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Four Approaches to the Study of Social Character and Personality

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FOUR APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF
SOCIAL CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

by

James Jana

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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LIFE

James Jana was born in Chicago, Illinois, September 26, 1930. He resides in Berwyn, Illinois.

He was graduated from Fenwick High School, Oak Park, Illinois, in June 1948, and from St. Ambrose College in June of 1952, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

In September of 1953 he began his graduate studies in sociology at Loyola University, where he also studied American history and education.

PREFACE

This thesis is an attempt to study one problem, American social character, from several varied approaches. In retrospect, the writer's education has itself been somewhat ^{CH. AN}interdisciplinary approach and he is indebted to many members of the Loyola University faculty for the part they have played in furthering his education: To Fr. Herr and Dr. Nicolay with whom he studied psychology; to Mr. Hodapp, Fr. Gallagher, Fr. Sieber, Fr. Martin, Dr. Zahn and Dr. Mundy of the sociology faculty; to Dr. McCluggage, Mr. Kelly and Mr. Schiltz of the history department; and to Mr. Feely in education.

It has been the writer's especially good fortune to have had Dr. Paul Mundy as a teacher of minority problems, a seminar in research and as adviser for this study. Dr. Mundy has given a continuing example of scholarship and kindness for which the writer is particularly grateful.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Purpose. The purpose of this thesis is to present, analyze and compare the methodology, typology and conclusions of four studies in social character and personality. The studies were conducted in various disciplines of the behavioral sciences: Margaret Mead, anthropology; Erich Fromm, psychology; Pitirim A. Sorokin, sociology; and David Riesman, social science. Since this thesis involves no experimental procedure, material used will be obtained primarily from their writings. To depict the author's typologies accurately and to analyze their conclusions presents a two fold problem of importance and difficulty.

Some Influencing Factors. Recent publications by William Foote Whyte and David Riesman have included statements of their educational background and other experiences to help the reader form a better judgment of their qualifications, technique, method and possible bias. The following remarks concerning the present writer are intended to give some insight into how the basic problem of the thesis developed and how personal influences registered a relevant impact.

¹William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society, Enlarged ed. (Chicago 1955).

David Riesman, Constraint and Variety in American Education (University of Nebraska Press, 1956).

The Davenport, Iowa, area blends an atmosphere of rural charm with urban life. It was at St. Ambrose College in Davenport that the writer studied commerce, social science and philosophy. Real interest was in the realm of social ideas and philosophy so that much of the time and energy which might have been devoted to commercial subjects was happily given to social, political, athletic and literary activities on the campus. During summer vacations the City of Berwyn's Playground and Recreation Commission employed the writer as a playground supervisor.

After graduation and army service, the writer worked in the sales promotion and sales departments of a large national oil corporation with Midwest offices in Chicago. At this time the writer entered Loyola University's evening division and began the study of sociology.

The personal contact work which the sales position provided the writer to a variety of new experiences: contact with businessmen and workers of varied economic brackets, nationalities and races; to changing neighborhoods; corporate promotional programs; labor-management relations, union organizational techniques, threatened strikes; and what William H. Whyte describes in The Organization Man as the conflict between personal and corporate ethics.²

²William H. Whyte, The Organization Man (New York 1956).

The thesis outline was developed in Dr. Paul Mundy's research seminar. One of his lectures on the interdisciplinary method seems, in retrospect, instrumental in drawing up the final outline. Before this, the writer had studied social psychology and the psychology of personality. An anthropologist Father Sylvester Sieber, taught a course in Christian Social Theory and Father Leo Martin, a Theory of Social Movements class--both implied a comparative method.

Probably most influential to the selection of material and the comparative method of this study were two courses taught by Dr. Gordon Zahn, entitled Social Stratification and a Seminar in Modern Sociological Theory. In the stratification class, several case studies of American social structure were presented, including those of anthropologist W. L. Warner's. Pitirim A. Sorokin's writings were considered as part of the contemporary theory class. At the same time a growing interest in David Riesman's The Lonely Crowd³ was developing. Riesman's acknowledgements of Erich Fromm's work led to a study of Fromm's writings. All these divergent interests and influences were unified and the central problem of the thesis evolved.

³David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven; 1956).

The authors Margaret Mead, Pitirim Sorokin, Erich Fromm and David Riesman were selected because of their important contributions to their respective fields. They presented a typology of Western man (specifically the American), a timeliness in their writing, and interest to the researcher. It is in no way implied that their typologies are the only possible valid ones in social science literature. The intent is to present their viewpoints and approaches, to compare and to evaluate these briefly, to seek agreements and disagreements.

Being but a novice in each of these fields is, of course, a handicap. It is the researcher's hope that each of the authors receives an accurate and worthy presentation. If this study can, to some degree, realize Mortimer Adler's suggestions for "Criticisms of a Book as a Communication of Knowledge," then this presentation and analysis may prove of value to future researchers:

1. Do not begin criticism until you have completed analysis and interpretation. (Do not say you agree, disagree, or suspend judgment until you can say, "I understand.")
2. Do not disagree disputatiously or contentiously.
3. Respect the difference between knowledge and opinion, by having reasons for any critical judgment you make.⁴

⁴Mortimer J. Adler, How To Read A Book (New York, 1940), p. 267.

Chapter Previews. An additional factor prompting the choice of the four authors is their use of "ideal types" to depict their structure of social character. Max Weber is very frequently mentioned for his use of "ideal types" in his writing, but the device is as old as Aristotle. The philosopher described the youthful type of character, of elderly men and men in their prime in his Rhetoric.⁵ In effect, the authors to be discussed in this thesis are using "ideal types" in a similiar manner to present and analyze the American social character.

Chapter One has been devoted to a presentation of the problem, background material and method. In chapter Two Pitirim Sorokin's Sensate, Ideational and Idealistic cultures are illustrated. Margaret Mead demonstrates the methods of anthropology, of Freudian psychology and the American emphasis on success in Chapter Three. Man's use of freedom, the economic man, aloneness, and socialism are some of the problems discussed in Chapter Four which is based on the writings of Erich Fromm. Chapter Five is primarily a consideration of David Riesman's tradition-directed, inner-directed and other^{DIRECTED} men; it also includes an evaluation of Mr. Riesman's suggestions for autonomy through leisure.

⁵Aristotle, Rhetoric and Poetics, trans. W Rhys Roberts and Ingram Bywater. (New York, 1954), pp. 122-126.

The chapters on Sorokin, Mead, Fromm and Riesman include individual summaries and evaluations of their work. In Chapter Six a comparison of some of the salient aspects of their work is undertaken; several corresponding areas of research are also mentioned and positive contributions of the four authors are listed.

CHAPTER II

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

We are seemingly between two epochs: the dying Sensate culture of our magnificent yesterday and the coming Ideational culture of the creative tomorrow. We are living, thinking, and acting at the end of a brilliant six hundred-year-long Sensate day. The oblique rays of the sun still illumine the glory of the passing epoch. But the light is fading, and in the deepening shadows it becomes more and more difficult to see clearly and to orient ourselves safely in the confusions of the twilight. The night of the transitory period begins to loom before us, with its nightmares, frightening shadows, and heartrending horrors. Beyond it, however, the dawn of a new great Ideational culture is probably waiting to greet the men of the future.¹

The Problem. Between 1937 and 1941 the four volumes of Social and Cultural Dynamics by Pitirim A. Sorokin were published. They represent meticulous study by Sorokin and twenty collaborators on cultural change and fluctuation. Though the main emphasis of the work is on changes and fluctuations in the Ideational, Idealistic and Sensate cultures, it may also be viewed from a psychological and an objective aspect. "Considered objectively, these volumes are an investigation of the nature and change, the dynamics of integrated culture: its types its processes, its trends, fluctuations, rhythms, tempos."² The scope of study is

¹Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics. (New York, 1937), III, 535. A biographical sketch of Pitirim Sorokin and an eleven point outline of Social and Cultural Dynamics is contained in the appendix. Subsequent footnotes concerning this work will be distinguished by citing volume number; the title will not be repeated.

²Ibid., I, x.

very broad, intending to cover not only one specific country, but rather a comprehensive view of Western culture. From a psychological aspect, it is Sorokin's attempt to understand contemporary culture and society.³

Through empirical research and logical analysis, fluctuation in the forms of art, systems of truth, knowledge, ethics, law, social relationships, war and revolution are studied. Included also is the bearer of culture, the smallest individual culture, the person and the personality he manifests.⁴ These factors are illustrated in each distinct cultural system considered by Sorokin and called Idealistic, Ideational and Sensate cultures. If, however, a culture shows a considerable mixture without a dominant trait, it is classified as a mixed culture.

Methods: Logico-Meaningful and Causal-Functional. The method of his research involves not only a systematic gathering

³Ibid.

⁴Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality (New York, 1947), p. 714. "Personality," defined by Sorokin, "is a microcosm reflecting the sociocultural macrocosm wherein the individual is born and lives. Mentioning the influence of cultural and biological properties, Sorokin comments: "The life of an individual is a great drama determined first by his social universe and then by the biological properties of his organism. Even before the organism is born, the sociocultural universe begins to influence and to determine the properties of the organism and it relentlessly maintains this molding process till the individual's death and beyond."

of facts, but also the development of a logical thought pattern which unifies and connects the many empirical facts into an understandable idea.⁵ Sorokin calls his method of study "logico-meaningful" combined with the "causal-functional." "It gives full freedom to logical thought generalizing and analytical - and, at the same time it tests its deductions inductively by the relevant empirical facts."⁶

"Causal-functional" implies relationship, interdependence and unity of the individual cultural elements. There is a combination of the various elements into one causal unit. Sorokin relates how this relationship between various cultural parts is established:

Simply stated, they consist chiefly of the tangible, noticeable, testifiable, direct interdependence (mutual or one sided) of the variables or parts upon one another and upon the whole system. If variation A is always followed by B (under the same conditions in a large enough number of cases so that mere chance is eliminated), we say that they are functionally related. This means that any cultural synthesis is

⁵Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory (New York, 1955), p. 237. "Although Sorokin strongly disagrees with the pretensions of the extreme exponents of quantitativism in sociology, he makes abundant use of quantitative methods. Thus, in order to establish the style of a particular sociocultural subsystem, for instance, philosophy, he computes lists of those cultural phenomena which most clearly manifest the subsystem (in concrete case, the works of the philosophers of the time) distributes each item among the three major types of culture, and ascribes to each a weight (depending on the number of philosophers' followers, later editions and translations and other objective criteria)."

⁶Sorokin, I, xi.

to be regarded as functional, when, on the one hand, the elimination of one of its important elements perceptibly influences the rest of the synthesis in its functions (and usually in its structure); and when, on the other hand, the separate element, being transposed to a quite different combination, either cannot exist in it or has to undergo a profound modification to become a part of it.⁷

The "logico-meaningful" method denotes a search for the prime reason or main idea which embraces a given culture. Both the causal-functional" and "logico-meaningful" methods seek an ordering of elements. The former considers the unity of relationship in various elements; the latter, a central principle consistent in the parts.⁸ In a book review of the first three volumes of Social and Cultural Dynamics, Robert E. Park interprets Sorokin's method and writes:

The so called logico-meaningful analysis and interpretation of cultural phenomena is based on the assumption that a culture, at least an integrated culture, is not merely a "causal-functional" but an intelligible unity. It can be interpreted like a historical document, it gains sense and meaning only as it is so interpreted. "For the investigator of an integrated system of Culture, the internal aspect, the meaning is paramount. It determines which of the generally existing phenomena - and in what sense and to what extent - becomes part of the system."⁹

⁷Ibid., 15.

⁸Ibid., 23.

⁹Robert E. Park, "Social and Cultural Dynamics, Volumes I, II, III," American Journal of Sociology, 38, (March 1938), 828.

In describing the most essential element in the "logico-meaningful" method Sorokin writes:

The essence of the logico-meaningful method of cognition is, as has already been mentioned, in the finding of the central principle (the "reason") which permeates all the components, gives sense and significance to each of them and in this way makes cosmos of a chaos of unintegrated fragments...

Finally, in the study of logico-meaningful relationships, the proper method is neither a mere concrete description nor a causal formula, but the appropriate unification of the fragments into a whole according to their logical significance or their logical belonging.¹⁰

To illustrate the method, two hypothetical cultural settings may serve as examples. Each culture contains many varied elements but gives evidence of one predominant thought. In one culture, the true or ultimate reality is super sensory. Reality detected by sense organs is illusory. The second culture produces the contrary thought, namely, all reality is sensory. If each culture is considerably integrated, then a series of logical deductions demonstrates the characteristics of the dominant current in the culture.¹¹ The cultures in the following examples are of the Ideational and Sensate types:

First Culture (Ideational): Dominance of Rationalism, Mysticism, Idealism, Eternalism, Indeterminism, Realism, Sociological Universalism, The Conception of Corporation or Juridical Personality as a Primary Reality, Ethics of Absolute Principles, Few Discoveries in the Natural Sciences and Few Inventions, Static Character of Social

¹⁰Sorokin, I, 32.

¹¹Ibid., 33.

Life with a Slow Rate of Change, Ideational Style of Painting, "Scripture" as the Main Form of Literature, Pure or Diluted Theocracy, "Expiation" as the Basic Principle of Punishment and of Criminal Law.

Second Culture (Sensate): Dominance of Empiricism, Materialism, Temporalism, Determinism, Nominalism, Sociological Singularism, The Conception of Corporation or Juridical Personality as an Expedient Fiction, Ethics of Happiness (Hedonism, Utilitarianism, Eudaemonism), Many Discoveries and Inventions, Dynamic Character of Social Life with a Rapid Rate of Change, Visual Style of Painting, Secular Realism and Naturalism in Literature, with Sensualism and even Sexualism, Pure or Diluted Secular Power. "Adjustment," Re-education Mixed with Extermination of the "Unadjusted" and "Socially Dangerous" Persons.¹²

The Interaction of Personality, Culture and Society. The development of a culture mentality is not a direct transferral of characteristics from culture to person or person to culture. There is rather a three-fold interaction which occurs. This interaction is between the personality, society and culture.

Pitirim Sorokin writes:

Personality, Culture and Society are an inseparable trio with (1) personality as the subject of interaction, (2) society as the totality of interacting personalities with their sociocultural relationships and processes, and (3) culture as the totality of the meanings, values and norms possessed by the interacting persons and the totality of the vehicles which objectify, socialize, and convey these meanings.¹³

N. S. Timasheff comments that although Sorokin stresses the the influence of sociocultural environment on personality it is

¹²Ibid.

¹³Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality, p. 63.

not a one-sided sociologistic explanation; the three-fold influence of society, culture and personality are interdependent and interacting.¹⁴

Use of Ideal Types. The cultural systems presented by Sorokin are not intended to deny the existence or use of other classifications. The Ideational, Idealistic and Sensate types are not to be found in pure form but are ideal types developed for the purpose of analysis and comparison. The ideal type shows the predominant culture mentality of a given culture or personality. Actually, no culture or personality is completely aesthetic or sensual but includes some characteristics of an opposite or contradictory nature. The appearance of these conditions does not, however, discount the existence or use of ideal types as a valid type of research although the pure can not be empirically demonstrated. It is Sorokin's aim to classify typical dominant traits for later comparison:

In the present work we propose at first to deal with the characteristics of each form of culture mentality taken in pure form, regardless of whether or not it is ever found pure empirically. In other words we are going to typify each, and thus set up criteria for later comparison and differentiation.¹⁵

Personality, society and culture are interacting in each type of culture classified by Sorokin. But the result of this interaction varies in the development of a dominant personality

¹⁴Timasheff, Sociological Theory, p. 236.

¹⁵Sorokin, I, 79.

type. If a culture is Sensate, the individuals who live, act, work and play under its influences will be influenced and molded by it. Religious beliefs, philosophies, science, taste, morals, ideals collectively and singularly help form a way of life. Likewise, Ideational culture will have a corresponding effect upon its members who have been exposed only to that mode of living. observing this condition, Sorokin comments:

Other conditions being equal, (1) the mentality of a person will be clearly Ideational if he has had a contact only with the pure Ideational culture. The same is true with regard to the Sensate Culture. (2) The mentality of a person will be Mixed if he has been in contact with different types of culture. The mixture will represent a combination of the elements of the various cultures involved. (3) The mentality of a person will be unintegrated, for instance pseudo-Ideational, if he has been associated with only an unintegrated, or with a multitude of different cultures of contradictory character. An exception to this rule is provided by the comparatively rare case where a synthesis is achieved of various elements...¹⁶

Components of thought and meaning in culture systems may be considered from two aspects, one internal and the other external. Ideas, thoughts, feelings, emotions and related inner experience represent the internal; while objects, events and occurrences compose the external. It is the internal values and meanings which are expressed as external in a culture.¹⁷

The internal meanings of a culture are of far greater

¹⁶ Ibid., III, 510.

¹⁷ Ibid., I, 55.

importance, for they have a more direct relation to the "culture mentality."¹⁸ Thus the types and kinds of art, buildings, and music are external factors which take their form as expressions of the internal norms present in a culture.

In an Ideational culture mentality, the external expression of the interior mentality would be found in the dominance of religious art and sculpture, music, ethical norms and philosophy based on ultimate spiritual values. On the other hand, secular art and music, materialistic and hedonistic ethical forms are found in Sensate culture. The logico-meaningful method used in his study is not a new method according to Sorokin but has been used consciously or unconsciously by some of the great social thinkers. Sorokin includes Plato, Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Spencer, Comte, Durkheim and Pareto in his listing.¹⁹

Sensate Culture. Entering the world of Sensate culture one is engulfed in a maze of activity. The aim of this activity seems to be pleasure, a quest to satiate needs that are primarily material. The people act in noisy, extrovert fashion; but the activity is differentiated by three types of Sensate personality: one Active, the second Passive and the third Cynical. Professor Sorokin comments:

¹⁸Ibid. "The term culture mentality is used to denote the inner experience of mind, values and meanings in a culture."

¹⁹Ibid., 38.

For him (the Sensate type of personality) reality and values are sensory and largely material; the transcendental he does not recognize. He expands his sensory needs as much as possible and does not strive to develop spiritual needs. He seeks to satisfy his sensory needs through an energetic modification of his empirical environment; if he is of the passive type, he spends his life in snatching the maximum of sensory pleasure according to the "Wine, women and song" formula. The active sensate person is a fighter against nature, against human beings, against anything or anybody that hinders the satisfaction of his sensory needs.²⁰

Sensate society seeks a multitude of objects to satisfy needs and increase enjoyment. Material wealth brings with it the comfort and prestige desired and takes a prominent position of value. Sorokin makes special emphasis of its importance and writes:

Of a special importance in such a state of society is the search for material objects which under the circumstances are particularly efficient in bringing satisfaction. As one of the most efficient means has always been material wealth, in a Sensate society it is the alpha and omega of comfort, of the satisfaction of all desires, of power, prestige, fame, happiness. With it everything can be bought, everything can be sold, everything can be gratified. Therefore it is quite comprehensible that the striving for wealth is inevitably one of the main activities of such a culture, that wealth is the standard by which almost all other values are judged, that it is, in fact, the supreme value of values. Pecuniary value thus becomes the measuring stick of scientific, artistic, moral and other values.²¹

Qualities Of The Sensate Moral Code. Introspection is not

²⁰Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality, p. 634.

²¹Sorokin, I, 95.

often attempted by the Sensate person, for his guide and norms to living are not within but outside of himself. Truth and ethics are not based up upon a divine or natural law but are relative. Adjustment and readjustment become hallmarks of Sensate life, for nothing is permanent or lasting. There are three chief qualities that depict the Sensate moral code:

It chooses and emphasizes predominately the sensate, empirical, material values...

The second characteristic of the moral systems of a Sensate culture type is that they are never absolute, but are always relativistic, varying according to circumstances and stations...

The third quality of the Sensate code is that it has little to do with any transcendental or supersensory values, and either mocks at such values, ignores them, or mentions them only to repudiate them and to bolster up its own principles.²²

Freedom from a binding universal code becomes essential. That which is useful to the person is good, and the good is determined by the amount of derived pleasure. Sculpture, painting, music are also considered from this standpoint of utility. With unlimited freedom a search for means to satisfy material needs can be pursued. But this becomes a constant, unfulfilled search, for the means are continuously changing as is the Sensate value system.

The Active Sensate Type. To possess an Active Sensate mentality implies the desire for practical, useful activity. It seeks to change or modify existing environment to more suitable media for satisfaction. Although successful in his endeavors,

²²Ibid., 94-95.

each new development necessitates a corresponding adjustment to the new environment. This new environment is not, however, permanently satisfying and so a new challenge to change occurs. This new challenge, in turn, is met and conquered. The result is a cycle of adjustment, change and readjustment. Sorokin writes that "incessant change of the empirical reality forces them to do this endless work of Sisyphus; their incessant readjustment in turn changes incessantly their milieu, and thus compels them to the unceasing task of readjusting their preceding readjustments." 23

It is Sorokin's contention that the Active Sensate mentality pervades our contemporary culture and he gives this description:

We find it in the behavior of most of the secular "executives" of history, be they great rulers, conquerors, organizers of political and business empires, efficient rebels against various "spiritual" limitations and bonds. It is very widely spread, especially now, among businessmen, energetic professionals, scientists, scholars, laborers, "practical" ministers of the liberal "Social Gospel" - especially revolutionaries, and all those human groups which seek a "full, rich, beautiful, and active life"; who enjoy overcoming obstacles of an empirical nature, of transforming the environment in all its aspects; who enjoy and seek power over inorganic, organic, and psychosocial Nature; who delight in taming rivers, cutting canals, turning wilderness into civilization, hunting, breeding, changing or exterminating animal and plant organisms, creating artistic, scientific, or other sensate values, fighting for political position, for superiority, fame, glory, wealth, comfort, and other values of this world.²⁴

²³ Ibid., 81.

