THE WORK SITUATION:

A STUDY IN ADULT SOCIALIZATION

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CONTENTS

Introduction

Introduction

The goal of this investigation is the clarification of the role which socialization plays in work groups. In order to reach this goal, this study will be divided into two areas. Of primary interest is the construction of a theoretical scheme which defines socialization and states some sort of relation between it and the behavioral patterns which are observed. In the second part, work groups are reviewed with attention given to structures and to the ways in which the groups assimilate new members. In addition, the importance of the socialization mechanisms with respect to life within the work groups is considered.

The development of the study proceeds from the general to the specific. Socialization as a process is discussed independently of its role in the various periods of an individual's life. After this, it is discussed with respect to its manifestation and significance in adult life. An interlude follows with the discussion of necessary concepts for the final consideration of life in work groups. In this last section, an attempt is made to tie the preceding sections together in the discussion of the work situation.

In the section on work studies, several investigations of work situations which have been made by prominent sociologists are reviewed. There are two purposes for this part: to lend support to the generalizations made in the first part; and to draw con-

clusions to be taken as hypotheses in need of confirmation. The studies were selected with hopes of providing a broad range of situations on which to draw.

Throughout the work, the word "socialize" is avoided. It is the opinion of the writer that its use leads to a mistaken view of the process. If one uses the verbal form, he implies that the individual is the object of the process when, in fact, elements peculiar to each individual have an instrumental part in it (i.e. inherent physical and mental abilities, and the effects of previous socialization). When the noun "socialization" is used, the combination of many dynamic elements is referred to without inferring a causal relationship between them. When the verb "socialize" is used, a causal relationship between subject and object is implied, take, for example: "Peer groups socialize children;" or "Children are socialized by peer groups." The implication is different when one says: "Child socialization takes place in peer groups."

Part I.

Understanding the Process

A. WHAT IS SOCIALIZATION?

At the very beginning of this investigation, before we can deal with any other problem, it is important that we achieve some clarity with respect to the concept which forms the center of its subject. It would be much simpler for us if the term "socialization" were applied without variation to a definite set of phenomena but, unfortunately, such is not the case. Depending upon the individual, his discipline, and the particular subject of his study, the word socialization assumes different proportions. With some, emphasis is put primarily upon socialization as it manifests itself in childhood. In this context it is the process by which a child develops the perceptual and cognitive mechanisms necessary for participation in human society. In so doing, these theorists maintain that it is of primary significance in the construction of that edifice of the mind, the self. To others, socialization in childhood is seen as constituting a phase in which limitations are made upon the range of possible behavioral patterns rather than one in which these patterns are determined.[1] Looking over some of the definitions which have been made in the past, we find that the list of elements it is said to transmit includes

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[1] Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in Gardner Lindzey, (editor), <u>Handbook of Social Psychology</u>, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc. 1954), Vol. I, pp. 244.

the following: customs, ideas, ambitions,[2] values, norms,[3]
feelings, sentiments,[4] apperceptive capabilities,[5] disciplines,
aspirations, roles, attitudes and skills.[6] This list is not
cited in order to choose among them for it is obvious that they
overlap one another and that these terms themselves would re-
quire much attention and lengthy definition.

There are, however, certain patterns which emerge from
this list which may help us. It appears that the process is
acquisitive in nature. It involves the transmission of segments
of culture from the social environment to the individual. As
such, it involves perception and learning, both of which may
be either conscious or unconscious. Without becoming enmeshed
in the difficulties of expanding the theoretical framework to
encompass such constructs as the "self" and the "personality,"
attention should be given to a second aspect of socialization.
When an individual takes part in socialization, he becomes a part

[2]Ralph Ross and Ernest Van den Haag, The Fabric of Society
(New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1957), p. 10.

[3]Andie L. Knutson, The Individual, Society and Health
Behavior (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965), p. 315.

[4]Frederick Elkin, The Child and Society (New York: Random
House, 1960), p. 4.

[5]George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society ed. Charles
W. Morris, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 136-137.

[6]Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, (New York:
Harper and Row, 1963), p. 95.

of the group and it becomes a part of him. He acquires characteristics from it which enable him to fit into its matrix of social forces and, in so doing, makes it a part of himself. This process is known as <u>internalization</u>. Through its operation, significance is placed upon those learned things that come to be associated in varying degrees with identity. It has been said that "It means, literally putting inside the social personality, modes of action and thoughtways so they become, in the future, the bases for behavior and thought."[7]

There often arise situations in which an individual is rejected by a group for one reason or another. In such cases <u>alienation</u> may develop which has an effect which can be understood as socialization. This may arise from an incompatibility between the individual and the group, either actual or merely felt, which prevents his assimilation by it. It may also arise out of the ostracism by that group of a member who was unwilling or unable to make an adequate adjustment to its conditions. In both cases the socialization process is disrupted.[8] Rejection necessitates some sort of compensating adjustment. This may be carried out through membership in an alternate group or in a change in attitude toward the original group. Such a change would presumably include the revaluation

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[7]Robert Dubin, <u>The World of Work</u> (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1958), p. 214.

[8]Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, "Psychoanalytic Theory and Its Applications in the Social Sciences," in Gardner Lindzey, (editor), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. vol. I, pl 165.

of its demands and the patterns of behavior which are their consequences. Some change in the beliefs and concepts which serve as ego-defense mechanisms is highly probable.[9] Such changes may be attributed directly to the influences of the original group and can, therefore, be accurately considered as socialization.

Socialization begins with the first contacts between mother and child. There is no reason to limit it to childhood, however. This is maintained in spite of the contentions of the Freudian brand of psychoanalysis, that much of the behavior of adults is conditioned if not determined by their experiences in childhood. It is recognized that these early experiences are pervasive and of paramount importance. However, evidence, reflected in the studies to be reviewed later, indicates that some emphasis should be placed upon socialization as it manifests itself in later life, particularly that experienced in work groups.

In his book, The Child and Society, Frederick Elkin defines socialization as follows: "the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group so that he can function within it."[10] What does the word "function" mean? This question will be dealt with more explicitly later with

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[9]Ibid., pp. 152-153.

[10]Elkin, op. cit. p. 4.

reference to the work situation. But if the significance of socialization and its part in social life is to be understood, it deserves some attention here. In the context of Elkin's definition, its meaning has two aspects. First, the functioning individual is an existent (living) one. That is, function means the activity of living, survival. Second, its use presupposes some task. It is axiomatic that society demands certain things of its members. In fulfilling these demands, the individual functions.

There is another way in which the concept of function is useful to us. Socialization itself is functional in nature. Imbuing the individual with social capabilities is a most basic requisite for social living. Adding to this the fact that social living is necessary for human life itself, we come to the conclusion that the socialization process lies at the very heart of human existence. Just as it enables the individual to survive, it enables society to survive. Similarly, on the individual level, it makes the satisfaction of social demands possible and, on the group level, it makes for continuity in time. Without it, changes from generation to generation would be so great as to preclude any sort of advanced development. The predictability necessary for complex social structures, indeed for rational behavior, would not be possible.

In his Men at Work, Whyte describes the relationship between the demands of the job and the individual as the "fit."[11] We shall define it as the relationship between society's demands upon the individual and his ability to fulfill them. Socialization can be seen as the construction of a fit.

The concept is particularly valuable when it is recognized that this relationship varies in degree. It would be permissible to theorize that there is a continuum from an ideal fit on the one hand to an inadequate one on the other. In the first case, the individual is able to meet his responsibilities to the group with a minimum of difficulty; in the second, he is not capable of doing so at all.[12] The position which any individual takes along this continuum is determined by several variables. First, each person has certain genetically transmitted qualities with which he is born. He may be large or small, weak or strong, stupid or brilliant (although there is some question as to the amount of influence which biological factors have on intelligence, talents and the like). There are some differences in capabilities which have been found to conform to sex. Second, some situations require more of the individual than others. The demands placed upon a neurosurgeon are different from those

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[11]William Foote Whyte, Men at Work, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc. and Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1961), p. 529.

[12]It would be well to note that speculation about the possibility of a perfect fit, or conclusions about a causal relationship between the fit and the happiness of the individual, are not intended here.

placed upon a stevedore. Third, socialization itself is not a gift with which all members of a particular group have been equally endowed. This may manifest itself in poor table manners or in the divorce courts. Often an individual is exposed to competing agencies of socialization which may exert conflicting influences.[13] These three areas of variation are interrelated. As a result, both the requirements and the adjustment vary from person to person. Inherent capabilities affect the types of situations in which the individual is likely to find himself. A crippled child may never become exposed to the effects of athletic participation. They also affect his ability to participate in socialization. This child may not be able to comprehend the meaning of teamwork. This inability may, in turn, affect the child's ability to assimilate other aspects of social living which he may encounter later on in life (such as the increased level of cooperation necessitated by a crisis in an organization).

The demands which are placed upon an individual stem from two main sources. First, any group of which he is a member will exert pressures which are peculiar to it. A peer group, for instance, may have a set of unique behavioral patterns having to do with games and statuses. However, each of these groups transmits a portion of the culture which characterizes the larger society of which it is a part.[14]

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[13]Broom and Solznick, op. cit. pp. 111-112.

[14]Elkin, op. cit. p. 45.

In practice, it is often difficult to differentiate
between those influences which stem specifically from the small
group's unique customs and concepts and those which derive
their sources in the social environment of that group. Usually
the small group tends to absorb themes which are found in the
society as a whole and are relatively consistent with it.
Yet these embellishments are often more highly specific and
demanding. Failure to satisfy their demands often brings on
the most severe sanctions. The effect of these sanctions may
far outweigh the importance of the divergence which is made
by the group from the more general demands of the society.
For this reason, their role in socialization may be inordinately
large. It is conceivable that a small group would concentrate
upon certain aspects of culture. The socialization of an indi-
vidual **in** that group might seriously limit his ability to achieve
an adequate fit in another situation. The rejection of an indi-
vidual by that group might have similar consequences.[15]

In summation, then, all of the aspects which have been
discussed may be combined in a definition: _socialization is
the process by which an individual acquires modifications in
his inherent abilities so as to become capable of fitting the
complex set of demands with which social groups confront him._

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[15]_Ibid_. p. 68.

B. ADULT SOCIALIZATION

In the section dealing with the definition of socialization (A.), it was mentioned that socialization began in childhood but denied that it was actively limited to that period in development. In this section, socialization will be described as it is experienced in later life.

What are the differences between adult and child socialization? It can be stated at once that they do not amount to the establishment of two separate categories. Rather, examination shows that socialization remains a single process. The differences are found in _what_ is transmitted and _by_ _whom_ rather than in _how_.

The relevance of this discussion of adult socialization is limited. It does not pertain to societies falling under Toennies' description of _Gemeinschäften_. This is true because the kinds of association which pervade adult life in this type of society are primary in nature. In them an individual is accepted _in toto_. As a result he tends to consider criticism as reflecting upon him as a person, with all that that implies. This is even more significant because primary groups are so constituted that more is _known_ about each individual and, therefore, interaction proceeds along very intimate lines. So when demands are made upon individuals by primary groups, they tend to refer to the basic and most comprehensive patterns of thought and behavior.

Primary relations are most frequent in childhood. In fact, almost all of a child's interaction is on the primary level. As the individual grows older, his number of non-primary associations

becomes greater. In childhood, basic concepts are transmitted.
Among them, the difference between "right" and "wrong," for example,
is concentrated upon. Socialization in adult life, however,
brings about a different sort of adaptation. Often, it takes
the form of elaborations upon what was previously transmitted.
Since interaction frequently takes place within non-primary associations,
the adaptations made are likely to be specific and limited in
extent.[16] In order to cope with this sort of relation, the ability
to divorce one's identity from the process is necessary. The
adult insulates himself from the specific demands and adjusts
his behavior patterns with as little disruption as possible to
the complex set of ideas with which he identifies. These more or
less superficial adjustments are exemplified by the self-control
which adulthood generally demands of Western Man. It appears
that   personal non-involvement in specialized patterns of behavior
and interaction and its recognition are the salient characteristics
of this kind of socialization. In the learning of technical capa-
bilities, and in the creation of purposive relationships between
people, the remoteness from determinants of self is basic. It
is important that this general pattern is often subject to deviation.
Just as Gesellschaft often comes to take on characteristics of
Gemeinschaft (as, say, when identification with the organization
leads to primary associations among its members) so, too, do the
lines separating purposive relationships from personal ones become
blurred with time. A further consequence is that much of the
socialization which occurs in adult life, as further investigation

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[16]Dukin, op. cit. pp. 215-216.

will show, is concerned with compensating for the lack of primary relations.

