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ORGANIZATIONAL ROLES AND FOREIGN POLICY OPINIONS:

A STUDY OF A COMPANY'S EXECUTIVES

By

Annette Petersen Gottfried

B.A. Colby College, 1964

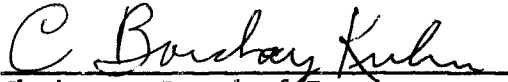
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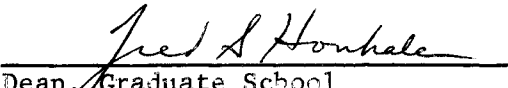
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## CHAPTER I

### THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS

#### Introduction

The specific and limited orientation of this thesis grows out of the larger question: how do people form their foreign policy opinions? As is probably the case with most theses, there has been an evolution from an originally fairly simplistic conception of the problem to a more complex formulation of it. Initially, I hypothesized that there might be a relationship between self-interest, in terms of a man's business and economic life, and isolationism and protectionism in his foreign policy views. The reverse of this logic was, therefore, that a man who was not a committed company or businessman would hold more internationalist views. To visualize the problem in this way was quite a simplification: businessmen, and in particular those under study (a group of lumber company executives), were viewed as being motivated solely by economic self-interest; this self-interest, manifested in company commitment, was viewed, according to the original conceptualization, to be so singularly important to these men that it would be projected into all aspects of their lives, including their foreign policy opinions. The original hypothesis growing from this logic was:

To the degree that personal life motivations support perceived company purpose and policy, the individual officials will tend to be more isolationist in their perceptions of foreign policy.

The problems with this type of approach are manifold. For one thing, it is a very great leap in logic simply to tie a man's economic

(and self-interested) pursuits in Missoula, Montana, to the ways in which he perceives distant, and often noneconomic foreign affairs. Ultimately, this gap was filled with fairly sophisticated theories about the manner in which a person's important values have their basis in the values which inform his daily social interaction. A second criticism of the original positing of the problem lies in the area of definition. "Self-interest" is a vague term, implying objective truth: the inherent assumption is that one person (the researcher) can see clearly what another person's self-interest is. Raymond Bauer, in his perceptive study of businessmen, comes to grips with this term:

. . . To say that a man's goal is promotion of his self-interest is a tautological assertion. A man's interest lies in the achievement of whatever it is he desires. . . (Hence,) the formal acts of economic calculation acquire their concrete content only through acts of communication and social influence. (Emphasis added)<sup>1</sup>

In this light, self-interest is not only an irrelevant term, but it tends to gloss over and obscure the important social factors which inform it, as a concept. A third criticism of the initial conceptualization of this thesis is again definitional. There was no room in that initial logic for a sophisticated definition of "attitude." Implicit in the original hypothesis is the assumption that an attitude is something which an individual creates and adopts in a social vacuum. The implication is that there is a one-to-one relationship between the object of an attitude and the attitude holder; no weight is given to his social context. Voter

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<sup>1</sup>Raymond A. Bauer, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis A. Dexter, American Business and Public Policy (New York: Atherton Press, 1963), pp. 472, 473.

studies like Angus Campbell, The American Voter, and Vladimer O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, have shed light on the social origins of man's political opinions. The final hypothesis finds room for an expanded definition of attitude. In summary, one might base his critique of my original construct on the fact that no account was taken for sociologically relevant factors: by means of loophole logic and the use of vague terms, the important human factors of such a group study were largely ignored.

In some ways the growth of the theory and conceptualization of this thesis corresponds to a strikingly similar evolution in the literature of the field of International Relations. There are those who developed what they regarded as more realistic concepts for the study of International Relations in the late 1940's and the early 1950's. Men like Hans Morgenthau and Robert Osgood are spokesmen for this school of thought. Both speak of "political realism" and relate it to the study of international politics.

Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature.

.....

Realism, believing as it does in the objectivity of the laws of politics, must also believe in the possibility of developing a rational theory that reflects, however imperfectly and one-sidedly, these objective laws. It believes also, then, in the possibility of distinguishing in politics between truth and opinion--between what is true objectively and rationally, supported by evidence and illuminated by reason, and what is only a subjective judgment, divorced from the facts as they are and informed by prejudice and wishful thinking.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1966), p. 4.



Objectivity and rationality are the two important informing concepts in this statement. There is the explicit suggestion that men can rationally perceive the objective truth of a situation in international affairs. From this point it is a short step to Morgenthau's chief concept: "interest defined in terms of power. This concept provides the link between reason trying to understand international politics and the facts to be understood."<sup>3</sup> He uses the concept of power (defined broadly as "anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man"<sup>4</sup>) as a catch-all, apparently explaining any problem in international relations which one may choose to tackle. "The concept of interest defined as power imposes intellectual discipline upon the observer, infuses rational order into the subject matter of politics, and thus makes the theoretical understanding of politics possible."<sup>5</sup> Writing within the same theoretical context, Robert Osgood's chief concept is national self-interest. Like Morgenthau, he builds his work on the dichotomy between realism and idealism. "Insofar as individuals believe that nations, as a matter of fact, are moved by self-interest, we shall call them Realists . . . ."<sup>6</sup>

By objectifying international politics into a juxtaposition of non-human, rationally discernible forces, these men build vast, all-encompassing theories on essentially simplistic and quite limited concepts. One can understand the desire to discover a single concept which may be pivotal to the comprehension of the vast myriad of factors included

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 5

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 5, 6.

<sup>6</sup>George E. Osgood, Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 8.

within international politics. Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin, important critics of men like Morgenthau, stand in awe of the complexities of international relations and they too wish to devise equally all-inclusive theories. They claim that

the factors relevant to adequate explanations of state behavior have multiplied because the social complexity and significance of the impact of relations between states have increased far more rapidly in the past twenty years than at any previous time. A greater range of factors affect, and in turn are affected by, the actions of national states.<sup>7</sup>

However, they see the complexity as caused by still another new phenomenon:

. . . The progress of social science techniques and the gradual accumulation of reliable knowledge have alerted observers to the existence and significance of factors hitherto ignored or taken for granted. Thus, in a sense, the phenomena of international politics have become more numerous and complicated because students have become more sophisticated. Simple notions of causality are no longer acceptable . . . . Attention has been turned to "human factors."<sup>8</sup>

Based on this notion of the recent sophistication of the social sciences, one can compare "old" theories of international relations with "new" ones. First, comparison can be made of the "old" and "new" attitudes toward "theory-building." As has been noted, the earlier scholars felt that by the use of pivotal concepts one could tackle all of the possible phenomena which relate to international relations. Osgood does concede that "this study is not concerned with the relationship between

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<sup>7</sup>Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, Foreign Policy Decision Making (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 35.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 35, 36.

an individual and his nation."<sup>9</sup> Generally, however, these theorists are attempting to be all-inclusive in their efforts. Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin are much more explicit about the problems of theory building:

A general theory must, of course, be sufficiently integrated to accommodate all phenomena and all logical relationships. We do not know enough about international politics to construct such a theory. We hope one possible by-product of our studies may be the exposure of gaps in our knowledge. . . . So far as the present inquiry is concerned, there is more immediate profit . . . in an attempt to create a frame of reference within which flexibility can be preserved and "middle range theories" can be stimulated and related to each other.

. . . . .  
Our analysis contains definite "intimations" of a general theory. We are moving toward such a theory. (Emphasis added)<sup>10</sup>

It is within the tradition of the "new" theorists, placing emphasis on the notion of exploration, that the present study finds its intellectual basis.

The "new" theorists are disturbed, also, by the vague uses of notions like Morgenthau's "power" and Osgood's "national self-interest." Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin note

the intellectual confusion which flows from the fact that many of the key assumptions, concepts, and definitions which figure in present writing are implicit and often, apparently, not even clearly understood. The words "security," "policy," "state," "objective," "power," "national interest," "peace," and so on appear over and over again in the literature. Yet, it is relatively rarely that the implied assumptions and definitions connected with them are recognized or spelled out.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Osgood, op. cit., pp. 3, 4.

<sup>10</sup>Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin, op. cit., pp. 25, 26.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

This is not simply a matter of definition. The criticism goes to the heart of the cleavage between the "old" and "new" theorists. The "new" theorists want to strip all concepts of implicit assumptions. From there they impose explicit meaning which will be operationally useful in empirical research. They assume that all definitions are contrived and they simply want the contrivances to be useful.

The "new" theorists make another criticism, closely related to this definitional problem. It appears that the old theorists objectify their definitions to the point where the state takes on a life of its own, sans people. International relations runs on a momentum, of unspecified source; nations interact on the basis of unalterable rules of power, and the like, which seemingly are impervious to human interference. Snyder bemoans their "failure . . . to take into account the sociological variables in state behavior."<sup>12</sup> Morgenthau admits and condones this perennial omission:

The contingent elements of personality, prejudice, and subjective preference, and of all the weaknesses of intellect and will which flesh is heir to, are bound to deflect foreign policies from ~~the~~ their rational course. . . . Yet a theory of foreign policy which aims at rationality must for the time being, as it were, abstract from these irrational elements and seek to paint a picture of foreign policy which presents the rational essence to be found in experience, without the contingent deviations from rationality which are also found in experience.<sup>13</sup>

Snyder feels that this kind of writing, in which the "rational" is arbitrarily extracted from a maze of irrationality, assumes "that objective reality can be reconstructed without distortion by the observer's oper-

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>13</sup> Morgenthau, op. cit., p. 7.

ations; and that knowledge of all the relevant empirical phenomena exists or can be obtained."<sup>14</sup> The "new" theorists, being empirists, are clearly at odds with such implicit methods.

Snyder's key concept, decision-making, is itself limited, although he allows for such limitation by terming his theory "middle range." It specifically does not include, in its sociological view of the foreign policy process, any allusion to the relationship between the individual citizen and the decision-making process. However, in the same empirical tradition, other scholars look at this relationship. Rosenau notes that "few aspects of public affairs lend themselves more readily to impressionistic and faulty analysis than does the relationship between the foreign policies of a nation and the opinions of its citizenry."<sup>15</sup> "We have only a scanty understanding of how external opinions enter and shape the deliberations of officials. Even more superficial is our grasp of how foreign policy opinions are formed and circulated throughout society."<sup>16</sup> It is to this latter area of inquiry that the present study is addressed.

This specific study is of one group: 16 executives and supervisors (the managerial group) of a Missoula, Montana, lumber company. These men are an intimate, fairly small group, and their lives intertwine extensively. There has been the attempt with each individual to estimate the effect of this intense social situation. The hypothesis, to be dis-

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<sup>14</sup>Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>15</sup>James N. Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 3.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

cussed later in this chapter, rests on the idea that one's attitudes are based somewhat on the values which permeate one's day to day social experiences. Therefore, the logical final step of this analysis is an attempt to find connection, even if tenuous, between the significant aspects of the social experience in the lumber company and the individual's political (specifically foreign policy) opinions.

A final introductory note: In order to elucidate the social context of the political opinions, integration of definitions of "attitude" with certain group concepts must begin at the outset. Otherwise the data may become sterile in analysis. The result would be a description of the subjects' attitudes which would not parallel in a meaningful way the description of the social interaction of the group. A contrived relationship between the two might result. Robert Merton struggles with how one comes to grips with the matter of devising "meaty" theory which is none the less reducible to testable hypotheses. Merton claims that there are generally two camps into which social scientists may place themselves. Some test foolish little hypotheses, with competent scientific prowess, but having run the experiments can offer no clue as to their significance. Others build great fascinating theories, explain their significance, and then offer no means by which they can be refined into workable hypotheses. They remain significant untested ideas.<sup>17</sup> His entire work is oriented around this one nagging problem: How thought provoking theory is devised so that it lends itself to sound empirical study.

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<sup>17</sup>Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 85.

Toward a Definition of "Attitude"

One's attitudes, political and otherwise, are essential to one's ability to cope with the mass of phenomena around him. They are a prime means of categorizing or "pigeonholing" stimuli which are external to the individual and are imposed on his cognitive faculties.

Without guiding attitudes the individual is confused and baffled. Some kind of preparation is essential before he can make a satisfactory observation, pass suitable judgment, or make any but the most primitive reflex type of response. Attitudes determine for each individual what he will see and hear, what he will think and what he will do . . . they draw lines about and segregate an otherwise chaotic environment; they are our methods of finding our way about in an ambiguous universe.<sup>18</sup>

But what is an attitude? The rationale and purpose of an attitude for the sanity of a person is clear; however, its source and social context is very unclear. It is possible to define attitude succinctly: as "an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world."<sup>19</sup> Rosenau offers a concise definition of foreign policy attitudes or opinions:

Any set of ideas, either informational or judgmental, about any aspect of the world-scene is considered to constitute a foreign-policy opinion.

.....  
 Since our purposes do not require us to distinguish between attitudes and opinions, this broad definition of foreign-policy opin-

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<sup>18</sup>G. W. Allport, "Attitudes," in Murchison (ed.), A Handbook of Social Psychology (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1935), p. 806.

<sup>19</sup>David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), p. 152.

ion has been intentionally designed to include both types of psychological phenomena, thereby avoiding the confusion which usually results from efforts to operationalize the attitude-opinion distinction.<sup>20</sup>

However, useful tight definitions are for other purposes, in the context of this thesis a broad, developed definition is necessary. Selltiz, et al., suggest the variety of characteristics of an attitude which may be focused upon:

One may include in his definition of attitude various aspects-- for example, beliefs about the nature of an object, person, or group; evaluations of it; tendencies to behave toward it in a certain way; views about appropriate policy with respect to it. One may also include in his definition such other characteristics of an attitude as the salience of the object for the individual, the extent of differentiation in his view of the object, his time perspective with respect to it, etc.<sup>21</sup>

The kinds of things noted in the latter portion of this quotation come closest to touching upon the features of attitudes which are relevant to this study. In a very real sense, the concern here is with "the salience of the object for the individual" and what makes for that salience.

William Scott, in an article crucial to this thesis, struggles for a definition of foreign policy attitudes which will include the possible social origins of these kinds of opinions.

Though the contents of the events which provide foci of attitudes may be significant for some purposes of analysis, the

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<sup>20</sup>Rosenau, op. cit., p. 16. Rosenau's merger of the terms "attitude" and "opinion" is relevant to this study. For the purposes of this thesis the two will be used synonymously.

<sup>21</sup>Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1959), p. 146.



major concern here is the structuring of the attitudes themselves and the ways in which they are formed or expressed. From this point of view the contents of attitudes are seen as interchangeable.<sup>22</sup>

It is in light of Scott that the necessary broader concept comes into focus.

Scott speaks of "attitude structure," systems which logically connect most of a person's opinions. Scott concedes that "within a single cognitive structure, one would expect to find some areas on high internal consistency . . . and some areas of low consistency, with no necessary interconnections among them to make the entire structure consistent."<sup>23</sup> However, the attitude structure is an integrated system because it is "initially derived from larger systems--cognitive, unconscious personality, or social structure."<sup>24</sup>

Scott feels that men may be expected to hold more rational attitudes about phenomena with which they personally deal.<sup>25</sup> (For Scott rational opinions must be based on values, which are not contradictory; also the holder of the attitude must perceive the relationship between his values and his attitude.<sup>26</sup>) In light of this stringent definition of rationality, Scott is forced to conclude that most foreign policy attitudes are non-rational. In the following lengthy quote, Scott sets out his logic for this conclusion that foreign policy opinions are non-rational:

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<sup>22</sup>William A. Scott, "Rationality and Non-Rationality of International Attitudes," Journal of Conflict Resolution, II (March, 1958), 8.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 12

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 11

- a. Events are incompletely or inaccurately comprehended factually, and there is little compulsion to acquire more adequate information about them.
- b. Events, as perceived, are not systematically related to other cognitive components, such as values, pre-existing cognitions and attitudes, unless someone else--such as a friend or an interviewer--forces such rationalization by requiring justification of an expressed attitude.
- c. When a cognitive frame of reference is forcibly brought to bear on an attitude, it is likely to be a set of values and related elements which has been found servicable in meaningful areas of the individual's life-space, such as his relations with job, family or friends, or other realm of intense interest to him.
- d. The main sources of energy for the change or maintenance of international attitudes lie outside the cognitive structure and are thus likely to be directly related to characteristics of the individual's basic personality or of his immediate social environment.
- e. Hence, international attitudes may reflect (in presently unknown fashion) basic personality dispositions of their hosts, such as needs for status, identification with authority figures, or mechanisms like projection and displacement.
- f. Or, alternatively, when a particular international event engages no such prepotent personality dispositions, reactions to it are likely to be predominately affected by external pressures toward conformity to social norms. (Emphasis added)<sup>27</sup>

The exact relationship between immediate social milieu and international attitudes is not clear; it is simply plausible that such relationship exists. It is with this potential relationship that the hypothesis of this thesis will deal.

Therefore, if one views attitudes in the plural, as clusters of opinions related to one another by basic values, attitudes can be seen to serve at least two broad functions. They serve as tools for social interchange, material for informal conversations. Scott himself notes the

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

drive in western culture which pushes men toward logic and consistency in "informal discussions" and in "public pronouncements."<sup>28</sup> Smith, Bruner, and White offer a more direct statement of the socializing function of attitudes:

Opinions play a part in maintaining relationships with other people. They provide a possible topic for social interaction, and they thus serve as a vehicle for facilitating, maintaining, or disrupting one's contact with the individuals and groups that make up one's social environment.<sup>29</sup>

Attitudes, secondly, can manifest the internal relationships and problems of a group. This is not to say that social problems cause attitudes; however, it is likely that the structure and expression of an attitude (rather than purely the content) can reflect group relationships.

#### Group Concepts

The group to be studied is a group of business executives. It is important to note this characteristic in the theory and hypothesis to be devised. All group structures are different. To generalize the theory to include all groups would make the study presumptuous from the beginning. In fact, certain empirical observations of this particular group will be included in this opening chapter, at least where they contribute to the building of theory.

The business organization as an ideal type is generally viewed as an hierarchical arrangement of men who together perform an economic task.

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>29</sup>M. Brewster Smith, Jerome S. Bruner, and Robert W. White, Opinions and Personality (New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 266.

It would, however, be a rare analysis which limited itself by disregarding the informal interactions which are the links between the paper hierarchical chart and the completed task. In light of the obvious phenomenon of social interaction, several commentators note that severe limitations are placed on these interactions--limitations of quantity and quality--by the organizational actors themselves. Grant McConnell is perhaps the most articulate about the interaction taboos. (It is distressing that he speaks specifically of unions and other democratically organized groups. Although he explicitly excludes business organizations because of their stratified character, at least one of his points is descriptive of the kind of business organization dealt with there.) He claims that homogeneity is an important expectation of private groups.

There will be no conflicts of interest and no ground for legitimate conflict with the association. There is thus a presumptive absence of the basic political problem which other democratic societies of larger scope must resolve. If there is no conflict of interest or outlook, the only possible reasons for conflict will be error, personality, or something amounting to treason.<sup>30</sup>

The important point appears to be that in hierarchical, as well as homogeneous, groups conflict is not acceptable except in its most disguised form. "Formality is manifested by means of a more or less complicated social ritual which symbolizes and supports the pecking order of the various offices. . . . The subordinate is protected from the arbitrary action of his superior."<sup>31</sup> In the business organization, formality

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<sup>30</sup>Grant McConnell, "The Spirit of Private Government," American Political Science Review, LIII (1958), 764.

<sup>31</sup>Merton, op. cit., p. 8.

and structure generally prevent open conflict.

As a participant observer, this student observed in a three-year period one episode of open conflict. It was a nasty and vicious verbal exchange between two supervisors, one more important than the other, in terms of the company hierarchy. The man of lesser status withstood the severe criticism for a while, silently. Suddenly, there was an explosion, he declared he was not a "peon," he would not be treated like one, and that the man making the original criticism had a personality defect. His final point was that he would take such criticism only "on the job," and that the man of higher status had better stay clear of him "off the job." Both were embarrassed. There was no way for it to end, other than to have it peter out. This observer asked another onlooker how often this kind of conflict happened at the company: "It's happened about twice in ten years." Clearly it doesn't happen often because it would be dysfunctional to the organization. This one incident is the exception which proves the rule: agreement, perhaps superficial, is necessary and important to the functioning of the group. It is beneath and because of this shadow of tranquillity that the important interactions and social norms take form.

Within the group under examination, there is of course purely social interaction, in addition to the task-oriented interaction alluded to in the previous paragraph. The two types of interaction are, however, inextricably bound together. Much of the literature about organizations, if it discusses "pure" social interplay at all, tends to view it in large part as a deliberate tool for status enhancement. Certainly it seems analytically pertinent to view social interaction as initiated

by some segment of personal motivations. However, one is left asking about the importance of the friendly, apparently uncontrived interaction which takes place on and off the job. Merton seems to cope best with the distinction between interaction with one's peers (largely social) and interaction with one's superiors and inferiors (perhaps more task oriented). He ends his study with the interesting query: when does a person go to his peers for advice and social interplay and when to another strata? What kinds of needs dictate these distinctively different kinds of interactions?<sup>32</sup> These questions cannot be answered fully from the interview data obtained in this study. However, certain trends in sociability do become apparent when one queries these subjects about company friendships. These trends, to be discussed in detail in the data analysis, seem to relate directly to status arrangements.