²⁴ Ibid., 139-140.

Such interest in material improvements prompts investigations in the natural sciences, culminating in discoveries and inventions which hasten or help external modification. With great stress placed upon the present, little consideration to ultimate values is given. The moment must be useful in bringing pleasure. He is truly an Epicurean, receiving and using whatever people, food, and entertainment may contribute to satisfy material needs. He functions as a self-sufficient being, that is, one who does not require assistance from supernatural agencies.

As the Active Sensate Personality was engaged in modifying or changing empirical reality, the Passive Sensate personality makes a less direct contribution to society; his actions are considerably more toward accepting beneficial result of others' work. The Cynical Sensate personality does not vary greatly from the Passive type in attempting to satisfy needs. However, various roles, opinions and beliefs are adopted and changed to suit the moment. A true self is not present but rather a technique is used to mask real traits.²⁵

Ideational Personality. The Ideational personality expresses a longing for ultimate, everlasting, immortal values. As the Sensate personality is absorbed by material reality, the Ideationalist is with the immaterial. "Sensory reality is regarded either as an illusion or as a low grade or negative

²⁵Ibid., 84.

pseudo reality. He overestimates spiritual needs and values and underestimates sensory needs and values."²⁶

Not being preoccupied with sensory needs, his efforts and thought can be directed toward the spiritual. As a contemplative, his relation to material values and goals is a negation or simple toleration. Wealth and material goods are either denied or used and accepted passively. Professor Sorokin comments:

He is preoccupied primarily with the inner, mystical, supersensory and superrational world. He contemplates the eternal, unchangeable Being as the true reality or value, change and becoming being considered as either unreal or unimportant.²⁷

If the Ideationalist seeks to modify conditions of the world, it is not in an external fashion as the Sensate personality. His would be a modification of thought or spirit, for the constant necessity to change material conditions is absent from his life.

Moral Code And Values. The Ideationalist's moral code and values are of an absolute nature. They are fixed and permanent standards, ever present, unchanging and consistently followed. Interest in the natural sciences wanes during periods of Ideational culture, but the study of philosophy and theology increases.²⁸

Unlike the Sensate personality, he will not extend any

²⁶ Sorokin, Society Culture and Personality, p. 663.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Sorokin, I, 89-90.

special effort to change external reality. But if his main values are disturbed or violated, much energy would be exerted to defend and keep the Ideational mode of living.

Historically, the character of the Ascetic Ideationalist has been demonstrated "by the almost miraculous repression of vital needs in the asceticism of Hindus, Buddhists, Tacists, Christians, Hainists, Sufists, not to mention the numberless ascetics affiliated with smaller sects."²⁹

Activity of the Ideationalist is directed toward the inner self, its discovery and modification. If an improvement or modification should be made it is of a spiritual nature in accordance with an absolute ethical norm. This is in contrast to Sensitive activity which is directed to a modification or change in existing material reality.

Also in harmony with the Ideational mentality is the Active Ideationalist who manifests some interest in the external world and its values, but these worldly considerations are subordinated and considered in relation to ultimate values and not for themselves.³⁰

Idealistic Personality. The crux of Idealistic mentality consists in proper balance and perspective. It is a most difficult state to achieve, for the Idealist strives to adopt certain

²⁹Ibid., 83.

³⁰Ibid., 82.

characteristics of Ideational and Sensate cultures. Though difficult, considerable success is achieved when the highest traits of the Sensate and less extreme characteristics of the Ideationalist are combined.³¹

When the Sensate and Ideational qualities are blended, both a spiritual and empirical view of reality occur. The Idealistic person attempts to modify his own personal needs but strives to make the necessary material changes in the external milieu. Ascetic and social systems of ultimate and transitory values appear in this culture but the Ideational values are supreme.

Professor Sorokin writes:

Each of them it views as real as a mode or aspect of the supreme reality. Its face is simultaneously otherworldly and of this world. Recognizing the Ideational values as supreme, it does not declare the Sensate world a mere illusion or of negative value; on the contrary, as far as the Sensate is in harmony with the Ideational, it possesses positive value.³²

Professor Sorokin's classifications of historical personages such as Dante, Queen Victoria, and Julius Caesar illustrate his system of Sensate, Ideational and Mixed mentalities. Sorokin writes:

Nobody would contend that Alexander Borgia, or Louis XIV, or Julius Caesar, or Napoleon, or Catherine the Great were ascetic, nonsensual, or Ideational in their conduct and personality. Likewise, nobody would place in the Sensate class St. Francis of Assisi, or

³¹ Sorokin, Society Culture and Personality, p. 634.

³² Sorokin, I, 75.

Pochomius the Great, or Diogenes the Cynic, or such popes as Gregory I and St. Celestine. Similarly, no historian would place Plato, or Aristotle, or Dante, or Queen Victoria in any class but the Mixed.³³

Summary And Evaluation. The objectives undertaken by Pitirim Sorokin in Social and Cultural Dynamics are two fold: 1) to investigate the nature of change, the fluctuations and dynamics of an integrated culture; 2) to understand contemporary society.

Methods of empirical research and logical analysis are combined to provide a system in which facts are gathered and grouped into understandable whole units. This method according to Sorokin has been used by such scholars as Aristotle, Plato, Spencer, Comte and Pareto; it is called by Sorokin the "logico-meaningful and causal-functional" method.

Development of a culture mentality (personality) is not a direct formative relationship between a given culture and individuals who might absorb and reflect that culture. It is through an interaction of personality, culture, and society that a specific culture mentality develops.

By using "ideal types" to depict cultures, societies and individuals, an analysis and comparison of each dominant type can be attempted. Sorokin's typology is not intended to exclude the use of other systems. It is, however, a very broad one covering a twenty-five-hundred-year period.

Professor Sorokin classifies culture and the resulting

³³Sorokin, III, 516.

culture mentality into three "ideal types", namely, Sensate, Ideational and Idealistic. A subdivision is made into these distinct categories:

SENSATE

- a) Active
- b) Passive
- c) Cynical

IDEATIONAL

- a) Ascetic
- b) Active
- c) Pseudo-

IDEALISTIC

It is Sorokin's contention that Western man and culture are in a declining Sensate period which will probably be followed by a period of Ideational culture. Sensate values are predominately empirical, material, relative and changing. Ultimate or absolute values are ignored or disregarded.

The Active Sensate type constantly seeks to change and modify existing material milieu. On the other hand, the Passive Sensate type accepts the changes others provide but does not energetically engage in bringing about innovation. A third type, the Cynical Sensate, changes opinions and beliefs to suit the moment.

To know and perfect the self, to purify the spirit--these are two dominant Ideational traits. The moral code of this culture is permanent and directed toward absolute ethical norms.

Finally, the Idealistic culture and mentality adopts the highest Sensate values and blends them with those of Ideationalist culture. The two sets of values then become complementary but Sensate values are subordinate to Ideational norms.

The magnitude and enormity of research in diversified fields of knowledge leads one to concur with a statement made by Cicero

in "The Character of the Orator": "My own private opinion is, that no one can be a real orator in the full sense of the work unless he first acquires a knowledge of all the great subjects of human study..." Sorokin illustrates this same need and makes it applicable to the social scientist in Social and Cultural Dynamics.

Sorokin's work does not suffer from the limitations of singular analytical concepts (such as will be seen in Margaret Mead's overemphasis on the "success" factor and Freudian psychological orientation) but transcends such limiting conditions. The "logico-meaningful" method, however, does offer difficulty, for at times it seems to lend itself to an intuitive process which blends individual cultural elements into understandable whole units.

Sorokin's aims to understand and investigate cultural dynamics have been achieved for the most part in his Social and Cultural Dynamics. Some critics no doubt would seriously contend this statement and a review of comments and criticisms of Professor Sorokin's works should place his endeavors in a clearer perspective.

Reviewing the Reviewers. In an article published by Social Forces, A. E. Tibbs found that appraisal of Sorokin tends to be either sharply critical or laudatory.³⁴ In some instances Sorokin

³⁴Tibbs, A. E. "Book Reviews of Social and Cultural Dynamics, Social Forces, 21 (May 1943), 473-480.

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has been compared to Augustine and Plato; he has been criticized for "personal prejudices and the subjectivity of his value judgments," and on some aspects of the logico-meaningful method. On the other hand, he has been considered first rank among the analytical sociologists by Nicholas S. Timasheff.³⁵ Paul Hanley Furfey and Jacques J. Maquet view his work in a complimentary fashion.

Reviewing The Crisis Of Our Age,³⁶ Harry Elmer Barnes compliments Sorokin but notes an intensity of prejudice in Sorokin's work: (The Crisis Of Our Age is a single volume popularization of Sorokin's four volume work and necessarily must limit documentation. It is helpful to keep this in mind when reading Professor Barnes' comments.)

Suffice it to say that Professor Sorokin's learning is only matched by the intensity of his personal prejudices and the subjectivity of his value judgments.

It has been suggested that the role of Professor Sorokin can best be understood by regarding him as the St. Augustine of contemporary sociology. There is much truth in this appraisal, and in many ways it is a tribute to Professor Sorokin's genius.³⁷

³⁵Timasheff, Sociological Theory, p. 231.

³⁶Pitirim Sorokin, The Crisis Of Our Age (New York, 1941).

³⁷Harry Elmer Barnes, "The Crisis Of Our Age", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 47 (May, 1942), 996.

Hans Speier has written of Sorokin in a book edited by Harry Elmer Barnes in which Speier discusses Sorokin's objectivity and the resemblance of Professor Sorokin's ideas to Saint Augustine's. In effect, Speier's work, it seems, reflects the opinion of editor Barnes. Of the similarity in the work of Augustine and Sorokin,

Speier writes:

In the fourteenth book of Augustine's Civitas Dei we read: "Epicurean philosophers lived after the flesh because they placed man's highest good in bodily pleasure; and...those others do so who have been of opinion that in some form or other bodily good is man's supreme good." According to Augustine, the next higher level of life is represented by the Stoics, "who place the supreme good of man in the soul." Since "both the soul and the flesh, the component parts of man, can be used to signify the whole man," both Epicureans and Stoics (and Platonists) live according to reason, if reason can be divorced from faith. Only the Christian, in his faith, lives according to God...

Sorokin's basic distinction between "sensate," "idealistic," and "ideational" bears more than a faint resemblance to the ideas expressed in this quotation from Augustine. Sorokin's basic philosophy may be regarded as a modern vulgarization of early Christian thinking. The distinction between senses, reason, and faith is retained as a universal principle of division of the types of men, cultures, and "systems" within each culture.³⁸

Hans Speier, "The Sociological Ideas of Pitirim Alexandrovitch Sorokin: Integralist Sociology," An Introduction to the History of Sociology, Ed. Harry Elmer Barnes, (New York, 1948), p. 894-895.

According to Hans Speier, Sorokin's work gives evidence of "a struggle in the author's soul between political passion and 'scientific objectivity,' being an ideal too often proclaimed by those who fail to be inspired by anything."³⁹ Speier doubts whether objectivity prevails, and notes Max Weber's description of the use of value judgments in sociology. Speier asserts:

One may justly doubt whether, in Sorokin's publications, this struggle is always resolved in favor of objectivity. Those who disagree with his valuations and preferences will, indeed, be inclined to deny most vigorously that it is so resolved. Some critics have contended that Sorokin's sociological writings are a long and elaborate---almost classic---demonstration of the validity of Max Weber's contention that the interjection of "value judgments" vitiates sociology as an objective social science.⁴⁰

Two important value judgments have been made by Pitirim Sorokin and are, no doubt, evidenced in his writings. The first, certainly "a struggle in the author's soul" and involving "political passion" was Sorokin's opposition to communism. F. R. Cowell describes this situation:

He was, he says, born and reared within the lowest classes in Russia, an "ethnic mongrel" in Nazi eyes, subsequently passing through various strata of the Russian social pyramid from the status of poor peasant and itinerant worker to the position of Professor of Law and Sociology in the University of St. Petersburg. During his career in Russia he

³⁹Ibid., p. 890.

⁴⁰Ibid.

was thrice imprisoned for his opposition to the Tsarist regime and twice by the Communists, by whom he was condemned to death. In the interval between those events he had been Kerensky's private secretary, editor-in-chief of a metropolitan newspaper, a founder and member of the All-Russian Peasant Soviet, member of the Council of the Russian Republic and Constitutional Assembly, all before his thirty-fourth year.

Banished in 1922 he went to Berlin and Prague, and later to the United States, where he became Professor of Sociology in the University of Minnesota (1924).⁴¹

⁴¹
R. Cowell, *History, Civilization and Culture: An Introduction to the Historical and Social Philosophy of Pitirim A. Sorokin*, Boston, 1952, p.6.

Hans Speier refers to Max Weber's ideas on the use of value judgments. Max Weber, as Sorokin, had a two-fold interest, that of the scholar and that of the active politician. "For many years he (Max Weber) was on terms of intimacy with politically important persons, and gave them considerable advice behind the scenes. He was among the first to develop strong opposition to the regime of Wilhelm II. During the war he submitted several memoranda to the government. He was a member of the Commission which drew up the memorandum on German war guilt for the Peace Conference." From Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, (New York-1947) p. 5.

The following is a brief analysis of Weber's views on value judgments: "Weber distinguishes carefully between determination of scientific interest, through value relevance (and thus on the immediate objects of scientific study, the historical individuals) and the exercise of value judgments. Value judgments can not claim the objective validity of science, and science must, as a methodological ideal, be kept free from them. Even though a value element enters into the selection of the material of science, once this material is given it is impossible to come to objectively valid conclusions about the causes and consequences of given phenomena free of value judgments and hence binding on anyone who wishes to attain truth regardless of what other subjective values he may hold."

Ibid., p. 88.

Speier seems not to recognize that some of his own value judgments are showing when he declares "Sorokin's experiences during the Russian revolution exert a profound influence on his political attitude and on his social theories. His hatred of communism, many of his antiprogressive and reactionary political opinions and his rejection of the ideas of modern Western civilization as a whole may be traced to this period of his life."⁴² Speier continues, saying that "we have tried to indicate how all Sorokin's major writings are the expression of a personality with firm convictions, convictions of a kind which are not too popular in modern democracy."⁴³

If Hans Speier's pronouncement about unpopular convictions and criticisms of modern democracy were, as we shall see, applied to Mead, Fromm and Riesman, it is evident that some of their remarks are also not especially complimentary. Their remarks do, however, challenge a condition of intellectual, spiritual and political lethargy which may prey upon a democracy and in this sense each writer performs an essential and beneficial service. Bernard Iddings Bell briefly considers the need for a forthright analysis of American values in Crowd Culture when he writes:

The chief threat to America comes from within America...

⁴²Barnes, An Introduction to the History of Sociology, p.884.
⁴³Ibid., p. 890.

It comes from our prevailing self-admiration, from indisposition to listen to adverse criticism of our way of life, disinclination to see ourselves as we are, an unwillingness to confess our sins which has come dangerously near to being an inability to see that there are serious faults to admit and remedy. Most Americans regard an insistence on national self-criticism as traitorous or near it. In consequence, our people as a whole, have acquired and retain a false optimism about the ability of our way of life to survive and flower. Most of us have a juvenile trust in the permanence of an America whose people forget the transitoriness of the immediate and the superficiality of the obvious, pay scarcely more than a polite lip service to what the race has discovered to be changeless and humanly necessary.⁴⁴

The second important value judgement evident in Sorokin's writings is his preference for non-Sensate values, culture and personality. If Professor Sorokin's rejection of communism and of Sensate culture are expressions of "political passion" and a lack of "scientific objectivity," the present writer views them as "happy faults."

Robert E. Park calls attention to Professor Sorokin's use of "isms" to describe culture factors and compares Sorokin's three-fold division of truth with Plato's distinctions of the various sciences. Concerning the use or abuse of "isms" in Sorokin's investigations, Park writes:

One finds in these volumes not merely all the isms, like sensualism and spiritualism, or dadism, cubism, futurism - terms which one who has ever been interested in art is likely to be familiar - but other less familiar, like, singularism and universalism,

⁴⁴ Bernard Iddings Bell, Crowd Culture (New York, 1952), p. 13.

nuances of opinion, it seems, have to be reckoned with when one seeks to investigate culture changes on the higher and more sophisticated levels rather than on the lower and more primitive ones, where culture is less completely integrated.⁴⁵

The "truth systems" of Ideational, Idealistic and Sensate cultures are then compared with Plato's categories of science, namely, theology, mathematics and empirical science by Robert E. Park:

Plato distinguished the three categories of science: (1) theology as the most sublime, which deals with ultimate and unchangeable reality; (2) mathematics, a mixed-empirical-intelligible form of knowledge which deals with the mixed-external and changeable aspects of reality; (3) the most inferior form of knowledge or "opinion" - the empirical sciences which deal, on the basis of the perception, with a perishable and an ever changing empirical world of an incessant "corruption and generation" (11,63). These distinctions seem to correspond very closely with Professor Sorokin's three-fold division of the systems of truth, namely, (1) the truth of faith, (2) the truth of reason, and (3) the truth of the senses (II chapt.1,1-14). It is obvious that "faith" or belief, "reason" or insight, and the "truth of the senses" or experience enter as components into every kind of knowledge.⁴⁶

A pertinent criticism of the "logico-meaningful" method is made by Nicholas S. Timasheff who writes:

One of the most disappointing aspects of Sorokin's methodology is lack of precision concerning what he calls the logico-meaningful method. Insofar as this

⁴⁵Park, Robert E. "Social and Cultural Dynamics, Volumes I, II, III," American Journal of Sociology, (March-1938), 825.

⁴⁶Ibid., 830-831.

method is purely logical it is understandable; and when art phenomena are compared with each other it is perhaps also understandable (though some authorities dispute this point). But the correlation of intellectual and esthetic phenomena raises a serious question. How can it be firmly established, on the basis of concomitance in time and space, that certain configurations of intellectual phenomena are "innerly" or meaningfully integrated with specified configurations of esthetic phenomena? Sorokin's illustrations of such integration are often quite plausible, but cogent proof is conspicuous by its absence.⁴⁷

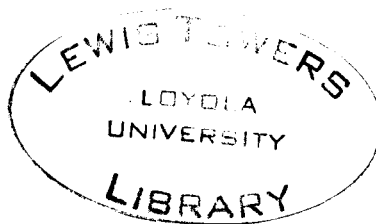
As A. E. Tibbs has pointed out, some reviewers of Pitirim Sorokin's work have been severely critical, others laudatory. Paul Furfey notes that "...American Sociology possibly suffers, as has been remarked, 'from an excessive fear of theories, from a methodological asceticism.' There are exceptions, however, the most prominent perhaps being Pitirim Sorokin who developed what he called the 'logico-meaningful method' for solving the problems of culture integration."⁴⁸

Possibly it is because Sorokin has ventured to offer both a theory and method during a period when there appears to be a "fear of theories" that he is criticized. Sorokin also approves of eternal and absolute values, ideas not readily accepted by social scientists who would base their value systems in "the shifting sands of a pragmatic culture." For his voluminous writings, his enormous research and trend of his endeavors

⁴⁷Timashef, "Sociological Theory," p. 237.

⁴⁸Paul Hanly Furfey, The Scope and Method of Sociology (New York, 1953), p. 33.

Toward the study of creative altruism, Pitirim Sorokin is becoming the Tolstoi of sociology.



APPENDIX

- I. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF PITIRIM A. SOROKIN
- II. AN ELEVEN POINT OUTLINE OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS WRITTEN BY PITIRIM SOROKIN

I.

SOROKIN, PROF. PITIRIM A (lexandrovitch), 8 Cliff St, Winchester, Mass. SOCIOLOGY. Touria, Russia, Jan. 21, 89. Psycho-Neurol. Inst, 09-10; L.L.M, St. Petersburg, 16 Dr. social, 22. Privat-docent, Psycho-Neurol. Inst, 14-16; St. Petersburg, 16-17, prof. SOCIOL, Agr. Acad, 19-22; Minnesota, 24-30; prof. & chmn. dept, Harvard, 30-55, EMER. PROF, 55-, dir. res. center in altruism. Co-ed, 'New Ideas Sociol,' 13-15; Ed.in chief, 'Volia Naroda,' 17. A. Soc. S; A. Acad. A. & Sc; Hon. mem. Int. I. Social. (pres, 36); Hon. mem. Belgium Royal Acad; Hon mem. Rumanian Royal Acad; Hon. Mem Czecho-Slovakian Acad. Agr. Crime & Punishment; general theory of law; social politics. "The Ways and Power of Love", "Symposium, Forms and Techniques of Altruistic and Spiritual Growth"; "Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology and Related Sciences."