When an adult is exposed to new demands, it is to be assumed that he has already developed certain modifications in his abilities which may be viewed as products of socialization.[17] Argyris provides us with a set of concepts which he maintains are inherent development trends. But he stipulates that each individual can manifest these trends in his own distinct manner. The maturing individual is seen as proceeding from a limited range of activities to a broader one. At the same time, the number of his activities grows. He becomes less dependent upon others and develops his own determinants of behavior. His interests become less shallow and a "challenge" becomes a characteristic element of his more important ones. His temporal perspective grows longer. He comes to place himself in an equivalent or higher status where he had once recognized his subordinate position as a child. At the same time, his awareness of and control over himself grows.[18]

As he becomes an adult, the individual comes to see himself in terms of the future. Influences which tend to bring about this new orientation are created, in part by training, both formal and informal, "in part by the expectations and behavior of others, and in part by reinforcement by fellow workers."[19] The habit of

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[17]Elkin, op. cit. p. 103.

[18]Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957) pp. 49-51.

[19]Elkin, op. cit. p. 103.

looking toward the future is of significance for us because it suggests the pervasiveness of incentives and motivations many of which stem from conceptions which the individual holds about himself. The relationship between the "self-image" and behavior will be dealt with in a separate section.

How does the individual relate to the environment in which he lives? How does socialization facilitate this? One of the ways is through symbols. Symbols are defined as "words, objects, conditions, acts, or characteristics of persons which refer to (or stand for) the relations among men, and between men and their environment."[20] That this is relevant mainly to modern, urban, and industrial man is seen in Riesman's description of "other-directed man."[21] While men in traditional societies guide their actions with criteria internalized in childhood, other-directed man guides his activities by relating to "cues"[22] which he gathers from his environment. They are transmitted through socialization. By means of the sentiments which they arouse, they have a strong influence in guiding the orientation of men to their environment and are one of the most significant products of socialization.

As it is manifested in adult experience, socialization becomes subject to variation to a much greater degree than in childhood. When an individual is making his first adjustments to social living and limits are being constructed around his range of possible

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[20]Whyte, op. cit., p. 24.

[21]David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Inc., 1955) pp. 40-45.

[22]Broom and Selznick, op. cit., p. 113.

behavioral patterns, the process is a continuous one which presents a relatively consistent set of demands and satisfaction techniques. It is during the early years that the fundamental demands are perceived and behavioral patterns are internalized. As he gets older the individual makes choices which become part of his set of beliefs and on which he builds (that is, he internalizes them).[23] As a result, with an increasing frequency he is confronted with pressures satisfactory responses to which he has placed outside the realm of possible behavior.

He may frequently find himself in situations which demand conformity to which he will not be able to consent completely. In such cases "partial socialization"[24] results. The individual has achieved enough of an adjustment to function but has not been assimilated into the group. He has not internalized the behavioral patterns necessitated by the demands of the group.[25] In such cases, he has not achieved an adequate fit.

Adult socialization can be characterized as "continuing" or as "resocialization"[26] depending upon the amount of change involved. In other words, socialization is a continuing element in our lives. However, when the situation is of such divergence that an entirely new way of life must be adopted, the term "resocialization" is used to describe it. This is done to draw attention to the fact

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[23]Broom and Selznick, op. cit., p. 114.

[24]Elkin, op. cit., p. 140.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Broom and Selznick, op. cit. p. 119.

that it involves more than a limited adjustment, but the construction of entirely new grounds for action. This term is also used to indicate that it is a rather special experience, differentiated from the continuing variety by both its pervasiveness and its rapdiity, that is, by the extreme application of the regular process.[27] Continuing socialization builds upon previous adjustments. Re-socialization clears them away and begins anew.

The extent of adjustment required by a new situation may be analyzed in terms of the pervasiveness of the new set of demands with respect to the individual's identity. That is, in every new situation we are supposed to try to live up to the expectations of our fellows. A second point of comparison is the amount of adjustment that is required in behavioral patterns. A third lies in the amount of consonance or dissonance between what the new situation demands and what the old one demanded. Finally, the extent of adjustment required can be measured in terms of the values which were appropriate to the previous situation, as compared with those which the new situation implies.[28] Does the new situation require a new morality? If so, the process may be characterized as resocialization.

From what has been said so far, the amount of difficulty with which resocialization is carried out might be underestimated. Broom and Selznick have presented a number of elements which serve to indicate the harshness of the process:

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

1) Total control over the individual
2) Suppression of past statuses
3) Denial of the moral worth of the old self. . . the individual's past perspectives are seen as radically faulty, morally inferior, and blameworthy
4) Participation of the individual in his own resocialization . . . self-analysis, self-criticism, and "confession" of past and present failings.
5) Extreme sanctions
6) Intensification of peer group pressures and support[29]

In order for resocialization to take place, a reproduction of social conditions similar to those in which a child first encounters socialization must be produced. Further, these conditions must be in a form more potent than normal.[30]

The recognition that socialization can, in some cases, take this form raises problems pertinent to this investigation. How much socialization does a given situation require? If resocialization is necessary, are these relatively stringent conditions present? In other words, does it automatically follow that the conditions necessary for the satisfaction of demands will be present? In certain situations, it socialization limited not only by the individual's ability but also by society's structure? We shall not be able to answer these questions here, but attention will be given to them later.

As noted, socialization operates sequentially. First, certain demands are made by the group and are expressed by its members. Second, the need for compliments with these demands is perceived. Third, methods of facilitating this compliance are

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[29]These same theorists define the self as being a socially derived concept which recognizes identity and is capable of controlling behavior. A peer group is a group of others of about the same age and status. Status is equivalent in this context to social position.

[30]Broom and Selznick, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

learned. Finally, the necessary adjustments in behavior are internalized. They become part of the individual's set of concepts from which he draws the determinants of his behavior. It was stated that there can be inconsistency in the demands put forth. In this section, it was shown that internalization might require contradiction in the most basic of behavioral patterns and the concepts from which they stem.

Another source of possible disruption in socialization exists. A cursory examination of the preceding will show that methods of adjustment must be learned in order for internalization to complete the process. Whenever a change in behavior occurs as a result of some new experience, learning has taken place.[31] What are the elements of the learning process? In what ways can it be disrupted? Fleishman provides a number of generalizations which briefly describe it. He tells us that a goal is the source of the activity. The learner wants something and must learn in order to obtain it. As a result of this desire, there is some response. This response is limited by: all of his past responses and abilities; the interpretation which he makes of the situation with respect to his goal; feedback which may be seen as the sum of the consequences of his past responses. New responses which he could not have made before this goal was achieved are now possible. To the extent that this is true, he has learned.[32]

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[31]Edwin A. Fleishman, Studies in Personnel and Industrial Psychology (New York: Dorsey Press, Inc., 1964), p. 156.

[32]Ibid., p. 158.

At the very start it is evident that personal interpretation is of some significance here. The way in which the individual sees his gosl, whatever it may be, is a function of his own orientation toward life, that is, of his personality. Fleishman's list of limitations upon response is a very personal one. It is significant that he speaks of limitations and not determinants. This is especially important with respect to the "interpretation" of the situation. The subjective element in the process is explicitly, and unavoidably, recognized.

In adult life socialization can be carried on by means of mechanisms which appear to be impersonal. People learn and internalize much from their environment which is not transmitted directly to them by other persons. It may be mediated by space and time. This is not often the case with children. Just as their relations are primary in nature, non-primary ones arising later in life, so, too, does their interaction with the products of other people increase with age. More and more, as people become older, as they enter adulthood, they spend their time among inanimate but nevertheless human objects, mechanisms, methods and systems. This frequent interaction, not with people but with the products of their existence, can contribute to socialization. Most often this is experienced in conjunction with social forces which reinforce non-social influences which would exist independently of them.[33]

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[33]For further development of this point see the Appendix.

C. Concepts of Individual Identity

In the previous sections, socialization was examined with respect to its nature as an activity. Categorizing the various elements transmitted by it was avoided. It was felt that accuracy could be maintained without resorting to the consideration and definition of them. This was deemed necessary in light of the limited length of the investigation.

As the evaluation of the role which socialization plays in work groups becomes more and more the particular subject of interest, certain of these concepts become increasingly indispensable. One of them is the "self concept."

Just what constitutes the self is subject to debate. At one point Sarbin refers to it as "this internal organization of qualities (traits, attitudes, and habits)."[34] In a later section he elaborates upon this when he says that it is "the phenomenal experience of identity, an inference arising from a person's experiences with things, body parts, and other persons."[35] However, he goes on to state that it is not directly observable.[36]

If this is true, how is it known to exist? That it does exist is implied every time we use the word "I".[37] This is what

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[34]Lindzey, I, p. 224.

[35]Ibid, p. 238.

[36]Ibid.

[37]This was first recognized by Descartes in his famous analysis of the implications of "Cogito ergo sum."

Sarbin means when he refers to it as "an inference arising from a person's experience." As such, it is not something with which we are born, rather it is created. How does this come about? The self is a product of two processes, the "maturation" and "personal-social series."[38] The first is seen as partially biological and partially social in nature. The second is essentially a social phenomenon. In both cases, the socialization process is recognized as the socially affective factor.

Psychologists have distinguished several stages in the development of the self. Of those outlined by Sarbin, the last is of interest here. This stage is termed by him "the social self."[39] It is distinguished by the ability to relate to others in terms of expected patterns of behavior rather than merely to particular acts which they perform. The child begins to think and behave with the use of "as if" skills.[40] At this time, he begins to perceive roles as well as things and people. "A 'role' (sometimes called a social role) is a pattern of behavior associated with a distinctive social position. . . . Most roles specify the rights and duties belonging to a social position."[41] Positions may be defined as "collections of rights and duties designated by a single term."[42]

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[38]Ibid., p. 239.

[39]Ibid., p. 242.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Broom and Selznick, p. 16.

[42]Lindzey, I, p. 224.

Roles are not enacted in the same way by all individuals in any given situation. The perception of roles varies. It is influenced by the ability to understand the roles of others and to relate them as well as the demands of the new position to the self. The ability to carry out the role varies with different individuals. It is associated with the ability to place one's self in the position of another person. Finally, the way in which the self is organized, or not organized, is of significance.[43] The self, by providing a complex set of ideas against which to compare new experiences provides a selective mechanism which colors reality. In doing so, it provides the primary source of variation in role-taking.

Once this stage has been reached, the individual has become capable of social action. Further, he has developed a means by which he can act rationally in a world at least partially predictable.

Once the individual comes to recognize that he exists as an entity, distinct from all others, he begins to erect a system of ideas concerning himself. This is called the "self image." Originally formulated by Charles H. Cooley as the "looking-glass self" the concept includes three factors: "the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance; and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification."[44]

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[43]Ibid., p. 255.

[44]Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory, Its Nature and Growth (New York, 1957), pp. 144-145.

Within the context of socialization, as already described, the individual is exposed to demands which are reinforced by the ability of the group to apply sanctions. On the most elementary level, social groups have the capacity to grant or withhold approval. The individual comes to internalize a set of roles which he applies to his self-image. In doing so he creates an "ideal self."26[45] It exists as his conceptualization of what he should be. However, this is not always matched by reality. When it becomes unavoidably apparent that he not only has not lived up to his image of his ideal self, but has been placed in a situation which makes living up to that ideal image impossible, a disillusionment necessarily follows. The results of this are reflected in apathetic or alienated behavior.

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[45]Broom and Selznick, p. 102.

D. The Work Situation

There are several kinds of work, but many of them are not
relevant to this study. There is work around the house, the work
involved in shaving one's self, and work associated with infrequent
jobs such as committee work for a club. The kind of work which
is to be discussed below has been described as "continuous
employment, in the production of goods and services, for remuneration."[46]
This kind of work is usually organized. An inquiry into the
relationship between organizations and the individual is a logical
place to begin the discussion of the work situation.

