme of subject dominance or equality in relationship to government (government figure), 62 percent of Time statements and 89 percent of Newsweek statements dealt with the subject's position as an expert adviser or consultant on government programs and policies such as war production and reconstruction of business in occupied countries.

Twenty percent of the statements in Time and only 4 percent in Newsweek mentioned the subject's political affiliation or activities on behalf of political candidates.

Eighteen percent of Time statements and 7 percent of Newsweek statements described the subject obtaining a government position with no mention of appointment or election by others.

In the category whose theme is governmental policies or regulations affecting the subject, 49 percent of Time statements and 42 percent of the statements in Newsweek dealt with the subject's experiences with the regulatory

powers of government.

Thirty-two percent of Newsweek statements and 15 percent of Time statements described how others helped the subject to get a government position.

Twenty-seven percent of Time statements and 21 percent of statements in Newsweek described the subject asking help from government agencies or purchasing materials with the aid of government priorities.

Nine percent of Time statements and 5 percent of Newsweek statements mentioned various awards and honors bestowed on the subjects by the United States and foreign governments.

Hypothesis V:

A greater number of statements will be devoted to describing the subject's business career than to describing his past and present personal life and personal attributes.

Time		Newsweek	
business career	1146(1079.5)	business career	642(798)
personal life	1013(1079.5)	personal life	954(798)
total	2159	total	1596
$x^2 = 8.00$		$x^2 = 60.98$	

The data support the hypothesis for Time only. For Newsweek, the alternative hypothesis is suggested that a greater number of statements are devoted to past and present personal life and personal attributes than to business career.

By business career is meant the categories of business dominance, production and sales activities, and help

received from business associates. The frequencies for each of these categories were added together for the testing of hypothesis V. Personal life includes the three separate categories of personal history, present personal life and personal qualities or attributes. The frequency used in testing hypothesis V was obtained by combining these three categories.

In the category of present personal life, 50 percent of Time statements and 52 percent of Newsweek statements mentioned or described the subject's hobbies and recreational history and pursuits.

Twenty-seven percent of Time statements and 26 percent of Newsweek statements mentioned or described the subject's personal possessions such as houses, cars, yachts, and hunting lodges.

Twenty-two percent of Time statements and 21 percent of Newsweek statements gave the subject's marital status or mentioned his children. One percent of Time statements and one percent of Newsweek statements gave the subject's religious affiliation.

In the category of personal history, 25 percent of Time statements and 27 percent of Newsweek statements were devoted to the subject's school record. Twenty-nine percent of Newsweek statements and 20 percent of Time statements described the various jobs held by the subject while in school or in a non-business field such as private legal practice or newspaper work.

Twenty percent of the statements in Time and 28 percent of statements in Newsweek described the family life of the subjects, father's occupation, home environment, and the number of brothers and sisters.

Eight percent of Time statements and 2 percent of Newsweek statements described the military records of subjects.

The category of personal qualities is the area in which the newsmagazine tendency to form a ready-made opinion for the reader appears most clearly.[1]

In this category, 19 percent of Time statements and 31 percent of Newsweek statements described the physical appearance of the subjects.

Thirty-four percent of Time statements and 29 percent of Newsweek statements ascribed various traits of character and personality to the subjects. Special note was made of those personality or character traits which were mentioned five or more times in one or both publications.

For both publications this list contained descriptions of the subjects as hard working or energetic men who set "a killing pace" for themselves and others; friendly, genial men who have many friends; and as shy, reserved, reticent and secretive.

For Time only, the list contained descriptions of subjects as sharp or shrewd.

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[1]Ben H. Bagdikian, "Newsweek, The Magazine of News Significance," The New Republic (February 16, 1959) p. 11.

Only two statements, both in Newsweek, described the subject as self-made. On two occasions, Time indicated that subjects were independent "rugged individualist" types.

The intelligence of the subject or his special ability, skill or know-how in his particular business was the subject of 13 percent of Time statements and 10 percent of the statements in Newsweek.

Description of the subject as a person of wealth or one who knows how to make money comprised 13 percent of Time statements and 9 percent of Newsweek statements.