Jaques Cattell ed., American Men of Science: A Biographical Directory, III, The Social and Behavioral Sciences, (New York, 1956), p. 638.

II

Pitirim A. Sorokin has written a summary of the primary points of his work, which was used by Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes in Social Thought From Lore to Science.

In the following statement, written especially for the present chapter, Sorokin has summed up the main features of his work (here and there we add comment or explanation in ()):

1. Method. Formulation and application of the logico-meaningful and casual-functional methods (somewhat akin to Alfred Weber's ideas of understanding, interpretation, and functional interdependence.)

2. Main field of study: Greco-Roman and Western cultures, during some twenty-five hundred years (600 B.C. to the present time), with brief excursions into Egyptian, Arabic, Hindu, Chinese, and Babylonian cultures...almost all the chapters represent a research monograph (executed by skilled assistants under the supervision of the author) in which the specialists in the respective fields will possibly find a great deal that is new to them.

3. The cultures studied are found to be tangibly integrated (logico-meaningfully and functionally), and each of their compartments is also found to be integrated, as a system within a system. (This is a much higher degree of integration than is found by Alfred Weber.)

4. In the changes traced during the twenty-five hundred years, each current of culture-mentality undergoes an immanent change, and the phases of the change are also immanent. But in every swing in a given direction there is a limit, after which the direction of the change reverses. ...This means that no linearism in any form is found to be valid, and likewise no Spencerian or other formula of increasing differentiation and integration. The principle is

an ever new recurrence of the same patterns: materialism-idealism; determininism-indeterminism; ethics of absolute principles-ethics of happiness; realism-nominalism; Ideational art-Visual or Sensate art; and so on.

5. In these transformations, each current of culture, being a system, shows a margin of independence in its movement, but at the same time they change together, in appreciable degree, where long-time waves are concerned. In this sense the cultures studied show themselves notably (but not perfectly) integrated.

6. In the leading and lagging of many cultural variables there is no uniform sequence; e.g., now music changes in a certain direction earlier than painting and sculpture, now it lags somewhat behind them.

7. All the essential "swings" of the currents of culture-mentality in each compartment of culture (science, philosophy, religion, art in all forms, ethics, law, aconomic, political, social forms-- including disruption of social relationships, war and revolutions) cannot be understood properly without consideration of the main types of culture.

Such types the veritable key to the comprehension of these changes are the types of culture: Ideational, Sensate, Mixed (of which Mixed forms the Idealistic is particularly important). When the essentials of each of these types is properly understood, then the main swings in each compartment of the cultures (Greco-Roman and Western) appear to be but a manifestation of the passage of these cultures from one of these main phases to another. When culture passes from, say, Ideational to Sensate form, its science, philosophy, art, ethics, law, economic, etc. organization undergo a related change: All move in the Sensate direction.

8. Such "swings" the most fundamental of all the transformations occurred several times during the twenty-five hundred years studied. Greek culture before the sixth century B.C. appears to be predominately Ideational; with the end of the sixth century its Ideationalism declines, its Sensate forms appear and grow. In the fifth and first part of the fourth century they give the Idealistic form of Greek culture (as a harmonious equilibrium of Ideational

and Sensate elements). After the fourth century B.C. it becomes predominantly Sensate, and with several complications and minor swings remains so up to roughly the third century A.D.

After the third century Sensate forms definitely decline and Ideational forms become dominant and monopolistic from the sixth century A.D. up to about the end of the twelfth century. Then Sensate forms reappear again and mingle with declining Ideational forms to give the organic synthesis in the form of the Idealistic culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (similar to Greek Idealistic culture of the fifth century B.C.). After the fifteenth century up to the present time we witness a rising tide and domination of the Sensate forms. These reached their climax, up to date, in the nineteenth century.

With the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century all compartments of our culture manifest unmistakable symptoms of revolt against the Sensate forms, from painting and science to economic and social relationships. This unmistakable crisis may be a short-time reaction or what seems to be more probable it may be the beginning of the long-time decline of our overripe Sensate culture. After the period of transition, it is altogether likely that a rise of Ideational forms will occur. As you see, I am an anti-Spenglerist, and claim the decline of the Sensate forms of our culture, but not its end or decay. (The difference between Spengler and Sorokin although evident, does not seem to the writers sufficiently great to warrant the use of the prefix "anti-".)

9. In the light of this theory all the main fluctuations of each compartment of the cultures studied (and I give as complete quantitative-qualitative material as is available) become comprehensible and "logical." They are all but manifestations of the change of the system of the whole culture, 'somewhat analogous to many anatomical, physiological, and mental changes which occur when an organism passes from say, childhood to maturity.' (Italics ours; here the organismic analogy becomes explicit.)

10. In the same way as in this passage a certain manifestation say, growth of beard is neither cause nor effect of other changes (glandular, muscular, mental), so in the fundamental transformation of culture from Sensate to Ideational or vice versa, none of the cultural variables are either causes

or effects, either leaders, laggards, or led. All are parts of one system that has its own immanent law and logic of change. (This would seem to imply that any measure of prediction and control whatsoever is wholly impossible, but perhaps Sorokin does not intend to draw this radical conclusion.)

II. Even systems of truth and knowledge, including so-called science, are but manifestations dependent on the type of culture. (At this point the crucial question comes to mind that is inevitably addressed to Spengler: "How then do you know anything about other cultures and the diverse systems of knowledge occurring in your own? How do you know that what you say is true?" Alfred Weber avoids this difficulty, it will be recalled, by asserting the potential universality of civilizational ideas.)

Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Thought From Lore To Science, Second Ed. Volume I, A History and Interpretation of Man's Ideas about Life with His Fellows, (Washington, D.C., 1952), pp. 784-787.

CHAPTER III

ANTHROPOLOGY AND AMERICAN SOCIAL CHARACTER...MARGARET MEAD

America had entered its second world war within twenty-three years when Margaret Mead wrote And Keep Your Powder Dry. As an anthropologist, she had observed six cultures during the preceding seventeen years and would now attempt to examine and evaluate her native American culture.¹ Her book is part of a program of the Council of Intercultural Relations which hoped to use its systematic interpretations of contemporary cultures to enkindle the special values of each culture into a world made new.² Although the study of foreign areas is undertaken in a more dispassionate manner than the study of one's own culture, Margaret Mead felt that the skill and special discipline which an anthropologist develops while working in foreign areas would be advantageous in her appraisal of American society.³

The Methods Of Anthropology. Before considering the crux of Mead's analysis, brief comments will be made upon the methods of anthropology. The laboratory for an anthropologist is not in the classroom, but is primarily the study of primitive

¹ Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry (New York, 1942), p. 3.

² Ibid., p. VIII.

³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

societies. He is interested in the study of a whole culture, not a special fragment or facet. Since a particular aspect of the culture is not under specific intensified scrutiny, controlled experimental methods are not employed. The anthropologist's way of studying people is by participant observation. Commenting on this role, Margaret Mead writes:

The anthropologist not only records the consumption of sago in the native diet, but eats at least enough to know how heavily it lies upon the stomach; not only records verbally and by photographs the tight clasp of the baby's hands around the neck, but also carries the baby and feels the constriction of the windpipe; hurries or lags on the way to a ceremony; kneels half-blinded by incense while the spirits of the ancestors speak, or the gods refuse to appear. The anthropologist enters the setting and he observes, but he does not change.⁴

One of the chief characteristics of the discipline is to compare people and their way of life. In this manner, the differences between the rearing of children, for example, in Samoa, Bali, and Manua can more readily be understood.

Writing in the American Anthropologist, Margaret Mead discusses some of the rudimentary matters of the observer's field methods. They include the necessity of learning the native language, understanding the form of the subject culture, possessing detailed knowledge of the chosen community and

⁴Margaret Mead, Male And Female, A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World (New York, 1949), p. 31.

particular knowledge of every individual within the group being studied.⁵

Although there is a diversity of approaches integrated within the anthropological method, Margaret Mead emphasizes their primary aim, that is, observation and understanding of individuals as they reveal the culture in which they live. She writes:

Just as the psychiatrist must limit himself to one aim, to heal, so the anthropologist must discipline himself to one aim, to observe and understand individuals as revealing their culture.⁶

In order that a cultural anthropologist of graduate level is assured of adequate training, these suggestions are made by Mead. Besides co-operative teams and field trips, together with an exposure to the literature of the field and supervised field trips, the student should have the opportunity to make a solo field trip into a foreign culture. There he would have the responsibility of devising applications of his training in the study of culture and people. The student should also be trained to recognize patterns so that he may give a coherent account of any culture. Also advantageous is an awareness by the student of his own personal strength and weaknesses as an observer and any prejudices he may hold from his own native

⁵Mead, "More Comprehensive Field Methods," American Anthropologist, 35 (January-March, 1933), 10.

⁶Mead, Male and Female, p. 40.

culture.⁷

An Anthropologist Views America. Since World War II produced strains upon American men, women and children who were part of the war effort, And Keep your Powder Dry is an answer to some of the questions brought to Margaret Mead for solution. In short, it is a book about the American people, some of their attributes and weaknesses, with the purpose of seeing how these characteristics could be marshaled to win the war and contribute to building the world anew.

It is not to be considered a study of America or classed as a "Middletown" or "Yankee City";⁸ it is rather, Margaret Mead's contribution to an understanding of Americans in relation to the war effort and many problems a nation at war must solve.⁹ This book is not intended to be a truly scientific study.

The author writes:

The research, the detailed objective recording of

⁷Mead, "The Training of the Cultural Anthropologist," American Anthropologist, 54, (July-September-1952), 343-345. The July-September issue of this volume also contains several articles dealing with the training of anthropologists.

⁸Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture (New York-1929).

W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of A Modern Community. Yankee City Series, Vol. I (New Haven, 1941).

⁹Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, pp. 7-8.

human behavior, which lies back of this discussion was not done in the United States but in the South Seas. On the basis of that study I have looked at America; I have thought about Americans. I have offered certain diagnoses to Americans, who have found them by virtue of their very strangeness, illuminating.¹⁰

Method And Acknowledgements. Numerous references occur throughout the book to her research in the South Seas. In fact, the ten-page bibliographic appendix consists almost entirely of her own writings and those of Gregory Bateson, her husband. Margaret Mead mentions that it is impossible to acknowledge all the help she has received and likewise impossible to publish a full bibliography because of its extent and the war. She does, however, give special acknowledgment to several people in the fields of anthropology and psychology. A consideration of their contributions does add insight to Mead's methodology, the European influence upon her work, and inclinations toward the psychological basis of character formation which underlies and guides her work. Margaret Mead writes:

There are certain basic acknowledgments to be made: to my parents, who reared me to be a social scientist, and my grandmother, who set me taking note on younger children's behavior when I was eight; to Franz Boas, who taught me anthropology; to Ruth Benedict, Lawrence K. Frank, John Dollard, and Erich Fromm, who helped to formulate the idea of character structure as used in this book; to Erik Erikson, whose understanding of the relationship between the body and the process of character development lies inexplicitly behind most of this book; to Geoffrey Gorer and Kurt Lewin for long and illuminating discussions of the peculiarities of American culture;

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 9-10.

and finally to my husband, Gregory Bateson, for all I have learned, in general, from collaborative work, and for what I have learned in particular about American culture---from his comment---and about differences between American and English culture,¹¹

Culture. Margaret Mead writes that "culture is an abstraction in the mind of the social scientist, but each people for whom he can make this abstraction behave in certain ways, are certain kinds of persons, were reared in a given fashion, and have a given character."¹² Her study of American culture concerns not only that evidenced in 1942 but also the heritage, history, books, pictures and way of life that preceded this epoch.

Though children raised in Bali, Russia and America are in many ways potentially equal, the specific culture in which they are reared, the influence of parents and adults affect the child so that they no longer are similar or equal.¹³ The frame of reference which Margaret Mead uses to describe character formation centers mainly upon the family relationship, especially the child's relationship with his mother. This viewpoint is in even greater evidence in Male and Female.

¹¹Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 264.

¹²Ibid., p. 21.

¹³Ibid., p. 23.

Like culture, character is also an abstraction. The method in which babies grow into adulthood in various cultures such as Samoa, Iceland and the United States differs, but the regularities and consistencies in child rearing produce "character formation." Margaret Mead describes character and character formation in the following manner:

Character is also an abstraction, a way of talking about the results in human personality, of having been reared by and among human beings whose behavior was culturally regular. So, in every culture, in Samoa, in Germany, in Iceland, in Bali, and in the United States of America, we find consistencies and regularities in the way in which new-born babies grow up and assume the attitudes and behavior patterns of their elders-and this we may call "character formation."¹⁴

In the generalizations about American culture which author Mead makes in And Keep Your Powder Dry, the reader is advised that she is considering the North, Middle West and West; she notes that discussion of regional variation between North and South would have to be too abstract to be beneficial.¹⁵

The American Family And Character Formation. It is, in many instances, difficult for the European to understand American mannerisms, for example, our ties to lodges, fraternities and the home town. To illustrate the formation of American character structure, Margaret Mead again suggests that the family is the

¹⁴Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 24.

proper place to begin.¹⁶ The American family has migrated from the Old World to the New. In this sense, Dr. Mead states we are all third-generation Americans. Leaving Europe, the American settler formed little Italian, Czech or Polish sections in the cities; and then as he and his family became Americanized, they migrated to the suburbs and small towns.¹⁷

Parental obligation towards children seems to be to equip the younger generation so that they may succeed for themselves. In so doing, the parents realize that their children will then leave them geographically, in education and in choice of a career. Anthropologist Mead notes that the parent expects this will be the pattern their children will follow. She writes:

In the first place, the American parent expects his child to leave him, leave him physically, go to another town, another state; leave him in terms of occupation, embrace a different calling, learn a different calling, learn a different skill, leave him socially, travel if possible with a different crowd.¹⁸

According to Mead, the father's role is autumnal, that is, he attempts to keep ahead of his son or daughter as long as he can but realizes that eventually he will lose.¹⁹ Children avoid the element of direct competition with their parents by choosing an occupation different from the father's. Each generation, in

¹⁶Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 45.

this manner, leaves the parental sphere in search of different goals. This is exemplified in the European's departure to America, the newly Americanized children leaving their parents in customs, mannerisms, and possibly by moving from the city to a suburb or small town. The idea that author Mead consistently portrays is that the children are to surpass their parents. Here is another example of her thought on the necessity of success:

Father is to be outdistanced and outmoded, but not because he is a strong representative of another culture, well entrenched, not because his is a weak and ineffectual attempt to imitate the new culture; he did very well in his way, but he is out of date. He, like us, was moving forwards, moving away from something symbolized by his own ancestors, moving towards something symbolized by other people's ancestors.²⁰

Mead's Class Structure. Commenting upon class structure in America, Margaret Mead adds to the construction developed by Warner and his associates.²¹ Dr. Mead states that the American system is in reality measured in terms of rungs on a ladder with the distance covered from the initial starting point viewed as the progress one has made.²² She writes that "class in America is in fact part of the success game."²³

Being a success, as Mead describes it, means having done something rather than being a certain kind of person. It entails

²⁰Ibid., p. 52-53.

²¹Ibid., p. 57-58.

²²Ibid., p. 58.

²³Ibid., p. 65.

an evaluation of how many people a person has surpassed. She writes that the idea of making good and success is impressed upon American children:

To get ahead, to make good---these are the goals which are impressed on American children---to go someplace else, get on with it, count your success by the number of less handicapped that you have passed on the road.²⁴

During this same discussion Margaret Mead asks how a man's success can be known. The question is answered by saying, "only by knowing how far he has come, how many he has passed, what he has in the way of power and possessions. What he is--- as a person---is irrelevant, for to be a success is to have done something rather than to have been a kind of person."²⁵

In childhood, during school and on the job, Americans are geared to achievement and success. Nevertheless, there is a respect and attachment to the past for contemporary ways of doing things. Miss Mead comments that "with our insistence upon the importance of building something new, we have combined a tremendous valuation upon anything which someone else has finished. Innovation is our ideal but conformity is our mentor."²⁶

Parents are anxious to conform to existing customs in externals such as housing, automobiles, clothes and the use of

²⁴Ibid., p. 68.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., p. 79.

leisure time. These things, it is felt, should be as much as possible like other people's, for they serve an indexes of comparison and conformity.²⁷

In a generalization about the United States. Margaret Mead considers the Middle West as an area which has a third generation emphasis on conformity, namely, doing things according to the conventional American way. But in California "one finds the epitome of the fourth generation attitude, the newly manufactured solution, hoarfrost sprinkled on new-laid eggs."²⁸ New England has traces of the Old World ties, a greater certitude of the past than the future. The South also has a veneration for the past, "a fable more powerful than present day reality."²⁹ Information on the correct way of living and doing things the American way is sought by parents from all who can speak with authority. This often becomes the advertiser, radio commentator, newspaper, magazine or lecturer.³⁰ The element of success also appears in the parent's concern about a child's grades rather than how much the child is really learning.

A Matriarchal Society? Throughout most of Mead's discussions on raising children, women are accorded the chief position. In fact, on the few occasions in which the male member of the family is mentioned he is depicted as one who is being outdone

²⁷Ibid., pp. 85-90.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 101.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., p. 100

by his children while he attempts to hold whatever status he may have for as long a period as possible. Margaret Mead sees the woman as the primary purveyor of the child's attitudes of aggressiveness, and describes the American mother as one who gives conditional love. By this she means that the child feels he gains the love of his mother when he succeeds, whether it is eating the right food, growing as tall as the neighbor boy, or winning a playground fight that the other fellow started. The stereotype of the husband relaxing in an easy chair, reading the newspaper, a fellow who does not want to get angry, is the stimulus which the woman takes to assume the major role in character formation according to Mead.

But all American activities have not been successful. If there is an American failure, it is in believing that winning World War I was sufficient in itself. Margaret Mead feels that the proper effort was not made to secure a lasting peace after the war. The men and women who now fight World War II are the children of those who, in a sense, have reneged on their responsibilities to themselves, their country, and their children.

Thus far And Keep Your Powder Dry has served as the basis for this chapter, but this book alone is not exemplary of all Dr. Mead's work nor does it convey other ramifications of American society of which she has written. Dr. Mead has also written a considerable number of books and articles, the majority being directly related to a study of primitive cultures. Since the

emphasis of this thesis is Western man and in particular the American, it does not seem appropriate nor is it possible to review her work on primitive cultures and related fields.

There are, however, several other important and relevant areas of Mead's writings. Comments upon her work enhance understanding and evaluation of her publications, these will not be briefly considered. They may be divided into categories of American society, education, women and the family, human nature, and the study of national character.

Comments On Related Writing. Reviewing Male And Female, Therese Benedek writes that "this book, written for a broad audience, represents a brilliant integration of anthropological data with psychological concepts."³¹ Giving a greater insight to Mead's psychological theory in studying individuals and society than And Keep Your Powder Dry represents, it portrays Mead's method as decidedly Freudian. Pitirim Sorokin makes the following observations and evaluation of this approach:

On the other hand, there is a certain grotesqueness about the diagnostic theories that interpret the structure and psychodynamics of personality, society, and nation by a single narrow factor, such as the way in which infants are swaddled, or trained in micturition and defecation; and so on

³¹Therese Benedek, "Review of Male and Female," Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 32 (October 15, 1949), 10-11.

(The Freudians, M. Mead, G. Gorer, J. Rickman, and others). Not denying a small role to these factors, nevertheless the "swaddling theories of personality and historical processes," and the "micturitional-defecative philosophies of history" are phantasmagoric in the all-powerful and decisive role they ascribe to these factors.³²

Education. In The School in American Culture, Mead depicts three types of schools relating them to the society in which they are found and the prevalent values of the time. The first is a traditional type, a conservative early American School; the second is "the little red school house" which enforces parental values and the third, the modern urban school. The modern urban school, beset with conflicts, demands a type of teacher willing to explore an unknown future while admitting all the answers are not known and challenging the student to add his contribution. Emphasis on preparation for the future causes a conflict with past and present values in the "city school," and this necessitates a combination of each value system as a hallmark of the contemporary teacher.³³

The Family. Harpers published an article by Mead discussing war time marriages in which Mead notes the adaptability of the family institution under adverse conditions and in varied

³²Pitirim A. Sorokin, Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology and Related Sciences (Chicago, 1956), p. 98.

³³Margaret Mead, The School in American Culture (Cambridge, 1951).

societies.³⁴ In another article on the family system, the author notes some distinguishing features of the modern American family, its problems, and an ethic of joint responsibility in regard to duties. The analysis of family problems seem to convey a somewhat prevalent view of modern marriage considering that vocation to be an attempt at a civil, moral union which is not necessarily eternally binding and so distinct from a sacramental union. A consideration of this point may be found in Mead's description of a couple's anxiety in maintaining a lasting marriage.