March and Simon deal with the task interaction which is necessary to the functioning of the organization. They note three interesting difficulties which can evolve out of personally disinterested interaction:

A stimulus may have unanticipated consequences because it evokes a larger set (frame of reference) than was expected, or because the set evoked is different from that expected . . . (or) The stimulus itself may include elements (like tone of voice) not intended by the organization hierarchy when providing it. The participant who is to respond to the stimulus situation may see cues that were not deliberately placed there . . . (or) A difficulty arises because the individual who is supposed to respond to a stimulus mistakes it for another--because he discriminates inadequately between them--or simply does not respond at all because the stimulus does not define the situation for him completely.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 411-412.

<sup>33</sup>James S. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 35.

As the concern with interaction in this study is often in regard to where it is poor, or tension-laden, these kinds of clues may be helpful.

In discussing social norms, one is interested not only in what they are but also what they do, and in a larger sense, how they regulate the behavior and attitudes of those functioning in accord (or disaccord) with them. Samuel Stouffer offers a definition which seems most compatible with the intent of this study. "Social norms are not single points, but ranges of permissible behavior. . . for it may be the very existence of some flexibility or social slippage--but not too much--which makes behavior in groups possible."<sup>34</sup> From a slightly different point of view, Peter Blau concurs:

"Personal contacts and interaction" always develop within . . . "formal organization," and . . . the resultant "informal organizations are necessary to the operation of formal organization as a means of communication, of cohesion, and of protecting the integrity of the individual."<sup>35</sup>

In the case of the organization treated in this study, social norms must be flexible enough, at one end of the continuum, to allow lumber to be systematically produced, but restrictive enough to prevent the idiosyncracies of individuals from having a dysfunctional effect on that daily output.

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<sup>34</sup>Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," American Sociological Review, XIV (1949), 717.

<sup>35</sup>Peter M. Blau, "The Dynamic of Bureaucracy," quoting Chester Barnard, in William Petersen (ed.) American Social Patterns (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1956), p. 220.

There is a norm of "on the job" sociability. Doors remain open nearly all of the time. If a systematic study were done there would undoubtedly be statistical proof that the doors of the offices of the top three or four men are virtually the only ones ever closed. When they are, those outside know that serious and perhaps secret business is going on.

Another norm grows out of this sociability. Although the company itself is involved in competition, the group of executives function under a norm which prohibits competition between themselves. Merton speaks of a certain esprit de corps which prohibits competition.<sup>36</sup> This was mentioned earlier, in reference to McConnell, as the element in the atmosphere which affects all interaction. There will be discussion, in a later chapter, of how this prohibition is circumvented, and how it appears to affect the man who is truly resentful or ambitious.

Other norms of conduct evolve out of the specialization of job assignments. Some positions call for generalists. The most obvious example is the general manager who has a finger in nearly every job. Most of the rest of the men carry out fairly isolated (although not independent) tasks. This task norm calls for the privacy and sanctity of the individual job. However, Benne and Sheats note that in general "development of role flexibility, of skill and security in a wide range of member roles, on the part of all group members," is ideal.<sup>37</sup> In light

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<sup>36</sup>Merton, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>37</sup>Kenneth D. Benne and Paul Sheats, "Functional Roles of Group Members," Journal of Social Issues, IV (1948), 47.



of this perhaps contradictory comment, it appears that norms, such as this one of specialization, can at best be functional in a majority of situations. That is to say, such a norm is not flexible enough to bend when the general manager must interfere or even when a man must temporarily do another's job. One man scorns the task of his subordinate as sille, and "just a matter of shuffling papers." When he must actually do the subordinate's work, it is done poorly and disrupts that section of the production process. In the only example of task teamwork, the top two men take pride in their joint work because each has managed to specialize to some extent. A third and low man in the group sees his position as menial and lacking importance because he has no apparent specialty. In still another instance, the man knows his job is complex and that no one else has a full grasp of it. He draws on college students for part-time, but temporary, help. He is the only man to have such outside help. In later discussion, it will be shown how the men develop and maintain their specialization, simultaneously with the institutional demands for cooperation.

Other kinds of task distinctions may be made. March and Simon make the useful differentiation between repetitive and decision-making tasks.<sup>38</sup> While all these men make decisions, some have very repetitive jobs. Mason and Gross, in their study of school superintendents, suggest another criterion for differentiating job positions. "The prestige of one specific position will be higher than that of another to the extent that the position allows the incumbent to make a larger contribution to

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<sup>38</sup> March and Simon, op. cit., p. 14.

the 'function.'"<sup>39</sup> During an interview, one man, inadvertently, confirmed this type of job distinction. He mentioned something he had done for the company which he felt was significant. He noted, however, that, "if something doesn't actually produce lumber, it isn't important to the 'higher ups.'" It is quite possible that those men whose jobs touch only tangentially the production process suffer a loss of prestige because of this distance.

It is also noteworthy that some men deal directly with the mill hands. Their jobs depend on the existence and satisfaction of the union labor. Scott Greer makes several insightful comments about the role of the foreman.<sup>40</sup> He must somehow be a representative of management, while concurrently being a semi-member of the work group which he supervises. His task of controlling and directing those under him becomes all the more complex when one notes the usually tight social group which a work group evolves into. The foreman does not deal with autonomous men on a one-to-one basis; he confronts a unified group and must somehow induce it to do the company's work. Greer feels that such a position demands social skills which at best are difficult to cultivate and at worst inherently contradictory. If a foreman does choose to attempt to please both his superiors and his subordinates, "he is apt to act in what ap-

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<sup>39</sup>Ward S. Mason and Neal Gross, "Intra-Occupational Prestige Differentiation: The School Superintendency," American Sociological Review, XX (1955), 328.

<sup>40</sup>Scott A. Greer, Social Organization (New York: Random House, 1955), pp. 1-4. Stouffer's study of the non-commissioned officer deals with men of the same social problems that Greer notes. Stouffer, op. cit.

pears . . . a very erratic and opportunistic fashion."<sup>41</sup> Seven of the 16 men included in this study fall into this "foreman" category. In a later chapter, they will be compared with the others, in order to determine the consequences of the "middleman" tension under which they must work.

The concepts of status and role have slipped almost unnoticed into the discussion of interaction and social norms. In this past section the question raised about task specialization and proximity to the function has actually been a dissection of the concept of status, fitting it to the particulars of this study. Likewise, Benne and Sheats' concept of "role flexibility," was drawn into the discussion of "social norms."

The concept of role needs to be treated explicitly, if testable hypotheses are to arise from it. Merton found that

. . . educational and occupational difference may contribute to the difference between the (subjects) . . . but they are not the source of these differences. In short, it is the pattern of utilizing social status and not the formal contours of the status itself which is decisive.<sup>42</sup>

This matter of how the individual uses his social position and relations leads one close to the crux of the study. Certain social patterns of interaction have been discussed. It is here, however, with the question of the merger of individual and office, that the dynamic effect of group affiliation on the person may actually come into focus.

To highlight the delicate balance between office and person, one need only to compare some of the relevant literature. There appears to be at least a discrepancy, if not dogmatic disagreement, as to where em-

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>42</sup>Merton, op. cit., p. 402.

phasis should be placed. Merton and Everett Hughes appear to agree that an office can stand by itself, although neither disregards the individuality which a particular person brings to an office. "Authority . . . inheres in the office and not in the particular person who performs the official role."<sup>43</sup> In a similar way Hughes asserts: "The incumbent tends to be impatient of the criticisms of others. He wards them off by declaring that whoever criticizes him attacks the sacred office."<sup>44</sup> In these views the office becomes a virtual bulwark against the world. Benne and Sheats see the individual as vulnerable, in spite of office. "Criticism of the role a group member plays, is perceived as criticisms of 'himself.' Methods must be found to reduce ego-defensiveness toward criticism of member roles."<sup>45</sup> It appears that these statements vary because neither theory is valid for all time. In considering the question of role in relation to the specific group under study here, it is important to ask who uses his position to hide behind, who acts offensively from the vantage point of his position, who cannot hide or use his position to any advantage, and in what situations does this behavior occur.

Gross, Mason, and McEachern set up categories for three kinds of definitions of role. (1) A role is equated with or defined by "normative culture patterns." In this case, role is defined by those outside of the

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>44</sup>Everett C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," American Journal of Sociology, XLII (1937), 406.

<sup>45</sup>Benne and Sheats, op. cit., p. 48.

role position. (2) "A role is treated as an individual's definition of his situation with reference to his and others' social positions." Here, what the incumbent says is empirically relevant. (3) Finally, a role can simply be "the behavior of actors occupying social positions." In this case an outside observer can determine the nature of a role.<sup>46</sup> There are, therefore, three points of view, three observers: The work colleague, the role player, himself, and the researcher, who is essentially outside of the study group. All three kinds of definitions, therefore, are potentially enlightening, particularly if the three kinds of observation are used in complementary fashion.

In later chapters, Gross, et al., discuss the phenomenon of role conflict. This has been alluded to already, in reference to the position of the foremen, who are responsible to both those above and below him. Gross and Mason again have discovered a multiplicity of definition. Some define role conflict as involving "incompatible expectations perceived by the observer," regardless of whether the actor himself feels or perceives this conflict. Others define role conflict as occurring only when the actor himself can see and verbalize about incompatible expectations placed upon him. Still another viewpoint emphasizes the necessity that the actor bearing the conflict must occupy two or more positions. Finally, some feel that "an expectation must be legitimate for it to be involved in role conflict."<sup>47</sup> ("A legitimate expectation is one which the incumbent of a focal position feels others have a right to hold."<sup>48</sup>) It would

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<sup>46</sup>Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 11-14.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 248.

seem that the most minimal definition, that the researcher needs only to perceive incompatible roles, is sufficient. Certainly, if a man manifests what appear to be signs of role conflict distress, the observer can include such symptoms as useful data.

Role conflict resolution is the next step in the analysis. It is at this point that one can tie the abstraction of this kind of concept to the orientation of the present study. The authors assert that a person may handle role conflict by compromising, by conforming to one of the other of the expectations, or by avoiding the conflict as best he can. It is possible that men feeling role conflict (either because of conflicting expectations experienced on the job or because of a conflict between job and other roles) could very well develop their political opinions as one kind of role conflict resolution, perhaps in the category of compromise.

#### The Individual

This is a study of individual men who happen to be linked closely with one another via an intense social structure, the business organization. They have been observed both as a group, interacting, and as individuals via intensive interviews. It would be far beyond the scope of this study to draw any psychological conclusions about the individual personalities apart from the group. However, the line is fine between purely individualistic characteristics and group influenced characteristics. It is important at this point to draw that line, in order that the brief individual sketches to follow (Chapter 3) will not be or appear to be psychological analyses. Rather they must be glimpses of individuals as they relate to the group. What are the important social cri-

teria to be juxtaposed against each subject? How is a unified picture drawn of a disparate group of men?

The difficulty with the purely individual focus lies in the matter of inferring generalizations.

The impression generally left by a series of intensive case studies is one of almost boundless variation. . . . The very wealth of individuality . . . looms as an obstacle to generalization. The comparative study of cases--the comparison of individual lives that differ in so many particulars--can be successfully carried out only when variables have been selected which draw attention to significant generalities beneath the crowding multitude of surface features.<sup>49</sup>

Merton, in his local elite study, faced this issue. He saw fit to designate his subjects as "cosmopolitan" and "parochial." When he finally focused in this way,

such seemingly diverse matters as geographic mobility, participation in networks of personal relations and in voluntary organizations . . . patterns of communication behavior--all these were found to be expressions of these major orientations.<sup>50</sup>

Vidich and Bensman provide a good example of building generalization from an individual approach. Their chief finding, which may be remarkably similar to mine, is that their subjects' beliefs are negated by the social environment, by both immediate face to face competition and the larger mass society, upon which they must in actuality depend. The personality problem which evolves from this conflict must be coped with at least in part on an individual basis. It is by analytically

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<sup>49</sup>Smith, Bruner, and White; op. cit., p. 241.

<sup>50</sup>Merton, op. cit., p. 392.

grouping the "Springdale" population into personality clusters that the authors can discuss how conflict adjustment is made. Social isolates make "idiosyncratic modes of adjustment." The shack people adjust by rejecting the bothersome values of hard work and independence; they erase the conflict by not subscribing to the conflicting values. The remaining majority, the "normals," cope with the conflict by personal as well as social means. At the individual level, they repress "inconvenient facts," distort their memories and change their goals, accept the fact of unsatisfied dreams, and generalize their anxiety into broad areas of their lives. On the social level, they adjust by means of "mutual reinforcement of the public ideology," "avoidance of public statements of disenchantment," and by absorption in work and social activities.<sup>51</sup> In essence, the authors develop a concept of "life style."

Suggesting such generalizing foci is the goal of the final section of Chapter One. It is my belief that observation of individuals, with such major orientations in mind, is not antithetical but complementary to the group concepts so important to the foregoing theory. The device used in this study to create a unifying focus might be termed company involvement or "company style." The men will be categorized according to both their behavior within the company group and their affective relationship with it. The details of this study orientation will be developed and used chiefly in Chapter Three.

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<sup>51</sup> Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1960), pp. 297-318.



### Synthesis and Hypothesis

The question now is one of synthesis, a concise view of the problem. Attitudes, group concepts, the individual--all seem important as the problem coalesces. Merton builds paradigms because he wearies of "discursive exposition" and feels a paradigm allows for "simultaneous inspection" of "the hard core of concept, procedure, and inference" of his analysis.<sup>52</sup> While this model does not follow the exact format of his paradigm, it should perform nearly the same task.

#### Model

1. Attitudes can be manifestations of relations within a group.
2. The individual group member feels an ambivalence toward the group, wanting to achieve satisfying social and task status within it, while maintaining individuality and independence from the group.
3. The group makes demands which can, if obeyed, threaten individuality. There are social norms, taboos, and the like which prescribe individual behavior within the group.
4. Not all the men respond to these demands and social prescriptions in the same way. Objective factors, such as type and status of an individual's job, can affect the way in which he responds to such social/task pressures. Other more subjective and individualized factors, such as social skills and extra-company commitments, also influence an individual's response to group demands.
5. As foreign policy matters are farther removed from the individual than are domestic matters, foreign policy opinions may demonstrate

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<sup>52</sup>Merton, op. cit., p. 50.

an individual's frustrations if he is unable to use his company status or role to maintain emotional distance from the group, or to achieve a satisfactory social/task position within the group. One's foreign policy opinions may mirror the manner in which a man maintains the tension between self and group.

#### Empirically relevant points

There are several empirically relevant points included in the model. They must be isolated, observed, and analyzed by standardized methods, so that comparison between the men is possible. These points are:

1. The subjects' desire for individuality. There can be three measures for this: (a) a subject's verbal commitment to personal independence; (b) a subject's actual independence as demonstrated by widely divergent political opinions; (c) a subject's open, verbal rejection of the company. It might be noted that these indices are of one's desire for independence, not necessarily actual independence.
2. The firm's demands which threaten individuality. These can be determined by observation of social norms by the researcher. Also these can be pulled from the responses of subjects in interviews.
3. The subjects' actual responses to these demands. The concept "company style," suggested earlier, can be used to measure the ways in which the men use role and status in making their responses. In Chapter Three, judgment is made about their positive or negative feelings toward the company. Also the men are categorized according to their mobility within the company group. By using such categories the men can be compared for similarities and disparities in their individual responses to the social/task demands placed upon them.

4. The relationship of foreign policy opinions to the social milieu of the subjects. The relationship between foreign policy opinions and social milieu can be categorized by several criteria: (a) degree of concern or indifference with such matters. (b) tendency to link such matters to daily job activities, by including business jargon and business efficiency standards in foreign policy opinions.

#### Major orientation

Earlier in this chapter, the term "company style" was suggested as a possible pivotal concept for this study. The purpose of such a "major informing notion"<sup>53</sup> is to give the empirically relevant factors cohesion, the hypothesis focus, and the data analysis a point of origin.

Having contrived such a term, one must give it a theoretical context as well as an operational definition. The actual criteria which will be used in categorizing a man according to "company style" will be set up and used in Chapter Three. The purpose here is to supply an insulating framework for the concept: what does "company style" mean within the theoretical context of this chapter?

When one asks about a man's "company style," one is essentially wondering about the degree and type of his commitment to the company. It might be quickly noted that the word "commitment" ordinarily has a connotation which is too strong, which implies too deep an involvement to describe a man's relationship with his work group. However, the concept of commitment, as discussed by Kimball and McClellan, takes on a very relevant social connotation. They decry the common meaning of commitment:

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<sup>53</sup>Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin, op. cit., p. 3..

Our language almost forces us to think of (commitment) . . . as we do of intelligence; that is, commitment is some sort of "stuff," a possession that everyone ought to have inside of him in as large a quantity as possible.

. . . . .  
(Such things as language). . . tend to make us visualize commitment as an internal property of individuals.<sup>54</sup> (Emphasis added)

They then spend five chapters developing a conception of the term "commitment" which finds its roots and meaning within the social milieu of the "committed" person. They claim that commitment to something is only possible when the social system makes such a commitment worthwhile.

One can conceive of himself as a Christian only when he conceives of the world as a place where being a Christian makes some difference. . . . For selfhood, which is a personal achievement, depends upon the prior existence of a system of social relations that support and extend the elements on which the self is constructed.<sup>55</sup>

In terms of this study, then, a man develops a positive "company style" because the company (and possible the larger free enterprise system) makes it worthwhile for him to do so. Kimball and McClelland spell out the features of a group, like the present study group, which induce the commitment of its members:

The well-designed production team represents in microcosm precisely the kinds of relation that we would call one of commitment. First, each person has a determinate role in the team, a role he can perceive as an indispensable element in his own self-concept. Second, this role, which has been shown to be more than mere technical skill, is recognized in the group as

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<sup>54</sup> Solon T. Kimball and James McClelland, Jr., Education and the New America (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), p. 220.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 264.

performing a function. Third, the work of the team as a whole is disciplined and supported by objectively defined purposes.<sup>56</sup>

One must not conclude that the demands and expectations made by a group are necessarily good for its members. William Whyte deplores "the soft-minded denial that there is a conflict between the individual and society."<sup>57</sup> Rather given this inherent tension, one is curious to know, in terms of this study, which men easily develop a committed "company style" and which find the group demands alien to their self-concept.

#### Hypothesis

"Many exploratory studies have the purpose of formulating a problem for more precise investigation or of developing hypotheses."<sup>58</sup> These are the kinds of aims toward which this study is directed. The hypothesis posited at this juncture must of necessity be vague. (In view of the lack of precision, it perhaps is not legitimately an hypothesis.) In light of William Scott's article, quoted at length at the beginning of this chapter, the initial tentative hypothesis may be posited in this manner:

Men do not have intimate contact with the matters which comprise foreign affairs. They, therefore, respond (in their attitudes) to the information which they do receive about foreign affairs in terms of the values which are appropriate to their daily lives in the company work group.

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 266.

<sup>57</sup>William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), pp. 13-14.

<sup>58</sup>Selltiz, et al., op. cit., p. 51.

The exact values referred to and the ways in which they are actually manifested in foreign policy attitudes cannot be included in the initial hypothesis of such an exploratory study. The expectation is that the data, upon careful scrutiny, will suggest more precise connections between social milieu and foreign policy opinions.

Finally, although it is a gross simplification, it may be useful, as a point of reference, to draw an "onion" analogy to describe the relationship between man and the outside world. One sees, at the core of the onion, intimate personal factors. Surrounding the core is a layer which comprises a man's attitudes toward the company and his work. The next layer is his domestic attitudes. Finally on the outside, quite distant from the man himself, are his foreign policy opinions. The point of the thesis, then, is to inquire into the relationship between the various layers of the "onion."

## CHAPTER II

### SETTING

#### The City

Although there is no suggestion that the setting of this study is typical of other towns or other businesses, Missoula does tend to be a town similar to the type which Berelson, et al., chose for their study, Voting. It is important for their purposes that their study be somewhat generalizable. They claim that "there are small cities or middle-sized towns that fall between the village and rural area, on the one hand, and the metropolis, on the other. Such towns are familiar to Americans; they are often termed the 'grass roots' of the nation."<sup>1</sup> Their choice, Elmira, New York, fell into this category. Likewise, while Missoula happens to be the setting of this study by chance, it does appear to have many of the features of a "grass roots" community. While this does not make the town a typical American community and certainly does not suggest that the conclusions of this study are applicable to the rest of American society, the rural/urban duality which Missoula exhibits makes it an appropriate study setting. Questions of the sources of foreign policy opinion are really inquiries about how a person's setting in time and place influences the way he perceives remote phenomena (in this case foreign affairs).

This is a town caught in the rush and change of time, clinging to the myths of the past while desiring the growth and prosperity of the present and future. This dilemma very probably is duplicated within the

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<sup>1</sup>Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 3.

individual who deliberately chooses this environment. (How this duality is actually manifested in the men studied will be discussed in the following chapter.) While there need not be any direct relationship between this duality and foreign policy opinions, some connection may exist, particularly in light of Scott's general hypothesis that one interprets distant phenomena in terms of his immediate activities and values. If love for this area as well as ambivalence toward it are important aspects of the attitudes of these men, it is conceivable that such factors might be projected onto their perceptions of foreign affairs.