Twelve percent of the statements in Time and 3 percent in Newsweek mentioned the subject's personal philosophy or his outlook on life. Ten percent of Time statements and 18 percent of Newsweek statements described personal habits of the subject.

Hypothesis VI:

A greater number of statements will be devoted to personal attributes than to personal life.

Time		Newsweek	
personal life	291(371)	personal life	253(365)
personal attributes	451(371)	personal attributes	77(365)
total	742	total	730
$x^2 = 8.62$		$x^2 = 58.72$	

The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis VII:

A greater number of statements will be devoted to personal attributes than to personal history.

Time		Newsweek	
personal history	271(361)	personal history	224(350.5)
personal attributes	451(361)	personal attributes	477(350.5)
total	722	Total	701
x^2=44.86		x^2=31.30	

The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis VIII:

A greater number of statements will be devoted to personal life than to personal history.

Time			
personal life	291(281)	personal life	253(238.5)
personal history	271(281)	personal history	224(238.5)
total	562	total	477
x^2= .70		x^2= .88	

The data do not support the hypothesis. Hypotheses VI, VII, and VIII demonstrate the dominant place of description of personal qualities or attributes in that part of the image devoted to the business man subject as an individual. The relatively minor importance assigned to past personal life explains the large number of don't know results in the categories which were intended to summarize information about the subjects' background.

Hypothesis IX:

A greater number of statements will describe business career than will describe organizational setting.

Time		Newsweek	
business career	1146(855.5)	business career	642(445)
organizational setting	565(855.5)	organizational setting	253(445)
total	1711	total	895
x^2= 290.5		x^2=185.90	

The data support the hypothesis. Organizational setting, category 19, includes all statements whose referent

is the company in which the subject operates. For Time, the largest percentage of these statements, 19 percent, described the high profits or increasing business of firms in which the subjects worked. In Newsweek, the highest percentage, 18 percent, described the size of the firm by the amount of assets or physical size.

Smaller percentages in both publications dealt with the history of the firm, the volume of business, expansion of the firm, business difficulties, the methods by which the company operates, the kinds of products or services it turns out, company policies, number of employees, description of plants and offices of the company (yellow brick, air conditioned, etc.).

Hypothesis X:

A greater number of statements will describe the subject as an individual than will be devoted to organizational setting.

Time		Newsweek	
personal life, history qualities	1013(789)	Personal life, history qualities	954(605)
organizational setting	565(789)	organizational setting	256(605)
total	1578	total	1210
$x^2 = 127.18$		$x^2 = 402.64$	

The data support the hypothesis. Hypotheses IX and X indicate that the element of organizational setting in the image is less important than the element of business career in general or personal description in general. However, this does not mean that organizational setting occupies a lesser position in relation to the individual categories

which comprise personal description and business career. Some hypotheses were added in order to demonstrate this.

Hypothesis XI:

A greater number of statements will describe organizational setting than will describe the subjects' relationship to products and production.

Time		Newsweek	
producer-salesman	284(424.5)	producer-salesman	191(223.5)
organizational setting	565(424.5)	organizational setting	256(223.5)
total	849	total	447
x^2= 92.00		x^2= 9.44	

The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis XII:

A greater number of statements will be devoted to the business dominance of the subject than will describe organizational setting.

Time		Newsweek	
business dominance	635(600)	business dominance	324(290)
organizational setting	565(600)	organizational setting	256(290)
total	1200	total	580
x^2= 4.08		x^2= 7.75	

The data support the hypothesis for Newsweek only.

Hypothesis XIII:

A greater number of statements will describe organizational setting than will describe help from business associates.

Time		Newsweek	
help from associates	(227(396)	help from associates	127(191.5)
organizational setting	565(396)	organizational setting	256(191.5)
total	792	total	383
x^2= 144.14		x^2= 42.40	

The data support this hypothesis. With the exception of the Newsweek relationship between business dominance and organizational setting (see hypothesis XII above), hypotheses XI, XII, and XIII demonstrate the importance of organizational setting as compared to the separate categories which make up the element of business career.

Hypothesis XIV:

A greater number of statements will describe personal attributes than will describe organizational setting.