Argyris describes several kinds of energy which combine to
make an organization work. Among them are "mechanical, electrical,
physiological and psychological energies."[47] He states that his
construct, psychological energy, is an analytical tool which
answers certain questions arising from observed behavior. It
is explained in this way:

> Psychological energy is assumed to exist 'in' the needs
> of individuals. Needs are viewed as parts of the human
> personality which, when activated are 'in tension.'
> Activated needs are always in tension in relation to some
> objective or goal in the environment. It is this tension
> that is supposed to motivate behavior.[48]

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[46]Dubin, op. cit., p. 4.

[47]Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization
(New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 20.

[48]Ibid., p. 22.

A need of some importance is a feeling of competence.[49]
Competence is associated with the degree to which an individual
is aware of himself. The relationship between behavior and the
self is clarified by Argyris when he writes that "this awareness
influences the individual's stability and effectiveness because,
once it is formed, the self influences what the individual is able
to 'see' in the environment, how he evaluates it, and how he deals
with it."[50]

When the individual relates what he perceives in the environ-
ment with his self-concept, he understands it in varying degrees
of subjectivity. The clarity with which his experiences are com-
prehended (the amount of objectivity which he can bring to bare
on them) is related to the amount of agreement or disagreement
with his self-concept. When experiences seem to contradict the
image which he has built up about himself, the individual tends
to react in one of two ways: he may adapt his self image to bring
it into line with experience, or he may react defensively and
attempt to protect his self from that experience either by denying
it or by denying the contradictory aspect of the self, or both.[51]

To relate adequately to others, the individual must be
able to communicate with them with a minimum of distortion. Both
of the kinds of competence which were mentioned before are related

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[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., p. 25.

to this ability to communicate. To the extent that his self image
is in agreement with experience, he tends to comprehend both of
them clearly. He can thereby perform his roles within the organi-
zation with a higher degree of competence. Further, this sense
of competence stimulates his willingness to accept the challenge
of the problems which the organization (or work situation) poses.
Since the self image roles and means of communication are all
products of socialization, it can be said that the process is
instrumental in the operation of organizations.

The consequences of the relationship between the organization
and the individual, outlined above, illustrate some of the more
general consequences of socialization as described in the previous
sections. The problems posed by the organization necessitate
adaptation by the individual. A new fit must be produced by him
in order to function within it. However, there is a new aspect
here which has not been mentioned before. The situation can, and
often does, put an individual in a position where he reacts in
such a way as to <u>lower</u> his ability to function (he may react
defensively). In this sense, the new fit which he produces may
enable him to deal with his social environment more adequately
but may, at the same time, reduce his usefulness. His contribution
to the survival of the group is thereby lessened.

In the section on adult socialization (B.) it was suggested
that the structure of social groups may require adjustments which
are precluded by that structure itself. Argyris puts forth a

similar idea with a concept which he believes is one of the "most central factors that constitute mental health in our culture."[52] This concept is termed "Psychological success."[53] An individual who attempts to secure some degree of psychological success is seen as requiring:

> a significant degree of (1) self-responsibility and self control (for example, in order to define his own goals, paths to goals, etc.); (2) commitment (to persevere to achieve the goals); (3) productiveness and work (to achieve the goals); and (4) utilization of his more important abilities.[54]

It is Argyris's contention that the structure of organizations places limitations on the amount of psychological success which can be achieved. The organization demands competence from its members. Competence is related in turn to the amount of psychological success which is achieved. But it is recognized that:

> the formal organization (which includes the technology) and the administrative control system typically used in complex formal organizations may be viewed as a part of a grand strategy. . . . (which) . . . creates a complex of organizational demands that tend to require individuals to experience dependence and submissiveness and to utilize few of their relatively peripheral abilities.[55]

The structure of formal organizations, then, requires certain behavioral patterns which are inimical to functioning within their own confines. Adaptation to satisfy these demands is, to some

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[52] Argyris, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

[53] Ibid., p. 27.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., p. 58.

extent, prevented by the structure of the organization itself taken as an environment for action.

There are two other ways in which the structure of organizations tends to make their functioning less efficient. Both of them are indirect results of socialization. The first of these is rigidity. When the individual has become adjusted to a position in an organization, "he may become so set in his habits and outlook that he cannot readily accept new ideas or new tasks. . . . if significant change is required, the organization will face difficulties."[56] Individuals in organizations may become so well assimilated by the groups of which they are a part that they lose sight of the organization as a whole. In such cases "this attachment may prove to be disruptive if the member of a subordinate unit places the interests of that unit above those of total enterprise."[57]

Socialization has been discussed as a variable. In what ways does it vary within an organizational structure? Generally, the degree to which socialization is important to the functioning of an organization is related to the amount of dedication and loyalty which is required. One form which the process takes is called the "internalization of influence."[58] Through it, "the organization member acquires knowledge, skill and identifications or loyalties that enable him to make decisions, by himself, as the

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[56]Broom and Selznick, op. cit., p.232.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., p. 230.

organizations would like him to decide."[59] Broom and Selznick

list some effects which socialization in organizations commonly

displays. They are:

1. To link personal satisfactions and organizational aims.
2. To make official communication easier. . . . the organizational member has absorbed the 'decisional premises' of the enterprise, that is, the bases on which decisions are made.
3. To permit greater delegation of authority without loss of control.
4. To strengthen group loyalty and thereby organizational security.[60]

Another aspect of the relations between the individual

and the organization needs discussion before the investigation

proceeds to human relations within the work group. Although

it should not be confused with socialization, or considered a part

of it, the process of _identification_ exhibits very similar characteris-

tics. In fact, "through the process of identification, a man

may come to think of an organization as an extension of himself."[61]

This amounts to the internalization of the individual's image

of the organization. But it is possible to identify one's self

with a organization about which relatively little is known (this

is not generally true in socialization). Identification has

obvious beneficial implications when the requirements of loyalty

and dedication are remembered. It should be noted, however, that

identification is often made through other persons. In addition,

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[59]_Ibid._

[60]_Ibid._, p. 231.

[61]_Ibid._, p. 232.

it often leads to difficulties when the organization does not offer sufficient rewards. In such cases, the individual is liable to feel cheated and alienated with the result that his ability and willingness to fulfill his roles may be adversely affected.[62]

The basic relations between individuals in work organizations have been categorized by Dubin. The first kind of relation is called the "power relation."[63] He defines it as "the relations among organization members that correlate their separate functions according to the necessity these functions have for the organization." (p. 47) "Power," in this context, refers to the degree of instrumentality to the functioning of the organization. These relations are dictated by functional interdependence. For this reason, they are carried on in spite of personal sentiments concerning the actors involved. (p. 28) Measurement of the amount of power which a position carries with it can be accomplished by determining the degree of "essentiality" which its function has. Another way is found in determing the "exclusiveness of responsibility for performing a given function." (p. 30)

A second relation among members of work organizations is the "authority relation." (p. 32) This is defined as "one person's making decisions that guide the actions of another." (p. 32) Sometimes these are temporary in nature. In the continuing type, the decision maker has expectations of having his decisions followed.

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[62]Ibid.

[63]Dubin, op. cit., p. 28. From here to the end of this section, references to this author and work will be made through the use of parentheses in the text itself. All other sources will be footnoted.

The recipient has expectations of having such decisions made for
him. This relationship may be grounded in several beliefs.
There may be a belief in the need for order. There may be a
belief in some legality of the right to make decisions. Legitimacy
may also arise out of a sense of moral correctness. A common
recongition of the purpose of the organization and the perceived
need for authority in it may help maintain authority relations.
Not all people are willing to take the responsibility for making
decisions. This, too, may contribute to the maintenance of authority
relations. (pp. 33-35)

A third important type of relation with work organizations
is called the "status relation." (p. 36) This is an interaction
"between two or more members determined by the perspective ranking
on a value scale." (p. 36) In order for these relations to occur,
common knowledge of the ranking of statuses and also the ability
of that knowledge to influence interaction patterns must exist.
Relations are either between equals or between a superior and a
subordinate. In the first case, interaction is relatively free
and unrestrained. In the second, emotional content is minimized
and often there are definite prescribed patterns of behavior.
The interaction of equals tends to cause the formation of bonds
between them while that among unequals tends to result in barriers
which are maintained between them. The unequal type is part of
the design of formal organizations. The equal type arises in
informal groups. In work organizations there is a large number of

marks which dilineate the various statuses. Among them are: titles, rates of pay, seniority, rights and privileges, clothing and insignia, work place location (including degree of privacy), quality and quantity of furnishings. (pp. 36-38)

Each of these three kinds of relations is, at least partially, the product of socialization. Individuals join organizations and are rapidly informed of the appropriate patterns of behavior which their position carries with it. Not only do they learn the skills which are necessary for the job, but they also learn their place in relations of status, authority and power. It is not usually very long before they begin to internalize them. They come to see themselves in terms of these relations. This is implicit in the idea that "I am an apprentice," or "I am a graduate student."

It might be argued that these relations are the necessary results of functionality in work situations and, to a certain extent, this is true. But it is important not to make the mistake of viewing function as the determinant of social phenomena. There is a need for order and for the distinguishing of positions and role sets but the manner in which this need is satisfied is subject to variation. The fact is that organizations solve their problems of order in certain ways. The relations, and the structures which arise from them, serve to satisfy the needs and, in so doing, function. But this is not to say that other forms of relations and other structures could not serve as well. Thus, function is seen as something which social structures and relations perform

but not as their reason for existence. Timasheff makes this same point with reference to the family when he says that, "It would not be functional, but teleological reasoning, however, if one claimed that the prevention of the confusion of roles in the family is the cause of the incest taboo (editor's underline)."[64]

Within the organization, various structures arise out of these types of personal relations. They may be referred to in terms of the types of relations which comprise them. The first kind of structure, then, is called the "authority structure." In it authority is concentrated in the higher levels. In what ways does this descending degree of authority manifest itself? As one analyzes members of the organization from top to bottom the degree of importance of the decisions made diminishes. The number of people occupying positions at each level generally increases. There is no such clearly defined trend in the number of decisions made, but the extent to which they may be described as routine does increase. The importance of the decisions made varies with the state of the organization as a whole. In a time of crisis, important decisions may be made with high frequency. (pp. 42-44)

Other variables within the authority structure are the span of authority and the direction in which authority flows (from higher positions to lower, between equals, from lower to higher). The span of authority (or number of persons subject to it) increases as one moves upward. The direction in which authority

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[64]Timasheff, op. cit., p. 229.

flows is most often from top to bottom and least often from bottom to top. (pp. 45-57)

The second kind of structure is the "power structure." (p. 47) This is seen as the structure which unifies the division of labor. The creation of the division of labor by technology is seen as emanating from two factors: first, the amount of demand for a particular function must be high and continuous; second, there must be a unity about this function which would enable it to be incorporated as a separate operation (or series of operations). Specialization of functions has two important consequences in so far as the structure of the organization is concerned. It tends to separate the members. As a result of this, centrifugal forces are exerted. But at the same time specialization increases the amount of interdependence. As a result of this centripetal forces are exerted. (pp. 47-48)

Differentiation of tasks can also result from other needs. In work organizations the amount of cooperation between activities necessitates some sort of differentiation. Often distinct tasks have to be performed at the same time. The amount of specialization is influenced by the amount of accuracy required. If a task can be repeated, specialization may not be needed, but if this is not feasible, and a high degree of competence is necessary, specialization may be the best solution. Differentiation may be necessary when two identical tasks must be performed in different places simultaneously. (pp. 48-49)

The interdependence of specialized tasks which was mentioned above is worth elaboration. It is one of the most important ways in which individuals are tied to the work organization. It results in a perceived value to work. It serves also as a limiting agent on the amount of power which might otherwise be exerted by the occupant of an especially important position. (pp. 52-53) It is a focal point for socialization as it is manifested in organized work situations because the recognized functional interdependence of tasks, and, therefore, of workers, takes precedence over inclinations which might otherwise lead to deviant behavior. When an individual ignores the existence of the need for cooperation between workers he is liable to be reminded in strong terms by his fellow workers, his shop steward (the union representative) or his boss of his error.

