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EDITORIAL

We see in the photograph on this issue's cover two men absorbed in investigation. Their preoccupation with the pursuit of knowledge in their chosen field portrays an interest which ERA strives to stimulate in its readers. The good liberal arts college offers its students many possibilities for the development of interests. An awareness of the numerous languages of intellectual endeavor does not, however, only provide for an enlightened choice of an academic or professional career. More importantly, this awareness is valuable in itself.

ERA attempts to represent in its selections the spirit of the liberal arts program. Such a program, if successful, conveys the meaning of education in our lives. In opening our minds continually to that which is different from what we knew before, in being challenged by the incongruities of reality, in striving to encompass the diversity of human thought and experience, we are educated. ERA may add to its readers' awareness of the multitudinous variations in learning experience. We trust that that increased awareness will be pleasurable.

DANIEL L. ALKON.

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E. Digby Baltzell

THE QUEST FOR A NEW ARISTOCRATIC ESTABLISHMENT

There was every reason to believe that the Eisenhower victory in 1952 was needed to restore a sense of responsibility and power within the Republican party and a measure of tranquility among the people as a whole. At the same time, however, the members of the intellectual community, who had been more enthusiastic about Adlai Stevenson than about any other presidential candidate in the twentieth century with the possible exception of Woodrow Wilson, were deeply depressed. There were exceptions, among them Walter Lippman who, as has been pointed out above, thought the country needed a Republican victory, especially in order to rid itself of McCarthyism: "If Eisenhower had lost in 1952," he said in a recent interview, "the Republicans would have followed McCarthy. After being out of power for 20 years, they would have gone mad."

The two Republican terms in the White House have usually been attributed less to the party than to the charismatic leadership of President Eisenhower and his ability to appeal to all the people. They were also due, I think, to a deep yearning in this country, as well as in many other Western democracies, for a return to conservatism. Witness, for instance, the rule of such tory conservatives as MacMillan, DeGaulle and Adenauer in Europe. The Republican party, however, while it represents a combined establishment of business as well as a majority of the members of the old-stock upper class, has still not been able, like the Tories in England for instance, to establish itself as the majority party, in spite of the conservative mood of the people.

In the meantime, the Democrats are still the established party politically. By 1960, when they returned to power under the leadership of the late John F. Kennedy, the Democrats had come to represent a political tradition which had been in the process of developing in this country in the course of almost three decades, and especially since the reelection of Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 (and this tradition stretched even farther back as a minority movement under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson). Adlai Stevenson, one of the more philosophically mature conservatives to come upon the American political scene in this century, described this development as follows, in 1952:

The strange alchemy of time has somehow converted the Democrats into the truly conservative party of this country—the party dedicated to conserving all that is best, and building solidly and safely on these foundations. The Republicans, by contrast, are behaving like the radical party—the party of the reckless and the embittered, bent on dismantling institutions which have been built solidly into our social fabric. . . . Our social-security system and our Democratic party's sponsorship of the social reforms and advances of the past two decades [are] conservatism at its best. Certainly there could be nothing more conservative than to change when change is due, to reduce tensions and wants by wise changes, rather than to stand pat stubbornly, until like King Canute we are engulfed by relentless forces that will always go too far.

John F. Kennedy's victory in 1960, in other words, represented a return to power of an essentially conserving political tradition. The fighting faiths of one generation have a way of becoming conservative assumptions in the next. A decade after Adlai Stevenson made the statement quoted above, for instance, Walter Lippman wrote, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, as follows: "Though Mr. Kennedy is a progressive and a liberal, he is also a profound conservative, and only the befuddled theorists find that strange and hard to understand." In other words, President Kennedy stood for both continuity and change, the essence of any dynamic conservatism.

In the first place, the fact that President Kennedy was the first non-Protestant to enter the White House in our history was of great importance. It was of even more importance, however, that the Kennedy Administration represented both the second generation of Democratic, majority-party rule as well as the first generation of American political leadership to have grown up entirely in the twentieth century. Thus President Eisenhower calmly reigned as representative of a generation, still dominated by the Protestant establishment, which was slowly passing from the stage, while President Kennedy represented a younger and more heterogeneous generation of American political leaders who were just coming to power (within both political parties, of course). McCarthyism, for example, was surely oriented towards exposing the past rather than planning for the future. In many ways McCarthy was the product of America's last innocent generation's fratricidal fight over its adherence to already-lost illusions. It was no wonder, in an era which witnessed the Rosenberg, Oppenheimer and Hiss cases, the Yalta reevaluations and the Korean and Cold wars, that cries of conspiracy and treason filled the air and opened wide the door to one form or another of McCarthyism. Perhaps Eisenhower was needed to calm the hysteria of an old, tired and disillusioned generation of leaders who would not, and perhaps

could not, face the future and were consequently engaged in a schizophrenic conflict over their pasts. Indeed it was no accident that the affluent fifties began with the purposeless publicity-seeking of McCarthy and ended with a nationwide debate, in the pages of the Luce publications as well as in formal hearings in the Congress, over our lack of a sense of National Purpose.

The Two Democratic Generations

The new generation of Democrats differed in almost every way from the generation of Franklin Roosevelt. For the two generations came to maturity in very different worlds. Thus Roosevelt's generation was born in an age of innocence and security at the turn of the century when an Anglo-Saxon establishment ruled the nation and the world; they went away to college where they naturally assumed the leadership due their social position (the "Gold Coast" ruled Harvard); they went away to training camps like Plattsburg where Ivy League gentlemen prepared to be officers in the last idealistic war to end all wars; they turned to the Democratic party under Wilson, especially after the party of their fathers deserted the ideals for which they had fought; having discovered sex and Freud, they went on an irresponsible spree in the twenties; and finally, armed with the easy optimism of John Dewey if not Marxism, they led a brilliant and idealistic reform movement against poverty and economic insecurity at home and then produced the unconditional surrender of "all the evil forces in the outside world" in the Second War, only to be faced with an era of reaction in the late forties and fifties, often articulately led by conservative ex-New Dealers, as well as ex-Marxists and ex-Communists of the more extreme right.

The Democrats of the second generation are very different men, bred in a very different world. Coming to maturity in an urban, Augustan age, marked by fierce, and often cynically manipulative, struggles for power, they were far removed from rural and republican America where amateur aristocrats, from Washington and Jefferson to the two Roosevelts, were called, like Cincinnatus of Republican Rome, to serve the nation in time of need. Forced to struggle for power like the Caesars of old, they tended to be realists rather than idealists, professionals rather than gentlemen amateurs. They were born during the war which spelled the beginning of the end of the Pax Britannica and came to maturity during the depression years when established authority was rapidly retreating before the fanatic ideologists of Fascism and Communism abroad, and the milder struggle between New Dealers and Liberty Leaguers at home; they went to college where leadership was awarded the swift rather than the polite, and

the Gold Coast was rapidly vanishing or being relegated to an inconspicuous and minor role; and, above all, they went to war with no illusions, and were trained as officers in a highly competitive atmosphere of talented men from diverse ethnic backgrounds (the aviators of this generation were the product of the most aristocratic, rather than castelike, selective process this nation, or the world, had ever witnessed). They came back from all parts of a war-torn world to rise to the top in a post-war era in which all illusions, if not ideals, were surely dying. Thus their spiritual and intellectual mood, whether they were gentiles or Jews, was far closer to the neo-orthodox Christianity of Reinhold Niebuhr (or his spiritual kin, Martin Buber, the existentialist Jew) than to the optimistic and naturalistic scientism of John Dewey. And, ironically enough, this second generation of philosophically conservative realists, struggling to defend our traditional freedoms in a cold war which will surely last for more than a generation, were opposed by a radicalism on the right which was crying out for unconditional surrender, in the utopian style of Rooseveltian idealism.

But perhaps the most important difference between the two generations was the fact that, while the Protestant patricians of Roosevelt's generation sincerely believed in assimilating the members of minority groups into the main stream of American economic life and leadership, they were, at the same time, incapable of accepting them as their social equals. Although both Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt sincerely wanted to complete the melting-pot, they were never really at ease socially with the Farleys, the Flynns or the Al Smiths. It was not so much a matter of ethnic snobbery, as it was that their backgrounds and education were so divergent. The Roosevelts were, of course, very close to their Dutchess County neighbors, the Morgenthau's, who were after all of the old-stock and German generation within the Jewish community. Yet on the whole, there was just a touch of the condescending Lady Bountiful in Eleanor Roosevelt, which was entirely in accord with her Victorian background. Thus Ambassador Kennedy, who always deeply resented being referred to as an "Irish-American," once expressed his feelings towards Mrs. Roosevelt in the following blunt statement to the press: "She bothered us more on our jobs in Washington to take care of the poor little nobodies than all the rest of the people down there put together. She's always sending me a note to have some little Susie Glotz to tea at the Embassy." And although Franklin Roosevelt was continually amused by the wit and brilliance of Kennedy's mind, in the last analysis, he preferred to relax with what Jim Farley, with a touch of resentment, once called the "Hasty Pudding Cabinet" as he watched them sail

away for a brief vacation with the President on Vincent Astor's yacht.