Time		Newsweek	
personal attributes	451(508)	personal attributes	477(366.5)
organizational setting	565(508)	organizational setting	256(366.5)
total	1016	total	733
x^2= 12.80		x^2= 66.62	

The data support the hypothesis for Newsweek only. For Time, the results are in a contrary direction and significantly so. A greater number of statements describe organizational setting than personal attributes.

Hypothesis XV:

A greater number of statements will describe organizational setting than will describe personal life.

Time		Newsweek	
personal life	291(428)	personal life	253(254.5)
organizational setting	565(428)	organizational setting	256(254.5)
total	856	total	509
x^2= 87.70		x^2= .016	

The data support the hypothesis for Time only.

Hypothesis XVI:

A greater number of statements will describe organ-

izational setting than will describe personal history.

Time		Newsweek	
personal history	271(418)	personal history	224(240)
organizational setting	565(418)	organizational setting	256(240)
total	836	total	480
$x^2 = 103.38$		$x^2 = 2.32$	

The data support this hypothesis for Time only. Hypotheses XIV, XV, and XVI point up a difference between Time and Newsweek in the relative importance assigned to organizational setting and the components of the element of personal description in the image. In Time, organizational setting is a greater element than any of the separate categories of personal description. In Newsweek, organizational setting is less important than description of personal attributes and there is no significant difference between organizational setting and personal life or personal history.

D. Conclusions

In Chapter I it was stated that:

> The image to be predicted from the analysis of business biographies in Time and Newsweek might be described as one of a clearly defined figure (the subject) who advances autonomously to a position of business leadership.

The data, in general, support this prediction. In both publications, autonomous or apparently autonomous advancement is a greater element than help from business associates.

These autonomous actions appear more often in the

areas of executive advancement and manipulation of business properties than in the areas of the production and sale of goods and services.

It is true that men may rise to high executive positions through production or sales channels. This study demonstrates that, in the sample, less space was devoted to telling about the subjects' activities in production and sales than was devoted to describing the facts of their rise to the top.

In Time, more statements described the subjects' activities in the field of politics and government than described acts initiated by government or persons in the government which affected the subjects. In Newsweek no difference appeared in this area.

Those categories which covered the subjects' relationships with employees and the public were excluded from the analysis. Had reliability requirements allowed this data to be tested, a more complete impression of the degree to which the subject dominated in relation to others would be available.

All that can be said is that, in business, the subjects appear to be dominant. They and their actions stand out clearly against a smaller body of references to business associates and colleagues and the subjects' relationships with them. In the area of relationships with government, the subjects' dominance is less clear.

Another prediction made in Chapter I was:

> The most clearly defined element in the image besides the business role and personality of the subject himself will be that of the organizational setting in which he operates.

The data indicate that organizational setting is less important than either business career or personal life in general but more important, in some cases, than the separate categories in these areas.

For both publications, the number of statements referring to the organization or business firm was greater than the number describing the subjects' relationship to products or the number describing help received from business associates. The image of the business organizations in which the subjects work seems to be clearer than the image of the persons with whom they work.

For Newsweek, a greater number of statements described autonomous action in non-product oriented areas than described organizational setting. For Time the difference was not significant.

The data for Time point to a greater role for organizational setting as compared with any single category of personal life. The data for Newsweek indicate an equal or greater importance for these latter categories.

Information about the business organizations in which the subjects work may be a way of introducing material about business to readers who like articles about people but who are not interested in facts about profits, expansion, sales, and so forth. In the case of Time such material seems to help carry out the magazine's stated

purpose of making readers better acquainted with the workings of American business.

In Chapter I it was also predicted that:

> The image will be chiefly in the context of the business man's role rather than the role of private citizen. More emphasis will be placed on the individual's business career than on his personal history, that is, on his life before he entered business. His family background and educational attainments will be vague shadows in the background of the image if they are present at all. What is important are the subjects' business activities, not their private activities or those of family. There will be emphasis, however, on personal description whereby the element of personal qualities or abilities is clearly fixed in the image.

The data support these predictions more fully for Time than for Newsweek. In Newsweek, the number of statements devoted to personality and personal description was greater than the number devoted to business career. For Time, the image seemed to be in the context of business role as opposed to private role.