Compared with many old towns and cities of the East, Missoula like most western cities is young. The Civil War was virtually over when Missoula was founded in 1864 by Captain C. P. Higgins and F. L. Worden. The city directory notes that "it has been peopled by pioneers and successive generations of their children. . . ." <sup>2</sup> Missoula is therefore young, even in the context of a comparatively young United States, and yet it is "old" in that the present day inhabitants cling to the frontier myths of the late 1800's. One notes the legend and tradition which is still alive in the area. The horses, boots, "beat up" pickup trucks, guns, and the like are all here, not for the tourists, but because they belong here.

This is a good sized city in the midst of a fairly unpopulated county. The county is 2613 square miles, while the city proper is only 6.3 square miles. However, of the total county population of 44,663 persons, 27,090 live in that 6.3 mile area. (There are no recent census

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<sup>2</sup>Polk's Missoula City Directory, 1966 (Kansas City: R. L. Polk and Co., 1966), p. X.



figures available for the county population. Hence, the comparison of the county/city population must be made in terms of 1960 figures. However, a 1965 estimate of the city population was placed at 32,000. Also in 1965, 45,994 people were said to live in the "larger metropolitan area." These figures will be used later in this chapter.) The town has every reason to call itself "The Hub of Five Valleys," for it draws in much of the outlying population for shopping and socialization. The city directory estimates that Missoula is a trading center for 163,433 people, suggesting that people from several counties depend on Missoula for some goods and services. In 1960, the county counted only 54 Negroes, 376 Indians, 57 Japanese and Chinese, and 23 persons of "other" racial origins. The city directory rather crudely notes this racial singularity: "There is little or no foreign element, as the growth of the town has been due largely to a steady influx of the Anglo-Saxon races."<sup>3</sup>

Juxtaposed against the East, Montana is raw material country. Missoula is the heart of the lumbering industry, while farther east the mining and beef industries thrive. It is from within the very nature of these industries that the "old/new" duality has its roots. The men involved in the lumbering business are tied to this locale, the source of their raw material. They tend to revere the natural wealth of this country and see themselves as having a stake in the frontier. At the same time the industry must relate to the rest of the nation's economy, if it is to thrive. The government, eastern businesses, transportation facilities must all be dealt with. Yet, these represent the overpopulated, mechanized world which these men intuitively reject.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

The domination of the lumbering industry in Missoula is indicated by the number of persons working in the industry and the number of persons employed by businesses which serve the needs of the forest industries. In January, 1966, Missoula Forest Industries estimated that over 3,000 people were employed directly by the industry; in addition, over 6,000 people worked in supportive or allied industries; finally there were well over 9,000 dependents of these job holders. The total estimate of the "number of people in the Greater Missoula area whose livelihood depends directly or indirectly on the Missoula Forest Industries" was 27,000 or 56% of greater Missoula's population. In a March, 1967, study, this total was boosted to "over 33,000" people. Even if one allows for some discrepancy in these estimated figures, there is no doubt that the lumbering and paper industries "are the cornerstone of Missoula's growing economy."<sup>4</sup>

Missoula is a focal point for the various transportation networks. Large quantities of raw materials and manufactured goods travel through the Missoula train depot, on the two railroads servicing the Northwest. The county airport is situated just outside the city limits, with one major airline serving it at the present time. There are three U.S. highways running through the city, bringing truckers as well as tourists through the area. A new freeway has recently been completed, allowing quick and easy East-West access to the city. Finally there are four buslines operating out of the single bus terminal. Therefore, while the town is not in the crux of a huge metropolitan area, it is not inacces-

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<sup>4</sup>An advertising slogan of the Missoula Forest Industries.

sible, and certainly is the arrival and departure point for all travelers to and from Western Montana.

The city claims to be an educational center. There are 20 grade schools and five high schools in the Missoula area; these are expanding and multiplying. It is the home of the University of Montana which enrolls approximately 6,000 students and is growing. There is ambivalence on the part of the town toward the university. The city council condemns the university president for what they deem inappropriate statements and actions. The general public feels students should be grateful for their state education, demonstrating this by orderly acquiescence to the status quo. They resent protest groups of any sort. They seek to stifle brash student editors. One man told this interviewer that "as long as you can tell the kooks from the rest of the students, you're still okay." In reference to a snowball "riot" which did not meet the criteria of a riot in either its destruction or duration, one man declared that "any student that gets his name in the paper for any reason should be expelled. It is the job of the student to keep his name clean. The administration is stupid to even listen to the students." However, while fearing radicalism of any sort, the town appears to respect education. While my sample is not representative of the total population, they are a segment of the "responsible" public. They respect educational success. One young employee received his law degree while working for the company. His success was trumpeted. Most of these men attended this university and are proud of their educational origins. This project was sanctioned because of its academic aspect. It appears that the city is proud to have the university, at least as it symbolizes a certain cosmopolitanism in the commu-

nity. However, when the university takes on life and loses its quiet symbolism, the townpeople can become quite frightened and antagonistic.

Social life in Missoula is limited. For students there are numerous bars and three movie houses. There are some athletic opportunities, chiefly hunting, fishing, skiing, and bowling. The townpeople augment their social lives via various fraternal and social clubs. It is interesting to note that most of the men interviewed are not involved in any of these clubs. One can only suppose that for many their social lives extend to neighborhood and family groups.

It is very possible that some social life revolves around the churches. There are 43 churches in the area. There is no Jewish temple; three of the 43 are Catholic; the remaining 40 are, loosely speaking, Protestant. However, the Latter Day Saints, Seventh Day Adventists, and various fundamentalist sects are included in this number with more staid denominations like the Presbyterians. While there are no available figures, enumerating total church attendance, apparently enough people attend these churches to keep them operating. The Christian terminology and symbols are accepted by nearly everyone, even non-churchgoers. This unspoken consensus is exemplified by such things as an Easter banner ("Christ is Risen") strung across the main street of the city by the Kiwanis Club. The First National Bank displayed a billboard at Christmas: "Christmas is God's Answer to Communism." Of the men studied, most do not attend church; however, nearly all could recall token allegiance to some denomination. Some support churches which they do not attend. One spoke at length about the validity of the Christian tenets even though he does not go to church. Hence, it appears that for most

people religion, like education, holds symbolic importance, although for many there is no concurrent inclination to be involved in the institutions themselves. However, for those who are actually involved, the church undoubtedly is a social meeting place. For at least one man of the study sample, this is true.

Mass media, while fairly numerous, usually reflects the somewhat limited modes of life exhibited in this community. There are four radio stations and one television station. Also there are two daily newspapers and two weeklies, although only one daily is prominent and read by most people. Its editorials are generally ambiguous, rarely laying out a definite stand on an issue. When attempting to choose one candidate to support in a recent senatorial election, the paper finally declared that both men had assets and defects and refused to support either. This hesitancy was particularly striking since the candidates clearly epitomized the liberal/conservative dichotomy. In an editorial about a rather violent peace march (in which irate townpeople hurled various foodstuffs at passive university marchers) both groups of participants were scolded; no stand was ultimately taken on this rather crucial confrontation between campus and town.

The city government is of the mayor-aldermanic type. There are six wards and 12 aldermen. This group meets weekly. In often lengthy meetings, they decide about a wide variety of issues from urban renewal to the indiscretions of the university president. While the activities of the mayor and his council are not followed avidly, there is definitely an awareness of the major matters facing the town and its governing body.

The city breaks down quite neatly into political (and correspond-

ing socio-economic) clusterings. Those persons living to the west and north of the railroad tracks, tend to vote Democratically. Those are the residential areas for the working class, the hourly laborers. To the south and southeast of the city one finds the "old" and "new" elite who generally vote Republican. Those areas include the university district and new plus developments to the south of town. These people are generally professional people of the owners and top executives of various area businesses. (Most of the 16 men included in this study live in these areas.) The middle area, reaching toward the west and north and including the business district, is politically a transitional area. The residents of these wards are often the operators of small businesses. Of course it is somewhat of a distortion to categorize the city's inhabitants so neatly. However, such a view of the city is fairly accurate. A map of the city, drawn to illustrate the vote breakdown in an election which decided whether the city would institute a commission-manager form of government, illustrates these political groups vividly.<sup>5</sup> If one takes the ward groupings from this map and tabulates the 1964 gubernatorial votes, the Democratic/transitional/Republican breakdown, suggested by the map, is borne out. The vote in the seven "Democratic" wards was 58.5% Democratic; in the 12 "transitional" wards the Democratic vote was 50.5% of the vote; and in the five "Republican" wards the Democratic vote was only 37.5% of the total vote in those wards. While one election is not sufficient to demonstrate party distribution for all time, this particular election was a closely contested one, and was more apt to reflect traditional voting habits than a landslide election would.

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<sup>5</sup>Map courtesy of Dr. Thomas Payne.

The Company

This company is fairly young (founded in 1946), privately owned, and quite successful given its age. In their comments, several of the men noted that the firm is an awkward size, probably the largest lumber company whose stock is privately owned. They feel it will eventually be bought out by a larger firm. Like the town, the company is caught in the midst of growth and change. The actual physical plant belonged to several other lumber companies before this particular one bought it. Several of the men, included in this study sample, worked for those earlier companies and were passed along to the present management when the plant was purchased.

The company employs 450 mill workers. While this researcher has made no specific contact with these hourly employees, it is important to note what appear to be typical cleavages between management and labor. The hourly employees belong to the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union. It is an international union, meaning that it has members in Canada, as well as in northwestern United States. The company renews the union contract every three years, which means that fairly quiet union-management relations can be expected for three year periods. The union does not appear to be terribly powerful. However, the management is typically irritated by the union, disparages it and the occasional grievance meetings which are called for. A company spokesman does admit that relations have been "peaceful" with the union for the last ten years, with no strikes or walk-outs. Several supervisors see the union as a defiant organization which threatens them and which makes managerial contact with the individual worker nearly impossible. The company does try to induce the mill hands

to support the company position on some political matters, by having them sign petitions or send company financed telegrams to the legislature. Apparently, most of the workers agree or acquiesce, although some are fairly blatant in their disagreement, via such measures as sporting opposition campaign stickers on their cars. There does not appear to be anything particularly unusual about this management/labor situation.

Being a part of the town's preponderant industry, the company has strong ties with the town's influential and "responsible" population. Top company men are members of important service and business groups. One of the company's vice presidents apparently is close, at least in a business sense, to the president of the local television station. The industry yearly spends several thousand dollars on a special newspaper advertising supplement, which they admit is partly aimed at "keeping the newspaper happy," and responsive to the point of view of the industry. Another vice president has been head of the United Givers Drive in Missoula. The company sponsors a Junior Achievement company and a Little League team. It is one of the large benefactors of the community symphony. It is not to be implied that any of these attachments are in any way illicit; merely that this company is concerned with its community image and makes a conscious effort to play a community role. Whether their efforts are more determined than other companies is doubtful and certainly not measurable within the scope of this study. It is true that these image making gestures are in part made to counteract the poor image the industry creates by its contribution to local air pollution problems.

One instance of the kind of pressure which the company at times tries to apply to the community occurred during the 1965 air pollution



struggle. The company pays literally thousands of dollars to the local medical clinic in fees for physical exams for prospective employees. The doctors in the community and in this clinic were supporting a strong air pollution control bill. This observer overheard a conversation, in which a company man said, "You tell those guys at that clinic to cut it out, or we'll pull our business out of there." Of course the doctors did not back down, and the business was never withdrawn. It was an idle threat. It exemplifies the kind of economic power that a company such as this would like to have.

The company is also in personal contact with various state officials. The Governor is the personal friend of the company president and has visited the plant twice during the three-year observation period. Although the 1965 air pollution bill was passed by the legislature, the Governor vetoed it. There is no indication that the company or the industry brought direct pressure to bear on the Governor, although a company spokesman made a public statement in light of the veto, in which he said, "The Governor behaved in a very statesman-like manner." Certainly the Governor is known to the businessmen of the state and that relationship makes him somewhat responsive to their needs and desires.

In this chapter the effort has been made to be completely descriptive. In later sections of the thesis, the men's perceptions of the town, state, nation, and world will be explored. It would appear from the observable facts that the company feels fairly potent vis-a-vis the town and state, but that this power is quickly diluted when the company tried to expand its influence to the greater society. This is undoubtedly true for most small or medium size businesses, and certainly true for the

individual American. What is important and perhaps idiosyncratic is the degree to which and the ways in which this feeling of impotence manifests itself in the particular men studied.

## CHAPTER III

### PERSONAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

It is the purpose of this study to look for relationships between two elusive variables: degree of company involvement (company style) and the nature of foreign policy opinions. In this chapter the aim is to delimit the very important variable, company involvement. Involvement in a work situation varies (in emphasis as well as in degree) with each man studied. In this chapter, therefore, various personal and social factors will be examined and the categories will be set up with which to classify the men according to "company style."

#### Task Status Groups

It will be necessary in this chapter and those to follow to refer to the men as individuals. It is important to maintain their anonymity, while at the same time give them characteristics which are relevant to the thesis. They have been divided into task status groups, according to their actual objective status within the company hierarchy. (It may be noted that at this point the men are not being categorized according to their "company style." This more subjective classification will be completed at the end of this chapter.) The purpose at this point is to place each man, for example the general manager, in a task status group which will disclose his important status but will not disclose his identity.

There are four groups: A, B, C, and D. Each man is designated by his group letter and a number. Group A, for example, includes four men: A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub>, and A<sub>4</sub>. The subnumbers only serve to distinguish one man from another. A<sub>1</sub>, therefore, is not necessarily higher in job status

than A<sub>4</sub>. There are distinctions between the groups however. Group A consists of men in the top administrative positions. Their jobs tend to be more generalized. They are the official public image makers. The five men in Group B are also quite high in the company administration, although below Group A in status. It is at this level that the tasks begin to tend toward specialization. The group contains the three plant supervisors, who together oversee all production. The remaining two hold top jobs with the office itself. Group C contains four men who do very specific tasks within the organization. Their jobs are important, but well defined and circumscribed. Finally, the three men in Group D, the lowest managerial level, are supervisors who work closely with the workers. They have offices, receive salaries, and are regarded as part of the management group. Unlike the supervisors in Group B who make their rounds two or three times daily, the men in Group D are nearly always in the mill, overseeing operations.

#### Geographic Isolation: The Joys and Problems

Nearly all of the men interviewed like their geographic location. Ten of the 16 respondents are originally from Montana, three from Missoula itself. An additional three come from the northwest area and at least one came here for the geographic location. ("I left a job with more money because I like the country better here.") The remaining three come from the East and all of them indicate that they would not like to return to the crowded, over-active East. Only one man, a native (Group D) does not like the area: "I don't like Montana; I like Nevada . . . there's more entertainment there. I don't like the people here." All of the others mentioned such things as the recreational opportunities, the friendly

people, and the isolation.

"I like the country, the recreation."

"I like hunting, fishing, and the family likes it here. I wouldn't want to live anywhere else."

"It's a wide open area. . . . I don't like crowds."

"The people are outstanding, friendly, easy to get acquainted with."

"I don't like big cities."

"It's more remote here, has a frontier atmosphere . . . gives you more time to think. . . . Things move faster with more population."

The choice of geographic isolation is tangible evidence of their retreat from the rapid flow of events in the outside world. However, the needs of the company and the community challenge and contradict these personal preferences. The advertising of the industry applauds the growth of the area and welcomes newcomers. This is their public image. Even privately, the desire to isolate themselves is consciously tempered, particularly when the needs of the company are articulated. Many of the men, particularly those in the top echelons, are reflective about the future growth of the company.

"I won't work here indefinitely because the company won't be here. Its an awkward size . . . its going to be bought out by bigger companies."

"The economic picture is changing. I hope we are flexible enough to meet the changes."

One man, not particularly enamored of the company, punctuated his interviews with references to change and progress:

"Montana holds back progress . . . . Missoula is held back by small ideas, rather than wanting to grow. It's changing now. The people are broadening."

"The company is getting more progressive. . . trying out new ideas. It's going to have to get bigger or fail . . . there's no such thing as staying at the same point."

In addition, these men feel obligated to inform themselves of matters pertaining to the outside world. Nine read either an eastern or far-western newspaper and twelve read a news magazine. Only one man reads no magazine or newspaper, other than the local paper. Likewise, most of them are college graduates (13) and they exhibit a certain respect for education.

In many ways the kind of ambivalence which these men exhibit about their geographic isolation is similar to that found by Vidich and Bensman in "Springdale," the subject of their Small Town in Mass Society. They note that their subjects feel that Springdale, the rural life, is the source of the nation's strength.<sup>1</sup> In the present case, the subjects feel that free enterprise and particularly isolated raw material industries such as this one, are the heartbeat of the country.

"It's free enterprise, competitive; if we fail it's our own fault . . . if we make a profit, it's a sense of victory . . . you say, 'My God, we're here.' Also, it's a raw material industry: from the earth, part of the basic economy--original wealth, you might say."

"Business is the lifeblood of the nation."

"Another group of businessmen (speaking of the United States in general) have become cynical . . . they observe that the government has money so they don't oppose the powers that be, they kowtow to the government so they can get business from it."

"Some businesses are parasites, but manufacturers of raw material are the real sources of money."

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<sup>1</sup>Vidich and Bensman, op. cit., p. 81.

These kinds of statements incorporate other basic themes, in addition to the glorification of the free enterprise system. These men feel the larger society (perhaps epitomized by the federal government) does not give industry due credit. Feeling ignored by the system, they in turn reject the system: it becomes virtuous to resist outside influence.

The desire to reject the outside world is coupled with and magnified by the company's actual dependence on the larger society, specifically the federal government:

"I could go on forever listing the problems the government has caused. . . . The government controls raw material and the final product. . . it controls both ends. We're not like other companies."

One statement is particularly exemplary in demonstrating frustration with the problems of growth and change, which are imposed from the outside world. The men were asked if the company faces any competition from foreign lumber producers:

"Oh hell, yes. Canada has 15% of the soft wood market. They can get any fraction they want because costs are lower. With the discount on the Canadian dollar, we can't hope to compete. Rather than have a tariff, the government should make raw material reasonably priced. The government should tell the union that they can't have higher wages than those in Canada . . . . Wage raises are damn foolish. We have a good work force since they got more money and we now have better consumers . . . but it sure causes cost difficulties."

The speaker seems to sense the impossibility of his demands (like making the United States wages the same as Canadian wages). He is grappling here with a whole complex of problems, and one feels his frustration as he tries to stop the clock.

This area and its geographically restricted lumber industry are personally important to most of the 16 subjects. It is from this vantage point that they see the world and form their political opinions. Vidich and Bensman go too far: "In response to these conditions, the members of the rural community . . . resent their dependency and powerlessness and channelize it into anti-urban politics and policies."<sup>2</sup> This is too broad a leap, too tenuous an assertion to describe these men. However, their provincialism must be the context within which the bulk of the data on foreign policy opinions are viewed.

#### Personal Background Factors

Personal factors are at the core of the "onion," the analogy suggested in Chapter one in reference to the "layers" of a person's life relationships. While the intention here is not to delve into the psyches of the subjects, there are certain background facts available about these men.

Fathers' Occupations: Seven of the 16 subjects come from farming or ranching backgrounds. It is difficult to ascertain which fathers may have been "poor" farmers and which "rich" ranchers. Nonetheless, one can come close to estimating which of the subjects have risen in status, vis-a-vis their fathers, and which have not.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 103.



Fathers' Occupations

	Professional	Industrialist	Supervisory	Rancher/ Farmer	Laborer
A	1	1	1		1
Sons' Status within the Company	B		1	3	1
	C			1	3
	D			3	
		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u> 7

One can make a broad generalization about the comparison of father/son job status. Groups B and C seem to be pivotal. They are the men who have reached higher status levels than their fathers. Quite possibly they are the first "successful" generation in their families. In contrast, most of the men in Group A had high status from the beginning, more or less inherited. Likewise, the three men in Group C seem to be only slightly higher in task status from their fathers.

The conclusions ultimately to be drawn from this study will include an estimation of the relationship, if any, between status mobility and foreign policy opinions. In those conclusions it will become apparent whether this generational mobility, son over father, has any relation to the son's political opinions.

Education: The subjects tend to fall into educational patterns which correspond to their status within the company. It is doubtful that educational achievement has a direct bearing on the foreign policy opinions of these men. Those who have attained higher educational levels, for example, do not appear to possess greater amounts of information about foreign affairs. Educational achievement tends only to dictate success in the company.

Level of Educational Achievement

	Graduate Degree	College Degree	Began College	Business School	High School
A	2	2			
Man's Status within the Company	B	5			
	C	3		1	
	D		$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$
	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>

Religion: The possible connection between a man's religion and his political opinions are vague, unless he admits that his religion affects his political opinions. Only two men would make such admissions. They said that their religion "makes me think about human dignity," and "it makes me more tolerant." These men, whether because of their religion or not, did tend to look at the world from a slightly different viewpoint. On domestic issues they made these kinds of comments:

"I'm in favor of medical care for the aged. The bill should have set up help for all the infirm, not just the aged."

"I like to think I'm tolerant, but I suppose I have some prejudices. I understand the Indians better than the Negroes."