What one generation begins is often left to the next generation to complete. The New Deal revolution marked the beginning of both an ethnic democracy and an ethnic *elite* in this country. The Kennedy Administration brought to Washington a talented and extremely ambitious group of leaders and their families who represented the beginning of an ethnically heterogeneous *establishment*. The men surrounding the President on the New Frontier, as has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, were surely social peers of great ethnic diversity. There was, moreover, no old-stock dominance or ethnic condescension. For the minority group members among them, a generation or more removed from Roosevelt's ethnic associates, shared a common educational background at the best universities (most often Harvard) with their friends of the old-stock establishment.

Perhaps of even more importance, I think, was the fact of their having shared a common war experience. Most of them were officers in hierarchical organizations which were, at the same time, led by the most ethnically heterogeneous elite in the nation's history. Indeed, it is hard to believe that shallow ethnic prejudices could have survived in the minds of men, whether from Back Bay, Boston, Park Avenue, Brooklyn or the Bronx, who had once shared the risks and dangers of war together in the intimate atmospheres of the ward room on a carrier in the South Pacific, or in the officers' mess of a bomber squadron in Britain. The American ideal of equality of opportunity in a hierarchically organized social structure had never been so nearly realized as in the selection of reserve officers who led our armed forces during the Second World War. It is hard to believe that down in Washington on the New Frontier, the accidents of birth meant much to leaders of men who had shared a common war experience, a common educational background, and common ideals about our democracy. As an artist friend—son of a clergyman who was Dean of the Princeton Chapel for many years, classmate of John F. Kennedy at an Officers School in the Navy, and a veteran of over twenty months of the Pacific War—said to me some six months before the President's assassination: "I love everything about the New Frontier, and whatever Kennedy does, whether I agree or not, seems part of me and of my generation."

The Kennedy Family and the Democratic Establishment

While elites are composed of talented individuals, an establishment is always rooted in the family. The Kennedys are not only a talented, prolific and independently wealthy, political clan; they are also important, and of timely significance, because of the fact that their

extended family includes representatives of a wide variety of contemporary elites in this country: thus members of the Hollywood, celebrity elite, so often rootless outcasts from the centers of stolid communal authority in America, are brought into the Kennedy establishment through the Peter Lawfords and their position at the heart of the Frank Sinatra "clan"; the old-stock upper-class is represented in Sargent Shriver, Yaleman member of an old Maryland family; and, of course, the late President's gifted wife, though born of Wall Street and Catholic wealth much like the Kennedys, is also the stepdaughter of a member of old-stock and brownstone New York which has been dissected so well in recent years by the author Louis Auchincloss.

In democratic ages, as Tocqueville once wrote, one tends to underestimate the ability of men and families to influence the course of history. Yet the Kennedys are, I think, in an excellent position to assimilate the members of a wide variety of contemporary elites into some sort of new and stable establishment. In fact, they are very much in the Whig tradition of aristocracy which Tocqueville so admired. For it was the old Whig families, in eighteenth and early nineteenth century England, who had so much to do with the blending of the old-landed with the new-commercial wealth which eventually formed the backbone of the establishment in the Victorian era. One is immediately reminded of the Kennedys upon reading the following description of the sporting and democratic Whig aristocracy, in Lord David Cecil's *Melbourne*:

The Whig lord was so often as not a minister, his eldest son an M.P., his second attached to a foreign embassy, so that their houses were alive with the effort and hurry of politics . . . Whig society itself was a sort of club, exclusive, but in which those who managed to achieve membership lived on equal terms; a rowdy, rough-and-tumble club, full of conflict and plain speaking, where people were expected to stand up for themselves and give and take hard knocks. . . . Born and bred citizens of the world, they knew their way about it by a sort of infallible instinct. And they had an instinctive mastery of its social arts. Their negligence was never boorish; it arose from the fact that they felt so much at home in life that they were careless of its conventions. . . . For they possessed—it was their chief charm—in the highest degree, the high spirits of their home.

During the eight years of the reign of Eisenhower, the social life in the nation's capital went through one of its dullest periods. For politics and government are an uncongenial chore to the average, Republican man-of-property, who actually can hardly wait to get back home to his law practice, his executive suite and the golf course of the

local country club. The President himself preferred small stag dinners with a selected group of solid businessmen to the large formal affairs staged by professional hostesses like Elsa Maxwell or Perle Mesta. He also preferred to escape to the healthy life on the farm mixed with a round or two on the golf course.

But while the average Republican's heart is still focused on the Wall or LaSalle Streets of the nation, every Democrat dreams of eventually going to Washington. It is no wonder, then, that Washington society was probably gayer during the days of The New Frontier than at any other period in our history. Georgetown real estate values were booming, and young New Frontiersmen and their wives, led by the White House, were busily creating a veritable Versailles-on-the-Potomac (along, as one might expect, with some of the vices possessed by the Sun King's favorite bureaucrats).

There is probably a very close correlation between the structure of an establishment at any given time and the tempo of leisure-time social activities. Thus, on the one hand, a caste society will usually produce a relatively formal and low-pressure Society. For men and women who have known one another since childhood, and whose ancestors have intermarried for generations, there is often very little to talk about except sports and the market, child-rearing and the mild extra-marital affairs of the overly-bred-bored, or how so-and-so, who was president of his class at St. Gottlessex, is now quietly drinking himself to death.

In an assimilating aristocracy, on the other hand, when talented and ambitious men and women from very different backgrounds are brought together by a passionate commitment to the present, the temperature of social life is bound to rise, and sometimes even to get out of hand. Washington Society on The New Frontier was not unlike that of the Gilded Age when the new-rich, Yankee plutocrats were knocking at the gates of the old four hundred. Both reminded one of Versailles, when the Sun King was creating a national bureaucracy which blended the old *noblesse* of the sword with the striving new *noblesse* of the robe. Similarly, the exuberance of the New Frontier was a product of the blending of the old- and new-stock members of the nation's first twentieth century-bred generation of political leaders to come down to Washington.

There was, of course, a great deal of the manipulative society on the New Frontier; too great a preoccupation with the image rather than the man; and perhaps too great a preference for political power at the expense of moral authority (especially where the rights of Negroes were concerned). But, on the other hand, it is not my purpose here to judge the moral righteousness, or the political policies, of the

New Frontier coalition. Rather, it was the sociological composition of its leadership which is my main concern. And the Kennedy clan set the tone for a great deal of the private, informal and family-centered life on the New Frontier. It will be the children (and grandchildren) of this young generation of leaders—having been schooled together in and around the nation's capital, gone away together to Exeter or Andover, Harvard or Radcliffe, and finally intermarried—who will, in the long run, lay the foundations for a truly representative establishment in this country. This may well be the most important, if unplanned, consequence of the composition of the generation of New Frontiersmen. For an establishment is never created by revolution or deliberate design, but only through a slow evolutionary process over several generations.

Like their friends in the arts or in teaching, men of inherited wealth in America are increasingly seeking a sense of personal fulfillment in government service. Their family firms have been sold and the life of the organization man surely has little appeal. Nor do the large and conventional law firms which their fathers or grandfathers founded—engaged as they are in defending large and impersonal organizations or figuring out the subtle technicalities of tax-avoidance—hold much hope for personal fulfillment. Thus there are more men of second and third generation, inherited wealth, and of the Eastern Seaboard upperclass down in Washington today than ever before in our history.

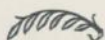
The Liberal Political Establishment and the Established Communal Authority

The highly stimulating social life on the New Frontier then, both brought talented men and women of various ethnic and racial origins together on a plane of equality based on their shared convictions and positions of leadership. Moreover, regardless of the eventual success or failure of their specifically political programs, it was these New Frontiersmen and their wives who pointed the way to how a new and representative establishment might some day be created in this country.

Yet it may be a law of political evolution in a stable democracy that innovating examples set by the Left must always await acceptance by the Right before becoming a part of established community values and practices. Although, in other words, the second generation of Democrats were established politically as the majority party (by a slim margin to be sure), and although, as Adlai Stevenson has pointed out, *they did not, and perhaps could not, represent the authority of an establishment.* It may thus be inevitable that the Kennedy Adminis-

tration, a brilliant but unstable coalition of sociological minorities, should have been preoccupied with the manipulation of its public image. For, in the long run, a really authoritative establishment must be firmly anchored in the solid, and stolid, property interests of the community. These interests, by and large, except in the South, are still represented by the Republican party. At the same time, unfortunately, the Republicans will continue to run the danger of degenerating into a radical right so long as their leaders are unable to appeal to the majority of the electorate over a considerable period of time and not only with the intermittent charisma of a leader like Eisenhower.

This is indeed, as Walter Lippman has implied time and again, an unhealthy situation. In other words, just as an automobile needs both a brake and an accelerator, so a healthy democracy needs both conservative and liberal political forces which are in working order. We had in the young, New Frontier coalition, and still do under President Johnson a vigorous and responsible party. It was, moreover, their function as liberals to be innovators and accelerators of change. Yet, perhaps one of the reasons why the New Frontier was unable "to get us moving again" was the very fact that President Kennedy was too conservative and responsible in temperament. On the other hand, due to the vacuum on the conservative right, he may have had to be. For it must be remembered that the two great reforming periods in this century—the first two years under Woodrow Wilson and the first hundred days under Franklin Roosevelt—were both liberal reactions to an established authority which needed reform. Both the intellectual Left and liberal political reformers, in other words, may need *an enemy in established authority*, which they surely do not have today. The brake in the contemporary, American political machine is defective. The Republicans represent the established, property interests of the community but they have not been able to translate this into established political authority. They are, of course, many and complicated reasons for this which need not be gone into here. But many of them stem, I think, from the fact that the solid property interests of this country, or rather the Anglo-Saxon Protestant representatives of these interests, have lost political authority because there are now a large number of affluent, talented and ambitious men of property who have been alienated from the Republican party because of the caste values of the conservative establishment's community, if not party, leadership.