However, the data did bear out, for both publications, the prediction of more emphasis on personal qualities than on past or present personal life.

The subjects' relationships with family and friends, like their relationships with business associates, are less prominent in the image than the qualities possessed by the subjects themselves.

It may be that no valid separation can be made between personal description and business career. Personal description may be considered a part of the description of the subjects' business career since many of the qualities mentioned

may be interpreted as an attempt to explain the subjects' business success. This indeed is the only conclusion that can be drawn in the absence of a significant element in the image which interprets the subjects' business success in terms of help received from others or of educational attainments or family background.

Insofar as personal description is viewed as a part of the description of the mechanics of the subjects' rise to business success, the newsmagazine image of the business man seems to be one of an idol of production rather than an idol of consumption. That is, the image is focused on the subjects' work roles rather than on their leisure time pursuits.

If personal description and autonomous action are taken as the criteria, then the Time and Newsweek images bear more relation to the images of the self-made man than to the images of the executive.

On the other hand, the magazine images are not explicitly drawn in the language of any of these images as they are found in theoretical or popular literature. Many of the descriptions of personality and character traits found in the newsmagazine images of the business man might be used to describe either an inner-directed or other-directed business man type.

Hard work, for example, was a trait associated with the self-made man. However, Whyte says of the executive that "not only does he work harder, his life is in a few respects

more ascetic than the business man of half a century ago."[1]

However, the newsmagazine image does seem to reflect the viewpoint of the business class as discussed earlier, namely that the individual himself is responsible for his success. On one hand is a large group of statements concerning the subjects' business activities and their rise to success. On the other hand is a list of personal traits. There is no group of statements of a cause-effect relationship between personal qualities and business success. However, the importance assigned to personal qualities leads one to suspect that such statements are offered indirectly, at least, by way of explanation of success.

At least two alternative explanations present themselves. First, it may be argued that the study demonstrates nothing about the newsmagazine as a transmitter of business class values.

Because of the years chosen for the sample, an image of the corporation executive, a new type, could not be expected. The subjects of the biographies analyzed in the study are, by and large, business men of the past, not of the present. The median age of the subjects was 55 years while the group most closely committed to the principles of the Social Ethic or other-direction are young executive trainees or younger executives who have only in recent years reached the upper echelons in their corporations.

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[1] W. H. Whyte, The Organization Man (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1957) p. 155.

However, as has already been pointed out, the corporation executive as a business leader type has existed for many years. Mills, Whyte, Riesman, and others have not discovered anything new but have only analyzed social trends already at work. Whyte, for instance, states that "by the time of the First World war, the Protestant Ethic had taken a shellacking from which it would not recover."[1]

A second argument is that the analytical images of Riesman and Whyte are exaggerated and distorted. These men, it may be said, have systematically sorted out those facts which enable them to make a strong case for their own points of view. On the other hand, the newsmagazine image must represent reality because it is based on facts concerning real life persons. These persons have been written about because they are important, successful, and worth reading about, not because they symbolize the values of the magazine.

It is not the purpose of the thesis to discuss the merits or faults of the arguments of Whyte, Riesman, the self-help writers or anyone else. Neither is it the purpose to determine which of the images might be called "true" and which "false." As has been stated, all images are composed of messages selected in accordance with the standards and purposes of the creator of the image.

Newsmagazine images are no exception. Confronted with

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[1]W. H. Whyte, The Organization Man (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1957) p. 24.

a set of possible subjects for business biographies and a set of facts about each one, the magazine selects subjects and facts in accordance with some scheme of values rather than by chance. What this study has attempted to demonstrate is that the scheme of values used by the newsmagazine is that of the business class itself and that the image of the business man which the magazine projects is the image of a man who attains success through his own abilities and initiative, the image of the business man that the business man likes.

APPENDIX A

CODING INSTRUCTIONS

I. The Sample

Years--Time
1925, 1935, 1945, 1955

Years--Newsweek
1935, 1945, 1955

In both magazines an item for the sample will be any article in those sections on business news which concerns an American business man. A business man is defined as any individual engaged in the ownership and/or management of an enterprise of one or more of the following kinds:

contract construction
finance or banking
insurance
manufacturing
mining
public utilities and transport
real estate
wholesale or retail trade
service

Any item included in the sample must be of sufficient length and detail to contain material covered by at least four of the categories 5-20 of the content analysis code.