The interrelationship of the various elements of the work organization is illustrated by the fact that specialization tends to lead to new statuses. In addition, the perception of interdependence offers opportunities for power relations between equals in the authority heirarchy.

"Status structures" (p. 54) are the status relations which tend to remain stable. The most important function of status structures is the incentives that they supply. This occurs because

> The human personality needs to be reinforced constantly in its acceptance of a _present_ standing in a social structure. Status ranking that is similarly valued by both a person and those around him reinforces his self esteem. (p. 54)

By providing a status higher than the one which any individual occupies, the system provides for incentives.

Organizations usually have certain qualities which are valued highly. Each member of the organization is expected to display them. Some criteria mean different things in different areas of the organization. (pp. 57-58) Socialization can be seen as elaborating upon itself. When individuals join a work organization they are subject to demands of the social groups which make it up. Compliance with these demands tends to channel their inter-actions both quantitatively and qualitatively. It affects the likelihood that they will interact and the nature of their responses to commands and requests. However, these demands carry farther that the forms which human relations take. They also influence the way individuals behave apart from interaction. Behavior as distinct from structured relationships is also often unorganized. The work situation includes this kind of behavior as well as that which is directly related to the organized environment. In fact, the two generally overlap, the types of humor relations coloring the behavioral systems in which each individual acts.

Dubin presents four different systems which appear to be exhaustive as categories of activity in the work situation. Behavior systems are those which "define the specific acts by which various aspects of work are carried out." (pp. 61-62) Each individual to a greater or lesser extent performs his tasks within all of these systems. (p. 62)

The first system discussed is "the technological behavior system (which) comprises the job or task activities. (It is) always specific to the job and includes what must be performed to get the job done."(p. 62) Each job has a set of technical functions which must be performed. The ability to satisfy the demands of these functions is the most basic prerequisite for activity within any work situation. (p. 62) So it can be said that in creating an adequate fit the individual must first adjust his capabilities to satisfy the demands of the technological behavior system.

To what extent are the various forms of human relations dependent upon behavior in the technological system? Power relations form the connections between the various jobs as differentiated by the technological system. The technological system is the functional determinant of action in the work situation. The power structure of the organization locates the individual and his job within the system and in so doing gives the worker a sense of participation in a larger complex of functions. The technological system facilitates relations of authority. It simplifies command requirements. In addition, aspects of the technical requirements of the job help define the individual's status. (pp. 63-64) In adjusting to the demands advanced by the nature of the technological system, the individual also makes some of the necessary adjustments for interpersonal relations.

The ability of an individual to perform the technical aspects of his job does not gain him membership in the groups which make up the work situation. He must also be able to satisfy the other conditions for membership. Many of these are defined by the "formal behavior system." (p. 65) This system, "specifies the minimum conditions of acceptable membership in the work organization, just as the technological behavior system specifies the minimum conditions for holding a given job in the organization." (p. 65) It specifies the goals of the organization and the patterns of behavior expected to achieve them. It presents rules of conduct and the duties of the individual. It indicates values for guiding behavior in the owrk situation. Thus, the formal system can be seen as the set of social demands which are officially defined by the organization.[48] They are identified with it and are of significance in the formation of the individual's concept of <u>what it is</u>. To the extent that an individual is socialized within the work situation he adjusts to these demands and internalizes the adjustments. (pp. 65-66)

The formal behavior system is relatively remote from the power structure of the work organization. This is because the power structure is related to the degree of functional essentiality of the position. The formal system is not directly related to functionality in the sense of individual participation in it. It deals with larger groups or with the organization as a whole. With respect to authority relations the formal system does little

more than confirm its existence (it is assumed that any adult
individual will have already been familiarized with authority).
It defines positions of authority and legitimizes authority relations.
Compliance or non-compliance with the formal system may have a
powerful effect upon the status of any individual. For most of
the members of the organization, a minimum degree of compliance
is parcticed and little effect is observed in status. Of those
who do not confrom, high status may be ascribed to the successful
innovator while low status is usually ascribed to the rebel. This
commonly holds true from the points of view of both fellow workers
and managers. (pp. 66-67)

If these first two behavioral systems cuold explain all,
the activities which a member carries out, work organizations
would not be made up of people but of machines. But there are
two more systems of behavior which allow for a certain degree of
individuality in functioning within a work situation. The first
of these is the "non-formal behavior system." (p. 67) It represents
the amount of choice of behavior within the limits of the formal
and technological systems. The goals of action remain the same
as formerly defined but the methods used in obtaining them and
satisfying the demands of the organization are changed. Learning
the non-formal system as it pertains to his job is commonly one
of the most difficult aspects of becoming adjusted to it. (pp. 68-69)

When changes are made in the ways jobs are accomplished,
corresponding changes often occur in the power strucutre. This
happens when function is shifted and when related tasks must be
modified in accordance with the new procedure. Changes in pro-

cedure may also affect the authority of members of the organization by disregarding the boss's orders for functional reasons or when the authority position is, in actuality, not the source of authority. This occurs when a boss is a figurehead. The status of those knowing in non-formal procedures is likely to be high among their peers although unrecognized by the higher-ups. (pp. 67-70)

The last of these systems is the "informal behavior system."(p. 71) Relations here are carried on in addition to those required by the work itself. They are voluntary in nature and are the result of the natural sociability of human beings. The amount of relevancy to getting work done is what determines whether behavior is part of the non-formal or the informal systems. Behavior of this sort is considered as part of a system in that is is governed by the norms which control social intercourse of a voluntary nature. Informal relations do not affect the authority structure because when members of different levels of authority interact it is either carried on in a restrained manner or else the context of that interaction is outside of the work situation where authority does not reach. The intimacy which arises as a result of informal relations may affect status as personal qualities and characteristics come to be considered. Since by definition, the informal system has nothing to do with work activities except as mediated by the status structure, it cannot have an influence on power relations. (pp. 71-73)

Earlier it was mentioned that individuals are stimulated to act through tensions which exist between needs and their satisfaction.

In the work situation, the environment can have strong influence
over the willingness to work. The stimulation of activity in the
work situation can be more explicitly dealt with through the use
of the concept of motivations. A motivation is defined as "the
complex of forces starting and keeping an individual at work in
an organization." (p. 213) Once an individual is motivated, what
channels his activities? Incentives satisfy this need. They are
"inducements placed along the course of on-going activities keeping
the actor directed toward one goal rather than another." (p. 213)
It must be stated that it is a mistake to equate financial rewards
with motivations and incentives. Motivations are essentially
psychological. But one cannot set up a cause and effect between
motivations and behavior because an act may be observed as the
result of different motivations at different times. (p. 213)
Often, the most important incentive for an individual is job
security. The individual's social class and the values which he
holds affect the power of pecuniary incentives.[65]

Incentives are frequently non-rational in nature, taking
the form of symbols. Economic symbols will vary in their effect
with the state of the relationship between management and workers.
If there are cordial relations between them, the presentation of
a set of economic symbols will tend to have a beneficial effect
on production if this and relations between them are marked by
suspicion, the identical symbols may bring about negative results.[66]

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[65]Whyte, op. cit., pp. 98-100.

[66]Ibid., p. 120.

Through the acquisition of symbols, the individual receives direction (not determination) for his activities in the work situation. These are made more explicit through the acquisition of roles. However, a degree of what Argyris calls "incongruence"[67] is beneficial. It is through such minor maladjustments between the individual and the group that challenges are presented. As he puts it, "the incongruence between the individual and the organization can be the foundation for increasing the degree of effectiveness of both."[68] Further, a certain amount of flexibility is necessary for a proper relationship between the individual and the group. When an individual is not capable of acting within a role, but is dominated by it, he acts compulsively. In such cases, he is subject to neuroses. At the other extreme, he is not at all constrained by these demands. He acts impulsively, with a slight or non-existent amount of self-control. This type of behavior is termed psychopathic. In between somewhere lies the norm.[69]

In the following sections several work situations will be discussed. The amount of socialization required as well as the rigors associated with it will be given attention. In each one, the position which a given individual occupies will be described with hopes of gaining some understanding of how the systems and structures which have been outlined in this section relate to his adjustment.

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[67]Argyris, op. cit., p. 29.

[68]Ibid., p. 7.

[69]Lindzey, I, pp. 244-248.

Part II.

The Work Studies

A. The Department Store[1]

This study was an analysis of the behavior of salesgirls in the women's clothing department of a department store. Work centered around six concentrations of fixtures called "squares." The task was defined as helping "the customer find among the articles of stock something that pleased her."[2] While doing this she was supposed to work quickly, wasting as little time as possible.

The role set included ascertaining size, responding to questions (wearing qualities, style, etc.), being willing to travel around the department with a customer, writing up sales, and wrapping up merchandise. In addition, the girls were supposed to arrange the displays and take care that their areas were kept neat. The company discouraged small talk among the girls. It should be noted that there were several other non-quantifiable role requirements. They included the ability to interact pleasantly with customers and to impress them with the quality of the service rendered.

The Infant's Square. The workers in this area were older than any of the others in the department. They rarely left the square and usually stayed at their own individual counters within it. When they did leave in order to assist in other areas, they

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[1]All information through the conclusions was obtained from George F. F. Lombard's Behavior in a Selling Group. (Norwood, Mass.: The Plimpton Press, 1955)

[2]Lombard, p. 34.

never stayed long, hurrying back to their home base as quickly as they could. The frequency of interaction observed was low. They conformed closely to the set of roles described by management except in the sense that they were reluctant to leave their position.

There were striking similarities among them. They all had at least twenty years of experience, fifteen of which were on that job. All expressed sentiments of loneliness. They were all aware of their age and felt a sense of insecurity. Each one expressed strong feelings with respect to being able to care for herself. In fact, this seemed to be the predominant value among them. This is a logical explanation for the low amount of interaction which they exhibited among themselves and with their fellow salesgirls. All three of them felt affection for the job.

The Sports Square. The salesgirls in this area were the youngest in the department. Each one had her specialty. Observation showed a high frequency of interaction and a readiness to give support. The girls exhibited sentiments of affection for one another. They tended to stay in the Sports Square or in the Boy's Square. In some resepcts their behavior conformed to the expected roles. They were ready to assist one another and this helped them cover the counters properly. It made the filling out of saleschecks more accurate as this was a task requiring talent and practice. But their interaction also included small talk which detracted from their attention to business.

The values which characterized these salesgirls were traced
back to common desires to get away from home. Each one saw herself
as an adult (or wanted to) and as a contributing member of a group
of American girls. This is important because most of them were
children of immigrants and were living or had lived in homes where
daughters of adult age were treated as children. There was a
value concerning fair play in selling; the Sports Square salesgirls
discouraged "grabbing" customers. There was a norm of sales
(about $100) which was valued as both an upper and lower limit
for a good day's sales. That each girl had a specialty and accepted
responsibility for a distinct case reinforced her wish to be considered
an adult. The ways in which some of them deviated from these
norms also added to the positive valuation of their self concept.
Some sold more than the norm and therby increased the feeling
that they were, in accord with their greater age, more mature and
competent.

The Dress Squares. The behavior of the salesgirls at these
three squares was eratic. Some stayed close to the square while
others ranged about the department. Some interacted frequently
while others rarely did so. There was a wide range of attitudes
toward the job. Some saw it as a means to another job with higher
pay.and more status while others saw it as a method of demonstrating
their superiority. It is significant that those who fitted the
official definition of the roles were outcasts.

Several of these salesgirls fitted the category of "grabbers."
The value which was strongest among them was taking care of one-

self. They did not interact frequently but placed high value on success in sales. They moved around the department more than any of the others. In general, success on the job was seen as substituting for some personal failure. The experience at work appeared to reinforce the conclusions which were to be drawn from outside life. Because all could not be best, and the quest for success isolated them, their jobs tended to reinforce feelings of loneliness which stemmed from the outside. These ambitious workers were the ones who exhibited the greatest unfavorable sentiments for the job.