The average American male's job insecurity, the fear that his maturity, which is based on his ability to earn his own living and provide completely for his family may be taken from him by personal fortune or depression, is matched by the average wife's fear that she may fail at her job of home-making and end up without a husband and perhaps with children to support.³⁵

Variations in the roles of women and men in different cultures are described in still another article. Margaret Mead writes that "there are cultures where women are demanding and men responsive, where women manage the finances and men wheedle pocket money out of them and spend their time dreaming of forgery and alchemy...cultures where fathers are indulgent and loving and

³⁴ Margaret Mead, "What's The Matter With The Family," Harper's, (April 1945), 393.

³⁵ Margaret Mead, "The Contemporary American Family As An Anthropologist Sees It," American Journal of Sociology, Vol.53(May 1948), 457.

and mothers stern disciplinarians..."³⁶ Miss Mead suggests that women have not as yet attained the freedom which they seek, that is, to act from choice rather than necessity. In a more recent article, the author reflects upon new domestic demands which have fallen on men. Directing her suggestions to a seemingly career-minded female reader, Miss Mead feels that the education a woman receives is not being utilized.³⁷

On Human Nature. Differences in "character" between French Catholics and English Catholics, for example, are attributed to learned social inheritance rather than physical inheritance in Mead's inquiry into human nature.³⁸

National Character Studies. A manual of interdisciplinary research applied to inaccessible cultures has been edited by Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux which is another of Mead's contributions in the field of national character studies.³⁹ As a source of periodical literature and a selective bibliography to studies of national character, Mead's contribution to Anthropology Today is considerable. Under "National Character" Miss

³⁶ Margaret Mead, "What Women Want," Fortune, Vol. 34 (December, 1946), 175.

³⁷ Margaret Mead, "American Man In A Women's World," New York Times Magazine (February 10, 1957), p.11.

³⁸ Margaret Mead, "What Is Human Nature?," Look, (April 19, 1955), p. 57. Reviewed by Father Gordon George, "Margaret Mead On Human Nature," America, Vol. 93 (May 7, 1955), 154.

³⁹ Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux, The Study of Culture At A Distance (Chicago, 1953).

Mead describes this type of study in the following manner:

National character studies, like all culture personality studies are focused on the way human beings embody the culture they have been reared in or to which they have immigrated. These studies attempt to delineate how the innate properties of human beings, the idiosyncratic elements in each human being, and the general and individual patterns of human maturation are integrated within a shared social tradition in such a way that certain regularities appear in the behavior of all members of the culture which can be described as a regular character.⁴⁰

Summary And Evaluation. With this additional background of Mead's writings, we return to the work which has been the nucleus of this chapter, And Keep Your Powder Dry. This book is not intended to be a scientific study according to Margaret Mead and the Kluckhohns make this point before they begin their of the book.⁴¹ However, this book and several other writings do evidence Mead's scientific bent and psychological basis for her work.

According to Dr. Mead the anthropologist functions as a participant observer and has one aim "to observe and understand individuals as revealing their culture." And Keep Your Powder Dry demonstrates a European flavor and author Mead credits much of its development to Gregory Bateson, Geoffrey Gorer, Kurt Lewin, Erik Erikson and Erich Fromm.

Mead begins her study of American character formation with an

⁴⁰ A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology Today, An Encyclopedic Inventory, Chicago, 1953, p. 642.

⁴¹ Florence and Clyde Kluckhohn, "Review of And Keep your Powder Dry," American Anthropologist, 45 (October-December 1943) 623-624.

analysis of family life in which she concludes: 1) we are all third generation Americans, although a fourth generation attitude is appearing in California. 2) youths are equipped "to succeed" from an early age, 3) the American family is of matriarchal form in which the mother gives conditional love, 4) Mead adds another term, "middle" to each of Warner's class categories, 5) the psychological basis for her studies in general is said to be Freudian, and 6) she emphasizes perhaps over-emphasizes, the success factor in her study And Keep Your Powder Dry.

The analysis by Pitirim Sorokin on Mead's psychological orientation provides a basic frame of reference to guide an interpretation of Dr. Mead's work. To the foregoing psychological analysis, Florence and Clyde Kluckhohn note: 1) an Eastern urban bias, 2) regional variation in the matriarchal family and six class system, and 3) a tendency to make culture the determinant force in character formation. The Kluckhohns write:

Since this review is intended for carping specialists, some cavils must be entered. To some degree this is unfair to the author for she makes it plain that she does not consider this a strictly professional job. Rather, she considered her book as an impressionistic tour de force, sharpened by the perspective of seven alien cultures, and focused on the questions which had been found of critical importance in the scientific study of those cultures...

We suspect, however that Mead shows an urban-Eastern bias. Her consideration, for example, of the role of the father may well be adequate for many urban and suburban groups in the East, but does not check with our experiences in the Middle West and West...Against this background, Mead's treatment

seems almost a fanciful picture of maternal parthenogenesis of the character structure...

She is aware that class typing often breaks down under geographic mobility, but she seems implicitly to accept the validity of the six class system for all parts of the country. Surely many more data are needed. And the exclusion of a middle-middle class appears cavalier.

From the professional angle, the greatest objection to the theoretical basis of this contribution is that the author shows an almost exclusive interest in culture as a determinant for individual character formation...

Another fact, less obvious and for that reason more subtly dangerous to her analysis, is the tendency to obliterate, or at least blur, the crucial distinction between the social and cultural....In short, Dr. Mead tends to jump directly from culture to character formation, neglecting social structure.⁴²

A consideration of Mead's Class structure prompts these questions: 1) How many rungs would Mead's "success ladder" contain? 2) What is the criteria for determining the transition points between "lower", "middle", and "upper" of each division? 3) Are there not measurement values other than the material and success goals used by Mead?

Traditional views of regional variations are very sketchily presented in And Keep Your Powder Dry. The omission of a discussion of minority groups and problems leaves a considerable void in an approach to the study of American society.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 623-624.

Two pronounced pitfalls in methodology are noticeable. In And Keep Your Powder Dry, the success theme is overemphasized as a single factor in determining values. In Male And Female, the exclusively Freudian approach, on which Pitirim Sorokin has previously commented, is dominant.

Finally, a study which stresses Freudian psychology alone as a basis, overestimates material goals, avoids a discussion of minority groups, ignores the influence of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish ideals, touches on regional variations, and skirts the importance of the freedom to accept or reject a society's values can not be considered a definitive study of that society.

APPENDIX

A Biographical Sketch of Margaret Mead

MEAD, DR. MARGARET, American Museum of Natural History, New York 24, N.Y. Anthropology, Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 16, 01; m. 36; c l. A.B., Columbia, 23, A.M., 24, Ph.D anthropology, 29; Nat. Res. fel, Biship Mus, Honolulu, 25-26; Social Science Res. Council fel, 28-29; hon Sc.D, Wilson Col, 40; L.L.D., Rutgers, 41; hon. Sc D, Elmira Col. 47, West. Col. for Women, 55. Asst. Curator Ethnol, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. 26-42, Assoc. Curator, 42-, Dir Studies Soviet Culture, 48-Vis. lectr, Vassar Col, 39-41; Teachers College, Columbia, 47-54 adj. prof. 54-, dir. res in Contemporary Cultures, univ, 48-Exec. secy cmt. food habits, NRC, 42-45; Consultant Mental Health Council, USPHS. Exped, Samoa, 25-26, Manus Tribe, Admiralty Islands, New Guinea, 28-29; Am. Indian Tribe, 30, New Buinea 31,33,38, Bali, 36-38,39, Iatual, New Guinea, 38 AAAS; AAA; S. App. Anthropol. pres 49. A. Ethnol. S; Int Intercultural Studies (secy, 49); World Fedr. Ment. Health. Oceanic ethnology; Comparative child psychology; national character.

Jaques Cattell ed. American Men of Science: A Biographical Directory, III, The Social and Behavioral Sciences, p. 462.

Chapter IV

Erich Fromm

The problems which have faced man since his exit from Eden have been to a considerable extent those involving choices between freedom or conformity, of ethics, of an effective governmental structure conducive to leading the good life, and of grasping the nature of man's love for his fellow man and God. These four factors are the basis of Erich Fromm's works--Escape from Freedom, Man for Himself, The Sane Society, and The Art of Loving.¹ To portray Erich Fromm's typology effectively, each of these works will be briefly considered in so far as it may contribute to understanding his view of social character.

In this chapter the chronology of Fromm's writings will be followed in this manner: 1) the psychology of freedom, 2) humanist ethics and types of social character, 3) tentative panacea for an ailing society, and 4) some concepts on love.

The Thesis. Escape From Freedom is "part of a broad study concerning the character structure of modern man and the problems of the interaction between psychological and sociological

¹ Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York, 1941).
 ----- Man for Himself (New York, 1947).
 ----- The Sane Society (New York, 1955).
 ----- The Art of Loving (New York, 1956).

factors" to which the author has devoted several years.² This particular work is an analysis of, not a solution to, the problems which accompanied man's asserted growth of individual freedom since the Renaissance and Reformation and his corresponding development of a sense of isolation. Fromm writes:

It is the thesis of this book that modern man, freed from the bonds of pre-individualistic society, which simultaneously gave him security and limited him, has not gained freedom in the positive sense of the realization of his individual self; that is, the expression of his intellectual, emotional and sensuous potentialities. Freedom, though it has brought him independence and rationality, has made him isolated and thereby, anxious and powerless. This isolation is unbearable and the alternatives he is confronted with are either to escape from the burden of this freedom into new dependencies and submission, or to advance to the full realization of positive freedom which is based upon the uniqueness and individuality of man.³

Method. Throughout his writings Fromm frequently distinguishes his psychological approach from that of Freud. Explaining one of the basic differences between his method and that of Freud. Fromm writes:

...the fundamental approach to human personality is the understanding of man's relation to the world, to others, to nature and to himself. We believe that man is primarily a social being, and not, as

²Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p. ix. In the foreward, Fromm makes the following specific acknowledgements to those who have directly contributed to completing the book: 1) Miss Elizabeth Brown for suggestions and criticism in organization, 2) Mr. T. Woodhouse in helping edit the manuscript, 3) Dr. A. Seidemann for help on the philosophical problems.

³Ibid., p.viii.

Freud assumes, primarily self-sufficient and only secondarily in need of others in order to satisfy his instinctual needs. In this sense, we believe that individual psychology is fundamentally social psychology or, in Sullivan's terms, the psychology of interpersonal relationships: the key problem of psychology is that of the particular kind of relatedness of the individual toward the world, not that of satisfaction or frustration of single instinctual desires.⁴

Neo-Freudian Psychology. Commenting on neo-Freudian psychology, Woodworth notes that in psychoanalysis the neo-Freudians urge a change from an orientation biology to one of sociology. In this sense it becomes a social and not a biological science.⁵

⁴Ibid., p. 290. Several other differences between Freud and Fromm are summarized on p. 289-296.

⁵Robert S. Woodworth, Contemporary Schools of Psychology, New York, 1931, p. 203. Robert S. Woodworth also describes other "ideal types" used by Jung, Freud, Horney, and Spranger which give a brief but inclusive description of their systems. Woodworth writes: "Interest in 'types' is not confined to the personalists. Jung, we remember, introduced the famous distinction between introverts and extroverts (p. 200). Freud and his direct followers distinguished several types which they believed to originate in the fixation of early stages of psychosexual development: the oral-erotic, dependent type; the sadistic or 'biting' type; the anal-erotic, characterized by parsimony, obstinacy, and orderliness; and the more mature genital types (p. 178). Adler distinguished several 'styles of life' (p. 195). Horney's character trends are much like Freud's: the moving against, hostile character; and the moving away, withdrawing character (p. 208). Spranger believed he could identify six typical human goals -- six dimensions of human value, we might say -- aside from the biological goals mentioned. Here is his list of goals, values or attitudes: the theoretical, knowledge-seeking; the esthetic; the economic or practical; the religious; the social or sympathetic; the political or managerial. Spranger speaks of 'types of men': the practical man, the religious man and so on. He does not mean that people can be cleanly grouped under these heads, for every individual will appreciate more than a single value."

Clara Thompson And Fromm. Fromm, according to Clara Thompson, deviated early in his career as a psychoanalyst from the Freudian interpretation of man's relation to society. She writes

Fromm does not consider the satisfaction of instinct as the central problem in human nature. He points out that man at birth has fewer predetermined courses of behavior than any other animal. This means that his ways of adaptation are not by instinct but by learning and cultural training and that "man's nature, his passions, and anxieties are a cultural product; as a matter of fact, man himself is the most important creation and achievement of the continuous human effort, the record which we call history."⁶

What Is Social Character? A key concept in understanding the social process is that of social character. Fromm states that "social character comprises only a selection of traits, the essential nucleus of the character structure of most members of a group which has developed as the result of the basic experiences and modes of life common to that group."⁷ Since the emphasis is upon common traits of a group, social character is, of course, less specific than individual character. Concerning the function

⁶ Clara Thompson, Psychoanalysis: Evolution and Development (New York, 1950), p. 205. A considerable portion of Clara Thompson's book is devoted to a description and analysis of Erich Fromm's method and writings.

⁷ Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p. 277. He also writes that "character in the dynamic sense of analytic psychology is the specific form in which human energy is shaped by the dynamic adaptation of human needs to the particular mode of existence of a given society" (p. 278).

of character for the individual and society, Fromm Asserts:

If an individual's character more or less closely conforms with the social character the dominant drives in his personality lead him to do what is necessary and desirable under the specific social conditions of his culture....

To sum up: the subjective function of character for the normal person is to lead him to act according to what is necessary for him from a practical standpoint and also to give him satisfaction from his activity psychologically.⁸

The social function of education likewise prepares an individual for the role he is to play in society. In this respect the social function of education helps prepare an individual's character for his social role in society.⁹

The formative role of parents to their children is noted by Dr. Fromm and he writes that "they transmit to the child what we may call the psychological atmosphere or the spirit of a society just by being as they are---namely representatives of this very spirit. The family thus may be considered the psychological agent of society."¹⁰

⁸Ibid., p. 282-283.

⁹Ibid., p. 286.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 287. Clara Thompson gives these illustrations to demonstrate Fromm's character types as being receptive, exploiting, and hoarding in Psychoanalysis: Evolution and Development, p. 72. "In one type of home, a child develops the attitude of expecting to receive because the situation under the circumstances is best manipulated by being receptive, friendly and pleasing. In a more frustrating atmosphere, the child may feel he can have only what he takes, that the only source of security is in exploiting others. If the home atmosphere is ungiving, anxious and suspicious, the child will be impressed with a 'feeling of scarcity' and may well develop the 'anal' character..."

Freedom. After establishing the factor of freedom as a problem of choice and the importance of parents as the psychological agents of society, Fromm discusses the emergence of the individual. As an example the first premise of man's choice of freedom, he analyzes what he calls "the biblical myth of man's expulsion from paradise."¹¹ Erich Fromm considers the Garden of Eden a place where there was peace and no work, but also where there was no choice, no freedom and no thinking. He also considers man's first act of disobedience a first act of freedom to become an "individual."¹² The author uses this illustration in each of his books to describe the beginning of freedom. Before commenting on this interpretation, the following quotation is given in order to depict Dr. Fromm's position accurately:

The myth identifies the beginning of human history with an act of choice, but it puts all emphasis on the sinfulness of this first act of freedom and the suffering resulting from it. Man and women live in the Garden of Eden in complete harmony with each other and with nature. There is no peace and no necessity to work; there is no choice, no freedom, no thinking either. Man is forbidden to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. He acts against God's command, he breaks through the state of harmony with nature of which

¹¹Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p.33.

¹²Ibid.

he is a part without transcending it. From the standpoint of the Church which represented authority, this is essentially sin. From the standpoint of man, however, this is the beginning of human freedom. Acting against God's orders means freeing himself from coercion, emerging from the unconscious existence of prehuman life to the level of man. Acting against the command of authority, committing a sin, is in its positive human aspect the first act of freedom, that is the first human act. In the myth the sin in its formal aspect is the acting against God's command; in its material aspect it is the eating of the tree of knowledge. The act of disobedience as an act of freedom is the beginning of reason. The myth speaks of other consequences of the first act of freedom. The original harmony between man and nature is broken. God proclaims war between man and woman, and war between nature and man. Man has become separate from nature, he has taken the first step toward becoming human by becoming an "individual." He has committed the first act of freedom. The myth emphasizes the suffering resulting from this act. To transcend nature, to be alienated from nature and from another human being, finds man naked, ashamed. He is alone and free, yet powerless and afraid. The newly won freedom appears as a curse; he is free from the sweet bondage of paradise, but he is not free to govern himself, to realize his individuality.¹³

It is difficult to discern what prompts Erich Fromm to write "there is no choice, no freedom, no thinking either." His books demonstrate a broad knowledge not only of psychology but also of theology, philosophy, history, and economics. Possibly he poses an acute philosophical distinction of freedom in which any norm not generated by man would imply a lack of freedom, choice and thought. Nevertheless, Dr. Fromm's analysis of Eden considered in the realm of Catholic biblical tradition is untenable for the following reasons.

¹³Ibid., p. 33-35.

In Genesis, 2:27, it is written: "And God created man to His image, to the image of God He created him." "Bishop Challoner noted that "this image of God in man is not in the body, but in the soul, which is a spiritual substance endured with understanding and free will."¹⁴

¹⁴The Holy Bible, Douay Bible House, U.S.A., 1941, notes by Bishop Challoner, p. 2.

The following interpretations and comments are from Dom Bernard Orchard, Rev. Edmund F. Sutcliffe S.J., Rev. Reginald C. Fuller, Dom Ralph Russell, editorial committee, A Catholic Commentary On Holy Scripture (New York, 1953), p. 178: "But though the omnipotent Creator of man is able, if he wished, to impose absolute submission of his will as in the case of the lower creatures, he would not have of the human race a forced service. Man's obedience to God's law must be free. He is given a law, but he is left free to obey or to transgress, 2:17 and see on 4:7 (Genesis). But man is not left only to a sense of duty and of gratitude to God to help him to obey. Obedience is rewarded by happiness; punishment threatened for sin."

The authors also write on page 185: "Our first parents were thus placed in conditions of physical and spiritual felicity. Their bodily needs were supplied by the trees of the garden, the care of which was designed to supply pleasant occupation. As they were created in adult life, God will have given them that knowledge which was necessary to their state, a knowledge that human beings have normally to acquire through the years of childhood and adolescence. Though by nature mortal, they had in the tree of life the means of pre-serving health and strength indefinitely. In other words, they had the gift of immortality. They had moreover the preternatural gift of integrity. That is, by a special privilege their nature was 'whole' and without internal conflict, as their bodies with their bodies with their physical powers were entirely under the control of reason, which had not therefore to control the spontaneous impulses of their nature. This gift of integrity is also called the absence of concupiscence, and is indicated by the fact that, though naked, they had no cause for any sense of shame. That they were created in the state of sanctifying grace and were destined for the beatific vision cannot be deduced from the O.T., but is learnt from the N.T."

Before the fall Adam and Eve possessed the gifts of: 1) knowledge befitting their state, 2) immortality, 3) physical and spiritual felicity, and 4) friendship with God. Through an act based upon knowledge of the consequences Adam and Eve made their choice. All these factors contradict Erich Fromm's analysis and statement about the absence of freedom, choice and thought.

The beginning Of Modern Freedom. In order to understand the problem of freedom in modern society, Fromm begins with an historical period in which he believes modern freedom began to emerge, the Renaissance and Reformation. Jacob Burckhardt, a professor of history and the history of art at the University of Basel, Switzerland, published his essay on the Renaissance period in 1860.¹⁵ It is Burckhardt's The Civilization Of The Renaissance In Italy from which Fromm draws several interpretations of Medieval society. Divided into six sections, the essay considers the state and the papacy, development of the individual, revival of the antiquity in the form of the classics and humanism, discovery of the world and of man as an "individual", Medieval society and festivals, morality and religion.

Fromm considers the Renaissance period as described by Jacob Burckhardt as one in which the realization of an individual,

¹⁵ Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (New York, 1954). Fromm comments upon other historical interpretations and criticisms of Burckhardt's work in Escape From Freedom, pp. 46-47.

unique self emerged in the social life of that period. Burckhardt describes this condition in his chapter on "The Development Of The Individual":

In the Middle Ages both sides of human consequences-consciousness--that which was turned within as that which was turned without--lay dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil. The veil was woven of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues. Man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, party, family or corporation--only through some general category. In Italy this veil first melted into air; an objective treatment and consideration of the State and of all the things of this world became possible. The subjective side at the same time asserted itself with corresponding emphasis, man became a spiritual individual and recognized himself as such.¹⁶

As the spirit of the Renaissance in Italy gave impetus to individualism, it also stimulated the rise of capitalism. Fromm notes that the growing independence had a negative counterpart. This concurrent trend is one of isolation and aloneness. Having weakened or broken the traditional bonds of stability, the vacuum was filled by a craving for fame and honor, an increase in economic activity and an awareness of the pecuniary value of time.

Theology And Freedom. Fromm analyzes the theological tenets of the Reformation Period which seem to support his thesis that there was a countering psychological movement to individualism, aloneness. In his opinion the theological teachings of

¹⁶Ibid., p. 100.