II. The Coding Unit

The coding unit will be the statement. A statement is defined as the expression of one complete idea. Each statement is thus composed of one subject, one verb and one predicate. Examples:

Original sentence from the article:
He manufactured motors for autos and sold them.
Statement I:
He manufactured motors for autos
Statement II:
He sold motors for autos

Original Sentence from article:
He lives in a rambling stone house high on a hill overlooking Lake Erie.
Statement I:
He Lives in a house
Statement II:
His house is rambling
Statement III:
his house is stone
Statement IV:
His house is high on a hill
Statement V:
His house overlooks Lake Erie

Statements will be coded according to referent. The referent of a statement is the subject of that statement grammatically speaking. Referents may be the business man who is the subject of the biography (hereafter referred to as the subject), other persons or forces whose actions have some effect upon the subject, personal possessions of the subject. The notation accompanying each category of the Code indicates which referents are appropriate to that category.

III. The Code

The general title, that is, the underlined words which appear at the head of each category, is intended as a description of the basic idea around which the category was formed. The phrases listed under these general titles describe the kinds of statements which illustrate the basic idea. For example, the phrase in category 5 "manufacturing

products" is an illustration of one aspect of the basic idea of the subject as a producer of goods and services. In some cases sample statements have been included to further clarify the descriptive material. Categories 1-4 are intended as a summarization of information contained in category 17. They should be completed after the item has been coded. The listing of specific occupations in category 3 is not exhaustive but merely indicative of what is meant by terms such as major white collar, skilled labor and service, etc. In category 21, the humble to high and success to success career patterns refer to the subject's father's occupation. If father's occupation was classified as minor white collar, labor and service or farmer code career pattern as humble to high. If occupation was major or middle white collar code as success to success. Comeback from failure means that the subject has experienced a temporary failure at some time in his business career but has overcome it to achieve success. This has nothing to do with his father's occupation. Thus there may be two career patterns for one subject; humble to high or success to success and comeback from failure.

IV. Coding Procedure

For categories 1-4 and category 21, all that need appear on the code card is the number of the category and the appropriate letters. (1-b, 2-c, 3-a, etc.) For categories 5-20 all that should appear are the number of the category

and, written out, the statements which you believe should be coded in that category. After each item has been coded and the total number of statements in the item recorded, the number of statements in each category should be recorded beside the number of the category.

APPENDIX B

THE CODE

Record month, date, year and page number of item (4/10/35-40)

1. Age--if explicitly mentioned or if it can be deduced from other facts mentioned in the story
   a. under 30
   b. 30-39
   c. 40-49
   d. 50-59
   e. 60-69
   f. 70-older
   g. don't know

2. Birthplace of subject
   a. foreign born
   b. U.S.-rural born
   c. U.S.-urban born
   d. don't know

3. Father's occupation
   a. major white collar (doctor, lawyer, department store executive, corporation executive, owner of large business)
   b. middle white collar (office manager, school teacher, salesman, etc.)
   c. minor white collar (small storeowner, bookkeeper, postal clerk, factory foreman)
   d. skilled labor and service (skilled manual trades, carpenter, blacksmith, policeman)
   e. other labor and service (semi-skilled and unskilled jobs)
   f. farmers
   g. don't know

4. Subject's educational attainments--indicate highest level completed
   a. Grade school
   b. High school
   c. College--includes business or technical school training
   d. Don't know

5. Producer referent-subject

subject's ideas or theories about production
subject manufacturing products or services
subject building or increasing productive capacity
subject contributing to success or profit of enterprise through his products or ideas
subject inventing or introducing new products or methods of production
subject giving attention to specific problems of production such as operating costs

6. Salesman referent-subject, customers

subject increasing sales of company
subject selling products or services, advertising or merchandising products
subject selling to other business men, consumers, or the public
others buying from subject
description of sales methods used by subject, how he sold, where he sold