HIDE AND SEEK

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IV

The boy would breathe,
As the leaves would lift and fall,
In time to the mood of the soft blown wind
That whispered wishes sweet to him.
And the setting half-light of the day,

like the morning's dew, would end
Dripping slow, so slow,
And yet would not let go
Of helpless eyes that had no will, and knew
Within this stillness of a dream,
The things which only seemed,
Were true.

And the setting half-light of the day
played round the boy
and sat down at his feet.

His back was to a one legged tree,
And on his face light passed,
The tree had known his shadow well,
It shared the spell all shadows cast.

He shaped from sense a secret world
Which hushed into a mood, it swirled;
A mood with ways of catching plans
Beginning to unravel
And floating thoughts caught unaware
And moments patterned free from care
Into its feather net would travel.

V

The late noon sun is
low;
it dies.
Its shine

Almost level with the boy's eyes
That stare the stillness down;
motionless time
sets unnoticed when yet the magic flows.

Needles of light come and go,
Their eyes the sun,
Dance on the water, their sparkle pointing tip-toe—like stars
And eyes that watch must look away—aware,

As if ashamed by the beauty that turns
One's head only to see more of its proof—
 and once again suspended to a stare;
The boy's hand is cupped over his brow,
 a salute to the brightness,
A cloud to his vision that wonders how
 these wonders now can charm a world from
 calm.

VI

The clouds again push their shadows
 over the day, the trees, the pond—
Moments ago, bright with colors
 now tamed to grey,
Moments ago, warmed with light
 now turned to chill,
And a boy, lost in its life,
 now wakened to his own—pulling him away,
Giving the magic of moments ago
 the distance
 of being
 forgotten.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES ON MAN'S RELATION TO NATURE

For Simplicity we shall postulate a series of three ideal types, three possible and extreme attitudes that man can take towards his environment in general. All of these can be entertained by members of the same society and of virtually any society. Different societies can characteristically adopt and mold their architecture, their planning, their conception of space and man's relationship to it around predominantly any one of the attitudes. These three attitudes are the instrumental, and transcendental, and the relational.

In the instrumental attitude, man and nature and man's culture—the products of his work, including his material artifacts which he produces—are conceived as a continuum. Man uses and interacts with nature without self-consciously differentiating it from some category of non-nature. It is not a particularly romantic attitude. Nature and man are, as it were, a set of interchangeable materials which can be used for human purposes.

The transcendental attitude is one which makes the sharpest of possible distinctions between man and nature. Nature is conceived of as some sort of wild thing, a turmoil of forces, which must be conquered, segregated, subdued, or transformed for the sake of man's personal aims, which are conceived to be different from those of nature as it existed before man.

The relational attitude is something of a combination, perhaps, of the two preceding notions; a distinction between man on the one hand and nature on the other, is preserved, but nature is tamed and man and his culture are elaborately related with natural things in what can perhaps best be referred to as a garden kind of relationship. It is the permanency, the stability, the comfort of the garden relationship between man and nature which is the important thing, and it is conceived to be something of value in an aesthetic sense, in a pleasurable sense, in and of itself.

Now I think that the implications of adopting one or the other of these three attitudes, particularly for such fields as architecture, town planning, landscaping, and so forth, are of fundamental importance. These are basic assumptions which will lie behind a whole host of particular distinctions, and consequently in considering the style of

building and the use of space and materials, not merely the local cultural peculiarities and the local register of available materials have to be taken account of, but also the prevailing emphasis, the trends in the society, with regard to these three major types.

Now these three attitudes tend to be grounded in theories of history, of the origin of the world in the myths of the development of human culture, in conceptions of the supernatural and man's relationship thereto.

The instrumental attitude would seem to be most characteristic of primitive peoples who are living close to the margin of subsistence and whose decisions have to be constantly evaluated in the context of problems of survival. The primitive people that I'm most familiar with are the Iroquois who happen to have lived not very far from here in Western New York and Ontario and whose warriors and statesmen for many years during the 18th century resorted to Philadelphia for negotiation, and who burned towns and killed Pennsylvanians within 40 or 50 miles of where we're sitting today. The Iroquois conceived of the origin of the world as occurring in three phases. First, in the time before the beginning, so to speak, there was a sky world in which man-like beings lived in a state of continual material bliss. They had plenty of food, they never had to work, they were never sick or in pain, they were never too hot or too cold, and it never got dark because there was a great tree whose fruit was luminescent which shed a pleasant and balmy light constantly over all. You'll notice that this depiction of a primeval paradise is one in which the practical problems of survival have all been solved in a very direct and unromantic way.

Then there occurred a sequence of events which resulted in the creation of the world that we now live in. One of the great sky beings, in response to a vision, came to believe that the Tree of Light had to be uprooted, and he persuaded his brothers to work hard and long to pull up by the roots this great tree. They finally succeeded in doing this and left a gaping hole in the firmament through which they could look down into a clear blue world beneath. This sky being then persuaded his wife, who was pregnant, to come and look at this marvelous spectacle. She obligingly did so and sat down at the edge of the great hole with her legs dangling down. Then, moved again by the vision, the sky being walked behind her and kicked her and she fell through the hole in the sky. She fell and she fell and she fell, but the long fall constantly through the blue ether was finally broken by some compassionate birds who, seeing her drop, flew beneath her and buoyed her up on their wings and let her down gradually towards the great sea. And as she came down towards the sea the question was

discussed among the birds, "Well, what is going to happen to her? will she fall into the water or can we save her?" The sea animals, too, all got together and at last the turtle volunteered to dive down underneath the waters and bring up some land on his back, and this he did, and she landed gently on the back of the turtle. And the world as we know it is in fact built upon and still rests upon the back of a giant turtle.

Then through magical powers possessed by the primeval mother, the turtle and the earth on its back gradually expanded until the earth reached a size comparable with the world as we know it today. She then gave birth to her daughter who in turn magically conceived and became pregnant with twins. Those two twins had an argument in the womb over the proper manner of their birth; one insisting that he should be born the natural way, the other insisting that he should emerge under the mother's armpit. The good twin was born naturally but the bad twin insisted on emerging under the mother's armpit and so at his birth killed his mother. These two twins, the good twin and the bad twin, are respectively the good spirit and the evil spirit.

The good spirit, as he grew to manhood, went about creating a perfectly useful world. It was a strictly utilitarian world whose features were those which an harrassed Iroquois housewife or a miserable, cold, wet Iroquois hunter might well imagine as the perfect world to live in. For instance, the streams all had double currents so that the man could paddle downstream in both directions from his home to his hunting grounds. The game animals were not afraid of man and just stood around waiting to be slaughtered. The corn was easily grown, it was oily and fat and much better than the harsh, parched, dry corn that the Iroquois were used to. The stones were soft so they could easily be worked; in fact they were so soft that worms could easily crawl through them and that is why there are some kinds of rocks with round perforations in them. There was nothing of any sort in the way of annoyance in nature.

Then his brother, the evil twin, decided that he had to out do his brother. So he went around, following the good spirit like a Republican or Democratic truth squad, and made things like bats and frogs and owls and worms and snakes and monsters; and fixed the streams so that they only ran one way. He hardened the rocks and made waterfalls and whirlpools and caves and brought disease and storms and all the miserable afflictions that man is heir to. Then thereafter man had to deal not merely with a good creator but also with a bad creator and consequently with an elaborate pantheon of lesser deities under the control of these two had to be manipulated by various ritual means.

The Iroquois and similar primitive peoples characteristically saw

nature as being animated by supernatural beings and as therefore being manipulable by the same kinds of morality of public relations techniques, and diplomacy which were effective in dealing with one's fellows in the village or in the next village. The world could be classified into two parts, an area in the clearing where the village was located and where one's kinfolk lived, where it was possible to deal with things more predictably; and the forest which was less predictable and more dangerous, but nevertheless was inhabited by beings with souls who could be handled by the techniques of inter-personal relations. The whole world then was bound together by a network of "human" relations and the problems of getting food and shelter and preserving oneself from disease were problems of practical human relations. It was a strictly environmental and instrumental attitude toward nature and it agrees pretty well with Redfield's account of it, which stressed a moral, unitary universe in which man's role was that of a participant-maintainer. It was, in itself, not at all a "romantic" view. Animism humanizes nature and "naturalizes" wars, and the attitude is utilitarian.