When a new girl came on the job it was the function of one worker, the Sponsor, to assist her in learning the roles and abilities which it required. In this way, the store's management recognized that specific attention must be given to the socialization of entrants into the work situation. This can be understood in light of the wide range of non-formal behavior which this type of work required. In addition to learning the various skills such as writing up sales and wrapping merchandise, a new girl had to acquire modifications in her attitudes and behavior in order to fulfill her roles.

New girls were the first to be blamed whenever a mistake was made, often when there was no reason for making such an assumption. She was notified of her subordinate position in several ways. Her Sponsor informed her of her status. The older workers frequently acted unfriendly toward her. She was isolated

from the informal interactions which were carried on. The various groups did not go out of their way to assimilate a new girl. As a result of this and of the high degree of embarassment resulting from mistakes, new girls tended to be nervous and fearful. The fact that their mistakes were not so important as in other kinds of work made it possible for the Sponsor to allow the new girls to work on their own. In fact, they seemed purposely to avoid them after they had been on the job for a few weeks. Although the Sponsor was supposed to be the main agent of socialization, this function was performed more by the interactions with the customers. There was a low amount of assistance given by the regular workers.

Several patterns emerged from the behavior of the salesgirls. These patterns were reflected in commonly-held norms. The workers believed that one should stay at her square, should sell her merchandise, and should not sell more than $100. Deviation from these norms was punished by various physical means such as by hitting her with a drawer. More common, however, were less violent sanctions such as ostracism (as in the case of the "grabbers"). It appeared that status was ascribed through the recognition of seniority and adherence to the group's norms. Accordingly, the women who worked in the Infant's Square were highly respected while the "grabbers" who were older but deviant were ostracized. One of the Sports Square workers who was older and conformed to the norms of the group especially well, was well liked and accorded high status.

Lombard makes the observation that the dominant values which each of the girls held was correlated to the support of her particular self-image. More accurately, he notes that these values pertained to what the girls wished to believe about themselves. He also noted that there was little mobility in the organization and that a salesgirl's ideal self was changeable with time. What happens when the structure of rewards and required behavior no longer reinforces it?

One last aspect of the work situation needs attention. The salesgirls had to interact with customers as a part of their jobs. Tact, patience, courtesy, knowledge and aggressiveness were all necessary for the adequate satisfaction of the demands of the job. Experience and age were highly valued. The older ladies had much of both. But they were less able to deal with many situations which selling required. This was especially true when they were forced to leave their own area. Contact with customers required adaptability which they were unable to give. At the same time, their experience made them highly competent to deal with the type of customers which they met in the Infant's Area (they had a common interest in babies). Customers in this area came to be helped. This reinforced the ideal-self image which was common among these ladies. However, in the Sports Square, customers often knew what they wanted. Service here was of the less rewarding sort, mainly seeking the particular merchandise desired in the storage areas.

To the extent that girls experienced conflicts between the behavior of customers toward them and their self-image, they came to accept certain generalizations about the customers. These generalizations were based upon their own values. However, it must be remembered that the customers were not aware of the values which the salesgirls held but acted on a set of their own. For this reason rejection of merchandise was felt to be rejection of the salesgirl. Furthermore the failure to buy was seen as the customer's fault.

Conclusions. It can be assumed that the salesgirls did not have the knowledge necessary to perform the activities involved in the technological system before coming on the job (knowledge of products, how to write up sales checks properly, how to wrap packages, etc.). The first consequence of socialization in this work situation was, then, that the girls learned certain knowledge and skills. Certain aspects of the formal system were circumvented by the non-formal system. The company did not believe that it would be necessary for them to help one another and so when this occurred the patterns of behavior, founded on values and norms set by the group, differed from what the company desired. Similarly, in the widely held belief that $100 worth of sales in a day was enough, the workers acted on a system of values which was the result of experience in the work situation, unanticipated by management. The belief that a salesgirl should not show too much ambition was in direct opposition to the estimations of management. The most obvious aspect of the informal system was

that it existed at all. Although it was not made a major goal of management, the salesgirls were discouraged from activities which might be called informal while on the job, this in a work situation which supplied frequent opportunities for it.

The most cohesive group within the larger departmental body was the Sports Square group. The least cohesive group (it is debatable whether the word applies to them) was that working at the Dress Squares. Among these groups were the "grabbers." The first was characterized by Lombard as friendly. The second was marked by animosity among several of its members. It is significant that Sports Square group was comprised by the youngest and least experienced girls while the Infant's Square was comprised by the oldest. But feelings of satisfaction with the job were strongest in these two areas. In addition, the type of customers served at the Infant's Square were usually friendly while those as the Sports Square were least likely to exhibit friendly behavior.

So in spite of significant differences between them with respect to the composition of their members and with respect to the nature of their interaction with customers, similarities were observed. The degree of consensus with respect to values and adherence to norms was high in both. It was in these two groups that self-images were most completely reinforced by experience. It was also in these two groups that the most positive sentiments were held with respect to the job, the company and the group.

From this the tenative conclusions can be drawn that
adjustments made to satisfy demands posed by the work situation
(the work groups and the organization as well as those arising
out of the technological system) will be adequate if they are in
agreement with the self concept of the individual or if the dis-
agreement between that concept and the adjustments brings about
a change in the self concept. However, if the self concept is
adhered to, an adequate fit will not be erected with unfavorable
results as far as that individual is concerned.

B. The Railroad[3]

This study was designed as a description of life as a railroader. Its nature was more that of an anthropological than a sociological study. It concentrated most upon the sub-culture which has developed among railroad people. For this reason all of it is not of use here. Rather than dealing with all railroaders, the discussion will be confined mainly to the role of the engineer and his place in the world of railroads.

The mere fact that a man words for a railroad does not gain him entrance into the ranks of railroaders. For instance, white collar workers are regarded with disdain by the real railroad men. Office executives and clerks fall into this outcast aggregate. Within the group there are functional divisions of some significance. There are operational, mechanical, maintenance and right of way workers, all of whom are railroaders. There are seniority defferences among them. Seniority is considered to be the prime determinant of status within any one division or job but is superseded by status ascribed according to job. Seniority loses its validity outside of the geographical area where it was learned.

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[3]All information through the conclusions was obtained from W. Frederick Cottrell, The Railroader (Stanford: The Stanford U. Press, 1940 The study pertained to the years leading up to the introduction of diesel locomotion. For this reason the information may not still be accurate but this is immaterial for the purpose of this study.

The Operating Department is the most isolated and independent of the divisions. It is a monopoly built on technology. Within it, the only mobility is vertical and it is based almost entirely upon seniority. Because of this, because of the highly specialized work situation and because of the long periods of training involved, uniformities tend to emerge. In the operating department, indeed, on the whole road, the engineer is the most highly respected and paid worker.

How does one become an engineer? There are certain pre-requisites. A prospective engineer must be young, physically fit (especially with respect to sight and hearing), and literate. He first becomes a student fireman. In six months he learns enough to handle a locomotive but under normal circumstances it takes about ten more years before he can become an engineer. The reason for this is that limitations are placed upon entrance by the engineer's union. A list of available engineers is kept (called the "board") and is matched against the demand which the management displays. This list is ordered according to seniority. As demand grows, or the older men retire or die, new engineers are accepted from the ranks of the firemen, also according to seniority. Now it becomes obvious why one of the prime requirements of prospective firemen is youth. The strict adherence to seniority in considering a worker for advancement has a detrimental effect upon the educational standards of the group because consideration is not given to differential levels of learning or ability.

The attractions of the job include long-run advancement and security but this entails the sacrifice of short-run ambition. Income is high but family life is poor. There is a high amount of prestige and feeling of pride in craftsmanship but a high amount of discomfort and danger.

There is a conflict between the position of the engineer and that of the conductor. The latter is the official superior of the former. However, his prestige is not nearly so high. The conductor is responsible for the entire train but it is the engineer who controls it. It is he who has the responsibility for the physical well-being of the equipment, crew, and passengers or freight. It is he who makes the crucial decisions. While on the job, he has no superior. On the contrary, the conductor is more of an overseer. He has many superiors with whom he interacts daily. He may have more education but often has less experience. Lastly, and most importantly, the engineer is the head of the railroad community. He is the elite of the laborers. The conductor is lowest of the managers.

The knowledge required of conductors, is broad but of only slight complexity. The training period for conductors is spent as brakemen. As with the firemen, it often takes ten years to arrive at the goal of being a conductor.

In general, stratification in the status structure is based upon the technological essentiality of the job and upon the amount of power through monopoly which can be asserted. Consequently, the one real danger to any individual's status is technological

change. It affects both the status of his job and his rating within the craft. This is true because the value of seniority holds only as long as the job remains the same.

Cottrell notes that there are similarities which emerge on the roads among the members of each type of job. This is not the result of selection at the time of hiring. It is relatively easy to begin the long climb. However, selection does take a heavy toll as the years mount up. The sacrifices mentioned before tend to contribute an urgency to socialization. It is virtually impossible to continue if a satisfactory fit cannot be erected (such was not the case with salesgirls).

The geographical mobility of the railroader (especially the engineer) makes for loose family ties and a loose sexual morality. Living conditions are typically poor. The contributions made to community life are likely to be slight because "what involves careful, long-time planning, continuous personal interest, enthusiastic participation, or painstaking administration will be noticeable by its absence."[4] Participation in local society is usually of a transitory nature, contributions being mostly pecuniary in nature.

The society in which most railroaders live is characterized by Cottrell as urban. In small towns the railroader is mobile. His family has rights of free railroad usage. There is little personal involvement with the community as mentioned above. Further, the railroader is dominated by a _time consciousness_.

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[4] Cottrell, _op. cit._, p. 48.

Railroads literally race against time. The most important piece
of equipment carried by every railroader is a highly accurate watch.
It is checked for accuracy by the company regularly. For these
reasons, the railroad man is not able to form many primary relations.
At work, his job is often solitary. He spends much of his time
in strange places working with a constantly changing crew. Even
his off duty hours are spent largely in the company of only casual
acquaintances. For this reason his family may be very important
to him. It tends to be large and marked by its involvement with
railroading, The irregularity of casual relationships is irritating
and so the time tends to discourage them.

One of the most striking aspects of railroad life is the
use of argot. It amounts to an almost separate language. The
degree to which a man has become assimilated by the group is indicated by his
ability to use it. It adds to the feeling of distinction which
marks this kind of work.

Conclusions. The fact that railroading encourages the for-
mation of separate communities within the towns or cities where
the railroader and his family lives is significant. Socialization
under these circumstances results in a more distinct set of ad-
justments. The fit which is erected consists of many facets.
It is of great significance both on and off the job. An engineer
is an engineer at home no less than on the job. The fact that
he can be called on short notice for a job which may carry him
hundreds of miles away for a day or more underlies home life.
The use of argot extends to the home. Time consciousness is a
way of life not to be left at work.

Socialization extends over a life-time. It is accomplished first in the home. Most railroaders are the sons of railroaders. Many engineers begin their training in their teens. Much of their growing up is done amidst the dust, noise, and violence of a life which is both exciting and compelling. There is little room in a railroad for a man who cannot adjust. Indifference to or rebellion against the many social demands is rare. Socialization in this situation is very much an all or nothing affair.

Perhaps most significant, a railroader is a railroader at all times and in all places. For this reason a lack of congruence between his self image and the demands of the job is highly unlikely. The long period of time during which he seeks admission to that group and the rigors of assimilation by it do not admit of any partial successes. The investment entailed in time and effort makes the adjustments relatively permanent. Although Cottrell does not discuss it, and there is no empirical evidence to confirm it, it seems likely that a railroader remains a railroader for life. Perhaps this is why Cottrell himself seems to take so much pride in his attachment to it.

C. The Machine Shop[5]

The study took place in a department of a factory. There were fourteen workers and a foreman. Work was assigned in lots by the foreman. There was no interaction between workers required by the technological system. However, the formal system did allow for movement within the shop as each worker was able to leave his machine in order to get tools. The spatial arrangement of the shop was such that the two types of worker, machinists and operators, were at opposite ends of the room.