7. Autonomous rise to business dominance referent-subject, business associates

subject being owner of company, organizing, running, directing company, owning product brands
subject accumulating stock or getting controlling interest in company
subject taking over companies, taking companies away from others, planning and carrying out mergers, buying and selling companies
subject getting a job or promotion in company when part played by others not indicated or mentioned (he took over presidency, he rose rapidly, he got the job, he replaced X)
statement of subject's executive title, a title which indicates subject in charge of all or a part of company's operations (he is president, he is research director)
dominant place of subject in his firm or industry or in industry generally, dominance in community or nation (company spokesman, captain of industry, no. 1 citizen)
giving advice or help of any kind including financial help to business associates or companies, subject as one to whom others turn for advice (he financed the company, his counsel is eagerly sought)

8. Influence of Associates referent-business associates, the subject

subject organizing company with help from others
others aiding or promoting subject's business career, giving financial help, includes job or help given by father or other relatives
others promoting, rating, ranking, electing choosing subject for an executive position (he was elected president, he was chosen president, he attracted the notice of Jones)
others deroting subject, obstructing or hindering business career
business associates' evaluation, opinion of subject, attitude toward subject
business men giving recognition or awards to subject, honorary business posts such as president of trade association or NAM
subject working as part of executive team

9. Government Figure referent-subject government refers to government of any country

subject obtaining government position when appointment or election by others not indicated specifically
subject as confidante or close adviser to government officials
subject giving help or advice to government, subject as expert consultant on government programs or policies
mention of subject's political affiliations or political activities

10. Subject of Government Action referent-government officials, government boards or agencies, subject

others choosing subject for government position
others appointing subject to office
government aiding the subject in business or protecting his interests
government hindering the subject or obstructing his plans, invoking regulatory powers on subject's activities
subject complying with government orders and regulations or resisting them
subject receiving government awards or honors
subject asking help or advice from government, purchasing materials from government
attitude of government officials toward subject

11. Employer referent-subject, employees

subject formulating employee policies, carrying them out
subject aiding or promoting careers of other executives, giving promotions
subject hindering careers of other executives
dominant relationship of subject to employees (they are at his command, he holds their loyalty)
giving pep talks to salesmen

12. Receiver of Employee Action referent-employees

actions of employees in references to the subject
attitude or response of employees toward subject or his actions (they respect him)

13. Relations with Public referent-subject

philanthropic or charitable activities, giving endowments
serving on boards of civic or charitable insitutions such as hospitals and schools
relations with the press

14. Public's Opinion of Subject referent-the public, people, Americans

actions or attitudes of public in regard to the subject or to his activities

15. Effect of Non-Human Forces referent-subject, war, financial panic, depression, etc.

action or effect of action of non-human forces on subject's business career or personal life

16. Personal Life referent-subject, his wife, children, personal possessions

description of subject's hobbies, recreational or spare time pursuits
description of personal possessions such as houses, cars, yachts
mention of subject's wife, children
mention of subject's religious affiliation

17. Personal History referent-subject, his hometown, his parents, brothers, sisters, other relatives ancestors.

subject's nationality or national origin, mention of birthplace or place where subject was raised

occupation of father, grandparents, other relatives or ancestors
description of parents, description of home life, how many brothers and sisters
names of schools attended by subject
how subject got through school (borrowed money, earned his way)
jobs held while subject in school, or jobs held in non-business field such as newspaper job, private legal practice
record of subject's military service

18. Personal Description referent-subject, his friends

physical traits or physical appearance of subject
habits of dressing, eating, sleeping
subject gaining or possess special knowledge, ability or skill
description of subject's daily business schedule, business hours, description of subject as hard working
subject's personality or character traits
subject's quirks or idiosyncracies
possession of monetary wealth or profits, mention of salary, description of subject as wealthy
subject's popularity (he has many friends) testimony of friends as to subject's character or worth

19. Organizational Setting referent-company or companies in which subject operates

history of company
assets of company, physical size, profits
sales volume, number of employees, expansion of company
description of subject's office (pine paneled, air conditioned)

20. All statements which qualify as to referent but do not fit into any of the above categories

21. Career Pattern

a. humble to high
b. success to success
c. comeback from failure
d. don't know

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