On foreign policies, they made this kind of statement:

"We're trying to save a corrupt government. The North Vietnamese government might be just as good for the peasants."

"I was an isolationist before World War II. . . . But the pace of the world has caused a change in me. German brutality may have changed my mind."

These men tend to answer questions and form their opinions on the basis of humane values. Often, as in the quotes cited here, they allude to specific

human episodes or human conditions.

Very few of the men (5) attend church. The rest claimed to be inactive or simply to have no church affiliation.

Age: Age appears to have some relevance to status positioning. The younger men tend to occupy the middle status levels; they seem to be the most involved in the actual production and sale of lumber.

		<u>Age Distribution</u>		
		50-60 Years	45-50 Years	39-45 Years
	A	2		2
Man's Status within the Company	B		1	4
	C			4
	D	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{4}{10}$

It is quite possible that age, like other factors discussed in this background section, does not relate significantly to foreign policy opinions, or that it relates to variables other than objective status positions.

For example, age seems to relate to political opinions in a particular way: men who are older seem to look at politics from a more ideological point of view; younger men are more able to separate one opinion from another, they have less of a tendency to generalize. (This possible relationship, together with a definition of ideology in a later chapter within the context of the actual political opinions.)

The background factors have been noted in this section in a cursory manner. If they do become relevant to the subjects' political opinions, they will be drawn into a later discussion.

Life within the Company: Modes of Action and Thought

The descriptions of company life, included in this section, may appear quite distant from the phenomena of foreign affairs or foreign policy attitudes. In fact they are. However, it has been noted that many things in one's daily life may influence a person's foreign policy opinions. Scott has noted that "a set of values and related elements which has been found serviceable in meaningful areas of the individual's life-space, such as his relations with job, family or friends, or other realm of intense interest to him"<sup>3</sup> could very well be the values which inform his political attitudes, especially about such remote matters as foreign policy. The effort of the thesis is to isolate one important aspect of the subjects' lives, their job experience, to determine if and how the values which are important on the job also appear to be relevant to the subjects' foreign policy attitudes. It is within the context of this inquiry that the details of routine company life become relevant.

Office routine and atmosphere: Several of the respondents refer to the company as a "way of life." This is a retrospective remark, lumping years of daily struggles and successes into a single phrase. It is the task of the researcher to note the actual patterns of day-to-day interaction which make life in the company a "way of life."

The workday is generally from eight to five, although some of the supervisors work seven to four, along with the mill workers. Some work every Saturday, all work an occasional Saturday morning. The atmosphere on Saturday is more relaxed than during the rest of the week, and often

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<sup>3</sup> Scott, op. cit., p. 15.

a man will drop in ostensibly to work, actually to socialize. (For this reason Saturday was excellent for interviews: the men were relaxed and eager to chat.) Even on the week days, there is a cheerful camaraderie, although mornings usually are devoted to specific daily tasks and late afternoons tend to evolve into social periods. Recently, in an effort to get work done first, a "quiet hour" from eight to nine o'clock was initiated by the general manager. All non-essential talk is supposedly eliminated. One man's reaction was, "It will never work, but it's a great idea." There is a central coffeepot in each of the two adjacent office buildings, and particularly in one building it serves as a gathering point. The company supplies free coffee and cold soda, to be consumed at any time in any quantity. There are no coffee breaks. It takes a new employee a while to become accustomed to the combination of work and relaxation, as one expects to work steadily until an official break. Occasionally, someone will slip out to purchase fresh rolls as a mid-morning treat for everyone. The men are free to take extended lunch breaks, quick trips to the barber, and the like.

Work itself is conducted casually. There are small impromptu meetings, called as matters for group attention arise. There is a planned, but apparently informal, luncheon meeting every week. All the men, except those in Group D, attend the meetings. Interview questions about these meetings yielded valuable information as to how the men handle and perceive conflict, how decisions are reached, and how opinions are voiced. The men in Group A, particularly the two who run the meetings and make decisions, feel there is generally agreement among the men, resulting from their naturally similar natures.

"There's not too much disagreement, though no one fears to state his opinions, at least I hope not. These are the people who run the company; they've been together a long time . . . there's no divergence of basic opinion."

"By the time everyone has talked, I make the decision. I take a concensus . . . there's no voting! someone has to make decisions and that's my job."

Three men in Group B feel disagreement is often present, but condone and encourage it.

"There isn't always agreement. It's hard to agree when even two guys are together."

"Often there are heated debates, but seldom hard feeling."

At least five men (from Groups A, B, and C) stated that decisions are made by certain top men, either at the meetings or in private session.

"Everyone gives his opinion and then A<sub>3</sub> makes up his mind."

"A<sub>3</sub> says what he wants done and they do it."

Only one man (from Group C) was skeptical about freedom of speech at the meetings.

"You are not going to have violent disagreement because no one would stick his neck out that far, but opinions are given. Important matters are decided elsewhere."

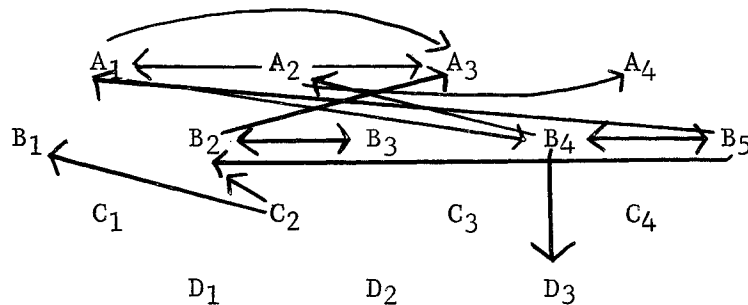
Others simply dismissed the question with, "There's a meeting of minds," or "concensus of opinion." One said there were "occasional votes"; all of the rest said they never voted. One man (from Group B) offered an astute description of the meetings:

"If we want, we question one another, if a guy has a problem. That's if it is the type of problem to be discussed openly; some things can't be talked about. A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>1</sub>, and A<sub>3</sub> decide

delicate matters of company policy. Sometimes people shut up others, if it's not a proper subject for discussion. It's supposed to be constructive. By the time we get through there is agreement. If a fellow is uninhibited there is disagreement. It's very democratic here; in other places people are inhibited. We even criticize A2, and A3 gets hell all the time."

The men who feel less successful in the company will naturally see disagreement as more of a threat, than those who are secure and pleased with their positions. It is in light of these kinds of remarks, that the differences between the men begin to appear. The camaraderie is real for nearly everyone, but under the surface doubts and insecurities exist.

Intra-company friendships: While individual feelings about company friends will be discussed later, certain general trends in company friendships may be noted here. It was very difficult to get the respondents to name company friends. Some who did admit to having best friends from within the management group were reluctant to be specific. Therefore, the following diagram is hardly representative of all the company friendships, as only those who named others can be plotted.



This diagram gives an image, although it is difficult to decipher by merely looking at it. Only once did any of the men in Group A mention a friend on a lower level. Likewise, those in Group B mentioned each other or men above them in Group A. (B<sub>4</sub> did mention D<sub>3</sub>.) In Groups C and D only one man was willing or able to name company friends, and his two

choices were again men on a higher level. It does appear on this tentative evidence that there is a tendency for men in the upper echelons to be social with each other, their choices for friendship being their peers or men in higher groups. Those in the lower groups appear to be much less involved socially.

The men were more willing to acknowledge company friendship when they did not have to be specific. "Are your closest acquaintances employees of this company or not?" Eight men (50 per cent) said "no" with a variety of elaborating qualifications. Five of these appear (based on participant observation) to be completely accurate in denying close company friendships. A sixth negative answer may be technically true (that is, he does have better friends outside the company) but he goes on sporting trips and to parties with several of the other. His office is the social gathering place and he seems to enjoy the chatter, although he occasionally seeks solitude. The remaining two, who gave negative answers, claim to believe in the "separation of work and play." These two are distinct from the other six, as they are at the very top of the hierarchy. It is true that they socialize with others in the company, but it is very possible that they feel it is a requirement of the job and such socializing is in fact "work." An additional four answers are of the "fifty-fifty" sort: "My best friends are not necessarily company men, some are however." One of these was careful to note that he associates mostly "with executives, the top people." The remaining four of the 16 stated clearly that their best friends are company men. The following view tends to illustrate how the men of different levels perceive the importance of intra-company socialization.



Company Friendship

		No	50/50	Yes
Status	A	2	1	1
	B		2	3
Groups:	C	3	1	
	D	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
		8	4	4

The four in Group A are split, positively and negatively. Group B tends definitely toward intra-company friendships. Group C is decidedly negative and Group D is totally negative. Although the analysis of two questions can hardly yield conclusive evidence, it does indicate the possible correspondence between intense company involvement (and perhaps, also, status struggles) and the desirability of social contacts.

Ambition, Competition, and the Channels of Success: There is definitely an ambivalence about company friendships. It is difficult to know how deep the friendships go, for in certain work situations apparent friends tend to turn on one another for the sake of self-enhancement. There are innumerable instances to be cited which point up this competition, and undoubtedly some such instances are so subtle that they are unobservable.

One man confided a mistake for which he was in part responsible. He was not eager to have it come to light, but knew it would eventually. He was wrestling with the problem of how much responsibility he would assume for the error, as others were involved and the blame could be placed on them. He held the position of leverage because, of those involved, he was the highest in the hierarchy. He felt no animosity toward the others, but he was consciously trying to improve his image within the company, and the placement of blame in this matter would affect that image.

In another instance, one man wanted some information from another. It was the kind of information that was not readily available, but had to be calculated, rather tediously. Because the second man did not have the information immediately available, he was jokingly ridiculed by those present. He became angry at the unreasonable nature of the request and subsequent scorn. Not allowed by the norms to vent this annoyance, he finally left the office on a contrived errand. He returned a few minutes later, his emotions collected, and the incident was over. It is striking that the hecklers like the man they teased, did not do it because there was real reason to be critical, but merely let the thing "snowball" into a painful incident. Apparently, they needed that kind of vindictive outlet for their own fears of inadequacy. None of these men want each other's jobs: the competition is only to prove who does his job best, not who has the best job.

Another man mentioned that he had expected a promotion, he unofficially was given the new job, promised a corresponding raise, but none of these materialized. Later, he was informed that the promotion had been challenged by another superior. This incident points up an important aspect of the pattern of competition within the company. Although everyone technically has a boss, each man is also aware that several superiors hold controls over him. In some situations it is apparently difficult to know who one should impress or hide mistakes from. One man did not know who to blame in a matter of salary raises. Another said, "There are too many supervisors, they spread the salaries too far." Other comments convey this feeling of uncertainty:

"Communication breaks down . . . its a little disjointed in terms of the speed in which things are done . . . takes a long time to correct things."

"Sometimes there is a conflict in direction and a conflict in communication."

"The policy isn't set . . . it depends on somebody's whim."

It is impossible to tabulate how pervasive this feeling of apprehension is. It tends to mean, for some at least, that competition and efforts to exhibit one's accomplishments are often meaningless and fruitless. The kinds of incidents cited in this section (particularly when one man is teased) are essentially manifestations of frustration caused by the lack of direct and dependable access to policy makers. There are no hidden officials, obscurely making policy. Rather, the decision-making process is vague, non-repetitive, and is not articulated even by those who make decisions. One man concluded: "You're going to find this in any 'one-man' company . . . that is, catering to the owner."

These are some of the important aspects of the company atmosphere. The social norms and taboos and the patterns of interaction, all define the work situation for each man. To carry through with the "onion" analogy, these kinds of factors comprise the layer of the onion surrounding the personal factors at the "core." The subjects react to these mores differently, according to their status and their conception of their role. It is the purpose of the following section to note the way role and status are used and perceived by the subjects and, in doing so, to categorize the men according to "company style."

#### "Company Style": Operational Categories

In Chapter one, role and status were examined for their theoretic-

cal relevance to the thesis. Here, the vague relevance is replaced by concrete examination of the uses of role and status by the subjects. With these men, as with most people, there is rarely conscious recognition of role-playing, although a few men did intimate such an awareness. Robert Park notes the inseparability of most persons from their roles:

It is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is a mask. It is rather a recognition of the fact that everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role. . . . It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves.<sup>4</sup>

In a sense, and insofar as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves--the role we are striving to live up to--this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons.<sup>5</sup>

In light of the fairly indivisible nature of role and person, the question "what role is this man playing?" is not asked, per se. Rather, the individual descriptions of these men--their self-perceptions, their perceptions of the company and each other--are in fact descriptions of highly individualistic work roles.

Two definite types of status will be at the center of the findings in this chapter: social status and task status. Most of the subjects make it quite apparent which, if either, of these kinds of status bother them. The differences between the subjects on the matter of status

<sup>4</sup> Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 11-12, quoting Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), p. 249.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 12, quoting Park, p. 250.

have been important factors in deciding how and where to categorize them in terms of "company style."

While "company style" (or company involvement) is indeed an ambiguous variable, for purposes here it has two important facets: (1) positive/negative affections for the company and (2) mobility or immobility within the company. It is important to note that men feel positively or negatively toward the company for different reasons. One man loves his job, another may love the company as a personified entity. These differences are important. However, for purposes of simplification, all types of positive or negative affections for the company are grouped together during the process of categorization. Likewise, mobility as a concept has a number of possible interpretations. For our purposes, the mobile person need not be changing jobs; rather, he seeks prestige, praise, enhanced social position, or new responsibilities in the job he has. The immobile person, on the other hand, is either satisfied with the prestige and responsibilities he has, or he is resigned to them. This definition of mobility is necessarily subjective and must be gleaned from what the individual man does and says in regard to intangibles like prestige. On the basis of these distinctions, the following categories have been devised to classify the men according to their company commitment, their "company style": "positive/immobiles," "positive/mobiles," "negative/immobiles," and "negative/mobiles." (While several men fall into each category, for purposes of illustration, one man has been selected as "typical" of each category. Therefore, in this chapter, there is a brief sketch of each type of company man. The remaining men are sketched in Appendix C and designated according to their appropriate "company style" category.

The distinguishing features of each category will be noted as each is used.)

Merton deals with the dynamics of status maintenance and change:

. . . Continuing satisfactions must derive from sheer participation in a competitive order as well as from eclipsing one's competitors if the order itself is to be sustained. If concern shifts exclusively to the outcome of competition, then those who perennially suffer defeat may, understandably enough, work for a change in the rules of the game. . . . The distribution of statuses through competition must be so organized that positive incentives for adherence to status obligations are provided for every position within the distributive order. Otherwise . . . aberrant behavior ensues.<sup>6</sup> (Emphasis added.)

The activity of status competition takes on a life of its own. Probably few hierarchically arranged groups reach Merton's ideal of giving every position the incentive to play the status game. This is why the "negative/immobiles" exist. These men are disaffected and refuse to play role and status games.

In order to ascertain the subjects' positive or negative affections for the company, and their mobility in the company, several common factors have been examined in each man: (1) His friendships. Who are his friends? Are they co-workers? Is he satisfied with his social status within the company? What do others say about him? (2) His outside contacts. What clubs or interests take up a subject's leisure time? (3) His view of the company. Does he think the company has been fair? Does he speak favorably of it and of his superiors? Is he satisfied with his job status? (4) His approval or disapproval of personal, company

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Merton, op. cit., p. 134.

and political disagreements. Do such disagreements exist? Are they upsetting or bothersome to the individual?

The relevance of the first three of these criteria is self-evident. A man who has company friends, has no outside contacts, and thinks the job and company are wonderful is positively involved in the company. However, the inclusion of the concept of disagreement in this context needs clarification. Often, responses to questions about disagreement hinted of personal feelings of security within the company. Sometimes such questions produces references to antagonisms. Also the concept of disagreement may be a connecting link between "company style" and political opinions. Perhaps a man's willingness to tolerate disagreement between himself and others means that he will also be more willing to espouse different political opinions. Here, however, the discussion of this factor will focus on clues about personal security within the company. (Discussion of this fourth criteria has been omitted in several of the individual sketches, if a man's comments about intra-company disagreement yield no such clues.)

Positive/Immobiles: Eight men fall into this category. Generally speaking, these men like the company and have affective ties with it. Hence, they are "positives." They are also men who are satisfied with their task and social status within the managerial group. Hence, they are "immobiles." Of course, there is variation among the men. Six of these men are in Groups A and B; the other two are from Groups C and D. There is a difference between the enthusiastic man at the top of the hierarchy and the satisfied man near the bottom. The category is useful but hardly absolute. B<sub>5</sub> is a good example of a "positive/immobile."

B<sub>5</sub> is enthusiastic about the company. There are no hints of disaffection. This is chiefly because he was brought in only five years ago and placed immediately in the prominent position which he holds now. On his first day of work, he had higher status than men who had worked there 15 or 20 years: "At the very start I was given free rein, a blank check. There was a job that had to be done and they hired me to do it." Of course he could have failed, but he obviously has not. He feels he will work there indefinitely. His best friends are company men and he belongs to no clubs. He is profuse in his praise for the company.

"I have responsibility, freedom. Nobody bothers me. It's the best thing that could happen in a company to anybody. No one hides his mistakes because they know they won't get fired."

Is there anything you don't like?

"Not a thing. Oh, there are a few little things, but the good far outweigh the bad. It's a most pleasant place."

He was asked to help write the annual humorous awards, issued to the various men of the management group. He confided to the interviewer which awards held serious messages and which were merely jokes. That he was included as one of the writers of these awards tends to verify his acceptance and success in the company. Not much has been said about B<sub>5</sub> by other men. Generally he seems to be well accepted, although at least two others have suggested that although he is a good worker, they are not sure how far he can be trusted, personally. These comments could be a function of his prestigious appointment.

He is one of the most enthusiastic of the "positive/immobiles." He seems completely happy with the company, his job, and his company



friends. In addition, he seems to have made no other important social contacts since he came to Missoula.

Positive/Mobiles: The four men placed in this category, like the "positive/immobiles," appear to feel positively toward the company. However, they are not satisfied with their status positions. Two are ambitiously looking for more prestige and task status, although not necessarily new jobs. One fears he is losing power and status. The fourth appears to be looking for higher social status. In light of the varying types of mobility, one must note, again, that these categories simplify, but cannot gloss over individual differences, if those differences become relevant to foreign policy opinions. B<sub>2</sub> is a good example of a "positive/mobile."

B<sub>2</sub> is a man in his late 30's (perhaps the youngest of the group), who is energetic and moving upward rapidly in the company. He is surely the most motivated and ambitious man in Group B. The president of the company mentioned the outstanding qualities of B<sub>2</sub>. He has a top supervisory position and does it well. Only he knows all the intricacies of his department; he is the only person to have the assistance of part-time university students. He is termed the hardest working man in the company. He himself says he would work somewhere else. "I have no strings I would not break." The distinct impression is one of confidence: if not rewarded here, there are other places to go. All indications are that he is being rewarded.

His closest friends are company men. Although most men were reluctant to name friends, his name was one of the most often mentioned. In part his affection for the company is based on affection for his co-workers:

"It's big enough, but you don't get lost in the shuffle. You're not just a number. Your personal interests are considered. There are real good people working for the company."

His only outside affiliation is to a political club, to which four other company men have belonged.

When asked whether there was anything he did not like about the company, he refused to answer, asking to be allowed to think about it. He may be quite aware of his goals in the company and is cautious not to jeopardize them by an indiscreet remark. These ambitions are somewhat confirmed by the comments of another subject. A man in Group D regards B<sub>2</sub> as a close friend and is sure they agree politically: "I'm pretty sure that B<sub>2</sub> voted as I did; I talk to him a lot and I found out from him how the president (of the company) feels politically." This is the only example, discovered by this researcher, of an actual filtering down of political opinions, in this case from a man in Group A, through one in Group B, finally to Group D. It appears that B<sub>2</sub>, the middleman, acts upon opinions from above, but expresses discontent about them to his less important friends below.

In summary, he is positively involved in the company, both socially and by virtue of his job position. Of the men who are mobile, he definitely continues to be the most successful in his ambitions.

Negative/Immobiles: The two men in this category have expressed open distrust or dislike for the company. It may be that they do like their work colleagues but have a negative image of the company. They are deemed immobile because they appear to be resigned to their task positions. They are not pleased with their status, but are apparently not doing anything to change it. D<sub>2</sub> exemplified the "negative/immobiles."

This man is the most open in his dissatisfaction with the company. The others know it. He is generally complaining although it takes on the air of a performance. He knows others expect his grumblings. He jokes about his disapproval. He calls the weekly luncheon, which he does not attend, the "weekly subsidy." Once he was asked how he has withstood the job all these years: "Whiskey and tranquilizers, that's how." He says about his friends:

"Best friends? I don't have any friends. I don't associate with many company men. There are some good people here. They have different opinions, but I like most everyone, as long as you can get away from this place."

He does not belong to any clubs. "I quit the Elks and Moose." He is the only man who does not like Montana.

He was fairly verbal in the interviews about his criticism of the company. When asked what he likes about the company, he was more negative than anyone else:

"I probably will work here indefinitely, but I hate to admit it. I'm not happy with the money and I'm not getting enough recognition. All companies think you will slack off as you get old. \_\_\_\_\_ doesn't get promotions anymore; now \_\_\_\_\_ runs things. This is an example of the age curve. There's an education curve too. Usually educated people do better. I've done as well as I have because of my special ability. A person's knowledge has to come down his arm, I always say, but some people get jobs regardless of how much they know, just because of their education."