Luther and Calvin fostered a feeling of insignificance and traits of submission in man. Freed from the Church, man was left alone to face God. "Man is free from all ties binding him to spiritual authorities, but this very freedom leaves him alone and anxious, overwhelms him with a feeling of his own individual insignificance and powerlessness."¹⁷

According to Fromm, "Calvin's theology which was to become as important for the Anglo-Saxon countries as Luther's for Germany exhibits essentially the same spirit as Luther's both theologically and psychologically."¹⁸In Calvinism, a virtuous life was one which included unceasing effort; and success in material and worldly matters was considered a good omen, for activity rewarded by pecuniary gain is a sign of predestination.

Fromm comments:

In the further development of Calvinism, the emphasis on unceasing effort gains in importance, particularly the idea that success in worldly life, as a result of such efforts, is a sign of salvation.¹⁹

Since there were elements of uncertainty in that form of salvation, a significant task in Calvinism became a hectic desire for activity, of striving to do something. Fromm notes the compulsory nature of this activity and writes:

Activity in this sense assumes a compulsory quality:

¹⁷Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p. 80.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 90.

the individual has to be active in order to overcome his feeling of doubt and powerlessness. This kind of effort and activity is not the result of inner strength and self-confidence; it is a desperate escape from anxiety.²⁰

On the other hand, he comments that the Medieval church taught of man's confidence in God's love, free will, and the dignity of an individual. However, with the advent of capitalism a feeling of insecurity and bewilderment also arose. Fromm gives this summary of the Church:

To sum up: the medieval Church stressed the dignity of man, the freedom of his will, and the fact that his efforts were to avail; it stressed the likeness between God and man and also man's right to be confident of God's love. Men were felt to be equal and brothers in their very likeness to God. In the late Middle Ages, in connection with the beginning of capitalism, bewilderment and insecurity arose; but at the same time tendencies that emphasized the role of will and human effort became increasingly stronger. We may assume that both the philosophy of the Renaissance and the Catholic doctrine of the late Middle Ages reflected the spirit prevailing in those social groups whose economic position gave them a feeling of power and independence.²¹

Labor And Aloneness. Thus far the relation of the Renaissance to the development of individualism has been shown. The Reformation also had the effect of loosing man from traditional norms but at the cost of a feeling of aloneness. With the rise of capitalism during the Middle Ages, the feelings of individualism

²⁰Ibid., p. 91.

²¹Ibid., p. 73.

and freedom were enhanced, but the elements of isolation and insignificance of the individual were also present.

The inversion of values--making work and pecuniary gain an end instead of means--had commenced. Herein lies the condition exemplified in modern capitalism of which Fromm writes:

Yet while the principle of work for the sake of accumulation of capital objectively is of enormous value for the progress of mankind, subjectively it has made man work for extra personal ends, made him a servant to the very machine he built, and thereby has given him a feeling of personal insignificance and powerlessness.²²

Fromm contends that man has made a commodity of himself which is sold on the market. "The manual laborer sells his physical energy; the businessman, the physician, the clerical employee, sell their 'personality'."²³ One factor in this re-direction of energies and values is that "the less he felt he was being somebody the more he needed to have possessions."²⁴

Escapes From Freedom. Fromm discusses the psychology and submission to Nazism as an example of surrendering freedom to an authoritarian state which makes the individual subservient to himself.

Three methods of escape from freedom are mentioned by Dr. Fromm: 1) authoritarianism. 2) destructiveness, and 3) automation

²²Ibid., pp. 111-112.

²³Ibid., p. 119.

²⁴Ibid., p. 120.

conformity. Two distinct forms of authoritarianism are those involving a striving for submission or dominance; both, however, are an attempt to evade a feeling of aloneness and powerlessness which becomes unbearable.²⁵ Submission--or in Fromm's term, masochism--appears most frequently in feelings of individual insignificance, powerlessness, and inferiority.²⁶ On the other hand, dominance or sadistic tendencies may take three forms: 1) to have absolute and unrestricted power over others, 2) to exploit others, 3) to make others suffer or see them suffer either physically or mentally.²⁷

Destructiveness differs from dominance for it seeks the elimination of the object which is considered undesirable.²⁸ Destructiveness may be a rational "reactive" process or an abnormal tendency. "The destructiveness here under consideration, however, is not this rational-or as one might call it 'reactive'-hostility, but a constantly lingering tendency within a person which so to speak waits only for an opportunity to be expressed."²⁹

Fromm notes the abundance of destructiveness in society and comments that it is often rationalized by considering it

²⁵Ibid., p. 151.

²⁶Ibid., p. 142.

²⁷Ibid., p. 141.

²⁸Ibid., p. 179.

²⁹Ibid., p. 180.

altruism or patriotism:

Any observer of personal relations in our social scene cannot fail to be impressed with the amount of destructiveness to be found everywhere. For the most part it is not conscious as such but is rationalized in various ways. As a matter of fact, there is virtually nothing that is not used as a rationalization for destructiveness. Love, duty, conscience, patriotism have been and are being used as disguises to destroy others or oneself.³⁰

Automaton Conformity. In Erich Fromm's opinion, the particular escape mechanism used by the majority of normal individuals in modern society is automaton conformity.³¹ "To put it briefly, the individual ceases to be himself; he adopts entirely the kind of personality offered to him by cultural patterns; and he therefore becomes exactly as all others are and as they expect him to be. The discrepancy between 'I' and the world disappears and with it the conscious fear of aloneness and powerlessness."³²

Fromm distinguishes between genuine thinking and pseudo-thinking, the former lends to a true individual expression, the latter to a paroting of others' thoughts (those of the mass media, for example) and considering them as one's own individual thoughts. Fromm believes "that we can have thoughts, feelings, wishes, and even sensual sensations which we subjectively feel to be ours, and yet that, although we experienced these thoughts

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., p. 185.

³²Ibid., p. 186.

and feelings, they have been put into us from the outside, are basically alien, and are not what we think, feel, and so on."³³

Four types of unproductive social character are described by Dr. Fromm and he illustrates the positive and negative attributes of each. They include the receptive, exploitative, hoarding and marketing orientation.

The Receptive Orientation. "In the receptive orientation a person feels the 'source of all good' to be outside, and he believes that the only way to get what he wants--be it something material, be it affection, love, knowledge, pleasure--is to receive it from that outside source."³⁴ To love implies being loved rather than giving love; information is sought from others instead of making a personal effort to find an answer; in religious matters everything may be expected from God, nothing from self activity.³⁵ "Since they cannot say 'no', they love to say 'yes' to everything and everybody, and the resulting paralysis of their critical abilities makes them increasingly dependent on others."³⁶ Traits of optimism, friendliness, and genuine warmth are also characteristic of this form of social character:

³³Ibid., p. 189.

³⁴Erich Fromm, Man For Himself, p. 62.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., p. 63.

By and large, the outlook of people of this receptive orientation is optimistic and friendly; they have a certain confidence in life and its gifts, but they become anxious and distraught when their "source of supply" is threatened. They often have a genuine warmth and a wish to help others, but doing things for others also assumes the function of securing their favor.³⁷

Fromm goes on to list these general positive and negative characteristics of the receptive (accepting) orientation:

Positive Aspect	Negative Aspect
accepting.....	passive, without initiative
responsive.....	opinionless, characterless
devoted.....	submissive
modest.....	without pride
charming.....	parasitical
adaptable.....	unprincipled
socially adjusted..	servile, without self confidence
idealistic.....	unrealistic
sensitive.....	cowardly
polite.....	spineless
optimistic.....	wishful thinking
trusting.....	gullible
tender.....	sentimental ³⁸

Exploitative Orientation. The receptive and exploitative orientations have the common basis and feeling that the source of all good is outside themselves; it is possessed by another.³⁹ "The difference between the two, however, is that the exploitative type does not expect to receive things from others as gifts, but to take them away from others by force or cunning."⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 114.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

This condition applies to all spheres of endeavor; in the realm of material goods, that which another has will seem better than one's own. "They use and exploit anybody and anything from whom or from which they can squeeze something. Their motto is: 'Stolen fruits are sweetest'."⁴¹ Fromm notes the prevalence of traits of cynicism and underestimation:

Instead of the confidence and optimism which characterizes the receptive type, one finds here suspicion and cynicism, envy and jealousy. Since they are satisfied only with things they can take away from others, they tend to overrate what others have and underrate what is theirs.⁴²

Positive and negative characteristics of the exploitative orientation are the following:

Positive Aspect	Negative Aspect
active.....	exploitative
able to take initiative....	aggressive
able to make claims.....	egocentric
proud.....	conceited
impulsive.....	rash
self-confident.....	arrogant
captivating.....	seducing ⁴³

The Hoarding Orientation. The hoarding orientation is essentially different from the preceding two types for the aim is to keep whatever is possessed and let as little as possible escape.⁴⁴ "This orientation makes people have little faith in

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 64-65.

⁴²Ibid., p. 65.

⁴³Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 65.

anything new they might get from the outside world; their security is based upon hoarding and saving, while spending is felt to be a threat."⁴⁵ Fromm comments that pedantic orderliness is a hallmark and a sign of attempting to master the outside world. "A constant 'no' is the almost automatic defense against intrusion; sitting tight, the answer to the danger of being pushed."⁴⁶ Illustrating the situation Fromm declares that "they have surrounded themselves as it were by a protective wall, and their main aim is to bring as much as possible into this fortified position and to let as little as possible out of it."⁴⁷ The hoarding (preserving) orientation is exemplified by these characteristics:

Positive Aspect

Negative Aspects

practical.....	unimaginative
economical.....	stingy
careful.....	suspicious
reserved.....	cold
patient.....	lethargic
cautious.....	anxious
steadfast, tenacious.....	stubborn
imperturbable.....	indolent
composed under stress.....	inert
orderly.....	pedantic
methodical.....	obsessional ⁴⁸
loyal.....	possessive

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 67.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 65.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 115.

The Marketing Orientation. From a consideration of the economic function of the modern market, Fromm constructs the fourth type of nonproductive orientation. "The character orientation which is rooted in the experience of oneself as a commodity and of one's value as exchange value I call marketing orientation."⁴⁹ This form of social character is a modern product and not exemplified in eighteenth or nineteenth century life.⁵⁰ Isben's Peer Gynt is used by Fromm to depict this type which seeks its identity from the opinion of others:

Peer Gynt tries to discover his self and he finds that he is like an onion--one-layer after the other can be peeled off and there is no core to be found. Since man cannot live doubting his identity, he must, in the marketing orientation, find the conviction of identity not in reference to himself and his powers status, success, the fact that he is known to others as being a certain person are a substitute for the genuine feeling of identity. This situation makes him utterly dependent on the way others look at him and forces him to keep up the role in which he once had become successful. If I and my powers are separated from each other then, indeed, is my self constituted by the price I fetch.⁵¹

According to Fromm there is both a commodity market and personality market.⁵² "Since modern man experiences himself both seller and commodity to be sold on the market, his self esteem depends on conditions beyond his control. If he is 'successful',

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 68.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 73.

he is valuable; if he is not, he is worthless."⁵³ The sense of human dignity and pride are destroyed, for it becomes necessary to strive constantly for success.⁵⁴ One result is that individual differences are evaluated by the quantity and not quality; a person becomes more or less successful than others in matters of wealth, attractiveness, position.⁵⁵ Men were seen as commodities for what they have, not as individuals for what they are. A most lamentable result is that a concern to be considered salable dominates; true concern for life and happiness are lacking.⁵⁶ The motion picture is in Fromm's words "the most important means of transmitting the so called 'desired' personality pattern to the average man."⁵⁷ Education has also fallen prey to the market and its utility is too often measured in reference to market value.

Psychology, which was considered the study of man in relation to living a more productive life, has likewise been degraded. Fromm laments this condition and writes:

⁵²Ibid., p. 69.

⁵³Ibid., p. 72.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. x.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 73.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 71. Fromm goes beyond the usual conception which would consider only public relations men, advertising men, etc., to compete in a personality market. He writes: "Clerks and salesmen, business executives and doctors, lawyers and artists all appear on this market." (p. 69)

Knowledge of man himself, psychology, which in the great tradition of Western thought was held to be the condition for virtue, for right living, for happiness, degenerated into an instrument to be used for better manipulation of others and oneself in market research, in political propaganda, in advertising, and so on.⁵⁸

Success based on the opinion of others is the stimulus and end for the market-orientated character who views the individual as a commodity. The market, however, creates a form of comradeship in which all have a common aim, know their competitors' feelings, and suffer similiar difficulties:

Everybody is involved in the same battle of competition, shares the same striving for success; all meet under the same conditions of the market (or at least believe they do). Everyone knows how the others feel because each is in the same boat: alone, afraid to fail, eager to please; no quarter is given or expected in this battle.⁵⁹

The Productive Orientation. "The productive orientation of personality refers to a fundamental attitude, a mode of relatedness in all realms of human experience. It covers mental, emotional, and sensory responses to others, to oneself, and to things. Productiveness is man's ability to use his powers and to realize the potentialities inherent to him."⁶⁰ Important concepts in the preceding description of productive orientation are "fundamental

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 76.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 74-75.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 84.

attitude" and "relatedness." Both terms imply that "we are concerned with man's character, not with his success."⁶¹ The basic elements of a productively orientated personality are care, respect, responsibility, and knowledge. Actually, these qualities are also the essence of Fromm's conception of the meaning of love:

Love is the productive form of relatedness to others and oneself. It implies responsibility, care, respect and knowledge, and the wish for the other person to grow and develop. It is the expression intimacy between two human beings under the condition of the preservation of each other's integrity.⁶²

The distinguishing factor of the productive-orientated person is that his life is not an attempt to capture fame, success, or to spend a life in unproductive leisure. The essence of productiveness is labor, to labor for someone, for some special value, while helping that object of labor to grow spiritually, emotionally, and physically. In this respect it is not he who has much, but he who gives much, who is truly rich. (In the Christian tradition, to labor is to pray.)

This fundamental attitude and relatedness of the productively orientated person includes working, loving and reasoning; each is a hallmark of this type. Dr. Fromm uses the following terms to outline the productive personality:

⁶¹Ibid., p. 85.

⁶²Ibid., p. 110.

Working...Loving...Reasoning⁶³

Disorder in Society. The Sane Society⁶⁴ is a study of Western culture in which Dr. Fromm contends that a culture as well as individuals can be unadjusted. The wars of 1914 and 1939 undertaken in the spirit of keeping the world safe for democracy have been followed by periods of bewilderment when the conquest of one form of tyranny was shortly followed by another. The problems of a permanent means to peace have been sought by each generation and "according to Victor Cherbulliz, from 1500 B.C. to 1860 A.D., no less than about eight thousand peace treaties were signed, each one supposed to secure permanent peace, and each one lasting on an average two years."⁶⁵

Rising standards of living in Western countries and increased leisure time are usually considered signs of a prospering society. Negative effects, however, are considerable and Dr. Fromm uses information on suicide, homicide, and alcoholism from the World Health Organization to illustrate this condition. In the tables quoted by Fromm, Denmark has the highest suicide rate

⁶³Ibid., p. 111. The productive orientation is developed in Fromm's book The Art of Loving. A brief review of this work is included in this chapter under the heading "Reviewing the Reviewers."

⁶⁴Erich Fromm, The Sane Society.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 4 From H.B. Stevens, The Recovery Of Culture (New York, 1949), p. 221.

of 35.09 (all figures are indexed per 100,00 adults) while the United States is fifth of sixteen countries with 15.52. The United States is highest in homicide act (8.50), followed by Italy (7.38) and Finland (6.45). Highest estimate of alcoholics was 3,952 (1948) in the United States. France had the second highest rate of 2,850 (1945) and Sweden, the third, 2,580 (1946).⁶⁶

Fromm's Remedy. Erich Fromm devotes a considerable portion of The Sane Society to a discussion of various solutions to remedy these problems and to provide a society in which the productive orientation may flourish. Three reactions to capitalism are noted: "Aside from Fascist or Stalinist authoritarianism and super Capitalism of the 'incentive management' type, the third great reaction to and criticism of Capitalism is the socialist theory."⁶⁷ It is partially from socialist principles that Erich Fromm constructs a panacea for an ailing society:

Man today is confronted with the most fundamental choice; not between Capitalism or Communism, but that between robotism (of both the capitalistic and communist variety), or Humanistic Communitarian Socialism.⁶⁸

Fromm sees in both Capitalism and Communism similar trends in the manipulation of populations:

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 8-9.
⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 246.
⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 363.

But without ignoring the tremendous differences between free Capitalism and authoritarian Communism today, it is shortsighted not to see the similarities, especially as they will develop in the future. Both systems are based on industrialization, their goal is ever-increasing economic efficiency and wealth. They are societies run by a managerial class and by professional politicians. They both are thoroughly materialistic in their outlook, regardless of Christian ideology in the West and secular messianism in the East. They organize man in a centralized system, in large factories, political mass parties. Everybody is a cog in the machine, and has to function smoothly. In the West, this is achieved by a method of psychological conditioning, mass suggestion, monetary rewards. In the East by all this plus terror. It is to be assumed that the more the Soviet system develops economically, the less severely will it have to exploit the majority of the population, hence the more can terror be replaced by methods of psychological manipulation. The West develops rapidly in the direction of Huxley's Brave New World, the East is today Orwell's 1984. Both systems tend to converge.⁶⁹

Humanistic Communitarian Socialism. Humanistic

Communitarian Socialism, as its name implies has a threefold structure: 1) humanist ethics as a basis of relations between men and nations which would foster the growth of productively orientated individuals and societies; 2) communitarianism, implying decentralization in commerce and politics (return to town meeting, for example) in which each man can express himself and be closely associated with individuals and well informed on problems; 3) socialism, not only the sharing of profits and ownership but also work experiences. Describing some principles

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 358-359.

of Humanistic Communitarian Socialism, Fromm writes:

Our only alternative to the danger of robotism is humanistic communitarianism. The problem is not primarily the legal problem of property ownership, nor that of sharing profits; it is that of sharing work, sharing experience. Changes in ownership must be made to the extent to which they are necessary to create a community of work, and to prevent the profit motive from directing production into socially harmful directions. Income must be equalized to the extent of giving everybody the material basis for a dignified life, and thus preventing the economic differences from creating a fundamentally different experience of life for various social classes. Man must be restituted to his supreme place in society, never being a means, never a thing to be used by others or by himself. Man's use by man must end, and economy must become the servant for the development of man. Capital must serve labor, things must serve life. Instead of the exploitative and hoarding orientation, dominant in the nineteenth century, and the marketing orientation dominant today, the productive orientation must be the end which all social arrangements serve.⁷⁰

Summary And Evaluation. The problems which Fromm discusses may be considered in four units: 1) the psychology of freedom, 2) types of social character, 3) a panacea for an ailing society, and 4) some concepts on love.

In Escape From Freedom Fromm's thesis is that modern man freed from the bonds of earlier forms of authority has not realized in his growth the intellectual, emotional, and physical qualities which his new freedom grants.

As a neo-Freudian, Fromm places the study of man in a sociological rather than biological orientation and departs from Freud's teachings. Social character, "the specific form in which

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 361.

human energy is shaped by the dynamic adaptation of human needs to the particular mode of existence of a given society," is a key concept in understanding the contemporary social process.

Fromm considers man's first act of disobedience, mankind's first act of freedom as an "individual." He also asserts that Eden was a place in which there existed "no choice, no freedom, and no thinking." In Catholic biblical tradition man is made in God's image and has the faculties of thought and free will. Actually, the disobedience in Eden was in itself an act which involved thought, will and choice. The position which Fromm takes is held to be untenable.

Fromm considers the historical period of the Renaissance and Reformation as an era in which the emergence of freedom for modern man commenced. This new-found freedom which resulted in the challenge to, and break-down of, old norms and conventions marked the rise of a feeling of aloneness in man; he became, in Riesman's terms, a member of the lonely crowd. Three methods of escaping the difficulties of freedom are mentioned by Dr. Fromm: 1) authoritarianism, 2) destructiveness, and 3) automation conformity. It is the third method, automation conformity, which, Fromm's opinion, is the most common method used in our society.

The receptive-orientated person feels that the source of all good is outside himself. The exploitative-orientated person also feels that the source of all good is without, and

may use cunning and force to take the desired object. Those who "have surrounded themselves as it were by a protective wall, and their main aim is to bring as much as possible into this fortified position and to let as little as possible out of it" are said to have a hoarding orientation.

In the marketing orientation a person considers himself as a commodity to be bought or sold. He also view others in this manner and a resulting awareness of aloneness becomes prevalent.

Fromm sees in the person who exhibits the attitudes and relatedness characterized by care, respect, responsibility and knowledge as an individual who has the necessary elements to form a productively orientated personality.

Humanistic Communitarian Socialism is Fromm's remedy for an ailing capitalistic society. This society based upon humanist ethics would produce the productively orientated person. Such devices as the decentralization of work, politics, and congested living, the sharing of work, and a more equitable distribution of the products of labor would be important factors of his plan.