Now, a contrasting kind of myth is the one on which our own Christian religion is based or at least refers to, the story of the beginning of the world as given in Genesis. This has, indeed, some points of superficial similarity to the Iroquois myth. There is a good period at the beginning of things and then things somehow get worse; but the character of the good period, the time of the Garden of Eden, is somewhat different from that described by the Iroquois myth. The word garden itself is a clue. Primitive people do not have "gardens" in the described sense. Things are good but the relationship is one established by God. There is a primitiveness about this garden and man will be wise if he does not know too much about it and try to transcend this state of what can be called primitive sophistication. And, of course, as the story goes, man insisted upon transcending this, improving on things, doing better than God had provided for him, creating cities, manufacturing lots and lots of languages. And eventually in punishment he had to be driven out of the garden and later there was a great flood which destroyed the works of his hands. Here in this view man and nature are not continuous in the primitive sense. Man has to work on the garden and his fall isn't too much the result of the existence of an evil spirit, although the evil spirit comes in persuading the woman in the matter about the apple; his fall essentially has to do with a failure within himself to maintain the proper balance between sophistication and going along with nature.

Now in our own time I think, that except for those who are fundamentalists in inclination, this kind of view of the world beginning

in a garden state or in a state of perfect utilitarian function is no longer accepted and I suspect that most of you have a different myth. Whether this myth is true is beside the point. This myth is that things were real tough and rugged in the beginning and nature was red in tooth and claw and bloody in competition and natural selection gradually ground out superior beings. And as man emerged on the scene he engaged in a struggle with nature which is still going on, trying to conquer both the world outside and by various techniques also conquer the primitive within us all and develop a civilized soul.

So these three views have characteristically three different types of origin myths, one conceiving of a beginning in which the natural is significant because of its usefulness or lack of usefulness to man; there is no distinction between human and non-human nature, they are both animated by souls of comparable motivations and intelligence. In the relational, the old relational views at least, nature is essentially a garden and only human stupidity will spoil it; if man will simply let nature take its course everything will work out for the best. And finally, in the transcendental view, the myth has it that the natural is a jungle, a wild and fearsome place which man must by his own efforts transcend and distinguish himself from.

Let us now examine again the point that I've made that primitive peoples don't make the same kind of distinction between man and nature as we make. There are, for example, the practices in hunting. Among the Delaware, and I suspect the Iroquois too, one of the major game animals was the bear. The bear provided not only useful fur but he also provided meat and, most important of all, he provided oil which could be stored over long periods of time and was used in all sorts of ways for cooking. The proper way of securing bear and ensuring a continual supply was to talk to the bear first and explain carefully why it was that man needed his pelt and his meat and the fat from his body and then, after clubbing him as he came out of the den when he was stupid in the beginning of hibernation, apologizing and saying that he was dreadfully sorry, he didn't mean any dishonor to the bear. And all of this for the purpose of convincing the supernatural being who controls game animals that man's only interest in this is not to transcend nature, to destroy bears out of some unnecessary motive, but that he is simply moved by the need to secure these necessary materials for his own and his family's survival. And this is carried on as a social relationship between one kind of intelligent animal being and another with the hope that both will understand the other's needs and purposes. Similarly, in dealing for instance with inner nature, with problems of personality and psychology, characteristically this view doesn't regard man as dichotomized into two parts,

a rational, civilized part, and an irrational, perhaps unconscious, half which has other primitive and violent motives. All of man is natural and man, if he does not express this nature will become sick. Consequently rituals are designed to provide some sort of catharsis for human wishes; dreams are taken very seriously because they reveal what it is that man's soul truly desires and these wishes must be granted in order for him to maintain his health. It is an accepting attitude towards nature but one regarding it perfectly proper to manipulate it for human purposes.

I think it is reasonable to suggest that the garden attitude is still apt to be a fairly conservative view. The principle involved is that things are in equilibrium between man and nature and that only foolish people will rock the boat as Adam did in the Garden of Eden. This view probably first developed in the civilizations of the Near East and remains in conservative European societies to this day. And it would seem that from this view one of the great theories of human history has developed, the so-called theory of secular cycles. In this theory, the career of the world is a repetitive one with one cycle constantly being repeated. In the beginning there is a Golden Age in which man lives simply and in communion with nature. Nature itself is healthy, it is not wild, it is not peculiarly dangerous to man, it is not threatening. But man through his own characteristic weakness insists upon improving things and he develops the arts of urban civilization, develops multiple languages, boats, kingdoms, elaborate political organizations, uses metals, and so on. And as he does this the relationship between man and nature deteriorates. As he transcends nature, his own nature becomes lessened thereby. This then leads to the familiar cycle of the Golden Age, the Silver Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age; at the end of which the world will be destroyed and then renewed and the cycle will repeat itself again over and over.

It is a curious fact that this theory of progress and the continuous improvement of man as he goes through various stages of development is one which we share with our ideological competitors on the other side of the Iron Curtain. This is the one thing on which we do agree, that progress is good, that progress is inevitable, that things are continuously going to go on and on getting better and better. The difference really lies over who is going to profit from it and the techniques by which the process can be carried on most efficiently.

I think here in America we are now so far from appreciating the notion of a well ordered relationship between man and nature that it is difficult for us to think this way. One image that comes to my mind in talking about it is how strongly I was struck when I came back to this country in the fall of 1945 after being in Europe for 11

unhappy months to see the contrast in the appearance of the countryside. Even in the midst of a war of four years duration the European countryside had seemed neatly ordered, the weeds always seemed to be cut at the edge of the road, the woods were cleared of underbrush, things were carefully taken care of. Not merely the cities but the whole countryside was an orderly rather pruned kind of place. In the United States one sees macadam roads and the weeds growing up on both sides, mile after mile; vacant lots with weeds growing up, unkempt areas on the outside of cities which nobody has yet gotten around to developing for commercial or housing purposes. There seemed to be a very much sharper contrast in the way Americans handle the land, between what they cultivated and what they didn't. Europeans seemed to cultivate the whole landscape, the Americans simply to ignore it until it came time for the thing to be zoned and developed.

Now the transcendental attitude is the one which I think preeminently characterizes ourselves and the Soviets, and I suspect that now, although it is difficult to point out just what is going on there, it also animates the Chinese. The world is filled up with people who are intent upon improving things, developing underdeveloped areas and developing themselves. In this view there tends to be made a very, very sharp distinction between man and humanistic things and nature. Nature includes all other creatures and we make a big point even in anthropology about the categorical distinction between man who is so unique and all the rest of nature. Man, for instance, is a symbol user and this capacity to use symbols is categorically denied to all other beings. So that even with the theory of evolution, anthropologists characteristically postulate some sort of mid-Pleistocene thunderclap by which an ape suddenly becomes a man; the ape now has symbols; now he has what is called culture. Whereas the primates below man don't have culture, what they have is social organization. And this is a warmly defended viewpoint. If you have the temerity to suggest to an anthropologist that any other primate than man might be considered to have culture because he has a social organization and there is social transmission, there is communication, and so forth and so on, you are apt immediately to be told, "Well, this is not possible because they don't use symbols." Anthropologists guard this notion of the categorical distinction between man and his concerns, and all other beings, and theirs with the utmost care. The distinction is sacred.

Nature then is an environment, it is not part of an identity which you share, it is something outside of you really. If it is inside then it is a problem and has to be dealt with by child training techniques or psychoanalysis and psychotherapy and so on. Of course, it is admitted that we develop from nature but it is something to *be from*, it is not

something to be *part of*. Thus nature is treated either as a kind of recalcitrant raw material which has to be conquered, controlled, repressed, suppressed, transformed, studied and understood or else it is something you go back to, you put it on a reservation somewhere like the Indians in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, you regard it as a conservation area, you leave it alone and then go and look at it on vacations. Or once a year you engage in the ritual of getting a shotgun and going out to see how much of it you can kill. It is something that is against you, something which may have to do with you originally but it is not a part of the real, proper world of human concern.

Now I submit that the transcendental philosophy, this set of assumptions, this whole world view, is one which animates the bulk of professional architecture and city planning in this country and I suspect most European countries today. And I'll certainly include the Soviet Union. Soviet architecture, I am told, is horrible, it is some sort of gruesome neo-classical kind of thing but it has one thing in common with the best of ours and that's that it is transcendental. It's impossible, it's huge, gigantic forms whose attractiveness I suspect to the Soviet planner's eye lies merely in the fact that so much stone has been piled up in one place. Consequently then the Western architect is concerned with such things as getting highly improbable materials into his buildings, materials that don't seem to be traditionally promising. He is interested in improbable structures, in massive things or in vast airy flights, apparently unsupported buildings which seem to defy the laws of gravity. You see it even in that most humble type of American architecture which I suppose it is not respectable to praise, the housing development. What happens in a housing development? There is a regular cycle of events. It begins with bulldozers; bulldozers come in and except in some very sophisticated developer's plan, they tear everything out with chain saws and strip it down to the clay. The humus is removed and sold. Then the services are put in. Some streets are laid and then some houses are put on it and then there may be a little grass seed scattered around. Years later there may be some trees and shrubbery growing up and after 20-25 years the place may look reasonably green and is likely to become quite attractive, much more attractive to my eye than a street of row houses. But it takes a long time and it is not the responsibility of the planner, the development, to do it this way. Thus in a general sense cities aren't really conceived to be a part of nature at all; they are put on top of it and you keep the natural part of the city out of sight under three or four feet of cement.

A student of mine did a study of three representative city plans. They illustrate the contrasts in attitude and the fate of the plans.