Zaleznik outlines several determinants of status. They are pay, age, ethnicity, education and length of service with the organization. There was a spread of $1.10 per hour between the most highly and lowest paid workers. In each of the other areas of status mentioned above there was a corresponding spread. There was, then, a high degree of status diversity. There was also a great deal of status inconsistency, individuals ranking high in some areas and low in others. On the job, symbols of status included the kind of tool box which a worker possessed and the type of clothes he wore. If his tool box was old and well filled it indicated that he was probably an experienced and skillful machinist. If it was new and only partially filled, he was likely to be less expert. Work clothing was rented by the week. There were

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[5]All information was obtained from A. Zaleznik, Worker Satisfaction and Development (Boston: Harvard University, 1956). The conclusions are made in the general discussion.

no rules governing what was worn but custom assigned overcoats
to the machinists and aprons to the operators.

As a result of the lack of interaction required by the job,
the activities in the non-formal behavior system were relatively
few. It is important that they were accounted for in the formal
system as part of the foreman's job but were carried out non-
formally instead. Situations often arose where a worker found
that he needed tools from someone else. This rarely occurred
between machinists as it was part of the job to acquire needed
tools on their own. Borrowing was a self-limiting, activity.
If a worker borrowed too often it placed a strain upon the system.
In doing so he made a nuisance of himself and demonstrated his
inadequacy to perform his functions on his own. Operators often
found themselves unable to do a job for technical reasons. In
such cases they would ask for help from one of the machinists.
Again, this was rarely done among the machinists themselves
because in doing so, one professional would be demonstrating his
lack of skill to another. Both of these activities were most
often carried on with one of the machinists, Ron, who was considered
by Zaleznik as the informal leader.

Activities in the informal system were almost entirely
limited to lunch and coffee breaks. At these times the workers
usually spread out around the shop. There were two concentrations:
the card-playing and conversation subgroups. In addition, there
was the foreman, an isolate, and a worker who regularly played
chess with a worker in another area.

The card-playing subgroup consisted of eight workers. Two of them were on-lookers who never participated in play. The game was a form of whist played with two teams of two each. Participation among the six players was constantly shifting. The two who were not playing went out for coffee in order to save time. It is significant that the two on-lookers gained no recognition for their contributions (such as when they got the coffee or brought in other essentials). They were merely tolerated. On the contrary, when one of the players provided something for the group, he was given recongition for his efforts. This group was completely spontaneous in nature. There was no leader. There was a minimum of competition among the players. Skill was valued above victory. There was little differentiation among them. The shifting partnerships offered little opportunity for dominance to develop through winning. In fact, after the observers asked the group for a record of wins and losses, the group did keep such a score for a time but gave it up. The observers felt fairly sure that proof of long-term ability served as a divisive influence and was discontinued for that reason and not the excuse given by the players.

The conversation subgroup most often discussed politics. There were two regular members and two whose limited participation placed them on the periphery. One of these, Vito, might have contributed except that he had only been in the United States for five years and was not knowledgeable enough. Vito was also one of the workers who sought help most frequently. The group was

a stable one and appeared ready to accept them if the two peripheral workers wished to take a more active part in it.

The most important line dividing the work group was the operator-machinist dichotomy. This was significant in the membership of the informal groups. Seven of the eight card players were operators. All of the conversationalists were machinists. The chess player and the isolate were machinists. So the division brought about by the technological system, reinforced by the nonformal system and by the status structure was reflected in the informal system as well. The machinists were professionals and felt that the significant aspects of work were to be found in the individual's performance in the technological system. The one card-playing machinist was one of the lowest paid and inexperienced. The isolate, Axel, was the highest paid and most experienced. He was the only one who had a special title (Instrument Maker-machinist). Interaction in the conversation subgroup was casual. Activities did not carry over into life outside of the work situation as they did in the card-playing subgroup.

The machinists, especially the isolate, felt themselves to be a part of a larger group, that of their profession.. They viewed life in the work situation through the eyes of a man socialized by _previous_ experience. As a result, the technological behavior system was the most important determinant of their self-image. Skill at their job was, therefore, far more important to most of them then social success. Socialization for them was carried on through the erection of a fit between the requirements of the

formal and technological systems and not the informal system.
Zaleznik makes the point that this non-involvement in social
activities was beneficial to their performance at work because
it prevented them from being distracted by social considerations.
The fact that they were not exposed to demands from the work
group, except in giving help and lending tools, made their reluctance
to participate feasible for them (they were not subjected to
sanctions imposed by the groups for deviance) and prevented their
disruption of the group.

When the study began, there was an operator who was described
as a deviant. This man, Len, saw everything in terms of a conflict
between managers and workers. Investigation showed that he had
no family and few friends outside of the work group. At forty
years of age he had not achieved an adequate fit with society
in general or the work situation (any work situation) in particular.
He had a past history of frequent changes of job. An intelligent
man, Len had been the city chess champion. Zaleznik's observation
indicated that he was unable to participate in social activities.
His inability to interact led to a frustration which was expressed
in two ways. He would communicate by playing chess and promoting
interest in it among the workers. He also felt compelled to
"publish" his beliefs about what was wrong with the way the
management was running the shop. He expressed his feelings
to the observer when he said that he was just a maverick and felt
that he had to make his ideas known. He did this by posting
notices first on the shop bulletin board and then on one which he

put up next to his machine. Naturally this brought about a con-
flict with the foreman which eventually led to Len's dismissal.
Len felt that the people with whom he worked were either for or
against him. In fact, they expressed their inability to understand
him. The one exception to this was Ron, the informal leader, who
made an attempt to help him. He was not successful in helping
him to adjust. Like all men, Len needed to interact with others,
but he could not make the adjustments necessary to do it, at
least in this work group. Unlike the machinists, who found self
expression possibilities in their work and who made up for the
lack of interaction on the job at home, Len attemtped to force
himself upon the group, this required that it adjust to him rather
than he to it. The group does adjust to the needs of its members,
it is, after all, comprised by them, but there are limits upon
this. Consequently, Len was expelled from it. In fact, he
was expecting to be fired. He realized that his position was
untenable but he kept on. He had come to accept rejection. Len
was unable to adjust to group life but had adjusted to rejection.
In this case socialization was a consequence not of acceptance
by the group but of alienation and expulsion.

Another important individual was Axel, an _isolate_. He
occupied the highest position within the status structure as applied
to formal and technological systems. As mentioned above, he was
paid the most and had received official recognition of his skills
in a distinct title. He was jealous of his position and often

spoke disparagingly of machinists in general. He considered himself a craftsman in a profession corrupted by mediocrity. He was born and trained abroad and spoke with a heavy accent. He was not inclined toward interaction and this appeared to be a part of his personality. This tendency was reinforced by the physical characteristics of the shop. The job itself did not require interaction. His place was at the end of the bench where interaction was not as likely to arise. By refraining from interaction, his status was dependent on his reputation as a craftsman and not on his ability to participate in group activities. This included non-formal activities. He was rarely approached for help or for tools. He did not participate in any of the informal subgroups.

Axel's effect on the group was minimal. His presence niether helped nor hindered interaction. He did not try to make anyone else look bad. The group had come to accept his behavior. For these reasons he was not disruptive. He had adjusted to the presence of the group and it had adjusted to the presence of a non-participant. It is doubtful that much socialization had occurred. The group had merely reinforced the traits which already existed.

The infomal leader, Ron, occupied a position of inherent frustration. It was obvious that his activities were important to the functioning of the shop. But his position was an informal one, unrecognized by management. It was insecure because a new worker could join the group at any time and take his position

away from him. He was a Negro and had some college education. The fact that he did not graduate made him feel like a second-rater. His position as the second leader in the shop (after the foreman) aggravated this feeling. It is important that, in actuality his activities were mostly confined to the non-formal behavior system and not the informal system (here Dubin's terminology can lead to confusion). Ron stayed clear of the various informal groups, spending his break time in the store room playing chess. He had both the technical skill required to teach and help ~~but~~ and the social skill as well. He had an intuitive ability to understand social phenomena and was willing to assume responsibility for the task of leadership.

As a result of his family life in childhood (his parents were both well educated) and his education, Ron held values which made his position a rewarding one. But the insecurity which characterized it prevented him from achieving complete satisfaction of his need to live up to the ideal image which he had of his self. That he was in this position was partially the fault of the formal leader who was unable to fulfill the aspect of his role which required him to be the informal (or non-formal) leader as well as the formal leader. As a machinist Ron might have satisfied his needs through pride in his craft as did Axel.

His ambiguous situation was the result of failings in the organization of the work situation. Had the foreman provided the leadership that was assumed by the organization all would have

been well. Had the organization recognized officially the role which Ron was fulfilling all would also have been well. But the situation as it actually was placed him in a position where he was unable to make a satisfactory adjustment to the demands placed upon him. That he was able to maintain his position shows that he had made an adjustment sufficiently adequate to prevent disruption of the group. But periods of despondency were observed, showing that his fit was far from what might have been desired.

The formal leader, named Clyde, was also in a position where the fit which had been erected over a lifetime was less than perfectly adequate. He had little interaction with the workers apart from the formal behavior system. He had been exposed to a change in the composition of his superiors. He had to interact with engineers now instead of fellow managers. This, along with his lack of education resulted in a tendency to view others as either "theoretical" or "practical." He had gone through an apprenticeship which entailed gradual advancement to journeyman status. The discipline to which he had been exposed and the military-like differentiation between bosses and workers which characterized his earlier experience had brought about the erection of a fit fully adequate to deal with that type of situation. But the change in the composition of the management had brought with it a new orientation toward workers. The role of the foreman was no longer strictly formal. Foremen were expected to interact with the workers on a much more intimate basis. Clyde was unable

to make this change in attitude and behavior. While his position in the power structure was, if anything, enhanced, his position in the authority and status structures was made more similar to that of the workers. Labor unions and management review made his position less autonomous but he had new non-formal and informal responsibilities.

D. The Restaurant[6]

The study had limited objectives. It was not designed to examine the totality of social relations which occur in restaurants. Rather, it was directed toward the analysis of the activities which the <u>waitress</u> is called upon to participate in and toward arriving at some understanding of the effects which these activities have upon her. Special attention was given to the circumstances surrounding her loss of control in situations of extreme tension. In such cases waitresses were subject to crying spells.

The work situation of waitresses is rather a special one because it is involved in interactions with both customers and producers. One of the ways in which interaction with customers is carried out is in tipping. Through tipping the waitress receives the customer's response to her activities. It is significant that waitresses frequently view the tip left, or the absense of one, as a reflection upon themselves. As roles were enforced in the clothing department by calling deviants "grabbers," as they were enforced in the machine shop by the formal leader, they were enforced in the restaurants by loss of the reward which supplied

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[6]All information through the conclusions was obtained from William Foote Whyte, <u>Industry and Society</u> (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946), pp. 123-147.

much of the incentive for work. Further, its loss was a social sanction, reflecting upon the worker's ability to fulfill her role.

This is indicative of an aspect of the work situation in restaurants of considerable significance. The situation is a changing one. The waitress can adjust her behavior and achieve a high degree of competence and still not be able to satisfy all of the demands placed upon her. Just when she thinks that she has everything under control, some new element is introduced which plunges her back into a morass of problems. When this occurs, and when her performance is not satisfactory, she is notified of it immediately. When her difficulties are the fault of others in the organization, as is frequently the case, it is she who suffers.

The frequency of crying spells was correlated to the amount of expereince of the waitress. If a waitress cannot stand up under the pressure and breaks down too often, she usually leaves the restaurant to seek employment elsewhere. The more experienced workers have learned the skills and attitudes necessary to meet a broader range of demands. Both of these are related to socialization. The failure to produce an adequate fit results in an intolerable situation, one in which social pressures result in expulsion. The more experienced waitress often has another edge on the less experienced one. In many restaurants, the experienced workers are located in close proximity to one another. By virtue

of their greater organization, they are able to help one another
out. The inexperienced workers, on the other hand, are often so
rushed that they cannot assist one another. The experienced girls
have adjusted to the relations which are carried on with the
production personnel. They know the mores and folkways involved
and can get better service out of them. An experienced waitress
is more likely to have regular customers on whom she can depend
for a certain amount of predictability. This can make a great
deal of difference when the pressure is on.

Waitresses with a lot of experience are more likely to
know their role in authroity relations. They are more likely to
be able to interact with their customers and fellow workers in
ways which will not make them subject to rebuke by their super-
visors.