Reviewing The Reviewers. Fromm emphasizes the sociological rather than a biologically centered study of man and draws from the disciplines of theology, philosophy, history, and economics as well as psychology. In "The Coming Crisis in Psychiatry" Walker Percy, M.D., discusses the biological and humanistic influence upon psychiatry:

The issue is simply this: is psychiatry a biological science in which man is treated as an organism with instinctive drives and needs not other or qualitatively different from those of other organisms? Or is psychiatry a humanistic discipline which must take account of man as possessing a unique destiny by which he is oriented in a wholly different direction? ⁷¹

Russell Kirk finds that although The Sane Society "is scarcely original in much it contains a good many insights and interpretations and reminds us forcefully of the need for humanizing the industrial world and restoring the reality of community among men." ⁷² This is to a considerable extent a valid appraisal of all Erich Fromm's writing which pertains to an analysis of society whether in contemporary or historical context. However, when Dr. Fromm forsakes his analytic adeptness to offer a cure for society's ills, it is another matter. John Dollard makes these comments:

For myself I will say that this utterly sincere, unselfish and loving book comes as something of a shock to me. I hadn't realized that the situation was so bad or that the remedy need be so radical. I have been proud of American capitalism as a marvelous human invention, obliterating want, reducing drudgery, relieving pain, shoving a wedge of welfare under the feet of every man--here, and eventually everywhere. ⁷³

⁷¹Walker Percy, M.D., "The Coming Crisis in Psychiatry," America, Volume No. 6 (January 5 and 12, 1957), p. 391.

⁷²Russell Kirk, "Review of The Sane Society," Chicago Sunday Tribune Book Section, pt. 6, September 4, 1955, p. 2.

John Dollard, "Review of The Sane Society," New York Herald Tribune Book Section, September 4, 1955, p.4.

"This is a book to provide reflection, but not a book to put us on the road to sanity," writes Russell Kirk.⁷⁴ In his review of The Sane Society, Russell Kirk makes these observations about Fromm's utopian state and the idea of a humanitarian religion:

Fromm has no love for the leviathan state, he thoroughly rejects totalist ideologies, and is highly critical of British Socialism. Yet his own remedy for our present discontents, "Humanistic Communitarian Socialism," is feebly presented and generally unconvincing...

Altho not really disavowing supernatural religion. Fromm recommends a "religion of humanity" upon the positivistic pattern, leaving quite out of account the failure of every attempt to persuade man to worship man. Altho his suggestions for restoring true community thru the establishment of voluntary "utopian" socialistic settlements and a central "cultural agency" are interesting, they retain the mark of abstract "doctrine and theocratic dogma"... And when he turns to capitalism and socialism, Fromm falls into the pit of 19th century ideology and slogan, attributing to "capitalism" (an abstraction coined by Karl Marx) all sorts of ills that are produced by technology and mass production rather than by private control of the means of production, and clinging to a rather timid hope that there is some magic in the abstraction "socialism" which will enable us to forget all about the old problems of justice, power, leadership, and pride.⁷⁵

Bernard C. Rosen states in the American Sociological Review that "the central analytical concept employed in this analysis of the insane society is Marx's alienation."

⁷⁴Russell Kirk, "Review of The Sane Society," p. 2.

⁷⁵Ibid.

In a further comparison, Rosen writes:

Like Marx, Fromm believes this estrangement is a product of capitalistic social organization which puts profit and efficiency above human brotherhood. In industrialized capitalistic society, human beings are subordinated to things; man learns to think of himself and others as commodities, objects to be merchandised; success rests upon manipulating others and permitting oneself to be used...

Unlike Marx, who dismissed ideologies and art as the "superstructure" of the economic sphere, Fromm does not limit his analysis to economic institutions. He points out that Western man's alienation extends to his political, religious and recreational activities as well. The individual is atomized into political impotence: he has opinions but no convictions, intelligence but little reason: the vote, but no sense of power. Mass man is esthetically sterile: he consumes the products of the mass media but he has lost his capacity to participate and create.⁷⁶

Fromm And Love. In The Art of Loving⁷⁷ Fromm develops the concept of a productively orientated person. Essentially, care respect, responsibility and knowledge are hallmarks of love and the productive person. Two reviewers, Father Aelred Graham, OSB, and Rabbi Jakob J. Petuchowski, add insight to his analysis of love, freedom and the productive person. Father Graham calls attention to Fromm's use of Marxian categories and certain unclear aspects in his writing:

⁷⁶Bernard C. Rosen, "Review of The Sane Society." American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (October 1956), pp. 641-42.

At any rate it is with a sense almost of envy as well as admiration, that one reads through a book like Erich Fromm's The Art of Loving. Orthodox Christians, no less than others, may profitably be exposed to wisdom of this kind. Not everything Fromm says is wise: Karl Marx's categories of thought are taken much too seriously, the idea of God, is, to say the least, unclear; the analysis of self-love is disappointingly superficial. But the reader's assent will be won by page after page of acute rewarding insights.⁷⁸

Writing in Commentary, Rabbi Jakob J. Petuchowski calls the Art of Loving, "a profoundly Jewish book," despite his opposition to religious teachings:

Fromm, who must have been aware of how completely he moves within the terms of reference provided by Jewish tradition, and who has been so eloquent in his opposition of traditional Jewish teaching, takes the opportunity of informing his readers that he himself does "not think in terms of a theistic concept" and that to him, "the concept of God is only a historically conditioned one in which man has expressed his experience of his higher powers, his longing for truth and for unity at a given historical period...

However, Fromm does more than dissociate himself from theistic ways of thinking. He also produces the evidence which has led him to his present position. In itself, this is standard scientific procedure. But his argument takes a form that is strikingly reminiscent of religious polemics. For Fromm would actually have us believe that, by abandoning theism, he is merely acting out the logical consequences of monotheism itself. How reminiscent of the apostle Paul who fought against the law with arguments based on the authority of the law.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Aelred Graham, O.S.B., "To Love One Another," Commonweal, Vol. 66 (June 28, 1957) 325-326.

Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Erich Fromm's Midrash On Love," Commentary, (December, 1956), 547.

David Riesman credits Erich Fromm for some concepts of the other-directed man. And it is in the sphere of an analyst of society that Dr. Fromm holds a position of esteem. However, his venture into socialism, a man-centered humanist ethic and a dubious position of man's first freedom, it seems, limits an otherwise valuable contribution.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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 psychology; Escape from Freedom; Man for Himself; The
 Sane Society.

Jaques Cattell ed., American Men of Science: A Biographical
 Directory, III, The Social and Behavioral Sciences, p. 226.

CHAPTER V

DIRECTION IN VALUES.....DAVID RIESMAN

David Riesman's purpose in developing character types is to understand contemporary society rather than individuals.¹ His typology is presented in The Lonely Crowd, "a book about 'character' in the contemporary scientific sense of 'social character'- the patterned uniformities of learned responses that distinguish men of different regions, eras, and groups."²

The term character is not so inclusive as that of personality, for Riesman defines character structure as "the more or less permanent, socially and historically conditioned organization of an individual's drives and satisfactions."³ Personality, a broader term, would include inherited temperament, biological and psychological components.⁴

¹David Riesman, in collaboration with Nathan Glazer, Faces in the Crowd: Individual Studies in Character and Politics (New Haven, 1952), p. 32.

²David Riesman in Collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven, 1950), p.v.

³Ibid., p. 4.

⁴Ibid.

Two assumptions are expressed in the opening chapter of The Lonely Crowd. The first is that character is socially conditioned the second, that there is an observable relation between society and the kind of social character it produces:

Since this study assumes that character is socially conditioned, it also takes for granted that there is some observable relation between a particular society and the kind of social character it produces. What is the best way to divine this relation? Since the social function of character is to insure or permit conformity, it appears that the various types of social character can be defined most appropriately in terms of the modes of conformity that are developed in them. Finally, any prevalent mode of conformity may itself be used as an index to characterize a whole society.⁵

Method. Details concerning the method used in the research and construction of the typology are limited but further evidence is promised in a future work.⁶ Nevertheless, some insight into the researchers' technique is gained from Riesman's acknowledgements of the part his co-workers played in the writing of The Lonely Crowd.

1. The book was written in collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer.
2. A Study of a community in Vermont was made by Martin and

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁶ Faces in the Crowd, published in 1952, does not contain additional empirical data which would substantiate the concepts developed in The Lonely Crowd. For an elaboration see the "Review of Faces in the Crowd," American Sociological Review, XVIII (October, 1952), Richard T. LaPiere, p. 631.

Margy Meyerson.

3. A Group of interviews in East Harlem, New York, and elsewhere was undertaken by Dr. Genevieve Knupfer and Mr. and Mrs. Meyerson. Coding of the interviews was done by Rose Laub Coser.

4. Albert Halasi analyzed several handwriting specimens from the interviewees.

5. Sheila Spaulding assisted with research on American history, the population cycle theory, problems of "utopian" thinking and in preparing the manuscript.

6. Rorschach tests in the Vermont were gathered and analyzed by Erika Eichhorn.

7. Mollie Mansfield was mentioned as an interviewer and in improving the interviewing guide.

8. Janice Feldstein helped build data on contemporary leisure activities.⁷

Population as a Basis. Granting that there are numerous ways of classifying people as evidenced in social science literature, Riesman writes, "I myself have chosen to emphasize some possible relationships between the population growth of a society and the historical sequence of character types."⁸In so doing he seeks possible correlation between character conformity to specific norms and to a population index.

⁷David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, pp. ix-xi.

⁸Ibid., p. 7.

An S-Shaped population curve, which is said to appear in the history of countries industrialized for a long period, and future projected populations of certain countries, constitute the basis of the theory.⁹

The S-shaped population curve begins at a point when the number of births and deaths are fairly equal. This society is heavily weighted toward the younger ages, for the birth rate and death rate are both high. During the later stages of the S-curve, both birth and death rates are low. The weighted area now becomes that of a middle aged group.¹⁰ Frank W. Notestein's theory and terminology are used by Riesman to describe the S-curve:

Societies of high birth rate and equally high death are said to be in the phase of "high growth potential"; their population would increase with great rapidity if the death rate were lowered by say a sudden advance in hygiene. Societies which have passed into the phase of decreased death rate are said to be in the phase of "transitional growth." Finally, societies which have passed through both these earlier phases and are beginning to move toward a net decrease in population are said to be in the phase of incipient population decline.¹¹

The S-shaped population curve and its "high growth potential," "transitional growth" and "incipient population decline," from the nucleus around which the theory of three "ideal types"

⁹Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹Ibid.

of social character and society are formed. Within each phase of population a definite social character type emerges, according to Riesman when he states "that each of these three different phases on the population curve appears to be occupied by a society that enforces conformity and molds social character in a definitely different way." ¹²

Members of each society are said to develop definite conformity patterns. In a society where the birth and death rates are high, the term tradition-directed is used to describe both the people and their society. A period of transitional population growth is said to develop an inner-directed society. An other-directed populace and society develop when births and deaths are low; this is the phase of incipient population decline. ¹³ That change in population age distribution (and all its implications) cannot determine character all by itself is noted by Riesman; for factors such as size of the country, rate of change, distribution of change among the social classes, and persistence of tradition also must be considered. ¹⁴

Tradition-directed Society. Areas of high growth potential may be found in India, Egypt, China, and other areas relatively

¹²Ibid., p. 9.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 9-10.

untouched by industrialization.¹⁵ Hindus, Hopi Indians, Zulus and Chinese, North African Arabs, Balinese, and the majority of people living during the Middle Ages can be included in this category of tradition-directed.¹⁶

The parental role and that of the clan are the chief agents of socialization in this society. Children learn at an early age the role they are expected to play as adults. Although the child may receive intensive training in technical and manual skill, there is little change from generation to generation in adult roles.¹⁷ Author Riesman comments on the role of family and clan in influencing the young:

In Summary: the major agency of character formation in societies dependent on tradition-direction is the extended family and its environing clan or group. Models for imitation are apt to be generalized in terms of the adult group as a whole rather than confined to the parents. What is imitated is behavior and specific traits such as bravery or cunning. The growing child does not confront problems of choice very different from those he watched his elders face; and his growth is conceived as a process of becoming an older, and therefore wiser, interpreter of tradition.¹⁸

Because of the high birth and death rate, there are many young observing and imitating a small number of adults whose

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 40.

roles they will one day assume. The parents of tradition-directed children do not consider a child's destiny will be different from their own, nor does the child take it upon himself to shape his own lifetime goals or destiny.¹⁹ Not being accustomed to change, new solutions to problems in agriculture and medicine, conditions in which people have accepted and formed habits, are not earnestly sought.²⁰ Although this type of society seeks a traditional conformity in activity, the individual himself may still be highly prized. He has a certain function to perform which relates him to other members of the society. This form of individualism and sense of belonging is noted in these words:

It is not to be thought, however, that in these societies, where the activity of the individual member is determined by characterologically grounded obedience to traditions, the individual may not be highly prized and, in many instances encouraged to develop his capabilities, his initiative and even within very narrow time limits his aspirations.²¹

Although this society may have a maximum number of people "adjusted" to its tradition, it does not necessarily mean that the people are happy, for the society and its traditions may be sadistic or diseased.²²

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

²² Ibid., p. 12.

Inner-directed Society. When a society is in a phase of transitional growth, people no longer are guided entirely by traditional norms. With a decrease in the death rate and an increase in the birth rate, the population expands rapidly. Included in this expansion is a pressure upon traditional customs. David Riesman considers the Western society which emerged with the Renaissance and Reformation and is only now vanishing an example of inner-direction. He describes some of the characteristics which accompany a change from tradition to inner-direction:

Such a society is characterized by increased personal mobility, by a rapid accumulation of capital (teamed with devastating technological shifts), and by an almost constant expansion; intensive expansion in the production of goods and people, and extensive expansion in exploration, colonization, and imperialism.²³

Inner-direction and Choice. The problem of personal choice in an inner-directed society is handled by channeling the choice through a rigid, highly individualized character.²⁴ Tradition alone is not sufficient to keep pace in this rapidly expanding society. The individual relies more and more upon an "inner" set of goals implanted in him during childhood. Riesman sees the inner-directed person equipped with a psychological gyroscope which helps give direction and maintain life goals.

²³ Ibid., p. 15.

²⁴ Ibid.

The inner-directed person is also capable of learning through experience and public opinion provided that they can be reconciled to his goals.

Personal mobility is not predetermined as in the tradition-directed society. The child begins to see the varied positions which he may attempt to undertake. Looming on the horizon are new ways of utilizing skills and ability, something which did not occur in tradition-directed society. However, an uncertainty of roles occurs because of the more mobile social order. Riesman notes this new found social mobility and ensuing changes which accompany the preparation of children to assume adult roles:

The new situation created by increased social mobility implies that children must frequently be socialized in such a way as to be unfitted for their parents' roles, while being fitted for roles not as yet fully determined. Nevertheless, the drive instilled in the child is to live up to ideals and to test his ability to be on his own by continuous experiments in self mastery instead of following tradition.²⁵

The School. Schooling in this era is concerned largely with impersonal matters. Sexes are segregated, teachers do not actively participate in socializing tastes or peer group relations, and the children are in school to learn a curriculum, not group cooperation.²⁶ The inner-directed children and adolescents, given a set of goals by their parents, have these

²⁵Ibid., p. 42.

²⁶Ibid., p. 59.

goals backed by the school system which they attend. Although the child has received direction, adults seldom intervene to guide and help. Riesman notes that a sense of loneliness occurs in the child:

We can see that in a society which values inner-direction loneliness and even persecution are not thought of as the worst of fates. The parents, sometimes even the teachers, may have crushing moral authority, but the peer-group has less moral weight, glamorous or menacing though it may be. While adults seldom intervene to guide and help the lonely child, neither do they tell him that he should be part of a crowd and must have fun.²⁷

Inner-directed people expect much of themselves and also of their children. Riesman notes a feeling of heavenly predestination in their attitude toward success, for if one prospered materially it was indeed a good omen.

Not satisfied with mere behavioral conformity, such a parent demands conformity of a more subtle sort, conformity as evidence of characterological fitness and self-discipline. The Puritan, especially, relentlessly scrutinizes his children as well as himself for signs of election, that is of salvation by the predestining God.²⁸

Social Traits, Values and Work. Riesman also comments that the inner-directed man is frequently quite incapable of casual relationships, is preoccupied with his own concerns, and worries about wasting time.²⁹ The inner-directed man has waging within

²⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 42.

²⁹ Ibid.

himself a struggle against apathy, for there could be no place for sloth within his hierarchy of values. He sometimes would build a myth, for example, civic apathy. Attacking this type of evil, he could develop a feeling of worthiness.³⁰ If the inner-directed person is influenced by Protestantism, he will not waste much time but rather devote his leisure to some form of self-improvement.³¹ A hobby or some form of home craftsmanship may be expected of some inner-directed people. Here the craft may be used to invent or devise an article which could be applicable in the company suggestion box.³²

The inner-directed man looks at work in terms of production gained by intellectual and technological means, and not in skill and technique in influencing human cooperation. The labor supply is abundant and workers' attitudes are not considered problems to a great extent. Relationships among management are also considered good, for inner-directed men can cooperate on tasks, although they do not approve or like each other.³³ A willingness to work long and hard for a long term gain in money, power, fame or achievement is characteristic of their ambition.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 128-129.

³¹ Ibid., p. 169.

³² Ibid., p. 352.

³³ Ibid., pp. 115-116.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 118.

This inscription found in a New Haven cemetery is a good description of the qualities and ideals esteemed by men in an inner-directed era.

In Memory of Thomas Darling, Esq. who died Nov. 30, 1789. A Gentleman of strong mental powers, well improved with science and literature, to the study of philosophy, habituated to contemplation and reading in moral reasoning. Of deep penetration and sound judgment, respected for modesty and candor, benignity and self command in his intercourse with mankind honest and benevolent, amiable in all the relations of social life and filled a variety of public offices with fidelity and dignity eminent abilities as statesman and judge an early professor of Christianity its steady friend, ornament, and defender with a rational and firm faith in his God and Savior: he knew no other master.³⁵

Thus far two types of conformity have been illustrated. The first, tradition-directed generations, received their values and cues to action from a well established family tradition pattern. The primary hallmark of the second, inner-direction, is that conformity is mainly attributed to an internalization of adult authority which was implanted during childhood. During life achievement is gauged by an evaluation of self in relation to these norms. Finally, a type emerges that is not overly influenced either by tradition or an internal set of norms. David Riesman considers this type other-directed and calls attention to the importance of peer groups in this era:

The middle class urban American of today, the "other-directed", is, by contrast, in a character-

³⁵Ibid., p. 113.

ological sense more the product of his peers--that is in sociological terms, his "peer groups", the other kids at school or in the block. In adult life he continues to respond to these peers, not only with overt conformity, as do people in all times and places, but also in a deeper sense, in the very quality of his feelings.³⁶

Other-directed Society. On the S-shaped population curve, the other-directed society emerges during a period of incipient population decline, for there is a net decrease in the number of births and deaths. During this period production has outrun an increased consumption, fewer people work on the land, and leisure increases because of shorter work hours. These conditions, however, produce new problems of a high speed industrialized society in a world of closer contact and agitation between races and nations.³⁷

The other-directed man represents to a considerable extent a portrait of contemporary American man, but Riesman makes special reference to urban living and upper-middle class life:

The type of character I shall describe as other-directed seems to be emerging in very recent years in the upper middle class of our large cities: more prominent in New York than in Boston, in Los Angeles than in Spokane, in Cincinnati than in Chillicothe.³⁸

The advent of industrialization and bureaucracy, the shift from a production to consumption economy, brought with them an

³⁶Ibid., p. v.

³⁷Ibid., p. 18.

³⁸Ibid., p. 19.

increase in social adeptness and skill in dealing with people. Social mobility exists, but it is dependent chiefly on one's relationships with other people. Concerning social mobility, Riesman writes that "it depends less on what one is and what one does than what others think of one--and how competent one is in manipulating others and being oneself manipulated."³⁹

Clues to improve social skills are sought from contemporaries and the inner-directed is not flexible enough to make the required rapid adaptations in his personality.⁴⁰ The other-directed contemporaries or peers do not, however, necessarily set definite norms to sufficiently satisfy, for they are themselves seeking the same answers from others. Hence, there is a feeling of uncertainty:

Silhouetted images of self and society, parents in our era can only equip the child to do his best, whatever that may turn out to be. What is best is not in their control but in the hands of the school and peer group that will help locate the child eventually in the hierarchy.⁴¹

An urban setting or suburb is the most common residence for the other-directed family. Both the family and their living quarters are small and an increased amount of contact among members of the family results.⁴² Riesman writes that the child

³⁹ Ibid., p. 46.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 49.