He sees definite differences among the men: "Lots of people here have different opinions. The top people think different than others. The ones nearer the top may be more inhibited. The more money, the more conservative." He is aware of and articulate about the status arrangements in the company. He is openly rebellious. He feels quite negative and

also shows signs of resignation (immobility). This is indicated by the very fact of his exhibitionism: He has nothing to lose or gain by publicizing his disenchantment.

Negative/Mobiles: The last two men fall into this category. They may have strong affective ties with some of their co-workers, but their attitudes toward the company are fairly negative. However, unlike the "negative/immobiles," these men have every intention of increasing their prestige. Hence, they are categorized as mobile. C<sub>4</sub> perhaps best typifies this classification.

C<sub>4</sub> is somewhat negative about the company, although it is not obvious in the company setting. As this writer does not know the subject well, his responses were quite unanticipated. His casual behavior in the office does not hint of his actual attitudes. He explained this himself when discussing the agreement of the men on political matters: "What a person says and how he votes and behaves are different. A salaried person talks the way he thinks the company wants him to. He acts differently." This man belongs to no clubs, although he joined (briefly) a political club which several of the men experimented with. He says none of the men are his closest friends. He sees none of them in his private life.

What positive feelings he does have toward the company are based on potential for change within it: "It's getting more progressive. They let you do your job without looking over your shoulder. They are beginning to listen to new ideas." His complaints focus on "communication breakdown," and he traces this directly to the status system of the company and the fact of private, "one-man" ownership. He was the only man

who said he would work elsewhere without adding any qualifying statements.

He is one of the most articulate men about the subtleties of intra-company relations. However, he is not angry or defeated. He does not have any particular social ambitions within the company. However, he is classified as mobile because he has task ambitions, which he may pursue with another company.

#### Summary

In summarizing this section, it is interesting to note how the men in the various status groups (A, B, C, and D) fall into these categories, devised to determine company involvement. All of the men in Groups A and B are "positives," either mobile or immobile. The men in Group C are divided between positive and negative affections. Two of the three men in Group D are "negatives," although they are immobile.

#### Hierarchical Status Versus "Company Style"

		P/I*	P/M*	N/I*	N/M*
Status Groups:	A	3	1		
	B	3	2		
	C	1	1		2
	D	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
		8	4	2	2

\*These are abbreviations for "positive/immobile," "positive/mobile," "negative/immobile," and "negative/mobile."

While there is not absolute consistency, there is a definite tendency for the men at the top of the hierarchy to be the happiest in the company. Also, those in the middle ranks of the hierarchy, Groups B and C, have the highest incidence of mobility.

#### Is There a "Company Ideology"?

It would be naive to think that the men are all aware of an ex-

plicit political code, espoused by the company. However, several men mentioned the political "atmosphere," some more certain of its existence than others. It is certainly not an overstatement to assert that it is a politically aware company. In reference to the weekly luncheons, nearly all of them claimed that politics are discussed because the business is involved with government agencies.

"\_\_\_ digresses on politics and general economic conditions mostly as it affects our industry."

"Politics are discussed every week . . . it's hard to talk about anything without talking about politics."

Twelve of the 16 respondents mentioned a certain political inclination within the company, which most found hard to define. Most of these comments were in answer to the question, "Do you think most of the men here agree with one another on political matters?" It is interesting to view these comments in light of status positioning. Three of the four men in Group A spoke of the possibility of political influence in the company from the top down.

"Yes, we agree on political matters, because we all work with the government closely. I may influence other men, but I don't try to . . . like religion it's a private decision . . . but we do listen to each other."

"I don't influence the rest, but if they disagreed, I'd question my own beliefs. At all times we work in the same set of circumstances."

"There is unanimity . . . I don't influence others, but the president of the company does."

Two men in Group B appear quite aware of a political atmosphere.

"We listen to each other. . . . I don't know why, but they lean toward the Republicans."

"The majority are conservative, that's the thing to do. Conservatism is right. The atmosphere must have something to do with it. It's intangible."

Two in Group C are the most cynical about such an atmosphere or political pressure:

"What a person says and how he votes and behaves are different. A salaried person talks in the way he thinks the company wants him to."

"They agree outwardly, maybe not inwardly. Because the men at the top are quite different in their opinions, most people agree, rather than argue."

Both of these men said their own opinions had modified since they began working there. "I'm more aware of them." "I'm more thoughtful." Another in Group C, while not mentioning company pressure, has also changed his opinions: "Yes, agreement on business views affects political views. Yes, there's been a change in my opinions." A final man in Group C was overly vehement about his independence from company influence: "No company influences my vote." All of Group D commented on knowing how the company "feels," politically:

"I know how the company feels, but I haven't been influenced."

"My opinions haven't changed, but they have been strengthened because it is a Republican company."

"Lots of people have different opinions--the top people think different than others do; the ones at the top may be inhibited."

Of the remaining four men, who made no direct mention of company influence, three felt the men tend to agree for background or business reasons.

Figured in crude mathematics, 75% of the "positives" (mobile and immobile) feel there is unanimity among the men. None of the "negatives" either mobile or immobile feel there is political unanimity. To rearrange the men slightly, into status groups, one finds that 75% of Group A believe there is general political agreement; 80% of Group B; 25% of Group C; and 33% of Group D. Of course the sample is so small that these percentages are hardly significant. Nonetheless, there does seem to be some expectation in the minds of those near the top of the hierarchy (and of those who feel positively toward the company) that there is general political agreement among the men. This expectation is only partially realized on the lower levels and by those who feel negatively toward the company.

While general political agreement is hardly a "company ideology," the expectation of such agreement in the minds of some does imply tacit consent to a common body of political beliefs.



## CHAPTER IV

### POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES

While the line is not finely drawn, the present chapter is an analysis of political opinions and behavior, while Chapter 3 dealt with personal and social data. In Chapter 3 there was the attempt to reduce the variable "company style" to analytically useful proportions. This chapter will deal with the individual's political behavior and opinions, particularly in terms of his "company style."

#### Political Activity

Voting: All of the men say they vote. They regard it as a sacred duty. They take their vote extremely seriously, making every effort to be honest. For example, two of the 16 protested the 1964 presidential election by means of unique voting procedures. One said that he voted for everyone on the ballot except for the Presidency, "because both candidates were so bad." The other voted the Prohibition ticket, as a protest.

Many were reluctant to align themselves with a particular party. Of the ten who were willing to deal with the question of party loyalty, only two admit to voting straight Republican. Four others tend toward the Republican Party, but do vote split tickets. One man, generally negative toward the company, says he likes the Republicans, but did vote for Kennedy in 1960. Two of the ten are Independents. Finally, one man votes "mostly Democratic."

Party Affiliation

	Republican	Tends Toward Republican	Republican But Voted for JFK	Independent	Democratic
A	2(P)			1(P)	
B		3(P)			
C		1(P)	1(N)	1(P)	
D					1(N)

Again, as in the analysis of social behavior, Group B, all of whom feel positively toward the company, are a pivotal group. In this case, they are the ones who will admit only partial allegiance to the Republican Party. Group A is much more definitive: the Independent, A<sub>1</sub>, is just that, as has been shown in Chapter 3, and as his political opinions indicate (in this chapter); the other two from Group A, who mentioned the Republican Party, are unequivocal in their loyalty to it. The four in Groups C and D cannot be readily grouped. However, their party affiliation seems, to some extent, to mirror their relations with the company: D<sub>2</sub>, quite easily the most negative person in the company, is most definitely a Democrat; the Independent from Group C is criticized by his co-workers: "He was a Democrat when he started here and he's really changed"; the man who voted for Kennedy was concerned that this erratic vote be kept secret, probably in an effort to maintain a certain image for the company.

The men were asked about their votes in two specific elections. Did they vote for Barry Goldwater or Lyndon Johnson for President in 1964? Did they vote for Babcock or Metcalf for Senator in 1966? These are good elections to work with, as in both cases the company definitely supported a particular candidate. A vote for Johnson or Metcalf was clearly in defiance of the company's position.

Voting Record (by "Company Involvement")

	Goldwater/Johnson			Babcock/Metcalf		
P/I	5	1	(1 protest)	7		
P/M	4	1		4		(1 no response)
N/I	0	1	(1 protest)	1	1	
N/M	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
	10	4	2	13	2	1

(Differences between the two elections, which could have caused vote switches, will be noted in a later section.) Only one of the four "negatives" (25%) voted Republican in both elections. Nine of the 12 "positives" (75%) voted Republican both times. The use of percentages may appear to distort the result, since such a small sample is used in the calculations. However, it is clear that voting dissent does often correspond with negative feelings toward the company. It would be naive to believe that there is any man in the company who is not aware of the political leaning of the men at the top. Therefore, it is not surprising that voting patterns often follow the patterns of company affection.

Letter Writing: Half of the respondents (8) write letters to congressmen.

	Letter Writing (by job status groupings)		Letter Writing (by "company style")		
	<u>Write</u>	<u>Don't Write</u>	<u>Write</u>	<u>Don't Write</u>	
A	4	0	P/I	6	2
B	2	3	P/M	1	3
C	1	3	N/I	1	1
D	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	N/M	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
	8	8		8	8

It appears that those nearer the top of the hierarchy feel more politically potent. Also those who are "positive/immobiles" tend to write, although "positive/mobiles" apparently don't concern themselves with writing.

Several men on the lower echelons said they did not write because it was futile.

Letter Writing (by subject matter)

	Foreign Policy, Domestic Policy, Business Matters	Just Business	Just Domestic
A	2	2	
B			2
C			1
D			1

Such breakdown by subject matter further substantiates the concept of political potency. Only two men write about foreign policy, and they are the older members of Group A. Two others, younger members of Group A, write only as businessmen. In this instance, while the factor of age is not the determining one, it is true that the two younger men are really in charge of the operations of the company. A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>4</sub> are older, and their jobs more perfunctory, less related to the profit and loss aspects of business. They are the two who see fit to write about foreign policy. They both make interesting comments about their foreign policy letters:

"I write (about foreign policy) as an individual, but on company stationery."

"I write about Vietnam more as an American and less as a businessman."

They seem to have certain feelings that it is inappropriate to write solely as businessmen, and therefore they seek to combine their roles of businessman and American. The three writers in Groups B and C all wrote about domestic policy. One declared: "I'm not able to write about foreign policy." Finally the writer in Group D is generally negative about the com-

pany, and made it clear that he writes as a member of an outside organization, which apparently is often at odds with the philosophy of the company.

Clubs: It is sometimes difficult to know when a club has political overtones for its members. It has been noted that only one man, D<sub>1</sub>, has an organizational membership which may tend to alienate him from the company, or at least to give him conflicting roles.

Of the 15 other men, five have no club affiliations. They are three men in Group B (all of whom have a social life within the company), and two in Group D (neither of whom are social with other company men). For those who tend to have company contacts, but few outside contacts, it appears very likely that their political opinions may reflect, in part, the dialogue which goes on within the company and between company men.

The remaining ten men are club members with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Four men in Group A and one in Group C are involved in businessmen's organizations. (Three belong to the same service club; one to another service club; and one is involved in the Chamber of Commerce.) While these organizations are genuinely oriented toward the economic betterment of the community, there is little doubt that the contacts a man makes in such groups tend to reinforce his political attitudes. When this project was broached with one of these men, he suggested interviews with businessmen from the community at large. He added, "But I know they all agree with me, politically." Three of the service club members discussed their reasons for belonging. One saw it as his "obligation as a citizen and businessman." Another claims the organization "is a good force in community development. There's a big distance between economics

and politics. You have to keep them separate." While protests for such separation are valid, membership in these organizations undoubtedly reinforces a man's role in the company. Another was candid about the political implications of his club membership: "It's loaded with legislators, mostly Democrats, and I argue with them." In the cases of these five men, club associations do not impose a duality of roles, in comparison with the man whose club membership tends to divide his loyalties.

The remaining five club members (B<sub>2</sub>, B<sub>3</sub>, C<sub>1</sub>, and C<sub>3</sub>) belong (or have belonged) to the same political club, the Young Republicans. One of the five induced the others to join. Apparently all five paid their dues and attended meetings. However, only the man who did the recruitment simply listed the club, without elaborating about it. All of the others had reservations about the organization and their roles in it. Three (all in Group C) indicated disillusionment, because of the philosophic differences among the membership.

"I no longer am active in the Young Republicans. They had some good thinking. It wasn't radical, but then a more conservative club merged with it. I just wanted to see what it was like."

A fourth complaint about the club was exactly opposite in content: "I belong to the Young Republicans but they all agree and you don't learn anything." It is difficult to draw conclusions as to what actually happened once they joined the club. It is noteworthy however that two of those induced to join are fairly negative toward the company. The entire episode appears to have been an attempt (probably unconscious) to cement personal relations as well as political philosophies.

Direct Political Action: Only three of the men actually involved in the political arena. They are all in Group A. Two of them lobby (one on the national level, and one at the state level) as part of their jobs. A<sub>1</sub> goes to Washington occasionally to attempt to have lumber standards changed. He is obviously pleased that he has spoken directly with important congressmen. His complaints about "red tape" are coupled with pride at having obtained what access he has. This is a man who votes and thinks somewhat differently from his colleagues in Group A and who says he accepts political disagreement. It is entirely possible that occasional trips to Washington, partial successes there, have an effect on his political attitudes. While he definitely hates bureaucracy and governmental interference in business, he does not generalize his frustrations into all phases of his political opinions, particularly into the area of his foreign policy opinions.

In comparison, A<sub>4</sub>, who lobbies on the state level, faces frustration with and alienation from large segments of his local community. Particularly in light of the air pollution issue, he found himself deploring mothers who march on Helena and university professors "who ought to stay in their ivory towers." It is technically true that his efforts brought success in the 1965 session, although the legislature itself passed a strong measure and most of A<sub>4</sub>'s efforts were directed at the legislature. It was only by virtue of the Governor's veto that the bill was killed. As the problem arises in the 1967 session, this man's strategy (about which he is fairly open) is to appear oblivious to the issue and to support the weaker bills quietly, although he has made several trips to Helena. He is also at odds with conservationists, although it

is not clear whether he lobbies on this matter. He calls them "fake nature lovers and flower pickers." He admits that he was one of these years ago, "but you don't run a state on dude ranches. We can't be a playground for the rest of the country." Not only does this kind of attitude place him at odds with many fellow citizens, but it is contrary to some of his own beliefs: he came here from the East because of the industrial and population growth of the East; now he must at times advocate the same kind of development for Montana.

It seems that his involvement in government matters is more frustrating for him than for A<sub>1</sub>; he cannot leave Montana and his public image behind when he goes to Helena. His political activities bring him directly into the view of his neighbors. His adversaries are in his hometown, not in distant Washington. It would be simplistic to conclude that the broad differences between these two men rest totally on the type of lobbying they do. However, it is entirely possible that A<sub>1</sub>'s frustrations are somewhat appeased by his trips to Washington, while those of A<sub>4</sub> are further aggravated by his battles in Helena.

Finally, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>4</sub> are directly involved in politics on the local level. One has served on the Republican Central Committee; the other is a Republican precinct man. They are both active campaigners; one contributed money to the Babcock campaign.

Whether the kind of active political participation discussed in this section actually tends to separate the men in Group A from the others, in terms of their political opinions, is not clear. These are the men who feel somewhat politically potent: they write letters, they participate in the political processes. It is true that A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>4</sub> consciously



incorporate their opinions into a definite system of beliefs. They are more ideological about their views of the world than any of the other men, save D<sub>2</sub> who is ideological at the other end of the political spectrum. The term "ideology" is used advisedly and in light of Hannah Arendt's definition:

. . . An ideology differs from a simple opinion in that it claims to possess either the key to history, or the solution for all the "riddles of the univers," or the intimate knowledge of the hidden universe laws which are supposed to rule nature and man.<sup>1</sup>

#### Images of Government: State and Federal

It can be broadly stated that more of the men feel an affinity for the state government than for the national government. The men were asked whether they are more concerned with state politics or national politics. While the answers to this question are indicative of the tendency toward allegiance to the state government, the question can elicit an ambivalent answer. For example, one man replied: "I usually work for those who are running in state elections because there is a better chance to win, but usually I'm more interested in national politics." This answer is categorized as one showing more concern for state politics, as the speaker obviously feels more potent in state politics. Likewise some of those who said they are more concerned with national politics may actually feel more comfortable in state politics, but enjoy the excitement of the national arena. Because of the possibility of this misinterpretation, the responses to this question cannot be regarded as definitive.

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<sup>1</sup>Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951), p. 159.

Despite these qualifications, it does seem that there is a strong tendency to identify with the state government. Five men definitely favor the state government; two feel allegiance to both; three are more concerned with national politics.

<u>State</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
8	4	2	1

Some of the men articulated their reasons for favoring state politics.

"I'm more interested in state politics. It seems closer, affects a person more directly, even though the federal government has more power."

"The state is more important. The Governor is more important than a national senator or representative."

"The people are the state government."

Perhaps a better indicator of federal/state loyalties is the response to the question: "What proportion of the money needed by the state government should come from the federal government?" Thirteen of the 16 men feel the state should receive little if any money from the federal government.

"None, even if it means raising taxes."

"None, the federal government shouldn't take so much to begin with."

"None, the federal government should pay taxes on federal property to the local government. I would rather pay taxes to the state than the federal."

"The state should go it alone, even if taxes go up."

Several said they would rather pay taxes to the state government, and then have the state give some to the federal government. They really want the state to be their agent, further separating them from the federal govern-

ment. While some clearly believe that rejection of federal monies would mean lower taxes in the long run, most realized that Montana receives proportionately more from the federal government, because it is a poor state. Therefore, their absolute stand, rejecting federal money, was a matter of principle, not frugality.

Two men acquiesced to receiving federal funds.

"God knows. It depends on the tax structure. I'm not completely against equalization between poor and rich states."

"I don't know, some has to."

Only one man is openly pleased with federal money: "We should get lots of money from the federal government."

Clearly most of the men are resisting the federal government's intrusion into their lives. There are varying degrees of acceptance of the federal government; some are more adamant than others. These nuances will become more apparent in the discussion of other political opinions.

It may be noted parenthetically, that in the voting records discussed in the beginning of this chapter, there were more votes for a Republican U.S. Senator than for a Republican Presidential candidate. In the Presidential election there were two protest votes, and four votes for Johnson. In the Senatorial election there were only two Democratic votes (one of those who had voted for Johnson refused to name his senatorial preference). The two protest votes and one of the Democratic votes in 1964 became Republican votes in the 1966 election. The fact that their votes differed from one election to the other indicates that state allegiance is strong. Babcock has visited the company often, and is a personal friend of many of the men. As a Governor he has been vir-

tually revered by the company. This familiarity undoubtedly caused the switch in votes from 1964 to 1966. It confirms the concept of allegiance to the state, and it also suggests that there is flexibility in those men who switched. These three men tend to fluctuate in their political attitudes. In comparison with many of the others, their opinion structures contain subtleties and seem to be based on different or modified value systems.

The choice is fairly clearly made in favor of the state government. How deep is the hatred for the federal government? What are the reasons for it?

The men were asked: "Are there company problems which the government helps solve or problems which the government causes or hinders from solution?" Eleven of the 16 could think of no instance where the government helps. All of these were able to list several kinds of problems which the government creates.

"I'm past the point of anger. All bureaucrats work this way."

"The government doesn't help. I've never heard of an instance when it did."

"The government should put timber in the right places in the right quantities."

"There are very few problems the government isn't in and it's a hindrance in all of them."

Of the remaining five, only one could actually be deemed positive in his answer: "We depend on the government for timber which is good from the standpoint of the whole country and bad for the company. However, the government should protect the forests from lumber companies." Three others could think of both good and bad things. One did not know. It is no surprise that the comment most favorable to the federal government

comes from a man who feels generally negative toward the company. In fact, of the four ambivalent answers, three are from "negatives." The 11 who see only evil emanating from the federal government all feel positively toward the company. There is a direct relationship between animosity toward the federal government and love for the company.

#### The Role of Business in Government

In light of these answers and this reasoning, one can understand the vision most of these men have of what the role of business should be in politics. Most see an active role for business and businessmen. Eleven respondents feel that business should influence governmental matters, of one sort or another. In none of these answers is there any hint of control needed to check business. Two of the 11 feel that business cannot and does not influence government as much as it should.

". . . Probably business hasn't taken as big an interest as it should contrary to the popular idea of business influence. We never send anyone to Helena as a legislator. Some of us make contributions as individuals, but not as a company. We should, the union does, but contributions are expensive and not tax deductible."

This kind of sentiment points up the feeling of powerlessness which seems to permeate the company atmosphere. The company does in fact lobby, and on at least one occasion paid for 235 telegrams, sent on a single day, in an effort to influence particular legislation. Perhaps such efforts do not yield the desired results, but it is hardly true that the company is lax in its attempts to influence. These 11 men all feel positively toward the company.

Of the remaining five responses, four state with varying degrees of vehemence, that the company should not have too great an influence, if any, on governmental matters.