One of them was Ebenezer Howard, who laid out a plan for garden cities, paradise regained. Howard's scheme is a European scheme. First of all, it is an English plan and it involves, as you know, a considerable decentralization of the population and the interspersing of green areas and even of farming areas with housing and industry and commercial establishments. I understand that Howard's program has had some influence on English city planning but I would suspect more there than it has had in any practical way in the United States. On the other hand, the second plan is that produced by the Commercial Club of Chicago. The impetus for the plan was the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. And this is the spirit which animated the Chicago plan: "Other cities may climb hills and build around them, crowning the elevations with some dominating structures, but the people of Chicago must ever recognize the fact that their city is without bounds or limits." Elsewhere indeed man and his works may be taken as the measure but here the city appears as that portion of the illimitable space now occupied by a population capable of indefinite expansion. I presume it would be possible to demonstrate that given the rate of growth in 1893 Chicago would reach to the sun within 150 years. Now this is a beautiful quotation because it so clearly states the fundamental value of transcendence simply for the sake of transcendence. And I might remind you here that this happened to be the point which Spengler made about the world view characteristic of Western people; the notion of expansion into space, the infatuation with the infinite, the desire to transcend limitations, to get beyond was, he felt, the fundamental premise, the cogent orientation around which Western people organized their thoughts.

I trust that you perceived as I presented this some dyspepsia with the transcendental view and slight boredom with the instrumental view and a slight nudging of the scales in the direction of a relational viewpoint. Unless developments occur which don't seem to be occurring on a massive scale at the present time, the future looks bleak indeed for the development of a world view on the part of let's say the American population or the Soviet population or the Chinese population which is relational. Things are moving as fast as they can go in the transcendental direction and an obvious symbol of this is the enthusiasm for the conquest of space; the building of rockets, the hitting of the moon, the orbiting of the moon, and so forth and so on.

But it is possible to have another view and perhaps we could transcend transcendentalism. It was once suggested to me that we needed a concept of man and nature which combined relational and transcendental attitudes.

Already there is a kind of schizoid discontinuity, a dissonance, in modern attitudes toward man and nature. In what he builds, Wright seems to be a very effective transcendentalist, and the mile high skyscraper plan sounded like simply the proper capstone to the career. But the rationale so commonly expressed of organic architecture and building into the ground or out of the ground obviously refers to the values in relationalism. And I suspect that it might be worth exploring perhaps a kind of internal conflict in Wright's thinking and perhaps in that of other planners and architects today, the being driven by the site guides in the direction of transcendental planning and at the same time having private misgivings, theoretical discomfort and a feeling that a more valid viewpoint or set of assumptions might have a relational character.

But I believe that the transcendental tide has not yet really begun to ebb. The drive of current social change, all over the world, is really transcendental. The mood of most of the world is revolutionary. The peaceful garden will not be our home until we have still further lost our present gardens.

Stanley Coren

COGNITIVE DISSONANCE: EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS

As the 1940's drew to a close, social psychology had no underlying theoretical system within which the mass of its data could be integrated. In 1946, Fritz Heider proposed a theory to unify much of the extant empirical information, based on an extension of the Gestalt principle of the *pregnanze* or "good figure."¹ This idea maintains that there are certain configurations of elements that are more psychologically preferred than others. Pertaining to sets of cognitions, this state is one of *balance*, that is one in which the elements are in agreement with each other as opposed to forming a contradictory set.

At the opening of the 1950's, Adams and Newcomb^{2, 3} independently attempted to restate the balance hypothesis of Heider, in terms of a homostatic mechanism, that is an automatic and predictable response to a state of cognitive imbalance, which tends to restore an equilibrium state. This is known as the Congruity model.

In 1957, Leon Festinger further modified the balance hypothesis, proposing that the state of imbalance itself serves as a motivation for cognitive change⁴.

This latest formulation has been used to explain many recent experimental findings, and has inspired much recent work.

Let us look at this Theory of Cognitive Dissonance and see what are the issues it proposes to deal with, and how it fits in the general schema of psychological theory.

An Overview of Dissonance Theory

Structurally speaking the theory of cognitive dissonance is quite simple. It is based on the assumption that cognitions (which we will interpret as meaning ideas, beliefs and attitudes) tend to exist in consistent blocks. Thus we may believe that all Columbia students are bright, and since Paul is a Columbia student he too is bright. These ideas form a consistent or *consonant* block, which may be symbolized in logical notation as:

(x) (Cx \supset Bx)

Cp

Cp • Bp

Where we interpret Cx to mean x is a Columbia student, Bx to mean x is bright, and p to signify the instantial variable Paul. (\supset signifies "implies," \cdot signifies "and"). The three statements form a logically consistent set, and one will note, that if conjoined they form a logical argument of one of the standard sylogistic forms, which is characteristic of most of the consistent sets of cognitions cited by dissonance theorists.

As noted before, this set would be called consonant. However, if the third statement were of the form $Cp \cdot \neg Bp$ (\neg signifies "not") or simply Paul is a Columbia student but is rather stupid (not bright), this would then change this set of statements from a consonant to a *dissonant* set, where we define a dissonant set as one in which two statements, one of which implies the obverse of the other, are both held to be true.

Let me hasten to add that all dissonances need not be *logical* contradictions, for logically speaking if a person buys a suit for \$50 and then finds that he could have purchased an identical suit for \$25, he is not confronted by a logically contradictory statement, unless one is willing to add additional premises (i.e. One always buys clothing at the lowest possible price.).

The theory of cognitive dissonance maintains that any such set of mutually contradictory statements of the general form:

A

B

$A \supset \neg B$

induces a motivation in the person to change one or more of the elements in the set, such that a more consonant (non—contradictory) form results.

In the example we have been discussing we might indeed reduce the dissonance by concluding that perhaps not *all* Columbia students are bright, or that Paul really isn't as dumb as we initially thought him to be, or perhaps that he really isn't what we would call a Columbia student since he isn't taking a full roster of courses this semester.

Dissonance is not an all or none function, indeed the magnitude of the dissonance is dependent upon several variables. One of these is the number of dissonant elements. For instance, if we believe that a certain restaurant serves the finest coffee in town, and if we find they have just poured us a cup of what the army affectionately calls "G I acid," we are in a dissonant situation.

If we have coffee at this particular restaurant every day, and it is always consistently good, we would be apt to dismiss this cup as "Just one of those things." while if this is the twelfth consecutive time we've

been served bad coffee we will probably begin to re-evaluate the quality of the coffee served at this restaurant.

It is also intuitively clear that dissonance should be proportional to the importance of the dissonant elements involved. If you are taking your boss out to dinner and are served this lethal brew, your reaction is apt to be of considerably greater magnitude and vigor than if you were merely gulping it down to warm up after being out in the cold.

Brehm and Cohen⁵ place one restriction on the operation of dissonance, this is *commitment*. Commitment may be viewed as a decision made, or a behavior begun or completed. Commitment is viewed by these authors as a necessary condition for dissonance theory to hold. Thus if you haven't yet decided whether the coffee at this particular restaurant is good or bad, you have not committed yourself, therefore dissonance need not be aroused by the thick black sludge they have served you. Without the commitment, you are likely to operate under normal judgemental processes.

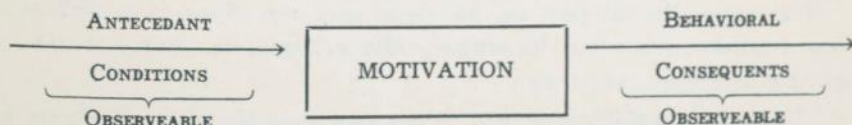
The structure of dissonance theory may thus be seen as:



Note that in this particular representation commitment is a condition which must be met for dissonance to operate, and the motivational state associated with dissonance serves as an intervening variable.

Brehm⁶ maintains that there exist many motivational states in which we can do no more than isolate the antecedent conditions and watch the behavioral consequences (these later often being used to indentify the specific state of motivation) thus allowing the motivation itself to serve as an intervening variable.

As an example he sites hunger. We can identify the antecedents (ie; food deprivation) and we also can identify the behavioral results (food seeking and eating). Similarly we can identify the antecedents of dissonance, that is logical contradiction, and its effects, namely dissonance reduction. Thus he maintains that dissonance is as valid as any other intervening variable conception of motivation.



Perhaps a more parsimonious description would lead us to say that the dissonance motivation is aroused due to the emotions attached to the various elements in the inconsistent sets.

If one argues from this approach it must be concluded that dissonance, viewed as a motivational state, is merely the channelling of emotionally triggered motivations associated with various elements in the set, rather than from independent motivations arising from the discrepancies.

We have not yet established the independence of dissonance from other extant theories in psychology.

Perhaps the first theory which comes to mind in a discussion of dissonance, is conflict theory. The basic problem which appears to block the complete inclusion of dissonance and the other balance theories under the same heading as conflict theory is that conflict seems to deal with gross movements of the organism (i.e.; locomotion) while dissonance seems to deal with cognitive readjustments. Yet is such a distinction necessary?

Berlyne⁷ maintains that it is valid to speak about cognitive conflict. He claims that conflict may be reduced to three general classes:

- 1) Innate antagonism: such as incompatible reflexes.
- 2) Learned antagonism: such as social inconsistencies (i.e.; shaking hands while frowning etc.)