This may be a significant variable but often experienced
waitresses break down when inexperienced ones do not. It can be
traced to the fact that this kind of work favors women with a
more aggressive personality. Skilled waitresses know how to
approach customers in order to get things started properly.
If they appear sure of themselves, they often can begin service
in such a way as to set the tone of the relationship at the start.
Furthermore, a skilled waitress can maintain a satisfactory
relationship with customers by maintaining her confidence. The
waitress is met by many demands by the work organization but the
demands of customers can be beyond the possibility of satisfaction.

Customers are not as easily confined by the rules of the work organization. There is, then, an element which cannot be successfully planned for.

It was found that girls with some leadership experience, who had become accustomed to siezing the initiative, were better suited for this type of work. Through the comparison of girls with similar backgrounds and experience, it was discovered that seemingly insignificant patterns in the experiences of each one had a strong influence on the ability to exercise initiative and, therefore, to meet the demands of the job successfully. Among the elements which were found to have an effect was the size of the family from which a worker came. The girl from a large family was more likely to be used to making her own adjustments to social relationships.

Social mobility in the restaurant is also of significance. When a girl comes to work in a restaurant from rural areas or from a lower class urban family, she must make adjustments which bring her more in line with middle class manners and customs. But the girl who comes from a middle class background often finds herself in a situation which makes demands which she finds quite difficult to satisfy. She feels that she is being ordered about by people who are her equals if not her inferiors. Often girls of this type find it difficult to form satisfying relationships with their fellow workers. This is a serious matter in a work situation which requires the close coordination of many

different people not to speak of the difficulties encountered when helping one another is not common. More importantly, the support which is received from membership in a non-formal or informal group on the job is almost a necessity for withstanding the pressures exerted by the situation.

Conclusions. The most successful waitresses begin to construct a fit long before they begin work. The patterns of thought and behavior which a girl brings with her to the restaurant are significant. It appears that the presence or absense of certain personality traits, developed through social relationships in childhood, are important especially in times of stress. On the job, socialization was carried out through the interaction with other workers, with the supervisor(s), and with the customers. In general, these three agents are in agreement on what the waitress is supposed to do. However, this is not necessarily the case. The fact that the amount of pressure exerted on the waitresses is variable, according to the time of day, day of the week, etc., necessitates a certain flexibility. This flexibility comes with experience. Although there were significant exceptions mentioned, the amount of experience does emerge as the most significant variable with respect to performance. It appears that the ability to adjust to a changing work situation is required but so, too, is the ability to adjust to the necessity of adjusting. It appears that the ability to make adjustments in behavior easily is a skill in itself which is partially a matter of talent and partially the consequence of earlier socialization.

The waitress must be able to accept rough treatment from
customers in a world of intense pressure without allowing it to
impair her ability to function. She must, then, erect a fit
composed of many elements one of which is the ability to withstand
pressures from her social environment without allowing them to
damage her self-confidence. Competence, then, in this work
situation is dependent to a large extent upon the degree to which
the waitress has erected this type of fit. In a situation requiring
the high frequency of interaction that this one does, it appears
that the adequacy of the fit is of paramount importance. Without
it, a great deal of unpleasantness results. Often this can amount
to the inability to continue existing within the situation. Just
as the railroader must achieve an adequate fit or withdraw, so,
too, must the waitress.

III. Summary and Comparison

In the first part of this study, socialization was developed as a concept which could be of value in understanding the relationship between the worker and the work situation. In the second part, four work studies were reviewed. The problem which remains is an evaluation of the points made in Part I in the light of the facts revealed in Part II.

1. Social groups in work situations pose <u>demands</u> upon the individual which must be satisfied. In modifying his abilities in order to satisfy these demands, the individual constructs a more or less adequate <u>fit</u>.

a) The Department Store. The store itself demanded certain skills (technological system). The department was divided into subgroups (formal system - the squares) which required patterns of behavior emphasizing reinforcement of the self images among the workers. Throughout the department, limitations were placed upon the aggressiveness which a worker should display in selling (non-formal system). This conflicted in a few cases with the desire held by most of the girls to reinforce their self images. This resulted in deviance (the failure to erect an adequate fit). Although the deviants (the "grabbers") were ostracized from the work groups and chastised for their deviance, they continued in the work situation. Not all demands, then, <u>had</u> to be satisfied.

b) The Railroad. Workers here were required to learn many skills (technological system). They had to internalize sets of

attitudes which were essential to the job such as the extreme consciousness of time (formal system). Demands were posed which amounted to making the engineer supreme on the tracks with an accordingly high amount of responsibility, this,,in spite of the fact that the conductor represented management and was the titular formal leader. Because of the extremely long period of training required, because of the skills involved, and because of the extension of the demands beyond the limits of the job itself, a high degree of conformity was required. Deviance could not be tolerated.

c) The Factory. Technical demands imposed in this situation varied in degree of difficulty. More was required of the machinists in this system (technological system) that of the operators. This was also true in other activities which were part of the non-formal system. Lending and helping was always the function of the machinist and never of the operator. But demands imposed in the informal system did not affect the machinists who exhibited a lower frequency of informal interaction. The most important informal group, the card-playing subgroup, did make demands of its members which resulted in a different sort of fit than that which was the case among the machinists (although one machinist was a member of that subgroup). In this case too, there were some demands which were not necessarily satisfied.

d) The Restaurant. Demands which the waitress had to satisfy included skill at taking orders and getting the food on the table correctly (technological and formal systems). It also

included the formation of cooperative associations for easing heavy work loads and imbalances. But the fluctuation of work pressures was so great and uncontrollable that the job required that the waitress develop certain personality adjustments which would enable her to withstand them. If the fit was not adequate in this respect, the waitress often found herself unable to continue on the floor and had to leave it. It even caused some to quit altogether.

2. In childhood, socialization takes place in primary groups. As the individual grows older, the number of primary associations which he maintains decreases. More and more of his time is spent in special purpose groups of limited intimacy. Adaptation is related to the purpose of the group (work, recreation, etc.). Thus, in the work situation, the things transmitted, the group from which they come, and the reason for membership become explicit.

a) The Deaprtment Store. Although there was a difference among the salesgirls, each one had a distinct opinion of why she was there. The type of fit created, or lack of it, was related to the tendency of the work situation to reinforce the ideal image with which she compared the implications of experience. The desire of each member for reinforcement by the group influenced what it demanded of her. To the extent that socialization was successfully carried out, these desires were satisfied. The degree to which relations among the salesgirls could be classified as "primary"

differed among the subgroups. Relations among the members of the Sports girls very nearly reached this point. In the Infants' Square, relations were cordial but pragmatic. Interaction generally was of a non-formal rather than an informal nature. It is interesting that the women in the Infants' Square were the oldest and those in the Sports Square were the youngest.

b) The Railroad. Life in this situation was marked by mobility. The changeability of the constitution of a particular crew was such that it is doubtful that relations could have been of a primary nature. However, Cottrell did not discuss this in detail and judgment will have to be reserved.

c) The Factory. With some workers (Axel and Clyde, for instance) their presence in the work situation was for definite purposes. For others (Ron), the rewards which were to be gained from that presence were not so clear. In the first case, the sources of the demands to which adjustment was made were similarly clear. In the second case, they were many and marked by incompleteness. Where Ron was the leader in non-formal activities, exhibiting considerable facility for dealing with others, he regularly left the area during the times when informal relations were being carried on. Here, as in the department store, the relations which the older workers participated in were much more purposefully oriented. The machinists were generally older than the operators and much less likely to carry on primary-type relations in the informal system. (The conversation subgroup was non-primary, its members almost exclusively discussing a single subject with two of the four participating rarely.)

d) The Restaurant. The nature of the job was not such that it was usually taken up for reasons other that explicit ones. Waitresses do not generally work in order to fill their time or to satisfy personal desires for self-actualization (~~not~~ unless they are masochists). Although some of the associations formed in the non-formal and informal systems were of a primary nature, this was neither necessary nor the rule. Expediency was sufficient to bring about the formation of such associations. The job was simply more bearable if this were done. The skills and tricks which were transmitted as a result of membership in groups of this type were explicitly functional. Other factors, such as middle class values for rural girls, were as much the result of interaction with middle and upper class customers as of the work associations. The adjustments which the job necessitated for competence in certain extreme situations were a function of <u>customer</u> relations. Furthermore, one of the most important adjustments which were made was one of personal non-involvement. By making this adjustemnt, waitresses became able to deal with customers on a functional and relatively impersonal level. There was not, however, any observed correlation between age and the ability to make it. It appeared, rather, that the girls who could do it, received that ability from sources other than the works situation (previous socialization).

3. Many of the demands made upon the individual by the work situation were the result of its <u>organizational nature</u>. Some of them are <u>dysfunctional</u>. When an individual becomes a member

of an organization, he first <u>learns</u> and then <u>internalizes</u> facets
of it. He comes to think of the "rightness" and "wrongness"
of acts in terms of the fit which was produced by regular contact
with it. This may lead to the above dysfunctional elements, but
need not.

a) The Department Store. When workers in this study dis-
played the highest degree of competence at their jobs, they con-
formed to the officially designated patterns of behavior. The
"grabbers" were disliked by the rest of the workers but they
fit officially defined roles most precisely. Consequently, they
were put in positions which enabled them to sell the most expensive
merchandise, that which required the most competence. The least
competent salesgirls were the new girls. They spent most of their
time at the Boys' Square. This was the area where the least
competence was required. The "grabbers" thought of themselves
as superior to the others. The fact that their competence was
recognized by the organization in its formal system reinforced
this belief. The best area in which to work was believed by most
of the girls to be the Infants' Square. This was because there
was less pressure there. But from the position of management,
the expensive dress square was the best place because it was the
most lucrative. It is interesting, however, that the workers who
were most favorable in their feelings toward the store were the
Infants' Square ladies. Following them were the Sports Square
workers and at the bottom were the "grabbers." The Infants'

Square workers drew most of their rewards from dealing with customers. The Sports girls derived theirs from each other. The "grabbers" drew theirs almost exclusively from their achievements on the job (that is, from their high rates of sales). "Rightness" and "wrongness" were seen more in terms of living up to the values held by the subgroup than conforming to the behavior expected by the organization in its formal system. It appears that the informal system was the more importatn segment of the organization so far as dictating was concerned. Since it was frequently at odds with the formal system (as in the informal activity of the Sports girls), socialization was in some ways dysfunctional from the point of view of maintaining the organization (although not from that of maintaining the informal groups). The hierarchical form of the authority structure of the organization made little difference because day to day direction from above was minimal.

      b) The Railroad. The organization of the railroads was one with a long history and a widespread application. It had become a part of the railroad subculture which had developed. The formal system demanded seniority as a prerequisite for ascension to the ranks of the engineers. Although the influence of the organization was pervasive both on and off the job, workers were not confined by it. They were able to achieve psychological success by pride in their craft and the knowledge that their position provided for much responsibility. But to a considerable degree the workers were loyal to the railroad. Since seniority was tied to the road (it was not generally transferable) and since most of

the workers spent their whole lives working for that one road, there was much identification with it. The size of the railroad, the readily observable contribution which they made to it, the relatively low degree of interaction which they had with top management, and the existence of a highly diverse set of customs and attitudes all made the railroad an entity encompassing far more than a job or even a complex of jobs. It was a way of life and belonged as much to them as to the stockholders. As such, a feeling of competence stemming from areas not directly related to the organizational structure (where authority was to be found), and the psychological success which it engendered, existed independently of the organization. There was a low amount of dysfunctionality which resulted from socialization. This may no longer be the case as technology has made the presence of the firemen unnecessary and the workers have clung to the job for both economic reasons and reasons stemming from beliefs in the propriety of having the extra man aboard.

c) The Factory. Dysfunctions arising from the organizational nature of the work situation included the rigidity which the formal leader (Clyde, the foreman) displayed; the deviance of the worker (Len) who resented the control of management which he saw as preventing him from demonstrating his abilities as an innovator; and in the isolation of Axel who felt confined by the lack of challenge and by the dependency of his position in the status structure upon work performance and who consequently did not

participate in the non-formal system (he did not lend or give help often). The formal system required the workers to interact with the formal leader but not with each other. His control, however, was not often exercised. Lack of psychological success seemed to come more from the nature of the technological system than from the existence of the organization itself as evidenced in the formal system.

d) The Restaurant. In this situation organization was of great significance. The technical requirements of the job were less important than the formal designation of how they were to be satisfied. The lines of interaction all converged on the waitress. She interacted with customers, with management and with the kitchen and pantry help. She had to deal with producers and customers (unlike the salesgirls). As a result of this and of the efficiency which was necessitated by the pressures of rush situations, her activities were well defined by the formal system. She had to adjust to meet these demands. But there were many tricks involved in getting the job done (non-formal system). There was little evidence to indicate that there was a common association of "good" and "bad" with particular patterns of behavior. But even among girls who did not frequently break down, there was no indication of a feeling of psychological success. Perhaps this is because one of the primary requisites of doing well was in erecting a set of attitudes which insulated the self from the pressures of the situation. If the self is not involved (or if its involvement is minimized) there is little room for this.