"The company shouldn't influence but it does. Business shouldn't take control, especially on the local level. Take the example of air pollution. It's a good thing that all representatives aren't businessmen.

"No, the company should have no relation to government."

"They do have an effect, even if they shouldn't . . . ."

"I don't think it should, but it will try."

One response was conditional: "Business should have a voice but not run it."

Some of the men do differ about the kinds of political policies in which business should play a part. Six men were quite careful to advocate business' role only in matters pertaining to itself.

"This company should only try to influence when the matter pertains to the company."

"It's okay to lobby, but not all the time, only on issues which affect them directly."

Only one answer definitely implies involvement of business in all kinds of political matters: "It is proper that any business influence government, because it is the lifeblood of the nation." While the six conditional answers came from young men in Groups A, B, and C, the above comment came from an older member of Group A. Again the age factor cannot be viewed as significant in isolation. However, in this study, as previously mentioned, older men tend to generalize their opinions into many realms, while younger men are less willing to do so. Raymond Bauer saw

indications of an age factor in a study of businessmen as isolationists.

Our younger respondents who favored higher tariffs gave business linked reasons without adopting a generally isolationist attitude. Among the older generation of protectionists, a full 48 per cent said that we should stay out of an active part in world affairs . . . whereas this is true of only 21 per cent of the respondents under fifty . . . .<sup>2</sup>

The men were also asked about the role of the businessman in politics, as opposed to the role of business. Those men who were cautious about company involvement in politics were more enthusiastic about the individual businessman's role.

"He ought to serve where needed: on city councils, committees set up by the President and Governor. Also he should be active in campaigns if he believes in somebody."

"They should take an active part as individuals, should be well informed, and take part in the political parties of their choice."

These answers are from men who are apprehensive of company political influence. Even the two men most negative about company political power are not as fearful of the individual businessman's power. In respect to businessman's power, their answers are ambivalent but not negative.

"Executives have a better education and have dealings all over the United States. They have a national feeling and this is good for politics . . . . But business shouldn't control, especially on the local level. It's a good thing that all representatives are not businessmen."

"It depends on who you're talking about. Some businessmen could run the government and some couldn't . . . . There are lots of intelligent people who can run the government who are not businessmen."

Undoubtedly, those who make the distinction between business and businessmen feel that the one can become too powerful, perhaps violating rules

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<sup>2</sup>Bauer, op. cit., p. 147.

of the system, while the latter has diluted power and works within the political process.

In general, however, the men feel their company should do all it can to influence government. This stems from their feeling of powerlessness vis-a-vis the government. There is little feeling of illegitimacy about it. Those few who feel politics and economics should be kept separate are the ones who would limit the political involvement of business. It may be noted, however, that most men see government as obligated to business. "We pay taxes." "We employ citizens." "We control votes." Stark as these comments may appear, these are the reasons offered to justify the company's right to wield as much power as it can in governmental affairs.

#### Foreign Policy Attitudes: Content and Analysis

In light of the original inquiry to which this thesis is addressed, the discussion of foreign policy opinions is the heart of the study. Without being terribly redundant, it is perhaps necessary, at this point, to reiterate the major orientation of the study. The study is actually a search for relationships between the subjects' involvement in a small work group (and the values which grow out of this involvement) and the subjects' foreign policy opinions. Given the exploratory nature of this inquiry, it has been impossible to articulate a narrow, clear-cut hypothesis, against which one might test the raw data, the foreign policy opinions. Because there is no well-defined hypothesis to inform the data, one feels, as he approaches it, that he may fail to see interesting and significant relationships between the variables. Ordinarily hypotheses tell the researcher what to look for in the data. Since this is not possible in this study,



three "points of view" or ways of looking at the data have been devised. It is hoped that by taking a variety of vantage points, one can uncover the significant relationships which may be gleaned from the data. The "points of view" or questions to be asked of the data are: (1) What business related values are relevant to the subjects' foreign policy opinions? (2) Where and when are the status groups, A, B, C, and D, relevant to the subjects' foreign policy opinions? (3) How does a man's "company style" relate to his foreign policy attitudes?

1. What business related values are relevant to the subjects' foreign policy opinions?

As individuals and as businessmen, these men are fairly far removed from the foreign policy sphere. However, several areas of foreign policy appear to be relevant to their businessman's values, particularly foreign aid and international aid.

Trade: These men can all be termed "free traders," in the sense that they all believe that world trade in general, is necessary and good. However, the kinds of reservations they have about trade with communists are the pivotal points which distinguish them from one another. In light of the question of trade with communists, they can be placed in five categories along a continuum: (1) trade with communists is good; (2) trade with communists is all right because everyone trade with them anyhow; (3) trade with communists is permissible if it is financially sound and/or non-strategic items are traded; (4) trade with communists is bad except under certain conditions with certain communists; (5) trade with communists is bad under any conditions. Men who fall into the first three of these categories can be judged to be fairly liberal on the matter of

trade with communists. Those in categories #4 and #5 are more conservative on this matter.

Chart 1

Category Numbers	Number of Men in Each Category
1	5
2	2
3	4
4	3
5	2

There appear to be two conflicting values influencing a man's attitude about trade with communists: financial (profit) versus anti-communism. While most of the respondents gloss over this value conflict, one man articulated his feeling of conflicting values. He knows he would compromise his anti-communism to make a profit, and he credits such compromise to his cynicism:

"I don't know if we should trade with the communists. Certainly not for humane reasons, because they are our enemies. If we had an astute government, we could make them dependent on us by means of trade. If we sold them lumber, I would view it with skepticism; however, I am getting cynical and tired. If the government made a policy of selling them lumber, then we would sell it too. In fact, I'm speculating on the wheat market now because I know Russia and China need so much."

The remarkable thing about the breakdown of these answers is the fact that 11 of the 16 men fell into the first three categories: on the issue of trade with communists it appears that the businessman's value of "financial wisdom" overrides the value of anti-communism.

Aid: While foreign aid (as opposed to foreign trade) has different connotations for the businessman, particularly in that there is no idea of monetary gain, it can relate to his values, particularly those of effi-

ciency and frugality. The men were asked: "Should the United States give much help to foreign countries, even if they are not as much against communism as we are?" The categories devised to measure the degree of tolerance for aid to potential communists are: (1) The factor of communism makes no difference; (2) the type and degree of communism makes a difference; (3) any country which tends (even slightly) toward communism shouldn't receive aid. Again, the categories are laid out as a continuum: responses which fall into category #1 are more liberal than those in category #3.

Chart 2

Category Numbers	Number of Men in Each Category
1	6
2	5
3	5

Again, as in the question of trade with communists, a majority (11) are willing to make some concessions and to envision some rapport with some types of communists.

How do the responses to questions about trade with communists compare with those about aid to potential communists? Ten of the 11 men who would tolerate some forms of trade with the communists would also favor aid to possible communists (with the qualifications noted in the above categories). Therefore, it may be generally said that those who would trade with confirmed communists would also aid varying types of communist sympathizers.

Another question was asked about foreign aid: "Should the United States give economic aid to poor countries, even if there is little chance that we shall be repaid?" In this case the value of anti-communist is not

relevant. Rather the subjects' values of financial reciprocity come into play. One would expect that a businessman would feel that such things as payment of debts are important. The categories set up to study the attitudes on aid to poor countries are: (1) feel positively about giving grants in aid for political, humanitarian, or long-range economic reasons; (2) question the worth of such aid, in light of such things as faulty mechanics, extravagant sums of money, or the minimal success of such aid; (3) feel quite negatively about "gift" types of aid, in principle.

Chart 3

Category Numbers	Number of Men in Each Category
1	7
2	7
3	2

In this simplified view, the majority of the men can be said to hold positive, or somewhat positive, views of such aid.

It is interesting to compare the attitudes on the two kinds of aid: aid to potential communists versus aid to poor countries. Essentially one is asking: Do those men who feel most strongly about frugality in foreign aid also have reservations about aid to communists? One might expect that the man who is open-minded about one of these types of aid would also feel similarly about the other. However, this need not be so because the values which motivate liberality on grants in aid do not necessarily relate to values of anti-communism. The two types of values do not have the same source: values of frugality are part of the businessman's mystique, whereas anti-communist values are based on a view of the world.

Three men hold positive attitudes toward both types of aid: the factors of communism and the nonrepayable nature of aid money are not important enough for these men to negate the value of the aid itself. At the other extreme one man feels negatively toward both types of aid. Three men are fairly open-minded on both types of aid: they simply choose to differentiate between kinds of communists. Likewise, three other men are simply frugal businessmen who favor the principle of aid and are somewhat willing to "waste" it in hopes of deterring potential communists. For example, one of them said: "Yes, foreign aid in general is okay, but we give too much. It's okay to give to small countries because it is harder for them to be against communism. We might win them over." This is the kind of answer which would fall into category #2 on the question of aid to poor countries, and #1 on aid to "countries less against communism." Nine of the 16, therefore, can be said to be fairly agreeable to both types of aid.

Others are quite negative toward it. One man thinks aid to poor countries is fine, but aid to potential communists cannot be condoned at all. He views aid in this manner because of the way in which he divides the world's people into groups. In light of domestic welfare programs he says: "People ought to have the privilege of starving to death." This is because the United States is prosperous and anyone with enough ambition should not starve. However, poor nations do not have free enterprise and they therefore deserve humanitarian aid: "It's quite a problem. Yes, I guess aid to poor countries is all right. If we can produce all this food, we should give it away." However, the people in potentially communistic countries fall into still another group: "I don't believe

in supporting those who are against us." One value undergirds all his answers: individual initiative. Lazy Americans and communists do not have individual initiative and therefore do not deserve welfare or aid. On the other hand, people in poor, underdeveloped countries cannot have individual initiative because they do not have systems of free enterprise. Therefore, they deserve our aid and surplus food. This important value of individual initiative stems from this man's role as a businessman. However, it is a much more ideological value than those of efficiency and frugality, which are not so easily generalized into all aspects of human life. The men who respond with these latter values can be more flexible in matters not relating directly to money.

While it is not altogether clear why it is so, it definitely appears that many of the subjects are able to form attitudes about foreign trade and aid which are not laden with anti-communist vehemence, but rather are tempered with a calm, business-oriented rationale. This must be viewed as remarkable, especially when their tempered opinions on these matters are compared with their rather unstructured opinions on such matters as the Vietnam war and the United Nations.

Vietnam War: The subjects were asked about their opinions on the war in both interviews. It is difficult to know exactly what values inform their opinions on the war. However, the impression is that for these men, two relevant values are anti-communism and perhaps efficiency. In this case anti-communism does not come into conflict with the relevant business-related value, but rather the two are complementary. In the first interview, ten of the 16 subjects wanted "more war." A year later 11 did. Four others approved of the "present policy" or gave indications that they

wanted "less war." One did not know. Most of those who wanted "more war" punctuated their comments with vehement statements about finishing "quickly."

"We should convince them we mean business."

"Our full military strength could end it in a month."

"We ought to really fight."

"We should wind it up the best way we can, with a massive military effort."

"We should do it quickly."

"We should go all out and get it over with in 24 hours."

"Whip them and get out."

It is quite possible that in this instance, the business-related value of efficiency does not temper attitudes but enflames them.

A note should be made of the one man who was unable to muster an opinion about Vietnam in either interview. In the first he said: "I'm not up on the Vietnam issue. I guess the present policy is okay." A year later he answered: "Trying to prevent communism is okay, so is the protection of Freedom. I don't know about the policy. I'm not up on it." While this man could be technically classified as a supporter of the status quo vis-a-vis the war, the vagueness of his answers and his general lack of concern sets him apart. All of the other men answered in vehement or thoughtful tones. This man appears to have no important values, even business-related ones, which might induce him to form an opinion about the war. He is however a committed company man, and does cultivate certain business values. For example, he responded to domestic questions with a theme of individual initiative. He answered foreign aid and trade questions with a "hard-nosed" business orientation: "We shouldn't give them anything; they should give us what they excel in, in exchange. There

should be strings on foreign aid." However, when asked if he had discussed "foreign policy in the past month," he mentioned three young mill workers who had joined the Peace Corps.

"Yes, I have, in regard to the Peace Corps and past employees. Three have gone from this company and none of them are really representative of the United States. They're beatnik types."

In this case, he was unable to detach himself from his job to discuss something distant from himself or his limited value system.

This inability to deal with the abstract was again demonstrated several days after the second interview. He started to talk about the war in light of comments which Senator Mark Hatfield had made. Four observations can be made about his reaction to Hatfield's comments:

(1) It appears that this was the first time he had been receptive to news or opinion about the war. There is little doubt that his embarrassment in the interview stimulated him to acquire an opinion. (2) There is no overt company pressure on the men to hold a particular opinion on the war. If there were a company "line," this man would have assimilated it. (3) He completely accepted everything Hatfield said. His inability to respond selectively to Hatfield further demonstrates this man's lack of values, relevant to the war. (4) His comments on Hatfield were laden with favorable reactions to the man himself: "I wish I could be as poised and good with words as that man is." This man directly relates nearly everything to himself or to the details of his job. He does not abstract values from the business milieu and use them elsewhere, as do the other men.

United Nations: It is quite difficult to classify the responses to the question: "What function does the United Nations have?" It is a fairly



open-ended question, offering the respondent no clues as to how to answer it. (This was the aim with most of the questions. It was felt that if the men were not directed to answer a question in a certain manner, they would be more likely to respond in those ways which would come closest to touching their basic values on these matters.) As with the opinions on the Vietnam war, there are no immediately obvious business values which inform the subjects' attitudes toward the United Nations. Of the 14 who had an opinion about the United Nations, six can be said to feel negatively toward it, one offered a neutral response, and seven are inclined favorably toward it. It is difficult to know why the men feel as they do toward the United Nations, although this may become more evident in a later section, when the men's opinions are juxtaposed against the factors of their role and status in the company. Three of the men who felt the most negatively toward the United Nations did couch their comments in terms which suggest a feeling of persecution and the need for caution.

"The United Nations is a farce. We support a large part of it, and it is used against us."

"I wouldn't turn this country over to a bunch of little countries that don't know about democracy. No one is going to love us."

"We should play along with them but not put our defense in their hands."

While "persecution" is not a business value, per se, this kind of response could be related to the general persecution which these men, as businessmen, feel from the government and the outside world.

Communism: The subjects were asked: "What outcome do you see for our struggle with the communists in general?" This question is worded, also in such a way that the answers it evokes are as various as the respond-

dents. It is impossible to rate the answers on a continuum of any sort. Six of the 16 subjects did make a distinction between Russian communists and Chinese communists.

"It's not really a conflict. It's changing from an ideological conflict to an economic one, with the Russians . . . it's still ideological with China."

"We can learn to live with them. There's no reason to fight. We have our ideas and they have theirs. Take Russia, we get along with her okay."

"I'm more afraid of China."

"The great danger with Russia is gone. In order to get technology you have to educate people, then they want more say-so in their government. Given enough time, Chinese will do the same thing, if we start letting Western influence in."

This type of answer is certainly the most tempered, in regard to the communists. Perhaps these men are able to make this kind of distinction because of the respect they have for economic growth and technology. That is, they can make such important distinctions between communists because they really have faith in industrial progress. If this is the case, then it can be said that a business inclination, the respect for technology, has something to do with their opinions. Such an estimation of values, in this instance, can only be supposition.

Five other answers are much more pessimistic. One value which seems to permeate some of them is that of efficiency, found also in some attitudes on the Vietnam war. Also, the feeling of "persecution," noted in the discussion of the United Nations, is present in these pessimistic responses.

"Time is on their side because they take the time and we don't do anything."

"Possibly the communists could win, since our system isn't in such good shape."

"Communism is being forced to adapt, yet we are getting encroached on by the federal government in every facet of our life. It's leading to oligarchy and despotism here."

The remaining five answers cannot be classified in any particular way: they tend to be idiosyncratic. It is very likely however that while these responses do not exhibit any values which are even tangential to the values of business, their idiosyncracies will be relevant to the status or "company style" of the respondents. (This will be explored in a later section.)

#### Business-Related Values and Political Opinions: A Summary

Because the interview questions were open-ended, it was possible, in response to the same questions, to have 16 answers which are virtually impossible to categorize. Each answer has a peculiar uniqueness. This individuality of attitude on the same issue is a significant factor. Why are the answers to some questions virtually impervious to categorization, while other, equally open-ended, questions draw answers which fall into neat groupings? One may hypothesize that businessmen react to certain kinds of political issues in a somewhat predictable manner, and to others with rather unanticipated and unclassifiable responses.

To illustrate this matter further, comparison is made of the responses to two domestic questions: (1) "How far should the government go to help Negroes?" (2) "How do you feel about the problem of medical expenses? Should the government help out at all? How far should it go?" Both these questions invite unlimited comment from the respondent. However, the answers to the Negro question were very different from those to the medical care question. The opinions on the race issue are longer, tend to be more complex, contain more ambiguities and contradictions.

The men do not depend on a common reservoir of values to reach their opinions on this matter. A multiplicity of images come to their minds when they are asked to consider the civil rights problem. Some react on the primitive level of biology and race theories. Others think in terms of law and order. Others respond in terms of time and appropriate rates of change. It is difficult to rate such answers along a single continuum. The categories finally chosen were the following: (1) stress notion of equality; (2) set no limits on eventual achievements; (3) specify what Negroes should not get; (4) feel Negroes are going too far; (5) categorize Negroes in terms of racial traits. While #1 is the most positive and #5 the most negative response, the continuum does not easily fall together. The point here, therefore, is that this difficulty arises because there is nothing in the attitudes of these men on the civil rights issue to indicate that they are an intimate group of men, or even that they are businessmen. The answers could have come from a random sample of persons.

However, the answers to the medical assistance question are often briefer, and simpler. It was generally an easier question for the men to answer. As businessmen, they have a common way of answering that type of question. Their opinions, however diverse in content, all are based on the same kinds of values, concepts of waste and government interference. Hence these opinions fall neatly into categories, essentially based on either positive or negative convictions about such government aid. The answers came readily. There were six one-sentence answers, in which the responses were clear-cut, completely lacking in ambivalence. (There were no single sentence answers in response to the civil rights question.) The

categories devised for these opinions were: (1) feel very positive toward such government programs; (2) recognize the problem and admit something had to be done; (3) attack the mechanics or socialistic tendencies, but not the principle itself; (4) feel very negative, calling on the individual to take care of himself. Here the rank ordering of the answers is obvious; the researcher need not be afraid of imposing his own values as he seeks to order the opinions.

The men were more decisive on the medical aid question because the factors, which were weighed before the answers were given, were typically businessmen's concerns: government waste, government interference, pay check deductions, and individual initiative. As Scott suggested (see Chapter 1), men instinctively evaluate things in terms of the values which touch their daily lives. In forming an opinion about civil rights, only one of these values, individual initiative, could possibly be relevant, and several of the men did lean on it as a basis for opinion-making in this matter.

Similarly, in the discussion of foreign policy attitudes, business-related values were found to be quite important to the subjects' opinions on some issues, and fairly unrelated on others. In the matter of foreign trade with the communists, the business value of profit comes into conflict with anti-communist values. The remarkable result is that, in a majority of cases, the business value apparently is more important than the anti-communist value. Also, when weighing the relative merits of foreign aid, important business-linked values come into play. Devising categories for the analysis of attitudes on foreign aid and trade, therefore, is a relatively easy task; although the men differ in their

opinions, they all approach the questions with the same values in mind. On the other hand, matters like communism, the Vietnam war, and the United Nations, apparently cannot automatically be related to common business-linked values. Some men do manage to form their opinions on these matters in light of certain business predispositions. However, many men, because of the specific nature of their business values, do not depend on them in the formulation of all their foreign policy opinions.

2. Where and when are the status groups, A, B, C, and D, relevant to the subjects' foreign policy opinions?

It is doubtful that very much significance can be found in linking these rather sterile, objective categories based solely on hierarchical status with the subjects' foreign policy views. Despite one's hesitancy to draw generalizations on this basis, a few tentative relationships can be seen stemming from these status groups.

It is difficult to know when one should accept an apparent relationship when it does seem to occur. For example, in the matter of trade with communists, the men seem to hold opinions which correspond with their status groupings. (It may be remembered that the men's responses were assigned to one of five categories, the opinions falling into category #1 being the most positive on this matter, and those in #5 being the most negative.)

The men at the top of the hierarchy, in Group A, seem to be most negative on the matter of trade with the communists, as the opinions of three of them fall into categories #4 and #5. On the other hand, all of Group D and most of Group C gave responses which fell into categories #1 and #2, the most positive classifications.

Chart 4

## Trade with Communists

		<u>Category Numbers</u>				
		(+)#1	#2	#3	#4	#5(-)
Status Groups:	A	1			1	2
	B			4	1	
	C	2	1		1	
	D	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
		5	2	4	3	2

While it is conceivable that there is a relationship between low status and liberality on this issue, it is more likely that this chart simply shows that on matters of foreign policy there is no "filtering down" of opinions from the men at the top of the organization. On several domestic issues, by comparison, there was much more homogeneity. For example, on the issue of government involvement with private utilities, all of the men (except one man, whose answers were generally idiosyncratic) agreed that government should generally leave private power alone. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, nearly all of the men feel their tax money should go to the state rather than the federal government. Also, while there was more of a diversity of opinion on such matters as social security, even in this area there was much more homogeneity in their responses than in their attitudes on most of the foreign policy issues. One is tempted to assume a null hypothesis: domestic issues, particularly those involving the federal government and financial matters, elicit similar opinions from the subjects; however, there seems to be little company pressure for conformity on foreign policy opinions. If one juxtaposes the responses about foreign aid against these status groups, the diversity of answers vis-a-vis status groupings is vividly illustrated.