3) Occlusion: overloading of the sensory inputs. Cognitive conflict, with which dissonance deals, would usually fall into the class of learned antagonisms.

It is interesting to note that the determinants of magnitude of conflict and magnitude of dissonance are almost identical. Consider the following:

a) Conflict magnitude is proportional to the absolute strength of response tendencies, while dissonance is proportional to the weight and importance of cognitions.

b) Conflict is proportional to the number of competing response tendencies, while dissonance is proportional to the number of dissonant cognitions.

c) Conflict is proportional to the degree of incompatibility of response tendencies, while dissonance is inversely proportional to the degree of overlap (similarity) of cognitions.

The congruity between the halves of each statement is accentuated if one realizes that what Festinger calls a cognition, Berlyne calls a cognitive response tendency.

The same identity is found when one considers the methods of resolution of cognitive conflict, which according to Berlyne are:

- 1) Conciliation: acceptance of reality, analogous to attitude change to conform with discrepant information.

2) Swamping: addition of new response sequences more powerful than either of the competing tendencies. This is similar to rejection of the situation.

3) Disequilibrium: supporting or denying of one of the response tendencies, which is identical to the addition of new consonant elements.

Balance theorists could not help but notice the parallels between their theoretical formulations and those of the conflict theorist. This so impressed Heider that he notes:

"As a matter of fact one could, to some extent, have derived the ideas on balance from Lewin's treatment of conflict . . ." (p. 170,*).

Perhaps, with its vast experimental literature and scope, conflict theory is a more adequate model than either dissonance or the other balance theories. Certainly it has the merit of wider scope and greater specificity in its predictions than dissonance, and further it eliminates the necessity of assigning a motivational quality to the logical contradiction giving rise to the dissonance, by assigning this motivation to other relevant motivations associated with individual elements, or the total set of elements, which may now be simply channeled by the theoretical formulation.

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Jerre Mangione

THE VESTAL

Every afternoon, punctually at five o'clock, he would start walking toward the street corner across from her house to look at her. During the week it meant going out of his way several blocks, but he never minded the extra distance, regardless of the weather. Nothing, except a bad attack of the grippe, had ever prevented him from spending at least ten minutes of each day watching her.

On any day of the week she was always there, standing or sitting near the same tall window, her moss-green eyes enshrined in the pallor of her skin, her thin shoulders hunched forward as if, momentarily, she were expecting a visitor. His fondest dream was that one day he would be the visitor. In all of the five months he had observed her, he had never seen anyone ringing her doorbell or leaving her house. Although this was one of the facts about her that he treasured, he could not understand why she had no callers, for she was young and lovely, a rare kind of beauty for which men like to compete. Whatever the reason, he was grateful to go on hoping that he might, as soon as the proper occasion presented itself, become her one and only suitor.

His idea of what that occasion might be varied with his moods. Sometimes it was writing a book that would catapult him to fame and fortune. He had never written anything for publication, but he had received A's in high school composition, and he was confident that with enough leisure and the right atmosphere, he would have no trouble producing a masterpiece. As a famous author, he would not only win the girl but also escape the drudgery of his office job.

Other times, when he realized what great obstacles stood between him and leisure, he imagined himself winning some nationwide contest and having his picture published where she would see it. When his spirits were especially good, he liked to imagine doing something heroic under her very eyes, like snatching a child away from the wheels of a bus just as the bus was approaching her window. Once he dreamed that such a thing had actually happened. It was an unsatisfactory dream, for it ended before the cheering crowd around him would let him get a glimpse of her. In real life, he would see to it that the rescue had a happier sequel. Somehow, he would get rid of the crowd, ring her doorbell, and ask for permission to call. She would surely say yes; what girl does not love a hero?

He felt a warm sense of gratitude toward the street corner from which he could watch the girl. It afforded him a fine view of her, and since it was a bus stop he could always stand there, pretending he was waiting for a bus. If one happened to come along before he was ready to leave, he would try to give the impression that it was the wrong bus. Then, a few seconds before the next one arrived, he would surreptitiously slip out of sight. But this was not always possible—her eyes would be focused on the corner or the bus would suddenly pull up in front of him, before he was aware of it. To avoid suspicion, he would then board the bus and ride with it a few blocks, even though it took him still farther away from his rooming house.

Once in a while he rode all the way to the end of the line just for the sake of observing the bus drivers. The girl seemed to have a special fondness for them; they were the only men she ever waved to, and she waved to all of them. Even before a bus driver reached her window, her hand would be poised, ready for the greeting. As soon as she caught the bus driver's eye, the hand would flutter eagerly and her lips would part into a smile he found enchanting. It was the only time he ever saw her smile and, though it irked him that the smile was intended for someone else, he would wait for it with the excitement of a child about to receive a gift.

The moment the bus had passed, the girl would resume her attitude of watching and waiting. At first he had been tormented by the fear that the visitor she appeared to be expecting might be some bus driver, but day-by-day, careful study convinced him she was not seriously interested in any of them. He himself had little use for bus drivers. They reminded him of athletes who, in turn, made him all the more aware of his unathletic body, and of all the times in childhood he had been passed over by this playmates when they were choosing sides for some sport. At the age of twenty-one, the memory still chafed, and he could not look at an athlete on television or in the movies (he never attended games) without wishing he were strong enough to knock him out.

This day was an important one for him. He had resolved to draw a sketch of the girl. Since he had a genuine talent for catching the likenesses of people, he was annoyed with himself for not having thought of the idea months ago. He was confident that within a few seconds, he could outline enough of her features to make a portrait good enough to frame. If it turned out to be very successful, he would try to get it to her somehow. The thought that this might lead to a meeting with her excited him, and he squeezed the drawing pencil in his pocket until the palm of his hand was wet with perspiration.

As he left the office, he noted that the late February sun was

almost gone, and he walked more rapidly than he usually did, hoping to reach the girl's house before twilight. He disliked both twilight and winter; they were responsible for some of his darkest moods. Once he had written a short poem against winter which his English teacher had praised.

Winter's the leech
that feeds on fear
suckling and savoring
each human tear

It pleased him that he could still remember the lines. He had tried to write poems about the girl, but the words came nowhere near his meaning. Perhaps he might have better luck, he thought, in the spring or summer when his mood would be better and when he could nearly always look at her by sunlight. But sunlight, he had learned, was no good without understanding.

There had been plenty of sunlight that noonday when he first saw her at her window. He had paused on the opposite street corner, a little stunned by her loveliness, and put on his glasses to see her more accurately. Just then a bus approached the corner, and he saw her waving at the driver in an attitude that suggested an open invitation to visit her. A second bus came along a minute or two later, and exactly the same thing happened again.

That a girl who resembled an angel might be a harlot had shocked and fascinated him, and he was strongly tempted to present himself at her door. Only one thing made him hesitate long enough to resist the impulse: the sight of a policeman respectfully tipping his hat to the girl as he passed under her window. He had heard stories about the depravity of the law, but he could not believe that it had sunk to the point where a policeman would openly pay homage to a prostitute. He decided to take no chances, to suspend judgment until he could observe the girl more carefully.

Often at night, when the vision of the girl waiting at the window was the last one he permitted himself before dropping off to sleep, he would thank God he had not made a fool of himself that day. It had not taken him long to realize how much like a vestal she was, how completely devoid of guile her greetings were. He wondered how he could have been so stupid. Even the bus drivers who were new to the route were quick to sense her innocence. One could easily tell by the courteous way they returned her greetings.

As far as he could tell, she never showed any favoritism. Although some of the faces must have been more familiar than others, she waved to each bus driver with the same degree of cordiality. The truck drivers and men who drove cabs she ignored, no matter how enthusiastically they might wave at her. The reasoning behind this discrimina-

tion evaded her for a time, but he finally grasped it: cab and truck drivers, having no fixed schedules, are freer in their movements than bus drivers. It would be a simple matter for those who might misconstrue the friendliness of her greeting to park their vehicles and ring her doorbell.

This line of reasoning helped him understand why she had never taken any notice of him or, for that matter, of any other stranger. After all, a pedestrian might be even more dangerous than a cab or truck driver. If the newspapers were printing the truth, the city was seething with sex fiends. Hardly a day passed that he did not read of some girl being molested or raped. Since she must read the same newspapers and be aware of the same perils, he could hardly blame her for paying no attention to him.

A voice, alongside of him, was asking for money. He had a blurred impression of high cheekbones and tight amber skin over a long jaw. Avoiding the eyes of the man, he was able to say no without any hesitation—the same no drummed into him as the lone offspring of cautious parents. *"When there's no time to think, always say no. It will save you a lot of trouble in the end."* But his mother and father belonged to another era of his life, the one before he left them for a bigger city. He was on his own now; he could say yes whenever he wished, without fear of censorship.

Thinking of the beggar's voice, high and stately like a choir boy's, he fingered his pockets until he touched two dimes. The beggar had moved rapidly in the opposite direction, and by now his gaunt figure was obscured by glinting edges of yellow sunlight. He must overtake him, if only to rise above his training for a few moments. He began to retrace his steps, the palm of his hand encircling the dimes as well as the drawing pencil, his mind bathed with the exultation of the amateur philanthropist.