⁴² Ibid., p. 49.

attempts to solve the problem of how he should make good through his peers instead of through tradition or an inner set of values:

The other-directed child, however, faces not only the requirement that he make good but also the problem of defining what making good means. He finds that both the definition and the evaluation of himself depend on the company he keeps: first, on his schoolmates and teachers; later, on peers and superiors.⁴³

Education and Peers. The teacher's role in an era of other-direction is a direct contrast to that of inner-directed society. The classroom atmosphere has changed from one of rigid formality to a more sociable mean. Conveying ideas of tolerance and sociability is emphasized, there is a more informal seating arrangement in class, and the teacher is concerned with the adjustment of her students to the other children and to herself. Riesman describes the teacher's role in terms of an opinion leader and taste maker:

The teacher's role in this situation is often that of opinion leader. She is the spreader of the messages concerning taste that come from the progressive urban centers. She conveys to the children that what matters is not their industry or learning as such but their adjustment in the group, their cooperation, their (carefully stylized and limited) initiative and leadership."⁴⁴

Judgements of peer groups takes on great importance in an other-directed person's evaluation of himself and others. Socialization of tastes begin very early in life for children

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

today, and their tastes and opinions on cars, or television programs, for example, are an index on which they are rated by other children. They are learned in matters of consumption long before being in a position to be actual consumers. Herein lies a considerable difference between inner-directed and other-directed children, for as proficiency in production skills was a characteristic of inner-direction, skill in consumer tastes and opinions are characteristic of other-direction.⁴⁵

The importance of money has also undergone a change in the transition to incipient population decline. Money connotes purchasing power, but the valued currency today is also approval by the peer group. This point is discussed in Riesman's writing on socialization of consumption preferences:

Today the currency into which all values tend to be translated is no longer money but appraisal by the peer group. And this value, much more patently than money is subject to booms and busts on manifest sociopsychological grounds; it does not feel substantial either to parents or to children. The appraisal of the peer-group is always stated, in the final analysis, in terms of a consumption preference. Whereas the simple cost of a commodity was the most important fact about it in the days of inner-direction, today in other-directed circles, though money still makes a difference, it is the peer group that does most of the talking.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 79.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.78-79.

In an inner-directed society, there were also socially determined consumption tastes, but not to the extent of other-directed society's influence.⁴⁷ The extent of group influence has changed this to a notable lack of individuality in consumer preferences. Riesman describes this change in taste formation as a situation in which individuality is trained out of the buyer:

The consumer today has most of his potential individuality trained out of him by his membership in the consumers union. He is kept within his consumption limits not by goal-directed but by other-directed guidance, kept from splurging too much by fear of other's envy, and consuming too little by fear of his own envy of the others.⁴⁸

Consumership. Many of today's mass media are directed to the child market, the future formers of taste. Here the idea of preparing people to be articulate in differences of quality, of being well informed consumers, is apparent.

The common element of consumership is present in both children and adults whether in the realm of comics and toys or editorials and cars. Riesman also discusses two other important changes, namely, the situation in which the mass media are read or heard and the other in the form of stereotyped heroes. He contrasts the lone reader of an inner-directed era, with the group projects of comic book readers, and joint listeners of programs like the Lone Ranger.⁴⁹ The second difference is found

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 80.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 80.

in the type of hero found in fairy tales and the modern comic book in which the new hero wins, rules or succeeds with ease:

In the fairy tale the protagonist is frequently an under dog figure, a younger child, an ugly duckling, while the villain is frequently an authority figure, a king, a giant, a stepmother. In the comics the protagonist is apt to be an invulnerable or near-invulnerable adult who is equipped, if not with supernatural powers, at least with two guns and a tall, terrific physique.⁵⁰

The Business Scene. Business men in an other-directed society are acutely aware and sensitive to what others are saying on how business should be conducted.⁵¹ A different view towards business seems to be held by the new generation which is interested in human relations to a greater degree than the older generation. Riesman writes of the new ethic of trustees to the public and the concern for "model" business evidenced in younger business men:

They seem still to be concerned about making money, and to some extent they are, but they are also concerned with turning their company into the model which they learned at business school. Businessmen recognize this new orientation when they speak of themselves, as they frequently do, as "trustees" for a variety of publics. And while they try to manipulate these publics and to balance between them, they, like the political leaders, are manipulated by the expectations the public has, or is thought to have, of them.⁵²

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 103.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 138.

⁵²Ibid., p. 139.

The expense account is especially effective in this, an era of consumption and helps to establish good will, provide a bit of fun to the business routine, and enhance the good-fellowship of the user. Riesman also notes the amount of time spent in socializing business. He considers the shortening of working hours, the business luncheon, coffee sessions, golf games, good will tours, talking to salesmen as indicative of the shift from a more impersonal business procedure of inner-directed society.⁵³

Recent books and later movies such as The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit and Executive Suite have portrayed circumstances and conflicts with corporate life which to some extent reflect the image of the other-directed society characterized by David Riesman.

In his recent book, The Organization Man, William H. Whyte, Jr., discusses some of the qualities of men in modern corporation life and the conflict between individual beliefs and corporate standards of conformity.⁵⁴ This same theme occurs in an article by Theodore Levitt in which Riesman's typology is discussed in relation to modern business. Is the business-man succumbing to a form of "groupthink" in his judgments? Is he being submerged into passive conformity by mass production, mass bureaucracy? Mr. Levitt writes that "Instead of producing the character with a lively, vigorous zest for conquering new frontiers, the economy

⁵³Ibid., p. 142.

⁵⁴William H. Whyte Jr., The Organization Man (New York, 1956).

of abundance is producing the personality which puts security ahead of change and routine ahead of adventure."⁵⁵

He does not, however, conclude that all this is cause for pessimism, but rather that a combination of inner and other-directed talents will benefit society.⁵⁶

Changing Attitudes Toward Business and Work. "The Other-Directed Round of Life: From Invisible Hand to Glad Hand," Riesman's sixth chapter heading, in itself gives a short but cryptic account of a change in business ideology and man's orientation toward his work. During an era of intensive production, inner-direction men are job-minded, occupied by the difficulties of producing things and of improving their own character. In other-directed society, the era of consumption, man is involved in the manipulation of people. The other-directed man is people-minded, his predecessor, job-minded.⁵⁷ The "glad hand" connotes this change in the socialization of work. A Foreman, for example, is a mediator between the men above and below himself and he also deal with personnel men, safety directors, production engineers, comptrollers' representatives and other men on the team of indirect management.⁵⁸ All of these transactions require skill in meeting

⁵⁵Theodore Levitt, "Changing Character of Capitalism," Harvard Business Review, (July-August, 1956), 39.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 47.

⁵⁷Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, p. 131.

⁵⁸Ibid.

people. Although people are the central problem of industry, Riesman writes, this does not mean that modern development has halted other developments in the tooling and machine process of industrialization:

However, the newer industrial revolution which has reached its greatest force in America (and hits elsewhere, as in England) is concerned with techniques of communication and control, not of tooling or factory layout. It is symbolized by the telephones, the servo-mechanism, the IBM machine, the electronic calculator, and modern statistical methods of controlling the quality of products; by the Hawthorne counseling experiment and the general preoccupation with industrial morale.⁵⁹

An increase in social and job mobility reflects another situation in American business life. Here Riesman notices that "if one is successful in one's craft, one is forced to leave it."⁶⁰ The implication is that craft skill is used to a limited extent, whereas dealing with people becomes the main task. When a professor is made dean, a doctor the head of a clinic, the new positions demand more work among people and less in their chosen field. In this change from concern with craftsmanship to concern about people, Riesman makes an historical comparison in which the peasant and artisan become members of the proletariat through the processes of industrialization:

Indeed, a society increasingly dependent on manipulation of people is almost as destructive of the craft-oriented professional and businessman as a society in the earlier stages of industrialization

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 132.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 133.

is destructive of the handicraft oriented peasant and artisan. The professional of the more recent period is pushed upstairs into the managerial class while the artisan of the earlier period was pushed into the proletariat; and this testifies to a profound difference in the two historic situations. Yet in both cases the industrial process advances by building into machines and into smooth-flowing organizations the skills that were once built, by long characterological process, into men.⁶¹

The Executive. The modern executive is placed under pressure to become a blend of other-direction and this produces a strain especially if he has been influenced by inner-directed values. A conflict in ideals develops and resistance to "glad-hand" business practices occurs. That old ways have not completely surrendered to the new is noted:

Moreover, just as modern business puts pressure on many people to become other-directed, the resistance of our many inner-directed people delays the complete capture of the economy by the glad handers: the inner-directeds won't do business that way.⁶²

Politics. In politics, the inner-directed and other-directed people carry over some of their attitudes toward work. The inner-directed man sees himself and society as something to be worked on and improved. The other-directed man is more likely to view politics as one who seeks to understand, to know, for such knowledge brings acceptance by a peer group. It is Riesman's general thesis that in politics the inner-directed man expresses himself as a "moralizer," the other-directed man

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 133-134.

⁶² Ibid., p. 136.

expresses himself as an "inside Dopester." With a shift from inner-directed to other-directed society he also notes a shifting of political mood from "indignation" to "tolerance" and in political decision from a ruling-class domination to dispersed power among competing pressure groups.⁶³

To describe the inner-directed's view of politics, Riesman likens it to his work orientation and competence, but does not imply that all inner-directeds respond to politics or are moralizers. They may also be apathetic:

Presented with a political message, he sees a task in it, and, far from seeking to demonstrate his knowledge of personalities by explaining its meaning, he responds with emotional directness and often naivete. While this, however, does not mean that all inner-directed people are responsive to politics and are moralizers, one sees in America of the nineteenth century a powerful tendency to moralize the well defined interests of the self and hence to respond to political attack by political indignation.⁶⁴

The inside-dopester, other-directed man, knows a considerable amount of what other think about politics. This understanding and knowledge does not, however, make him domineering in using his persuasive powers. Inside-dopesters may value their knowledge and ability for peer-group status and approval but may shift their responses as the group changes its opinions. Another type, although active in politics is viewed as a consumer

⁶³Ibid., p. 177.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 190-191.

of inside information, not a producer of policy.⁶⁵

Riesman considers one-half of the United States politically indifferent and this indifference is expressed in a variety of ways. A tradition-directed individual is called an old style indifferent, not because he rejects politics but because he either thinks it isn't available to him or he does not have the skill or knowledge to enter politics. On the other hand, the new style indifferent, knows enough about politics to reject it and enough about political information to refuse it.⁶⁶

The inner-directed man of the nineteenth century could identify himself with political issues more easily than today's consumer of mass media, political coverage, and news. The transition from local to state to national to international does not leave an individual with a specific view of where his own interests lie.⁶⁷

Autonomy. Within the societies depicted by Riesman are individuals who are adjusted, anomic, and autonomous. He is intensely interested in autonomy, and how it may be obtained. "The 'autonomous' are those who on the whole are capable of conforming to the behavioral norms of their society--a capacity the anomics usually lack--but who are free to choose

⁶⁵Time. September 27, 1954, p.24.

⁶⁶Ibid., P. 24.

⁶⁷Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, p. 201.

whether to conform or not."⁶⁸ In defining the adjusted, he writes that "the adjusted are those who reflect their society, or their class within the society, with the least distortion."⁶⁹ The anomic, coined from Durkheim's anomique meaning ruleless, ungoverned, is broader than its original metaphor, for Riesman would place a higher value on the maladjusted or anomic than the adjusted in certain cultures.⁷⁰

In interviews with over one hundred and fifty people, it was found that only three or four people might possibly be classed as autonomous and a very considerable group could be classified as anomic.⁷¹

Chief obstacles to autonomy in other-directed societies are their definitions of, and attitudes toward, work, the false personalization that occurs in work and enforced privatization. Although it is easier to list barriers to autonomy than means to attain that status, Riesman does give some possible remedies:

1. Cut false personalization^{by automation.}⁷²
2. Reduce monotony in work by rearranging plants; cut travel time by relocating plants.⁷³

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 287.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 287.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 290.

⁷²Ibid., p. 323.

⁷³Ibid., p. 318.

3. Expand trades that cater to leisure.⁷⁴

4. Individual decision...Example, Thoreau...He chose an occupation which allowed him considerable leisure to do things he personally enjoyed.⁷⁵

The primary way to autonomy is not, however, work, but is best realized through leisure activities. Riesman writes that "we should consider the possibility that, if the other-directed is to be made free, it will be not by work but by play. The first step may consist of giving play a far higher priority as a producer both of societies and character than we give it today."⁷⁶

Summary and Evaluation. David Riesman's purpose in the The Lonely Crowd is to understand contemporary society rather than individuals. The study is intended to be a stimulus to thought and assumes 1) character is socially conditioned, and 2) that there is an observable relation between society and the kind of social character it produces.

It was written in collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer. Part of the research background consisted in 1) a Vermont community study, 2) some interviews in East Harlem, 3) several handwriting specimens were analyzed, 4) research in American history and leisure activities, and 5) Frank W. Notestein's population theory and terminology are used in

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 321.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 324-325.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 325.

establishing types of societies.

With each distinct phase of population, a definite social character type is said to emerge. These types of societies and individuals are called: 1) "high growth potential" in which a tradition-directed society develops, 2) "transitional growth" phase, which corresponds to an inner-directed society; and 3) "incipient population decline" phase during which an other-directed society emerges.

In a traditional-directed society parents are the chief agents of socialization along with the clan; the people are not accustomed to change and follow long established norms in their living. The population is characterized by high birth and death rate.

During an inner-directed era a decrease in the death rate and increase in birth rates occurs; the population expands rapidly. Traditional norms are no longer supreme as new horizons appear with increased social mobility and an accumulation of capital. The inner-directed man is a person whose values are produced and channeled through a rigid and individualized character. Parental goals and values are backed by the school; subject matter and not social goals are stressed. The inner-directed man is not prone to casual relationships, for he is preoccupied with his own concerns and struggles against lethargy. He is influenced by Protestantism, devotes leisure time to self-development and his work situation is impersonal; it is "material-

centered" rather than "personality centered."

The society in which there is incipient population decline, decrease in the number of births and deaths, is call "other-directed" society. Production has outrun an increased consumption; there are shorter hours, more leisure time; and a skill in dealing with people develops. "It depends less on what one is and what one does than what others think of one--and how competent one is in manipulating others and being oneself manipulated" writes Riesman.

Influence stems neither from traditional norms nor inner values but from the opinion of one's peers. Urban life is a characteristic and the school has changed from an atmosphere of rigid formality to a more sociable mean; the teacher acts as an opinion leader.

Peer groups hold great importance to the other-directed person for they serve as taste makers, personal evaluators, and guides to consumership. Consumer training begins early in life and most potential individuality is eventually trained out.

On the business scene there is more interest in human relations; a conflict between personal ethical standards and corporate norms is noticeable. The inner-directed man was somewhat impersonal at his work; he was "job-minded". The other-directed man, on the other hand, is "personality-centered."

Riesman contends that one-half of modern America is politically indifferent. A man may be well informed (inside-

dopester) but uses his knowledge for peer esteem, not as an active citizen.

It is autonomy, a status wherein a person may conform to society if he so chooses but is free to select his own values, in which Mr. Riesman is ardently interested. He suggests the following ways toward that evasive state: 1) cut false personalization of work through automation, 2) relocate plants and reduce job monotony, 3) make individual decisions (Riesman's example, Thoreau), and 4) expand trades which cater to leisure activities. For Riesman "play is the thing."

Riesman's influence upon those in the field of social science has no doubt been considerable. It does not end there, but rather moves to other areas such as business. His popularity can possibly be partially explained in terms of style in writing, the use of adaptable phrases like "inner-directed" and "glad-hander", and the timeliness of the work rather than in terms of more detailed study such as Sorokin's.

In his introductory remarks, Riesman makes it clear that this study should be considered as heuristic, stimulating thought, not a dogmatic presentation. Certainly he has succeeded in this respect.

The theme of the entire work is also very closely connected with everyday occurrences, familiar to many Americans in various professions. It is not only an Ortega⁷⁷ who foresees a mass man,

⁷⁷Jose Ortega Y. Gasset, The Revolt of the Masses (New York, 1952).

but we living in this form of society see ourselves in the mirror of the other-directed's character.

His work is timely and articulate but the evidence and methods of research which Mr. Riesman uses or cares to tell the reader about are not commensurate with the high quality of description used to demonstrate the typologies.

Although opening remarks in The Lonely Crowd do state that the emergence of other-directed individuals is taking place in the upper-middle class, primarily in urban areas like New York and Los Angeles, later connotations would seem to characterize Americans in general as other-directed. The Lonely Crowd gives evidence of being a remarkable work of observation, speculation, deduction and declaration; but studies of only a Vermont community and some interviews in East Harlem can not be deemed as representative of the entire United States. Nevertheless, the declarations of Riesman take the form of trueisms readily acceptable and observable though not easily documented. In some instances the phraseology has the favor of Thorstein Veblen although Riesman does not consider himself a devotee of Veblen.

That people in all eras conform to established norms whether they are of a tradition or inner-directed nature is acknowledged by David Riesman. However, the manner and attitude by which an individual accepts that conformity is another matter. One may conform under duress, passively, actively or as an antagonistic cooperator or dissenter in all types of societies

mentioned in The Lonely Crowd.

This point is discussed by Riesman in conjunction with adjusted, anomic, and autonomous individuals. Autonomy, freedom to choose that which one wishes, was found in only three or four of about one-hundred and fifty individuals who were interviewed during the Riesman study. The activity which Riesman believes can most readily foster autonomy and some of the difficulties which the other-directed man faces is leisure activity. But the leisure which he suggests is an activity where the deepest meaning of leisure⁷⁸ becomes lost in a context where "play is the thing". Here Riesman's views foster an attitude which may be described in Erich Fromm's terms as an escape from freedom rather than a positive productive use of man's talents and energy.

If large segments of American culture are permeated with "groupthink", peer group approval and apathy, it would seem more likely to suggest as the title of another Riesman book⁷⁹ does, a reconsideration of individualism, not a passive acquiescence or resort to a leisure of consumership, as a means to this evasive quality called autonomy.

But these remarks are already being tempered by labor's quest for a four-day work week. Will autonomy result from the

⁷⁸Josef Pieper, Leisure The Basis of Culture (New York, 1955).

⁷⁹David Riesman, Individualism Reconsidered (Glencoe, Ill., 1954).

decrease of working hours or will it bring about greater attempts to satisfy an insatiable appetite for pleasure? This question may readily be answered in generalizations but only by individual daily decisions can it personally be resolved. Because of the growing importance of leisure activities in American life a portion of the appendix to this chapter is devoted to Russell Kirk's stimulating analysis of Riesman's concept of leisure.

Though Riesman credits Frank W. Notestein for the population theory and terminology used in The Lonely Crowd, Notestein in a recent article acknowledges the original work of Warren S. Thompson:

For our purposes it is more useful to consider each of the three types of demographic development first proposed by Warren S. Thompson, for which, however, I prefer the descriptive titles: (1) Incipient Decline, (2) Transitional Growth, and (3) High Growth Potential...

Thompson discussed these types under different names in his book Plenty of People, published in 1944. (First edition, Lancaster, Pa., The Jacques Cattell Press; second edition, New York, The Ronald Press Co., 1948). In fact he used essentially the same types in a paper I had until recently overlooked, which was published in 1929. "Population," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIV (6): 959-975. May 1929.⁸⁰

Both Margaret Mead and Russell Kirk contribute to the analysis of Riesman's work. Kirk considers him a pragmatist,

⁸⁰Frank W. Notestein, "The Population of the World in the Year 2000," Joseph J. Spengler and Otis Dudley ed., Demographic Analysis, (Glencoe, Ill., 1956), p. 34.

influenced by James, Dewey, and Fromm, but transcending those sources. Kirk writes that "the improbable assumption with which Mr. Riesman begins is an abrupt application of certain demographic theories to the analysis of national character."⁸¹

He also states:

Philosophically considered, Mr. Riesman is a pragmatist immersed in the stream of becoming, with no strong historical sense, and no conviction of abiding values. He is much influenced by William James, John Dewey, and by Erich Fromm. But he transcends his sources, repeatedly asserting the strength of his independent judgment, respectful toward his teachers but not taking them for the law and the prophets.⁸²

Margaret Mead states that Riesman's description of the other-directed man is in accord with other contemporary writers.

She also comments:

In his description of the "other-directed" character Riesman's work accords well with other observations made by a variety of other students of contemporary American character (Erikson, Fromm, Gorer, Wolfenstein and Leites, myself, etc.) although the psychological apparatus which he uses articulately in somewhat slighter...

The wider hypothesis has some of the sweep of the earlier geographic or economic theories of the dependence of social character on some single identifiable underlying causal factor. It is subject to refutation by the same sort of argument, and it will be a test of the maturity of contemporary social scientists whether they are willing to take this new large-scale hypothesis, add the saving clause, "other conditions being equal," discount the extent to which the character structure which Riesman associates

⁸¹ Russell Kirk, A Program For Conservatives (Chicago, 1954, p. 88.)

⁸² Ibid.

with incipient population decline is also specifically American twentieth century, and find stimulation and new leads within it nonetheless.⁸³

Mr. Riesman begins his study The Lonely Crowd by suggesting that it is to be considered as heuristic--to stimulate thought--and in this respect he has, no doubt, succeeded. But a stimulus to thinking is but a beginning in solving problems. And to resolve the question of autonomy and leisure it seems more fitting to heed the admonitions of Josef Pieper and Russell Kirk⁸⁴ than The Lonely Crowd.

⁸³Margaret Mead, "Review of The Lonely Crowd," American Journal of Sociology, (March, 1951) 495.