Chart 5

## Aid to "Countries Less against Communism"

		<u>Category Numbers</u>		
		(+)#1	#2	#3(-)
Status Groups:	A	1	1	2
	B	1	2	2
	C	2	1	1
	D	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>   </u>
		6	5	5

There appears to be very little status patterning in this breakdown, and one could hardly pull any conclusions about status from this chart. The same holds true with aid to poor countries.

Chart 6

## Aid to Poor Countries

		<u>Category Numbers</u>		
		(+)#1	#2	#3(-)
Status Groups:	A		4	
	B	3	1	1
	C	1	2	1
	D	<u>3</u>	<u>   </u>	<u>   </u>
		7	7	2

In this case all of the responses from the men in Group A do fall into category #2. Also, all of Group D is in category #1. However, three answers from men in Group B also are delegated to category #1. One is indeed hesitant to attribute any definite meanings to these distributions of attitudes.

However, with this hesitancy in mind, some tentative statements can be made about the distribution of foreign policy opinions according to status groups.

It has been noted earlier that the men at the top of the company, Group A, often answered questions about their likes and dislikes in terms



of the welfare of the company, rather than their own position in it. They are all committed businessmen. It is interesting that on the issue of aid to poor countries which is not likely to be repaid, they all made businesslike allusions to "waste" or "mismanagement (therefore all of their attitudes fell into category #2, see Chart 6)." However, on other foreign policy issues, they tend to break into two groups: A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>3</sub> are older men. On the issue of Vietnam, for example, the younger men were less angry about the war; one spoke of it in business terms, and the other held the most "dove-like" position of the entire 16 subjects.

"Do we have to deploy that many men and that much material? Taking a business view, it's a tremendous expense. If our policy were to go up into North Vietnam or China, perhaps the expense would then be worth it."

"I have the vague feeling--and it's not very vague--that we should not be there. I don't have enough information to say we should withdraw, but I sure would like to . . . we're saving a corrupt government. The North Vietnamese government might be just as good for the peasants."

On the other hand, the older men, like so many of the men on the lower echelons, called for escalation and a quick end to the war.

"We should emphasize winning, not getting to the conference table."

"We are using 'basketball rules.' We must win it. We should attack the great supply centers, even in China."

When asked about the United Nations, the two younger men had quite positive things to say about it, whereas the older men in Group A feel quite negatively toward the world organization. In this same vein, the younger men made a distinction between Russian communism and Chinese communism; both the older men spoke of the communist threat in undifferentiated terms, and tied their answers in with thoughts of socialism here in the

United States. Therefore, it might be concluded that the men in Group A agree with one another on domestic and foreign matters which hinge solely on "profit and loss" values, but on Social Security, Negroes, and communists, the community falls apart.

Group B has been isolated as a unique group earlier in this chapter. The men in Group B do not write letters to congressmen; they are hesitant to totally align themselves with one political party. They have few outside club memberships, and do tend to cultivate company friendships. These are also the men who have made the most drastic climb in status in comparison with their fathers' occupational achievements. They are young, eager to succeed in the company (their Group B status indicates early success), and they are very committed to the company. While not monolithic in their views, they do tend to agree on domestic political issues. This consensus appears to be sustained on the issue of trade with communists. Four of the five men in Group B (see Chart 4) feel trade with communists is okay if it is financially sound and/or non-strategic items are traded. They are willing to be temperate on the issue of trade with communists, because their values of "profit" apparently come into play. One may conclude that the young businessmen of Group A and also most of Group B are businessmen in the pure "profit and loss" sense. However, their other foreign policy opinions form little pattern.

It has been noted that nearly all of the men in Groups C and D feel fairly positively about trade with communists. Unlike most of the responses from Groups A and B, this "liberality" holds true (for those in Group D) in regard to foreign aid also. (See Charts 5 and 6.) Again, however, as with the other groups, there is little similarity of opinion

within these groups on matters like the United Nations and communism. Nearly all of the men in all these status groups want to escalate the Vietnam war: this similarity is hardly confined to any particular status groups.

Two conclusions have been drawn from this inquiry into the relationship between objective company status and foreign policy opinions: (1) there apparently is little or no pressure from within the company for a consensus of opinion on foreign policy issues. Therefore on matters which are not related to financial values there is a wide variety of opinion, generally not following any particular status grouping. (2) It is apparent that many of the men near the top of the hierarchy who feel most intimately tied to the company, and feel most like businessmen, tend to be more cautious about giving money away, as in the foreign aid program.

3. How does a man's "company style" relate to his foreign policy attitudes?

Chapter 3 was spent delimiting the variable of company involvement or "company style" into operational categories. These categories were conceived: "positive/immobiles," "positive/mobiles," "negative/immobiles," and "negative/mobiles." (Reference to these categories in the charts in this section will be in the following abbreviated forms: P/I; P/M; N/I; and N/M.) It was thought that by weighing several factors of each man's social and company life, one could classify each man into one of these categories. It was noted, however, that some of the "positive/immobiles," for example, feel more affection for the company than do others of them. For some the determination of positive feelings was based solely on the lack of negative statements about the company, whereas for

others there was much evidence of strong company friendship and often exuberant statements praising the company. Therefore, these categories are not absolute. Also, the kinds of "mobility" attributed to these men were as various as the men themselves. Therefore, while it will be useful to test these categories against the data of the subjects' foreign policy views, it may also be necessary to look at some of the men as individuals. To do so will, of course, not yield generalizable conclusions; however, examining some particular men for their idiosyncratic opinions may suggest possible hypotheses which might be studied in more depth in a later study. This enterprise is, after all, an exploratory study. As long as one admits the tentative nature of his findings, it appears that he is free, in this type of study, to draw speculative conclusions.

Ignoring for the moment the distinction between "mobiles and "immobiles," one finds that it is much easier to see the "negatives" as a somewhat more unified opinion group than the "positives." The opinions of the "positives" vary tremendously, and span a wide spectrum. However, the "negatives" fall together in their attitudes on several foreign policy issues.

Chart 7

Trade with Communists (According to "Company Style")

		<u>Category Numbers</u>				
		(+)#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
Classifications:	P/I	2	1	3	1	1
	P/M			1	2	1
	N/I	2				
	N/M	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>    </u>	<u>    </u>	<u>    </u>
		5	2	4	3	2

The "negatives" offer fairly positive opinions on the issue of trade with

communists, although three "positives" also fall into the first two categories. Their comments on trade with communists were quite favorable:

"Trade with Russia is okay . . . also with China. I'm what you call an old-fashioned Republican."

"Yes, trade is okay. The only way to change countries is to have contact with them. The trouble with China is that it is too isolated and has no Western influence."

They were nearly as liberal about aid to countries "less against communism," and also aid to poor countries.

On the issues of the United Nations, and communism, there was some continuity of attitudes. Two of the "negatives" had no opinion about the United Nations. The two who did, hold quite positive images of the world organization.

"The United Nations should play a greater role; it's okay to sacrifice some of our nationalism; maybe not a world government, but something like it is necessary. We need a world-wide police force, and universal education."

"It's a very difficult organization to run. It has been actually quite successful. I'm sure it has prevented things from happening."

These comments are among the most favorable to come from any of the subjects, although a few of the "positives" also had good things to say about the world organization. On the matter of the eventual solution to "our struggle with the communists," only one of the four "negatives" gave indications that he felt we were losing to the communists. One "negative" said he didn't feel very threatened by the communists at all, although he would rather see more socialist countries than communist countries. The remaining two made the distinction between Russian and Chinese communists, feeling the struggle with the Russians was generally over.

On the Vietnam war, three of the four wanted to escalate it. This

was generally the sentiment of most of the 16 men. One "negative," however, made some thoughtful comments on the Vietnam situation.

"I think the balance and conflict between the military and pacifists is healthy. . . . I was shocked to discover that the life expectancy in Vietnam is so short. It's no wonder they riot. . . . We can't just get out, and can't drop the A-bomb either. We need a new concrete idea. I was scared of Goldwater; now Johnson scares me just as much."

While the "negatives" cannot necessarily be expected to hold divergent political opinions, it appears that one can look for some idiosyncratic opinions to come from this group. The man who is most alienated from the company holds very divergent views on domestic issues. He is in favor of socialism! Another "negative" admits that he "says one thing, and votes another way." Finally there is the "negative" who holds tempered, balanced opinions on everything from the lumber companies versus the government, to the "doves" versus the "hawks." It appears that divergent political opinions are one way of expressing alienation from the company.

Positives: The 12 "positives" resist categorization as a group. The cleavages which do occur among them are certainly not based on "mobility" or "immobility." There do appear to be two groups of "positives." While few men fall absolutely into one or the other of the two groups, most can be placed into a "liberal" or "conservative" camp, in terms of their foreign policy opinions: they feel positively toward both types of foreign aid, and toward trade with communists; they make the distinction between Russian and Chinese communists; they feel the United Nations is a good and useful organization. Those in the "conservative" group, on the other hand, generally hold opposing opinions: they are skeptical of foreign aid, especially to possible communists; they are strongly against

trade with communists; they feel the United Nations has accomplished little, and should not be given too much power. (Parenthetically, it may be noted that nearly all of these men want the war in Vietnam escalated. Because of this near unanimity, this issue has very little comparative value.) It must be stressed that the camps described here are ideal-types; very few men hold all of the opinions appropriate to one or the other of the groups.

There does appear to be a factor which may account for the cleavage. This factor is the physical location of their offices. The two groups are vividly illustrated in a breakdown of attitudes on the United Nations. (It was this chart which initially suggested the cleavage to the researcher.) The men are rated along a continuum based on their approval or disapproval of the United Nations.

Chart 8

	Very Positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very Negative
P/I	A <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>3</sub> B <sub>5</sub> D <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	B <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>2</sub> B <sub>3</sub>
P/M	B <sub>2</sub>			A <sub>4</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>4</sub>

The two groups indicated on the chart essentially illustrate the "liberal/conservative" cleavage. The men in one circle are in one office building; the others are in an adjacent building. Only B<sub>4</sub> fails to fall into this pattern. (There is, however, much interaction between the two buildings, separated by only a few feet, and it was hardly thought that this factor would be significant. Indeed, it is suggested here only tentatively.) On other foreign policy issues, the breakdown is not so clear-cut: on trade with communists, three responses do not fall into these groupings;

on aid to possible communists, two responses do not correspond to this cleavage. Therefore, the hypothesis arising from this observation is as tenuous as it is surprising. Nonetheless, one may hypothesize that physical location of offices, and perhaps the resultant social intercourse, may affect foreign policy opinions, particularly those which are not based on business-linked values. That is to say: if the subjects' strong or weak anti-communist values have any reinforcement from within the work experience, it is possible that social interaction, based on the location of offices, may have something to do with it.

Another hypothesis arises from the discussion of "positives." There are two "positives" who are consistently liberal on their foreign policy attitudes. They are also the only two "positives" who do not want to escalate the Vietnam war. While not "doves," both of these men do question the war, one feeling that we probably should not be there, and one wanting to negotiate (although in the second interview he gave tentative approval of the "present policy"). These men happen to be very secure in the company; they are happy with their jobs. However, they are young enough and confident enough to know they could work elsewhere if they became unhappy with this company. In a certain sense the company is dependent on them; they are not dependent on it. One may hypothesize that those who feel negative about the company (see earlier discussion of "negatives") or those who are extremely positive and confident vis-a-vis the company have more freedom and/or inclination to espouse opinions which are divergent from the norm. This is logical: men at either affective extreme have little to lose by holding idiosyncratic opinions.

Mobility: This variable as originally conceived does not appear to have



much relationship to foreign policy attitudes. This is because "mobility" varies from man to man. However, it may be noted that the "immobility" of the "negative/immobiles" was defined as resignation, the loss of desire to gain prestige or status within the company. It is very likely that it is this resignation which allows these men to hold somewhat unique foreign policy positions. A second case may demonstrate the possible relevance of "mobility": one man, a "positive/mobile," has been discussed earlier in light of his vague responses about the Vietnam war; it is possible that he has difficulty formulating political opinions because he is so totally involved in his personal struggle for status within the company. A third man's foreign policy opinions may be noted in connection with the concept of "mobility": a "positive/mobile," he holds the most volatile foreign policy opinions of the entire study group.

"We should help them off the ground, but they will stab us in the back. We can't buy friends . . . . We should have cut off that raving idiot Sukarno."

"It is stupid to help the blockade of Rhodesia, when England won't help us blockade Cuba. We've been rooked by France and England."

"The United Nations is a farce."

"We should have taken on Russia and Cuba a long time ago. Postponing foreign problems is like postponing day-to-day problems. Shouldn't be done. . . . Castro lied about communism."

His remarks about the company indicate that he definitely does feel abused and perhaps persecuted with the company. Perhaps his foreign policy opinions are as vehement as they are simply because of his personality. Or, they may be a release of company induced pressures.

Foremen: As expected, the supervisors in Group B tend to resolve the conflict of their middle-man status by siding with the management. One

of them, mentioned above, does have strongly expressed foreign policy opinions. The ambiguities of his supervisory role certainly may contribute to his company-related frustrations. All of the supervisors in Group D, on the other hand, gave examples of episodes when they sided with the workers, "because in the long run the workers were happier and worked harder." Two of these Group D supervisors are "negative/immobiles," and hold somewhat unique political opinions. It is surely possible that the tension of their middle-man position eventually induced them to side somewhat with the workers on company issues. This tension plus their basically low status very probably causes their negative and resigned attitudes toward the company. These in turn, as has been hypothesized, may lead to idiosyncratic political attitudes.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

Of the conclusions and tentative hypotheses which have been suggested earlier in the data analysis, perhaps the most substantial one grows out of the search for business related values in foreign policy opinions:

On some matters, both domestic and foreign, the subjects' attitudes are similar in orientation if not in content. This appears to be so when the issue hinges on business values. On certain issues, like trade with communist nations, when a business value such as "profit" comes into conflict with the value "anti-communism," often the business value carries the most weight.

The importance of this hypothesis lies in the assistance it gives in understanding the rationale behind some of the foreign policy attitudes of these businessmen. In fact, in the case of those foreign policy issues where this mechanism operates, one can comprehend the basis of certain foreign policy attitudes better than certain domestic issues like civil rights. That business values inform attitudes on certain types of political issues appears to be significant. Sutton, et al., have shown the existence of a business ideology through which American businessmen explain broad aspects of their economic and political environment.<sup>1</sup> However, this ideology does not appear to be able to sustain a very coherent set of attitudes toward foreign policy for reasons which will become clearer in the following analysis.

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<sup>1</sup>Francis X. Sutton, et al., The American Business Creed (New York: Schocken Books, 1962).

In a second conclusion it was determined that, in light of the often negligible relationship between task status and foreign policy opinion, there is little pressure from within the company to agree on foreign policy opinions, particularly those issues which cannot be easily related to business values. If this is so, it means that the men are freer to exhibit values in their foreign policy opinion which stem from their individual perceptions of their work, and more generally, their life experiences. This is not true at all of domestic opinions in which a negative attitude toward the government and government spending is generally expected in the men's attitudes.

Sutton, et al., point out that one of the bases on which the application of the business ideology is circumscribed is its emphasis on individualism.<sup>2</sup> Foreign policy, which by its very nature when it is conducted in a system of nation-states, is a governmental enterprise. Hence, it is not surprising that people who are committed to a system of beliefs which prescribe behavior for individuals would find it difficult to apply that system to a governmental activity like foreign policy. The problem of applying business ideology to foreign policy is accentuated by the fact that the ideology is not only strongly individualistic but also very much anti-governmental--a theme which pervaded the interview--which makes it difficult to have any ideas about foreign policy which do not conflict with the basic thrust of the ideology.

Still another clue to the explanation of the lack of a very clear relationship between business values and foreign policy attitudes is pro-

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

vided by Sutton, et al. They point out that "the most striking aspect of the way the creed characterizes the System is the complete absence of any recognition of historical processes."<sup>3</sup> American foreign policy, which operates in a world environment characterized by massive, rapid, and radical social change would appear to be impossible to understand without some "recognition of historical processes." In most foreign policy issues, apparently, businessmen have to make do without much help from their business ideology.

A third hypothesis grows out of the task status discussion:

Some men, especially many at the top of the company structure are opposed to "give-away" programs like foreign aid. Those nearer to bottom, who perhaps feel less like businessmen, are more amenable to such programs.

Like the other hypotheses summarized here, this one is tentative. It would be interesting to test it with other groups of businessmen.

Several other speculative hypotheses emerged out of the discussion of "company style" and foreign policy attitudes:

It was noted that men at either affective extreme vis-a-vis the company were more apt to hold divergent and "liberal" attitudes on foreign policy issues. Those who feel very positive or quite negative toward the company are the most "liberal" about such issues as the United Nations and communism. They are also the few men who are willing to question the value of American participation in the war in Vietnam. The explanation for this may lie in the fact that these are the men who have the least to lose in the work situation by espousing such divergent opinions.

The men who feel positively toward the company are actually three-fourths of the population studied. It was found that this large group,

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

as opposed to the few and distinct "negatives" could not be easily "lumped" together on the basis of their foreign policy opinions. In studying the differences of opinion among the "positives," another hypothesis evolved:

The physical location of offices and resultant social interaction patterns may affect foreign policy opinions, particularly those which are not based on business-linked values. If the subjects' strong or weak anti-communist values have any reinforcement from the work experience, it is possible that the location of offices may have something to do with it.

This is an interesting possibility. The factor of positive company attitudes is important, particularly in that those who feel most positively toward the company also trust and value the opinions of their co-workers. However, once such trust is established, it appears that the reciprocal influence occurs between those whose offices are in physical proximity to each other.

Finally, two suggestions were made about how mobility may relate to foreign policy opinions. In both cases the men involved are termed mobile because they feel insecure within the company. One of these was almost totally unable to form coherent foreign policy opinions. One may hypothesize:

A man who is exclusively involved in his job and is excessively concerned about his prestige and status in the company, may be unable to extract himself and his values from the immediate work situation. In such cases, he may be unable to form attitudes on issues which do not relate to business values.

Another man cares a great deal about his prestige in the company; his foreign policy opinions are extremely strong and emotional. This suggests the hypothesis that:

A man may project his feelings of persecution stemming from his work relationships onto his foreign policy opinions. Such opinions will then be volatile and may utilize idioms of persecution in describing inter-state relationships.

Two comments may be made about these last speculative hypotheses. Since they are based on the attitudes of single individuals, they are hardly to be regarded as viable. Second, both men are described as feeling similarly insecure in the company. However, their modes of forming foreign policy opinions are very different. What is needed are better theories of personality and other variables which intervene between attitudes toward the work group and attitudes toward foreign policy.

These hypotheses are of the sort that one might expect to arise from such an exploratory study. They need the refinement of future studies. Such studies might be similar to this one, studying other kinds of work groups. These would be particularly useful if one wished to elaborate the relationship between business values and foreign policy opinions. Or relevant future studies might focus on other types of small groups in an effort to determine what values and group pressures are transmitted into the members' foreign policy views.

In conclusion, one returns to the beginning: How does this study relate to William Scott's suggestion as to the basis of foreign policy opinions? Scott couches his ideas about foreign policy attitudes in two bodies of theory: psychological and sociological. This thesis has been limited to a single aspect of one of these bodies of theory, the work group as a part of one's social life. It does not touch on the psychological factors. In future studies it would undoubtedly be enlightening to integrate the study of a man's work experience with the study of other aspects of his life. In this study mention was made of such social ex-

periences as church and club life. These facets of the mens' lives were not found to be very important. In other cases, such factors may be important. Likewise, other studies could deliberately include such personal data as education in the search for processes of foreign policy opinion-formation. In this study, out of necessity, these kinds of data were included solely to give an image of the group as a whole. They were not used as significant variables in studying the individual men.

The very difficult feature of the Scott orientation is its limitlessness. One must get an analytical grip on a multitude of possibly significant social and psychological factors. Then they must be juxtaposed against one another almost indefinitely until significant permutations arise from the data. Even though this study is limited in scope, still there are too many variables. Passageways were discovered that perhaps were never adequately explored or eliminated. Some doors were simply left ajar. However, one must finally accept this complexity, for it is not so much the fault of the Scott construct as it is of the condition in which one finds such unexplored phenomena. The nature of opinions and, particularly, foreign policy opinions, is still virtually unknown. Some early scholars may take a broad view of the previously uninvestigated data. Others isolate variables hoping for results. Eventually, if the area of inquiry is a fruitful one, some variables come to be viewed as significant while others are ignored. Later researchers can lean on earlier findings. Their studies can then be more structured and focused. The chances of significant results from these later studies are much greater. Viewing social science in this almost "historical" sense gives one perspective. This study is exploratory; it looks at a fairly un-



charted wasteland. With these kinds of images in mind, one is not uncomfortable about scant and inconclusive results; rather, the project takes on an air of frontier excitement.