The studies seem to indicate that Argyris's scheme entailing the need for psychological success, applies in some situations more than in others. It does not appear that this variation is correlated with the degree of presence of the organization in the work situation. This is not to say that Argyris was in error but only that the studies as reviewed here do not support him fully.

4. Socialization is stimulated through interaction. In the work situation, interaction takes several forms. Relations among workers are colored by elements of power, authroity, and status. They are carried on within four systems of behavior: technological, formal, non-formal, and informal. All of these are found to varying degrees in the work situation. The extent to which some are dominant and others are not, influences the pervasiveness and essentiality of socialization.

a) The Department Store. Socialization was carried on here through interaction with the Sponsor and with customers. As long as a girl was kept in the Boys' Square and not stationed within one of the regular groups, she was not accepted by them. Her interaction with members of those groups was slight. The fact that deviants existed and were able to remain in the situation in spite of the unpleasant responses to their deviant behavior suggests that socialization which took place informally was not essential to the organization taken as a whole. It is doubtful that a "grabber" could have remained within the Sports Square for long. The Dress Squares, where they worked, were occupied by

salesgirls who exhibited the least cohesion and did not appear to constitute much of a group. It is, however, difficult to tell just how many of the similarities in behavior and values within the subgroups were a function of socialization and how many were the result of similarities in age and length of service.

b) The Railroad. Socialization in this situation was a process which was carried out over a number of years. It resulted in a number of adjustments which amounted to a distinct personality which made a railroader a "breed of animal" easily recognizable off the job as well as on. This contrasts sharply with the salesgirls who were not apparently much different off the job after working for the store for years. Socialization on the railroads, then, was extremely pervasive. Successful adjustment was necessary. The demands placed upon the individual by the technological and formal systems were of the utmost importance. A worker who could not or would not meet the demands set forth by these systems could not be employed (example: time consciousness). The consequences could easily have been disastrous. Individual performance was adequate. The customs and folkways which might once have been part of an informal system had been made a part of the formal system by the management and by the unions. A fireman spent years in preparation for becoming an engineer (if he ever became one). The acquisition of such skills as the use of argot were necessary to the performance of tasks. They were just as much a part of the formal system as they were of the informal system. In the

actual situation of work, there was no duplication of positions. There was only one engineer, fireman, etc. on a crew. The duties of each and their interactions were formally designated.

In the railroad work situation, then, socialization was carried on more formally than informally and was both essential and pervasive.

c) The Factory. There was a diversity of roles and of interaction. It was not revealed how a worker who had no skills at all was trained. Socialization within the group was accomplished non-formally, and informally. The operators learned new skills by asking for help from one of the machinists. Most often, the informal leader (Ron) would give this help and in so doing, would teach the operator. The formal leader was rarely asked for help although it was a part of his job to give it. This was because operators did not want to indicate to him that they were unable to do their jobs. Although this was essential for some of the workers, it was not necessary for all. Furthermore, non-formal socialization took many forms and was accomplished through interactions with different people; there was a choice made by both the worker who requested assistance and the worker who gave it. Socialization in the informal system revolved around the informal subgroups, especially the card-playing subgroup. Since many workers did not choose to have informal relations with other workers, and since the card-playing subgroup did not accept anyone, socialization can be said to be relatively unessential. The group was extremely

tolerant of deviance, accepting non-participation without responding with visible sanctions. There did not seem to be much pervasiveness in the socialization which was carried on. After hours, one worker probably appeared much the same as the next.

d) The Restaurant. In this situation, socialization was accomplished through the formal and non-formal systems. The job itself required adjustments in abilities and behavior. Each waitress developed her own style and little tricks which made the job easier for her. The pressures of the job tended to require the ability to insulate the presonality from the pressures of the group. The ability to do this was to a certain extent dependent upon inherent abilities and previous socialization. It was essential that a waitress be able to interact with customers without referring their behavior back to her slef image. Depending upon the nature of the restaurant she had to be able to do her job efficiently in order to satisfy both management and customers. It was essential, then, that the waitress adjust and achieve an adequate fit but just how demanding this was depended upon the restaurant in question. It is difficult to tell how pervasive these adjustments were. There was some indication, however, that the interaction with customers brought about a change in values. This was especially true in the case of rurally born and raised girls who became waitresses in restaurants serving a middle and upper class clientele. The socialization which took place was generally essential to the maintenance of the situation and to some extent pervasive.

A corollary to the conculsion drawn above (at 5) would be that the pervasiveness and essentiality which mark socialization in a given work situation are correlated with the systems of behavior in which it is carried on. If it is primarily a part of the technological and/or formal system(s), it is likely to be essential to the operation of the organization and to the individual's continuing existence within it. It is also more likely to be pervasive in scope. If it is primarily a part of the non-formal and/or informal system(s), it is likely to be less essential to the operation of the organization and less pervaisve. These generalizations are suggested by the studies but are certainly in need of further investigation for confirmation.

We have found that demands are posed by social groups in work situations and that in adjusting to these demands, the individual creates a more or less adequate "fit." When socialization occurs during an individual's adult years, it usually takes place in groups formed for special purposes which are characterized by a limited degree of intimacy. The form which socialization takes in these groups is influenced by these purposes. In the work situation, socialization is generally explicit in three ways:

    a. The things transmitted

    b. The groups from which they come

    c. The reason for membership in these groups

The demands to which individuals must adjust at least partially are the product of the organizational structure. Some of these

demands bring about dysfunctional adjustments. Socialization in the work situation is colored by elements of power, authority and status. These are evident in the four distinguishable systems of behavior: the technological, formal, non-formal and informal. The domination of the work situation by one or more of these systems to the relative exclusion of the others influences the pervasiveness and essentiality of socialization.

In these four statements a number of words and phrases are general. To the extent that sociology aims at exactitude, these general statements must be refined, sharpened, and made specific. For example, attention might be given in the future to the implications and precise meaning of "limited intimacy" and "elements of power."

In the Department store and in the Factory the oldest workers participated in interaction which was noticeably less intimate than the interaction carried on by the younger workers. This suggests that the intimacy of interaction (and socialization) might form a continuum. Associations may become increasingly non-primary through life. Of course, this is only suggested in the studies. It presents another area for future investigation. It appears that this study has presented problems which when compared with its particular subject are equally challenging. Perhaps this is the ultimate measure of success which can be claimed for any examination of social phenomena.

APPENDIX

MEDIATED SOCIALIZATION

At the heart of the definition of socialization given in Section A, lies the recognition of socialization as an acquisitive process. The individual selectively perceives, learns, and internalizes concepts and information from his social surroundings. In order for this to occur, some sort of interaction between him and the people who make up that environment is presupposed.

If interaction is seen as an activity which must be participated in for socialization to occur, it would be pertinent to enquire further into the nature of that activity in order to better understand the process. Since we have established that socialization is acquisitive, we may say that <u>insofar</u> <u>as</u> <u>socialization</u> <u>is</u> <u>concerned,</u> <u>interaction</u> <u>is</u> <u>one-directional</u>. That is, the lessons taught, examples presented, and demands posed all derive their sources externally to the individual.

Interaction can be carried on in many ways. It is common to think of it as proceeding in a direct fashion. However, this is inaccurate, for people can never communicate with one another directly. Some means must be used in order to form a link between them. We receive information through our senses. From this point of view all interaction, and, therefore, all socialization, is mediated by something.

There is another way in which interaction is mediated. There can be a span of time between perception and internalization. Reference is not being made here to learning. Although learning is necessary for internalization to occur, one learns as one makes perceptions. Repetition may be required but the essential element in learning is remembering. Once one has managed to recall an event or experience, he has learned it. But after he has learned, he may not internalize what he has learned for some period of time. Often, repetition and reinforcement from other group members are necessary.

Time mediates interaction (and, therefore, socialization) in another way as well. Another form of the process is thereby created and it is to this particular form that reference is made when the term Mediated Socialization is used in this paper. As mentioned above, perception and expression are separated by the limitations of physiological structure. But they are separated in another way in some cases. There can be a span of time between expression and perception just as there can be one between perception and internalization. This span of time is beyond the control of the perceiver. In addition, it separates him from the expressor in such a way that although he may be affected by the expresser, the expresser may not necessarily be affected by him. For this reason we may say that interaction, mediated in this way, can be inter-personal but not actually within the confines of a group. But the group of which the perceiver is a member can influence the effects of the expressions.

In order for this to occur, there must be an agent which
serves to record the expressions, and there must be a consistency
between the independent influences, and the direct social influences
which constitute the demands of social groups.

The first requirement, an agent of transmission, exists
in several forms. There is the written word. No one would question
that segments of culture are transmitted through writing. But
how does a piece of writing take part in socialization? Depending
upon the amount of skill which is employed to create it, a piece
of writing can exercise tremendous influence upon the reader.
Take, for example, the influence which the writings of Karl Marx,
Sigmund Freud, and Martin Luther have had upon the way we think
and act today. Of course it must be recognized that such influences
are not at all independent of the immediate social surroundings
in which they are perceived, but then again, neither are the
influences of the various primary groups.

There are other agents which serve to transmit the influences
which make up mediated socialization. The so-called Mass Media
are examples of such agents. Radio, Television and Photography
all fit the same description which was used with reference to the
written word. They transmit expressions over time which may have
a socializing effect.[6]

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[6]Elkin, pp. 70-76.

All of the preceding agents were explicitly of a communicative nature. There is not any necessity for limiting communicative capacity to things which are explicitly of that nature, however. If it is to be maintained that other products of society may serve the same function, it must be recognized that expression can be implicit in creation. One form of such expression is intended functionality. Agents which were created to satisfy some need by men can be objects, systems or even methods. By their very existence, and by the existence of their functional nature such agents often require certain modes of behavior which, when taken as elements of some greater social environment, pose demands which must be met. The point is strengthened when we recognize that functionality is not the sole element which we find to be effective in nature. In addition, each one of them is a manifestation of some man, namely the man who made it. As such, there is an element of style which is assumed to exist in its design. Functionality is not so demanding that there is only one conceivable way in which they could be constructed. Over long periods of time, manifestations of style often become as important as functionality itself. They become internalized. People tend to demand stylist elements because they are "right."

A third aspect of the role which these implicitly communicative agents play in socialization is that socialization proceeds on a system-wide level. One agent tends to re-enforce the others. To the extent that this is true, interaction produces a consistent

and clearly defined set of demands and satisfaction procedures. These agents are themselves often necessarily parts of a system. They thereby increase the extent to which their rationale compels the individual. Not only does the object machinism or method itself compel him, so too does its functional relationship to the other parts of the system. But we must remember that the system itself, as well as everything in it, was created by men. The more men are involved, the more likely it is that cultural elements from the social systems of which they are a part enter into the design and construction of the objects and systems. Sytle and conceptions of "right" ways of doing things are two of these elements.

The point of this investigation has been to ~~point out~~ indicate that socialization can be carried out in a manner mediated by expressive products of human action. It was intended that it be recognized that social change is the only relevant determinant of time insofar as they are concerned. In the section dealing with the definition of socialization, its significance was discussed. One of its most important aspects was its capacity to maintain consistency and predictability over periods of time. It is to this function of socialization which its mediated form contributes most.

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