The beggar stood before him, a tall, emaciated body with bloodshot eyes and only one arm. But he was not alone. Two men he had just accosted with searching through their pockets for change. To give the beggar his dimes he would have to wait his turn. The situation struck him as absurd, but he was afraid he would make it worse if he turned on his heel and walked away. One day, he thought, he might be able to tell all this as a funny story on himself, but now, as he waited, he could not help feeling humiliated.

At last the men were through with the beggar. He separated the dimes from the pencil, dropped the coins on the extended hand, and without listening for thanks or looking for the grin he suspected was there, he bolted down the street, bitterly asking himself why nothing ever turned out right for him any longer.

Finding the girl was the only good thing that had happened to him since his arrival in the city. The job he expected to get went to someone else. The University he had planned to attend would not admit him because he did not fulfill all of its entrance requirements. The interesting friends he had hoped to make simply did not exist. Some of the people at the office seemed to like his company, but he did not care for any of them. They reminded him of all the dullards he had known in his home town. The city had done almost nothing for him, except to take him away from his parents. Were it not for the girl, he would go elsewhere. Perhaps ship on a freighter; a ship could not be any more lonely than the city.

As there was only one more block to go before he reached the girl's house, he put on his hornrimmed glasses. He seldom wore them outdoors; they gave him an academic appearance which he disliked. And it disturbed him to realize that if the girl ever noticed him at all, she classified him as a student or a librarian—a notion which must have seemed verified by the books he often carried home from the library near the office. He had tried looking at the girl without the glasses, but that meant blinding himself to the delicacy of her features and, when the light was right, the color of her eyes.

The incident with the beggar was still spinning through his head, so that he hardly noticed the two scrawny little girls derisively pointing to a woman under a hairdryer and screeching with laughter. They noticed him. As he walked past the beauty parlor, one of the girls ran after him and tugged at the tail of his topcoat, screaming: "How abouta date, mister? Huh? How about it, you an' me?" It was like being in the presence of the devil. Escaping to the other side of the street, he heard the second little girl sing out. "Mister, hey mister . . . have you gotta boyfriend mister? How abouta double date?"

When he looked back to make sure they were not following him, he saw them entwined in each other's arms, giggling with mad exaggeration. His heart pounded unreasonably, believing for a moment that the children belonged to the beggar and had watched him waiting in line to give his alms. As soon as it was prudent, he recrossed the street. A few more steps and he would be there. He slackened his pace, and gripped his pencil again. From now on he must be in full control of himself; he must become an actor in the role of a gentleman waiting for a bus. A suave gentleman, one who knew his way around and who could look upon a lovely girl or ignore her, depending on his mood of the moment. Today he must do something more: as casually as he played the gentleman, he must somehow become the quick sketch artist.

At the bus stop across from her window there was a larger crowd

than usual. To get a full view of the girl he would have to wait until the bus came and took most of it away. He stood on tiptoe and peered over the heads of the crowd, but he could not see anything more than the top section of the girl's window. It was aglow with twilight, and he could not look at it long without squinting. Taut with anticipation, he sidled through the crowd until he reached the curbstone. She was not there. Neither were the yellow drapes nor the maple chair that was always near her. Overwhelmed by worry, he stood stiffly and stared, forgetting his role of the casual gentleman.

What could it mean? His mind groped for an answer that would relieve the agonizing bareness of the window. For the first time he noticed that the drapes had been removed from all the windows that faced the street. Was the entire house empty? A fear as sharp as a razor bore down on him, then suspended itself as it occurred to him that the whole house might be undergoing a thorough cleaning; perhaps it was being painted or papered.

The fear receded; he began to relax, to imagine that she would appear at the window shortly. Two or three other times, he recalled, she had been absent when he arrived at the bus stop—never for more than fifteen minutes. As on those occasions, he pictured her answering the telephone, talking on and on as girls will. He didn't mind. He had no plans for the evening. As for the sketch, he could postpone that if the light was completely gone when she appeared. She had to make an appearance, however brief. She always had.

The clouds changed from pink and mauve to a sullen purple, and still the house showed no sign of life. A bus came and went, taking the crowd with it. In two minutes another crowd began to form. He heard a chubby woman near him saying, "I'd never let him kiss my baby but I'd sure vote for him." She crackled at this, and another woman joined her. He tried to shut them out of his thoughts, detesting their noise and grossness.

Would she never come to the window? The crackling women were getting on his nerves. He moved away from them, into the crowd, without losing his view. Why was she so slow? As he examined his wristwatch, he heard a familiar giggle behind him and almost at the same moment felt a sharp tug at his coat. Angrily, he whirled about, ready to chastize them in some drastic way. But the little girls were too quick for him. They scurried away, and one of them flipped her skirt up over her naked backside. Under a neon sign about a dozen yards away, they stood their ground, grimacing and snickering, apparently waiting for his next move. The smaller one was towheaded; the other had long pigtails that glistened orange in the neon light. Not daring to turn his back on them and not knowing

for the moment what else to do, he glared at them until the one with the pigtailed stuck out her tongue and made an obscene noise.

Were they following him or were they waiting for the next bus? He could not wait to find out; there was no telling what they might do next. He could not afford to become involved in any nasty situation which the girl might witness from the window, for it might kill his chances of ever meeting her. He decided that the only thing to do was to retreat for a time. Across the street was a taproom. The little fiends would not dare to follow him there, he thought. And by the time he had a beer or two, they would probably be gone, and the girl would be back at the window.

The taproom was empty, except for a waitress with enormous hips who was wiping off a table top and a baldheaded bartender who was listening to a radio report on the latest city hall scandal. There was no beer on tap available; he settled for a bottle of ale and drank it slowly, while the two imps frolicked through his brain. To distract himself, he looked around the room for a window through which he could keep an eye on the girl's house, but all the windows were covered with chintz.

The bartender noticed his moving head and asked if there was anything else he wanted. By way of reply, he asked for one of the hardboiled eggs heaped on a glass bowl near him. The bartender handed him a napkin and a brown egg. He cracked the egg on the edge of his beer glass, and began removing the shell. The pieces were small; it seemed like an endless chore, a counting of all the hours he had spent watching the girl and thinking about her. He stuck to the task diligently, as if it were a test of some kind, careful not to soil the membrane. Suddenly, without his willing it, he heard his voice asking the bartender what he knew about the girl who lived in the corner house. The membrane of the egg appeared sullied with grey as he listened to the shrill laughter of the waitress and saw the bartender's smirk. When the waitress laughed a second time, he turned to look at her, with the egg limply in his palm, but she would not look at him. Her eyes were riveted on the table top she was mopping. She mopped vigorously, with her big breasts swinging in a harlot rhythm. He placed the egg and a dollar bill on the counter, and as he fled he heard the waitress and bartender laughing together.

Without pausing to see if any traffic was coming, he ran across the street, and was cursed by a cab driver who narrowly missed hitting him. He was glad to note that the bus stop was deserted. In a moment the lights from the girl's house, coming from every window, were glaring at him, and for the first time he had a full view of the room where she had waited at the window. It was bare and ugly, painted

in a garish blue; much smaller than he had imagined. Nothing about it suggested the girl or her beauty. Yet this was the same corner and that was the same window, and his love for her had not changed. If he concentrated hard enough, he thought, she might come to the window, just long enough to assure him that the emptiness in the room and in himself was not to be taken seriously.

The words of a prayer gathered in his mind and he began to shape them on his lips, thinking to make them more effective, when the figures of the two little girls, with their arms around each other's waists, skipped into the room and up to the window. They looked out at him with solemn faces. Neither one registered any surprise at seeing him there. Before he could look away, the girl with the pigtails smiled, a sickly sweet smile, and beckoning with her free arm, invited him to join them.

—Jerre Mangione

September, 1964

Jay D. Kramer

A STUDY OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES WITHIN BUSINESS GROUPS

The concept itself of alienation has perhaps been most extensively analyzed in the work of Seeman. In his research, Seeman has attempted to postulate five alternative meanings of this political behavior. These are: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self estrangement. Powerlessness, he describes, as the expectancy held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of outcomes benefitting him. This interpretation refers to the inability of the individual to gain some degree of personal control over the manipulation of his external environment. Meaninglessness, is explained as the individual being unclear as to what he ought to believe. That is, there is absent, to a great extent, the minimal standards of clarity as to what results will be obtained when the individual acts on a certain belief. The third variant of alienation, as described by Seeman, is normlessness. Here in this state, there is understood to be a loss of commonly held standards of action such that it results in the breakdown of guidelines to behavior as are offered normally by cultural norms. Isolation, a fourth type of alienation, Seeman refers to as the detachment of the individual from popular culture or his "apartness from society." Self estrangement is a somewhat similar construct to isolation and deals with self alienation. In this light, the individual is viewed as having become dissatisfied with his own personal inclinations and acts much like Riesman's "other directed" personality in conforming to the standards of society to find security and self assurance. The primary criticism of the Seeman thesis must rest essentially with an analysis as to whether or not these various concept of alienation are indeed attributes of or causes for the phenomena. That is, though Seeman's main purpose apparently is to lend some clarification to the omnibus term alienation, he has yet to exactly demonstrate what we benefit from his distinctions and prove whether or not they will aid us ordering and distinguishing with greater precision the phenomena of political behavior we are studying.¹