⁸⁴Selections from the writings of Russell Kirk and Josef Pieper are included in the Appendix of this chapter.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

PIESMAN, Prof. David, Dept. of Social Sciences, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill. SOCIAL SCIENCE. Sept. 22, 09. A.B. Harvard, 31, LL.B. 34, res. Fel, 34-35. Law clerk, U. S. Supreme Court, 35-36; prof. law, Buffalo, 37-42; Assoc. prof. Social Sci, CHICAGO 46-47, PROF, 49-PROF, Yale, 48-49. A. Soc. S; Anthrop. S; S. App. Anthrop; A. Ethnol. S; A. Acad. A & Sc. The Lonely Crowd, A Study of the Changing American Character; Faces in the Crowd; Thorstein Veblen.

DENNEY, Prof. Reuel (Nicholas), Dept. of Social Sciences, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill. SOCIAL SCIENCES. New York, N.Y. April 13, 13. A.B. Dartmouth Col, 32; Guggenheim fel, 41. Assoc. ed, Fortune Mag, 45-47; from asst. prof. to ASSOC. PROF. SOCIAL SCIS, Chicago, 47-The Connecticut River.

GLASER, Dr. Nathan M(ory), 8534 Dante Ave, Chicago 19, Ill. PSYCHOLOGY. Buffalo N.Y. May 30, 14; m. 45; c.l. B.S. Michigan, 36, M.A. 38, Ph.D (psychol), 42. Instr. psychol, Buffalo, 42-43; Chief Psychologist, Jewish Voc. Ser, Chicago, Ill, 47- Consulting psychologist, Jewish Social Service, Buffalo, 42-43. AAF, 42-45. AAAS; APA.

Jaques Cattell ed., American Men of Science: A Biographical Directory, III, The Social and Behavioral Sciences, p. 564, p. 162, p. 243.

RUSSELL KIRK DISCUSSES DAVID RIESMAN'S CONCEPT
OF LEISURE

And one of the most precious possessions of any elevated civilization is true leisure, out of which grow moral philosophy and the arts and the sciences.

This being so, it is heartening that a number of American thinkers are now giving the problem of leisure serious consideration, among them some persons much influenced by Veblen's writings. Mr. David Riesman, for instance, recently published a little book about Veblen; and in The Lonely Crowd and certain periodical essays, Mr. Riesman has touched upon the paradox that though we are possessed of labor-saving devices and an efficiency of production no other age dreamed of, we still do not know how to employ our leisure, and, confusedly, often try to escape from it. A writer fertile in suggestions, Mr. Riesman recognizes the gravity of the problem; yet though he has emancipated himself from the thralldom of Veblen's notion that leisure is mere ostentation, still I am inclined to believe that Mr. Riesman has not yet succeeded in arriving at first principles. For he thinks of leisure, by and large, as play, recreation, something to be used up, as if it were rather an embarrassing surplus of butter or potatoes. He still is a Benthamite at heart.

To Mr. Riesman, play (which he virtually identifies with leisure) is to become occupational therapy, the substitution of obsession with spending for obsession with getting. Spending, literally, is Mr. Riesman's favorite form of leisure activity. "Market-research" on a grand scale is one of his few positive suggestions for restoring variety and purpose to existence among the other-directed masses: "Perhaps, rather than or in addition to a world's fair, advertisers might send out 'salesmen' whose purpose it was, not to sell but to give away goods. They would seek to discover reasons for blockages in choice, and, again like the play therapist, try to encourage the noncash 'customers' to become more free and imaginative. "this plan is

intended to emancipate children from "privatization"; but Mr. Riesman has similar schemes to alleviate the loneliness of adults. In an article entitled "Some Observations on Changes in Leisure Attitudes," published in a recent number of the Antioch Review, he writes of "discoveries being made on the frontiers of consumption" as an enriching of the possibilities of leisure. The self-service supermarket and the cookbook industry will free "the children now growing up in our demonstration suburb" of "fears, guilts, and awkwardness about food." We shall become gourmets, to flee from the loneliness of the crowd.

Is this, then, the appointed end of all our elaborate devices to save labor? Mr. Riesman offers scarcely any more elevated form of leisure-activity, except for a hasty reference to other "frontiers" in music, painting, literature, conversation, sports, and the "changing style of vacations." Mr. Riesman's mind, I repeat, remains wholly Benthamite. Disraeli said once that the English-speaking peoples confused creature-comforts with civilization; certainly Mr. Riesman does. "Enthusiasts for progress are to me strange enough," J. F. Stephen wrote in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. The progress which most men worship seems to be an increasing effeminacy, men "less earnestly desirous to get what they want, and more afraid of pain, both for themselves and for others, than they used to be. If this be so, it appears to me that all other gains, whether in wealth, knowledge, or humanity, afford no equivalent. To be less strong is to be less of a man whatever else you may be." Mr. Riesman, however, is rather pleased by the apparent retreat from strenuous activity in leisure, and smiles a bit contemptuously at all old-fashioned leisure occupations, whether aristocratic, middle class, or plebeian; he suggests that if the advocates of the old idea of "recreation" presume to oppose the great tendency of the times-like Rowntree and Lavers in their English Life and Leisure--all their values simply will be extirpated, with little to replace them.

Now I think that Mr. Riesman is right in doubting the efficacy of the solutions of "recreationists" like Rowntree and Lavers; for their principal remedies for the boredom of the crowd are "a well-

conducted campaign in favor of chastity," "open-air entertainments," better soft-drinks, more adult-education lectures, and the encouragement of hobbies. They have no clear apprehension of the meaning of the work leisure; but, the, neither has Mr. Fiesman. The decay of the proper employment of leisure, and the degeneration of the word itself in common usage, have much to do with the present social boredom that menaces even the framework of political society. If we are to approach this problem intelligently, we must begin with a better understanding of the word "leisure" and of the word "work" than Veblen or Fiesman or Fowntree possesses. Two years ago, a significant book by Professor Josef Pieper, a German philosopher, pointed the way to a more accurate apprehension of "leisure": Leisure the Basis of Culture. And thirty years ago there was published a book-- a new printing appeared this year--by an American critic which contains an admirable discussion of "work": Irving Babbitt's Democracy and Leadership.

Leisure, as Pieper tells us, is contemplation. "To those who live in a world of nothing but work, in what we might call the world of 'total work,' it presumably sounds immoral, as though directed at the very foundations of human society." The Benthamite and the Marxist detest the whole realm of contemplation, for contemplation refuses, by its very existence, their system of materialism. Under the regime of the Marxist planner, leisure is abolished and the man who has the capacity for thought is enrolled as a "brain-worker"-- commonly at wages inferior to those of a manual laborer, as in Yugoslavia. To the masters of the total state the contemplative is a dangerous man: for in his leisure he escapes from the surveillance, and presently his ideas may return to earth to undo the total state. Contemplation, intellectus, is the highest faculty in man; Aristotle suggests that it partakes of something more than human; and for this reason, too, the squalid oligarchs of the mass-state dread leisure, since they want man to be sheer animal. True leisure is not idleness...
That sloth of spirit, that boredom

with the universe, which brings on the incessant but purposeless activity of the Lonely Crowd.

Russell Kirk, A Program For Conservatives, pp. 127-129.

DAVID RIESMAN DISCUSSES HIS OWN EDUCATION

I grew up in a household in which there was far more than average interest in education. My father was a professor of clinical medicine (and later of the history of medicine) who strongly opposed specialization in medical education (he would today be an advocate of the Comprehensive Care programs), fostered humanistic interests in his students and internes, and emphasized the clinical arts rather than the laboratory sciences in his ward rounds. My mother, a Bryn Mawr graduate who had remained close to the college's educational affairs, became an early devotee of progressive education. She helped found a progressive co-ed country day school near Philadelphia, in part in protest against the coldly classical education I had gotten at William Penn Charter School; she sent my brother to what was for that time a radically experimental boarding school in England; she greatly admired Arthur Morgan and Antioch, and of course John Dewey.

Indeed, even if I had not been brought up as a rebel against conventional education, my experience of Penn Charter and of Harvard would probably have turned me in the same direction. Penn Charter, when I attended it, was a boys' private day school in Philadelphia, dating proudly back to the seventeenth century and still suffering from it. It was as drily scholastic as a Friends' school could be, with no art or music save a kind of Boola-Boola glee and mandolin club that performed at various girls schools around the city. Athletics were heavily overemphasized. My seven years of Latin and three of Greek were mostly rote learning. The moral climate was Kiplingesque, and the social life snobbish and competitive. The favorite masters were "characters," whom the boys could easily get around; they strove to get us through the College Boards but had little enthusiasm for their subjects. The teacher of English might coach in sports or advise the school play or magazine-imitative items, both-but otherwise would have no awareness of the student (let alone of possible blockages in learning), save possibly in terms of his parents' social standing. I would term such a school, as it then was-it is very different today "decayed classical," on the assumption

that it once had the qualities that made Arnold's Rugby a great school, just as many schools today are "decayed progressive," having lost the qualities of the pioneers of progressive education.

Harvard College in the late 20's seemed to me and many of my fellows hardly less sonolent. Its quality then is captured in George Weller's novel, Not to Eat, Not for Love-a title taken from Emerson's reference to some snakes he once observed who seemed present on the earth not to eat, nor for love, but only gliding. Indeed, for many of us, including Weller, the Crimson, the undergraduate daily, and other extracurricular activities served as an escape from the wary section-men who were either pursuing their Ph.D.'s or had gotten them too long ago and were embittered assistant professors in their late middle years. When I was a Crimson editor, I left sports to other editors, and politics (of which in the last years of Hoover there wasn't much) to still others, and concentrated on the quality of undergraduate life and the curriculum (I wrote a long essay for Irving Babbitt comparing the educational theories of Goethe and Rousseau). I got interested in the relation between dormitory architecture and student values, criticizing the then-mooted Hardkness House Plan for its imitation Georgian front and imitation Oxford Ideas. I helped begin a practice of issuing a guide to the courses and the men who taught them-something whose cruelty I couldn't appreciate, and realized only when I myself became a teacher and was mortified when someone walked out on a lecture or fell asleep. For to us the Great Men of Harvard, some of whom we pilloried as platform ham actors, seemed so far away that they could not possibly be hurt by anything we said. (I should add that many of us felt the same way about our distant parents in those still somewhat Victorian days.) Moreover, as program chairman of the Harvard Liberal Club, I brought to the College a number of speakers who appeared to be doing interesting things in education: Alexander Meiklejohn, late of Amherst and then of the Experimental College at Wisconsin; Clarence Cook Little, then of Michigan; Hamilton Holt of Rollins-for those were prime days of enthusiasm and experiment in the educational world.

Thereafter, both as a law student and teacher, I took an active interest in legal education, sharing

in the movement, still under way, that would bring more systematic social science into the lawyer's training. Since coming to the University of Chicago, I have been part of the unique educational experiment of the College—a program that has brought a steady stream of visitors to examine our general education courses and to trade with us their own educational experiences. In the College and in the Committee on Human Development as well as in the Sociology Department I have had a hand in several researches of an interdisciplinary nature and, having been consulted about a number of others, I have gained some first-hand acquaintance with the problems of research as well as teaching that crosses departmental lines.....

D.R.

Brattleboro, Vermont
June 1956

David Riesman, Constraint and Variety in American Education, University of Nebraska Press, 1956, pp. 2-5.

Chapter VI

COMPLEXITY IN CONFORMITY

The title of this chapter implies three things: 1) it assumes that the manner in which the four authors approach the problem of social character is of diverse and sometimes complex method; but 2) their conclusions are rather similar in selecting alleged norms of conformity; and 3) an individual's own actions are complex whatever his mode of conformity may be. An habitual manifestation of group-approved attitudes and ideals is the connotation of the term conformity.

In the first part of this chapter brief comments upon the methods, typologies, and conclusions of Sorokin, Mead, Fromm, and Riesman will be presented. Since each author offers a host of stimulating and controversial material it is not possible to consider the many ramifications of all their work. Some of their more salient ideas are discussed. In the second part some of the positive contributions of Sorokin, Mead, Fromm and Riesman are mentioned. The last part presents research problems which have developed with this writing and require further research.

Pitirim Sorokin. The basic and unifying principle in the comparison of methods, typologies, and conclusions is Pitirim Sorokin's Sensate, Ideation and Idealistic cultures, especially the Sensate culture system.

Sorokin considers Western man, both European and American, to be living in a dying Sensate culture, a culture which Sorokin contends will change to an Ideational one. Sensate values are predominately material and relative, whereas Ideational values are permanent and directed toward absolute ethical norms. Idealistic culture blends the highest traits of Sensate culture with those of Ideational culture with the Ideational values remaining supreme.

Professor Sorokin describes the characteristics of Sensate culture in this brief inclusive description:

Sensate Culture: Dominance of Empiricism, Materialism, Temporalism, Determinism, Nominalism, Sociological Singularism, The Conception of Corporation or Juridical Personality as an Expedient Fiction, Ethics of Happiness (Hedonism, Utilitarianism, Eudaemonism) Many Discoveries and Inventions, Dynamic Character of Social Life with a Rapid Rate of Change, Visual Style of Painting, Secular Realism and Naturalism in Literature, with Sensualism and even Sexualism, Pure or Diluted Secular Power, "Adjustment," "Unadjusted," and "Socially Dangerous Persons."

¹Sorokin, I, p. 33.

In many instances Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* is a study of the highest quality using somewhat unique empirical research methods of a Sensate culture though Sorokin prefers the Ideational and Idealistic systems of truth and life.

Margaret Mead. Anthropologist Mead stresses to the point of overemphasis the success factor in And Keep Your Powder Dry. "To get ahead, to make good--these are the goals which are impressed on American children--to go someplace else, get on with it, count your success by the number of less handicapped that you have passed on the road."² The inadvisable use of an exclusively Freudian psychological basis has previously been pointed out by Sorokin. Both these factors are to be found abundantly in a Sensate culture.

Erich Fromm. Deviating from Margaret Mead in psychological method is Erich Fromm, a neo-Freudian who describes social and cultural influences upon man. Fromm advocates a change in psychoanalysis from an orientation of biology to one of sociology.

Dr. Fromm writes as an analysis of man, but in so doing he draws upon disciplines such as theology, philosophy, psychology, economics, history, and relates their influences which have enhanced or detracted from man's quest of freedom and happiness.

²Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry, p. 22.

Productive and non-productive orientations are the two main categories of Dr. Fromm's typology. Included in the non-productive type are the receptive, exploitative, hoarding, and marketing orientations.

The individual who feels that the source of all good is outside himself is called a receptive-orientated person; the exploitative-orientated person is of a similar attitude but will resort to cunning and force to attain the desired object. The hoarder builds up a protective position from which he expects to receive but not give. The marketing-orientated person is said to characterize modern society in which man considers himself and others as commodities to be bought and sold on a personality market. It is not what he truly is but what others think of him that counts; not the caliber of man he is, but what he can draw on the commodity market as he sells his talents. Loneliness and aloneness are hall-marked of this orientation. In this context the marketing orientation would compare to Mead's success factor and Sorokin's description of the materialistic values of Sensate culture.

Distinguishing characteristics of the productively orientated person are care, respect, responsibility, and knowledge. The marketing and productively orientated descriptions are perhaps Fromm's most notable contribution, for he takes untenable position of advocacy a form of a vaguely described socialism, Humanistic Communitarian Socialism, as the panacea for a disordered society.

Aloneness and loneliness, two traits Fromm uses to characterize modern man, seem in an historical perspective common elements faced by men in all ages.³

David Riesman. David Riesman uses the terminology and three population types attributed by him to Frank W. Notestein to depict, respectively, the tradition-directed, inner-directed and other-directed societies. However, Dr. Notestein recently acknowledge the work (1929 and 1944) of Warren S. Thompson in formulating the three demographic types of society: High Growth Potential, Transitional Growth, and Incipient Decline.

In tradition-directed society, parents and the clan are the chief agents of socialization. The inner-directed man's values are channeled through a rigid individualized character. The contemporary other-directed man depends upon peers for his evalua-

³Rev. Newton Thompson S.t. D. and Raymond Stock, Complete Concordance To The Bible (Douay Version), (St. Louis, 1945) pp. 33-34. Perhaps these biblical quotations of aloneness would be best to exemplify the fact that this condition is not new or found only in modern society: Gen 2 18 it is not good for man to be alone;

Num	11	14	I am not able alone to bear all this ...
		23	19 this people shall dwell alon ^e and shall
Deut	33	28	Israel shall dwell in safety and alone
Ruth	21	5	why art thou alone, and no man with thee
Job	12	2	are you then men alone, and shall
		23	13 he is alone, and no man can turn away
Ps	24	16	mercy on me: for I am alone and poor
Ecce	4	10	woe to him that is alone, for when he
Isa	28	19	vexation alone shall make you understand
		49	21 I was destitute and alone: and these
Bar	4	19	go your way: for I am left alone. I
1 Ma	13	4	for Istael's sake I am left alone
John	8	16	I am not alone, but I and the father

David Riesman. David Riesman uses the terminology and three population types attributed by him to Frank W. Notestein to depict, respectively, the tradition-directed, inner-directed and other-directed societies. However, Dr. Notestein recently acknowledged the work (1929 and 1944) of Warren S. Thompson in formulating the three demographic types of society: High Growth Potential, Transitional Growth, and Incipient Decline.

In tradition-directed society, parents and the clan are the chief agents of socialization. The inner-directed man's values are channeled through a rigid individualized character. The contemporary other-directed man depends upon peers for his evaluations and opinions. Riesman credits Erich Fromm for some concepts used in the formulation of his other-directed character.

Whether the study of a Vermont community and some interviews in East Harlem give sufficient evidence on which to generalize about America is, of course, incredible. It is also doubtful whether hand writing analysis which Mr. Riessman used in The Lonely Crowd has a valid place in the social sciences.

Mr. Riesman's concept of Leisure, a leisure of consumer-ship in which "play is the thing" lends itself to an epicurean ethic which might lead to an "escape from freedom" rather than the productive use of freedom. Riesman's epicurean leisure and Erich Fromm's panacea of socialism indicates that these two writers offer confident and often commendable analyses of society but shaky and controversial solutions.

The basic overall conclusion which each writer states is in the writers opinion, best made in Sorokin's analysis of Sensate culture, where there exists a predominance of material values. The productively orientated person, however, (compare to Sorokin's Idealistic and Ideational types) offers a wholesome direction of values.

The inversion of norms which makes the material an end instead of means, results in a false emphasis on material success (illustrated by Mead) and an ensuing feeling of aloneness (Fromm) follows. David Riesman, though stressing the worthy status of autonomy, seems to make that also an end instead of means. What each author as well as all men seek is felicity, and it is in recommending the means to happiness that the social scientist need turn to the philosopher, for Riesman's concept of leisure and Fromm's socialism might well lead to greater evils than they are intended to rectify.

Contributions. Pitirim Sorokin presents a masterful research project which utilizes the skills of twenty researchers. His Sensate, Ideational and Idealist cultures are broad "ideal types" which serve as an ultimate basis for comparison of societies.

Margaret Mead effectively shows the influence of success values on the formation of character in a matriarchal society. Her preoccupation with the Freudian psychological basis should demonstrate to future researchers the pitfalls of that unitary

method.

Erich Fromm effectively illustrates the alienation and aloneness which occur in a society which reduces to near oblivion the dignity of man by making him an economic commodity. His productively orientated person and The Art of Loving are stimulating examples of an affirmative use of life.

The influence of peers, the plight of the other-directed man, and the necessity for a "reconsideration of individualism" are three important contributions of David Riesman. The writer of this thesis concludes as did The Lonely Crowd with Mr.

Riesman's poignant remark:

But while I have said many things in this book of which I am unsure, of one thing I am quite sure: the enormous potentialities for diversity in nature's bounty and men's capacity to differentiate their experience can become valued by the individual himself, so that he will not be tempted and coerced into adjustment or, failing adjustment, into anomie. The idea that men are created free and equal is both true and misleading: men are created different; they lose their social freedom and their individual autonomy in seeking to become like each other.⁴

Research Needed. Several fields of possible research have developed with the writing of this thesis. They include areas insufficiently treated in the thesis, problems which the writer has seen develop with this writing, and also suggested

research areas and methods:

- a) The purpose of work and proper use of leisure.
- b) Automation and leisure.
- c) Some positive and negative influences of peer groups upon youths and adults.
- d) Means to Christian autonomy.
- e) Fromm's Aloneness: modern or human phenomenon?
- f) A comparative study of methods used by several anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists.
- g) The influence of psychology upon sociological theory.
- h) Apathy--Spiritual, intellectual and political; some causes and solutions.
- I) Is the contemporary empirical social scientist an innovator or emulator of the conclusions of ancient and medieval social philosophers?

II

- a) Interdisciplinary lecture program and research projects: Example--Sociology, psychology and anthropology; Institute of Social and Industrial Relations, law and economics.
- b) Catholic research and writing on the use of talents, such as the productive orientation and The Art of Loving of Fromm or Sorokin's studies of altruism.

- c) Reemphasis on the family as the basic unit of society.
- d) Need for a more extensive presentation by authors of their research techniques and personal background:
Example--Wm. F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (rev. ed.).
- e) Utilization of the historian's (social and cultural) contributions in the study of sociology.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by James Jana has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

2-4-58

Date

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Signature of Adviser