## APPENDIX A

### METHODOLOGY

In handling the problem posed by this thesis, two perhaps unorthodox methods have been used: (1) this is a single case study and (2) some of the observation has been unstructured. Perhaps some justification should be made of these methods.

While the single case study negates the possibility of comparison within the confines of this particular study, it can be tested and compared with other literature and other data, collected elsewhere. Undoubtedly, comparison with other identical analyses is superior to haphazard comparison with tangential analyses. However, if one does not insist upon generalizing one group into all such groups, the single case study does have a distinct advantage over the survey or comparative type of studies. The single case study allows one to take an intimate view of a social system, in this case the work group. This is appropriate in light of the central question: what significance does intense social interaction have for foreign policy opinions? The single case study allows that social interaction to be observed extensively from a multitude of angles. If one, on the other hand, is interested in people, isolated from their interpersonal associations, undoubtedly the random survey is a useful tool. However, in light of the present inquiries and the strong refusal to attempt to generalize the conclusions, the single case method appears to be appropriate to the problem at hand.

Selltiz, et al., comment on the use of unstructured observation in exploratory studies.

Since unstructured observation is often used as an exploratory technique, the observer's understanding of the situation is likely to change as he goes along. This, in turn, may call for changes in what he observes, at least to the extent of making the content of observation more specific; and often the changes called for may be quite radical. These changes in the content of observation are not undesirable. Quite the contrary; they represent the optimal use of unstructured observation.<sup>1</sup>

This ability to use unstructured observation to discover the unexpected in the data is very important. In this particular case, it was undoubtedly unstructured observation which permitted the researcher to note the distribution of attitudes according to the physical location of offices. The variable of the positioning of offices had not expected to be important.

In light of the fact that this is an exploratory study on a question which is virtually unexplored, at present, these two methods seem to be appropriate and necessary.

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<sup>1</sup>Selltiz, et al., op. cit., pp. 207-8.

## APPENDIX B

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

#### I.

1. Where are you from originally?
2. How long have you lived here?
3. What do you like/dislike about Montana and Missoula?
4. Do you travel? What places would you like to visit?
5. Where did you receive your education?
6. Are you a member of an organized religion? Which one?
7. Do you think your political views are influenced any by your religion?
8. How do you express your political opinions? That is, do you vote?  
Work for a party? Write letters to congressmen? Are you more concerned with state politics or national politics? Who did you vote for in the last presidential election?
9. What are the main sources of your political information? Magazines?  
Newspapers? T.V.? Books? Clubs and organizations? Conversations?
10. How far should the government go to help Negroes? Schooling? Jobs?  
Voting rights? Housing? Other?
11. How do you feel about the problem of medical expenses? Should the government help out at all? How far should it go?
12. Should the government stay completely out of things like public utilities and let private businessmen handle them?
13. What proportion of the money needed by the state government should come from the federal government?

14. Should the United States give economic aid to poor countries even if there is little chance that we shall be repaid?
15. Should the United States give much help to foreign countries even if they are not as much against communism as we are?
16. How do you feel about international trade? Should we trade at all with the communists? If Russia wanted to buy lumber instead of wheat would you want to sell it to her?
17. Do you think of the world as divided into groups of nations? What nations do you group together in your mind?
18. Do you have any opinions about the Vietnam issue? Should the United Nations play a part in that problem?
19. What function does the United Nations have?
20. Which men do you work closest with here at work? Which company men do you see outside of the company in your private life?
21. Are your closest acquaintances employees of this company or not?
22. Does this company feel any competition from foreign products imported to the United States?
23. Does the size or location of this company present any particular problems??
24. Can or should a business like this one have an influence on governmental policies?
25. Are there company problems which the government helps solve or problems which the government causes or hinders from solution?
26. Do you think most of the men who work here (i.e., salaried personnel) agree with one another on political matters?

27. How long have you worked for this company? Have your opinions changed any since you began working for this company?
28. Do you think you will work for this company indefinitely, or do you see yourself working somewhere else someday?

Questions for the men in Group A:

1. Do you write to your congressmen as a company spokesman or as an individual?
2. Do you think that you, as a kind of chief policy maker, influence the way the rest of the men feel politically?

## II.

1. What was your father's occupation?
2. Have you ever traveled overseas?
3. In the past month have you talked with anyone about foreign policy matters? People in the company or outside of it?
4. What is your opinion about the war in Vietnam? Is the present policy okay? What would be a better one?
5. What outcome do you see for our struggle with the communists in general?
6. Why doesn't a company like this do much foreign trading?
7. What place should the businessman have in political and governmental matters?
8. As someone who has a great deal of contact with the hourly personnel can you think of any situation when you felt pulled between management and labor? (Question for foremen.)

9. About the weekly luncheons:
  1. In addition to company business, what else is discussed? Sports? Politics? Other?
  2. Is there generally agreement about things discussed at these meetings?
10. What do you like most about working for this company?
11. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about working here?
12. Does it bother you if you disagree with someone about a political matter?
13. In the recent senatorial election, did you vote for Babcock or Metcalf?

## APPENDIX C

### INDIVIDUAL SKETCHES: ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER III

#### Positive/Immobiles:

A<sub>1</sub>--This man is a spokesman for the company to a larger wood products association. He makes occasional trips to Washington, D. C. At the time of his first interview, he had just returned and felt he might have succeeded in his efforts. He is active and prominent in city affairs. He attends church, reads a church related magazine which he termed "philosophic." He was one of the only two respondents who felt his religion might affect his politics. Of the 16 he is the most highly trained in the lumbering field.

He sees himself as somewhat separate from the other company men, although there is no doubt that he feels he is an integral part of the task process. While he does have friends in the company, he operates out of a larger circle of friends. He feels disagreement on political and business matters is quite acceptable.

It was impossible to discover any personal dissatisfaction with the company in his statements. He feels positively toward it because he has "freedom of action." His responses to questions which could have yielded negative comments were focused exclusively on concern for the company and its economic future.

There is little indication how the other men view A<sub>1</sub>. One man has indicated he is a bit "aloof." Another says he "is up and coming."

He is quietly committed to the company, although he definitely leads an important life outside of it. He undoubtedly used his role in



the company to supplement his image in the community. He is definitely satisfied with the company and his position in it, without being enthusiastic.

A2--This man has a very definite image of himself as a businessman. He theorizes at length about the role of business in the United States. His "basic political philosophy" (his words) neatly ties together all aspects of his life: business, politics (foreign and domestic), religion, and even his personal self-analysis.

"My parents were intellectuals and looked down on businessmen . . . my politics are a reaction to my parents."

". . . The stupendous growth of the United States is the result of business having made a profit . . . Asia and Africa have lots of raw material and labor, but no investment . . . that is why very few are wealthy and many are poor."

"The arts never flower unless the trades do well."

"I have admiration for Christian ethics and philosophy. It revolves around the dignity of the individual human. I can't understand how big government and Christianity are compatible . . . sure the 'brother's keeper' idea is there, but much more important and basic is your own individuality."

While many of the other men said similar things, there was a thread of continuity throughout the man's interviews which distinguished him from the others: the answer to every question related to the others logically and the same values came to the surface no matter what the content of the question was.

He says that the company people are not his best friends, although he associates "mostly with the top executives." He belongs to a number of business, fraternal, and political clubs and knows many people in the community. One top official said of A2, "He is hard to get to know. People

know of him, but they don't know him." Other company men stand at a distance from him, while generally respecting him. One man was exuberant in his praise: "He is hard to understand, but he is the finest fellow I've ever worked for; he's got a heart of gold." Any criticism seems to be aimed at his position, rather than at the man himself.

Like other top men, he feels very favorably toward the company and his responses to questions about his likes and dislikes vis-a-vis the company were filled with concern for its welfare, not his particular role in it.

He doesn't seem to tolerate disagreement well and he doubts there is much reason for differences among the management group, either on political or business matters. He admitted that it bothers him if someone disagrees with him on his "basic political philosophy."

He is deeply committed to the company. He has a definite idea of how it should be run and is satisfied with his decision-making role. He is socially involved with the other men, although his commitment to the company rests on his self image as a businessman, not his intra-company social contacts.

A3--This man's position is highly esteemed, and he has been called the company's "Golden Boy" by others. He was brought in from a branch plant five years ago to take this top job. He is in a position where he makes major policy decisions and has his hand in nearly all the operations of the plant. Like others in Group A, he feels he has a large stake in the company and his answers reflect concern for its change and survival. Asked whether there is anything he does not like, he replied: "Not in my position. I feel a part of it . . . if anything is wrong, I have to take the responsibility. . . . No, that would be negative thinking."

He was terse about company friends: "No, I try to separate work and play." He is gregarious and friendly in the office. However, others see him as often strict and overbearing. Probably because of his unique position, rather than any idiosyncrasy of his personality, he is more feared than the other top officials. If he is in a poor social position, vis-a-vis the other men, he does not seem to mind. He loves his job quite apart from its social implications.

It bothers him to disagree with someone on a political matter: "I classify myself as a worrier. I don't like differences of opinion." He feels there is trust within the group "because no one gets crucified."

This man is definitely and totally committed to the company. His involvement is based on his task status and not social status. He is very pleased with his high position; he knows its worth in terms of prestige and is willing to work very hard at it.

B<sub>1</sub>--This man is a supervisor and spends a good deal of time in the mill. Around the office he is loud and aggressive. Everyone likes him, as he apparently is only outwardly tough. He usually is laughing and joking. He does his job well, ardently actually, and he has been called the best in the Northwest in his field.

He belongs to no clubs and is intimate with many of the other men. "We meet at the Missoula Club (a bar), at homes, and go fishing and hunting together. (He was the only man who spelled out these activities.) My best friends are not necessarily company men, but some are." He is quite committed to the company. One man said of him, "He has blind faith in the company." His apparent difficulty in accepting disagreement with others points out his real involvement in the company group. When asked

if he is bothered when he disagrees with someone he said: "It depends on the circumstances . . . not if it happens in a conference here . . . but if the disagreement is among strangers and outsiders, then yes." This differentiation between insiders and outsiders is nowhere better articulated. At least for this man it indicates how the company has become a cloister. It is a safe place to fight one's battles, to expend one's energies. He accepts intra-company disagreement.

He appears to be an excellent example of the kind of man who is secure in the company, enjoying the friendly struggle of personality. He is not aiming at higher status. He does not, as some do, view the company in a larger perspective: that is, he does not idealize the company, seeing himself as only a small part of it. Rather, the company serves an important function for him and he repays with a good job done. His commitment to the company is solid and total, but unique by virtue of its simplicity.

B<sub>3</sub>--This is a reticent man, although his reserve depends in part on the circumstances and people with whom he is conversing. He did not like the idea of being interviewed, kept both interviews short, and often gave only "yes" or "no" answers. His job is important but repetitious. It is said that he gets what he wants, but always quietly, "under the table," so to speak.

His best friend is another man in Group B. While not all his friends are company men, some are. He belongs to a political club and got four other company men to join it. He also holds membership in two fraternal clubs, although there is no indication of the extent of his involvement in them.

He appears to be content with his place in the company. "I like this company because it is a small growing successful company. . . . there's personal satisfaction in being a part of it." He plans to work there indefinitely. However, he certainly is not flamboyant or open about his attitudes toward the company. He did not like to be questioned about his likes and dislikes vis-a-vis the company. When asked what he did not like, he refused to take the question seriously and gave a facetious answer. At least one other person in Group B was similarly evasive. It is possible that the men on this level are the most acutely aware of nuances of behavior and attitude which are necessary to achieve, maintain, and possible move up from this level. What little suspicion there was about my motives was expressed like this one, in Group B.

This man is definitely a "positive/immobile." He has a top job. His aim is to maintain the position and the prestige which goes with it.

C3--This man, like B<sub>3</sub>, was very reticent through both interviews. He tended to regard the inquiries as humorous. Therefore, there is doubt that the answers obtained from this man are accurate, especially those dealing with his attitudes toward the company. Part of this is probably due to poor rapport. However, there is evidence from other sources that this man has more to complain about than he cares to admit. A few years ago another man was given the position to which this man would logically have been promoted. Several others have noted this action as indication of his relative inadequacy in the eyes of the company. He confirms the somewhat negative image he holds of himself. He came here, "because I couldn't get into school anywhere else. (Laughed.)"

While his interview responses are far from exuberant, they do not reveal open dislike for the company. He belongs to a businessman's service club. He does not, however, socialize much with the other men. "I don't see company people very often outside of the job." About the company he says: "This is a good place to work . . . interesting people. If I got a job back East (his home), I'd go, but I'd rather stay here." Any negative features of the company? "Nothing serious."

This man may not belong in this category. He certainly is the least enthusiastic of the "positive/immobiles." It appears however that he does not blame the company for any failure he may feel. He, therefore, has minimal involvement in the company, but does not nurture negative feelings toward it. He does not appear to have any particular ambition in the way of task or social status enhancement. He seems accepting of his position within the company.

D<sub>3</sub>--This is the only man in Group D who feels fairly positive toward the company. Like C<sub>3</sub>, discussed in the previous sketch, his feelings toward the company are positive, but without exuberance. He is categorized as "positive/immobile" for the sake of simplification, but there are definite distinctions between men like C<sub>3</sub> or D<sub>3</sub> and other men who have attained higher task echelons. These men may be termed satisfied, rather than positive. About the company he says:

"Yes, I'll work here indefinitely. This is a good company to work for. It's a fair company. They do all right by me. It's as good if not better than any other company I've worked for."

"I'd like more free time. The company feels it compensates by giving you incidentals, but free time is quite valuable."

He is satisfied: he does not ask for more money or status from the company and he'd rather the company did not ask too much of him.

He appears to be fairly disassociated from the rest of the men: "I don't see too many of these men. My contacts are mostly neighbors. No, my best friends are not company men." When asked about political agreement among the men, he said:

"I don't know; I've never heard a discussion. I'm not around the office much. I know how the company feels, but I haven't been influenced."

It seems clear that his personal company relations and interactions are minimal. He does not belong to any organizations. There is no indications how others feel about this man. He is friendly, jokes quite a bit, and people seem to enjoy having him around. However, since he is basically quiet and generally is out in the mill, he does not play a significant social role.

Positive/Mobiles:

A<sub>4</sub>--Although this man holds an important position, there is a feeling that he is losing status, although this is somewhat difficult to pick up in his interview responses. The two interviews definitely had different tones to them: in the first he was exuberant about the company and himself as a businessman; the second was brief, almost curt, and answers to questions about his company affections were vague. Is there anything you do not like about working here? "I can't answer that. I've worked here so long that I have no basis for comparison. Nothing." This answer, at best neutral, is in stark contrast to the responses of the other men in Group A, who were very positive about the company and could think only of the welfare of the company when trying to articulate negative features. None of them spoke from the point of view of self, as

this man does. In addition two men, from lower levels, have mentioned what they perceive to be his loss of prestige. It is true that at times he seems to joke about the company when he is not joking, really. He was jokingly reprimanding a subordinate for not demonstrating the proper "company spirit" by working all day every Saturday. "I work every Saturday and look where it's got me!" It is for these reasons this man is rated as downwardly "mobile."

He is committed to the company and plans to work for it until retirement. "It's a small and growing company. The individual is not lost in a vast complex." His devotion to the company is supplemented by his company friendships. "My best friends are in the company because I'm so involved in it." His devotion to the company is almost habitual, based on years of positive activity in it and with other company men. It is impossible to judge his involvement as anything but positive. However, he may not be secure and is "mobile" in that his prestige is in question.

B4--This man tends to be loud and aggressive. At the annual banquet he was given a humorous award "for his outstanding statesmanship. The always calm demeanor with which he meets problems and his great peace-making efforts between departments is a soothing and quieting influence." As with most of the awards, it is difficult to tell where the spoofing ends. He says of himself:

"I was brought up in an arguing atmosphere. My father was always talking about politics. I can get worked up. Don't you, if you really believe in something?"

When he was trying to think of something he does not like about the company, he asserted, "Arguments with individuals don't count." He is well



liked and is accepted generally as one who speaks his mind. There seem to be few sanctions levied against him for his volatile personality.

This man appears to be fairly involved in the company. His best friends are company men. He does not belong to any clubs: "I'm not a joiner . . . . I don't like phoney fraternal clubs. Everyone is your friend; it's a bunch of damn lies."

His involvement within the company must be seen in light of his argumentative nature. That is, there are definitely things he does not like. Someone placed a cartoon in his office because of a comment he had made about the "clique" of top executives. He apparently jokes about their "in-group." In this same vein, he told of incidents in which a group of supervisors had agreed on a policy, but the others had backed down, making his look overly strict vis-a-vis the hourly workers. It appears that while he is definitely committed to the company ("It has become a way of life"), he does at times feel it is oppressive, that he is the object of persecution. He also spoke of an atmosphere within the company.

It is on the basis of these scattered comments, that this man is judged to be "mobile." In light of his positive comments about the company and his complete lack of social involvement outside of the company, he must be categorized as "positive/mobile."

C<sub>1</sub>--This is one of the most complex men to be studied. His affection for the company is effusive:

"I always will work here, as long as there is an opportunity. I'm grateful to the company for what it has done for me. It helped me to help myself."

"This company gives you an opportunity to grow. I've advanced myself. Learned a lot."

"I'm here to give the company all I can."

His commitment to the company, as an abstract entity, is devotional. However, when asked about company friends, he claimed:

". . . my personal life is my own. The company and anyone's personal life should be separate. People shouldn't be influenced by other company men. Your job shouldn't hinge on personal associations. No company policy influences my vote. A man is lucky to have one or two friends. I talk to company men, but I am not influenced by them."

While it is true that he does not have any close company friends, he does like to socialize, he does want recognition in the eyes of the other men. "Everyone needs recognition, not just the hourly employees." He bowls on the company team. He is undoubtedly one of the persons who most often wanders in on conversations and initiates them. The only negative feature of his job is that the "phone binds me to the office." This again substantiates his urge to move about and to chat.

The other men are aware of the conflicts between what this man says and does:

"He thinks he's independent, but he's not."

"His opinions have changed 180 degrees since he came here."

"He's a 'yes' man."

It is difficult to understand completely the rationale behind this man's statements. It appears that his abundant devotion in fact shows up his dependency on the company. His social skills are not well developed. He supplements this lack by magnifying his worth to the company. This in turn tends to threaten his self-image as an independent being. There-

fore, in virtually the same breath, he states devotion to the company and also absolute independence from it. He is placed in this category because of his obvious affection for the company; hence, he is "positive." His mobility, like other examples discussed, is unique to itself. He attempts to make social gains by aiming at increased prestige and respect in his task functions.

Negative/Immobiles:

D<sub>1</sub>--This man is fairly disaffected from the company. He has been with it for a long time, and yet has not progressed to a higher echelon. He is quite conscious of and verbal about this immobility. Throughout the questioning he was consistently negative about the company, although he seems to like most of the men as individuals and is very amiable with the others on the job.

"I like the salary and the congenial people, but I would go elsewhere for a larger salary."

"I'm resigned to staying with this company, but I'm not satisfied."

His company friendships extend only to the work situation.

"I don't see any of the company men personally. Two or three of the men in the mill are my friends, but none of the management group."

He is the only person to mention friendship with the hourly employees.

He belongs to one outside organization in which he is quite active. The impression is that this is a fairly liberal (politically) association.

He struggled with the question about whether it bothers him to disagree with someone on a political matter. Finally, he simply said,

"yes, it does." He did not elaborate. This was unusual for him as he tended to be quite elaborate in his interview responses.

This is a man who is disenchanted with the company, but not overtly rebellious. The company is important to him, but so are outside friends and contacts.

Negative/Mobiles:

C<sub>2</sub>--For this man, his involvement in the company is social and he harbors no mystique about the company, per se. His office is a meeting place. Everyone seems to like him. He is friendly and always ready to do favors. Although his best friends are outside the company, he clearly likes socialization (fishing, drinking, etc.) with his co-workers. If he ever did quit his job, he would miss the "friendly atmosphere, the people."

He is one of the few active church members. He is active in community work, as an individual and family man, not as a businessman. Because of his personality and the nature of his job, he knows hundreds of people in the community.

In spite of his social success, he feels stagnant within the company. He feels he is not given enough credit for his work. He sees this as partly his fault and partly the fault of his superiors. "I'm not aggressive enough." He does not know exactly how to put himself and his work into the limelight. He does not believe in working on his days off. He resents "yes-men" who get raises and bonuses.. Of the men at the top he says:

"They don't even notice anything, if it doesn't produce boards."

"I'm happy with the job, but I don't like the company. . . it's okay, but they're dictators."

Do people agree generally on political matters?

"They do outwardly but maybe not inwardly."

Is there anything you do not like?

"The policy isn't set--it depends on somebody's whim."

Despite this active dislike for many aspects of the firm, his positive social contacts appear to blunt the effect of his resistance. Many of his opinions are not noticeably different from those of the more devoted. He is one of the few who mentioned "conversations with friends" as a source of political information.

He is classified as "negative" although he has positive social contacts with many company men. He is "mobile" because he would like to gain in job prestige.

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