Further analysis of the concept of alienation as refers particularly to societal functions is related in the studies of Meier, Bell and Merton. In the Meier and Bell study, for example, the hypotheses is advanced that anomia is directly related to the inability of the

individual to gain access to and reward through the social, political or economic structured means of achievement. Commenting on the Srole Anomia Scales, Meier and Bell conclude that essentially when the individual feels that he can no longer gain a predictive of supportive reaction within the framework of his immediate personal relations, such as exemplified when community leaders are thought to be detached and indifferent to his needs, a postulation of a rather new construct of anomia is called for. This new variation of the construct is personal despair or hopelessness in being unable to effect for the betterment of one's plight. Srole's concept of anomia is related to this. Bell and Meier maintain in their thesis, in that the degree of anomia is dependent upon the extent to which the individual is prevented by the social, economic or political system from achieving his goal, and the availability to the individual and his acceptance of substitute goals. As a result, participation in rewarding activities other than formal political organizations, such as in social clubs, is frequently pursued.²

Merton, in his research on social structure and anomia, provides further elaboration on the causes of anomia. It is his contention that a lack of coordination in the means-goals structure leads to anomie or unpredictability and irregularity of behavior which deviates from culturally constituted norms. Merton's thesis is that social structures of goals, values and attitudes exert particular pressure on the individual to guide his behavior. For example, in the economic sphere, he states that there is ample evidence of the culturally produced importance ascribed to pecuniary success and a corresponding absence of social emphasis on the manner in which the success is to be obtained. Thus, Merton points out, the assertion can be made with some degree of validity, that a definite group in the business community is motivated by one principal consideration—profit—and cares little about the means employed to reach the goal though they may sometimes be deleterious to the public interest. This behavior, predicated on ends justifying means, is considered then, by Merton, as anomic in that it deviates from America's culturally established standard of behavioral procedure, and is to be explained in terms of the ineffectiveness of the socialization function in the society establishing the norms of activity.³

All levels of government in one aspect or another regulate and tax business in many ways. The attempt will be made here to ascertain what the impact and significance is of this government regulation. That is, it is generally agreed upon by commentators on the ideology of businessmen that there is prevalent a fear and distrust of the proliferation of government control and influence in private industry. With this attitude in mind then questions may be raised as to what are the affects of uncertainty and anxiety about known and unknown,

present and potential transgression of business by government on the attitude of business toward government, and whether this attitude reflects a feeling of frustration, a feeling of powerlessness, or a feeling of hostility toward government? Furthermore, it may be asked, does this general disposition toward alienation indicate a desire for less governmental control in industry, and a wish to escape from under the heel of government and avert a "creeping socialism."

In addition, and most important in terms of this project, are such opinions more evident in the attitudes of executives whose companies firstly, deal in their business substantially with government and secondly, maintain a more precarious and less secure economic position in their industry than other firms, especially in regard to their being smaller businesses in industries mainly dominated by larger businesses.

In brief, the hypothesis can be presented that companies most intimately connected with government (as indicated, for example, by contracting work) and most dependent on the government for their continued economic prosperity will show a greater degree of frustration or alienation about government than companies not so intimately connected with or dependent upon government. Underlying this hypothesis is the assumption that, in accord with business' basic fear of government, a personal familiarization with the governmental process leads the smaller individual company to recognize, in general, that

- (1) It is unable by itself to influence decision making,
- (2) Leadership is indifferent and unresponsive to the needs of the common man and smaller business,
- (3) Honesty and integrity are often absent in government,
and
- (4) The role played by political factors are paramount and primary to fair and impartial consideration in the making of decisions in government.

The first step to be taken in implementing the above hypothesis was to draw a sample of respondents and to devise a questionnaire. In drawing the sample it was necessary to distinguish between two groups of possible respondents. One group was designated as the experimental group. This group was made up of companies with varying degrees of involvement with government as determined specifically by the dollar value and extent of their government contracting. In particular, this sample comprised firms all in the research and development field. In addition, all were listed as small businesses with a total sales volume of under nine million dollars. A second group was selected from among businesses also in a similar category

of sales volume of under nine million dollars, but which were presented as having little or no involvement with government in terms of contract obligations or regulation of products. This group was designated as the control group. The sources used to prepare the sample were *Aviation Week and Technology Magazine* and *Standard and Poors Industrial Register*. From these sources information such as range of sales volume, and nature and dollar amount of government award, if any, was provided.

The other component of this initial step in the research methodology entailed the preparation of a questionnaire. Substantial aid in this work was provided by a review of the General Electric Forum issue on National Security and Free World Progress, which undertook an extensive survey of the views of business leaders, and articles on the research into political apathy and anomia conducted first by Srole and later by Rosenberg.

As a result of this preliminary research a general framework for the questionnaire was evolved. From the Srole Scale the non-forced group of response alternatives ranging from strong to moderate agreement and disagreement and indecision was adopted. In addition, it was suggested that the respondent attempt to answer all questions in terms of the corporate mind predicated a conscious identification with his occupational unit.

The main body of the questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section was considered as informational. This section related to the amount of government contracting undertaken by each firm, the policies for the firm toward political activities, the activities of the firm in local political functions, an evaluation of the company's relationship with government, the estimation of whether the company could foresee a change in the amount of its government contracting, if any, and finally, an indication as to whether or not the company employed a representative to promote more government business for the firm. The primary purpose in including the informational section was to introduce variables other than the one thought to be the most significant, that of government contracting. As a result, correlations were made between political attitudes and the variables of political assimilation into the community by the company and the degree of rapport established with local and federal officials.

The other section of the questionnaire was classified as attitudinal. Within the section were found items grouped into five major classifications. These classifications were: Hostility, Frustration, Alienation, Liberal-Conservative and Cynicism.

In the analysis of the data, a first compilation undertook to indicate the frequency of response to each question in terms of the

given alternatives in order to deduce the general disposition of businessmen toward political functions when taken as an occupational group. Next, various subgroups within the total number of respondents were determined.

Analysis of the responses of the total sample to informational questions reveals that most business is generally willing to work toward integration in to the social structure of the community, although, in regard to entering into the mainstream of political affiliation, there is still prevalent indecision and sometimes even isolation.

Further analysis of the general nature of responses of the total business group was undertaken specifically in relation to attitudinal items. In this respect, the survey indicated the existence of a dichotomy in political attitudes.

This dichotomy in the viewpoint of business, develops, on the one hand, with a strong support of principles historically and constitutionally linked to the democratic process and theory. These principles postulate personal dignity in politics and the responsibility of leadership to the individual, no matter his economic class or social strata, to permit him to have a say in how government is being run. On the other hand, there is a different viewpoint of business, also evident, which agrees that the implementation of these democratic postulates in "real-politik" leaves much to be desired. This is perhaps best corroborated by the findings that only one out of every three businessmen in the sample disagreed with the proposition that there exists a gap between the theoretical values of democracy and the facts of political life in the United States.

Further analysis was made of the characteristics of companies placing in the high (most alienated) and low (least alienated) groups of each scale. Such analysis resulted in the apparent substantiation of the hypothesis supporting an inverse relationship between involvement with government (namely, in the contracting area) and alienation. In this connection, of the firms least alienated on the alienation scale, 73% did from 25% to more than 75% of their total business with government, while of the most alienated, 74% did no business or less than 25% of their business with government. Further corroboration was gained from analysis of high and low groupings on the hostility, Liberal-Conservatism, Frustration, and cynicism scales. For hostility, the high group showed 61% with little government involvement in contracts while the low group showed 60% with great involvement (of 25% or more) with government. In the high Frustration, cynicism, and high conservatism groupings some 68%, 60%, 58%, respectively, did less than 25% of their total business with government. In comparison, in the low groupings in these syndromes,

indicating least anomia, 61%, 56%, and 62%, respectively, did 25% or more business with government.

Other analyses of high and low groupings in individual syndromes revealed that the highly alienated, frustrated, hostile, and most cynical and conservative viewpoints come from firms who, in large measure, worked to a light extent or not at all with local officials to promote more government business in their area.

Those companies showing, within varying degrees, involvement with governmental agencies, relied on the integrity, effectiveness and efficiency of these organs and were slightly more inclined to permit them to broaden the scope of their activities to the labor-management field. In comparison, however, the other group, less so inclined to avail themselves of government's services, were critical of its effectiveness, doubted its integrity, and would restrict the scope of its regulation. This latter group then generally comes closest to reflecting the views of the business community taken as a whole.

In view of these results, therefore, a possible explanation for the data might maintain that the economic gains secured by companies far outweighed their discontentment or alienation with the context of their involvement. This explanation seems to gain further force when it is brought out that a government contract is an assurance, in a sense, of economic stability which otherwise might be highly problematic for smaller companies, who, under different circumstances, would be competing against larger firms of far greater market power for their business opportunities. A further explanation, though probably one more open to doubt, is that close association with government gives rise to a more sympathetic view of its operations than is normally held. This too, involves a socialization process in which one partakes in personal familiarization with and rewards from the system and therefore might tend to become less critical or hostile about it. A last suggestion is that a natural reaction among business' which have, for example, failed to secure contracts or are less informed of governmental procedure, is the formulation of and adherence, sometimes in ignorance, to traditional ideologies attacking government's intervention into private industry.

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