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# PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BUSINESS

# PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BUSINESS

BY

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*To*

MY WIFE

whose devotion and help
have made this work possible

# PREFACE

The chief theme of this book is "influencing others." It is an activity common to nearly all the relationships existing between two or more people. We think of it ordinarily as characteristic of selling, advertising, and propaganda. But it is present in the relationships of husband-wife, parent-child, teacher-pupil, employer-employee, and all the rest. Society has advanced beyond the stage of owner-slave so that in the relationships of boss-workman, officer-enlisted man, and dictator-follower there is today far more influencing and persuasion than is customarily realized. Tomorrow there will be even less ordering and more persuading.

Influencing another is primarily a psychological problem. It is important to know the principles underlying this function and the techniques that are useful in carrying it out. All this is valuable, not only in order to influence others, but also in order to protect oneself against being unduly influenced by others.

The same principles underlie all influencing; but there is a great variety of techniques which are used, depending upon the particular situation. Some attention has been given the latter, especially in the field of personal selling, but the primary emphasis throughout is upon the principles of influencing, whether these involve the seller-buyer relationship in advertising or selling, the agitator-follower relationship in propaganda, or the employer-employee relationship in industrial relations.

Among the functions of a leader there are three of paramount importance, namely: to sense the problems that confront the group, to find ways of solving them, and to lead the group to put the solutions into operation. It is relatively easy to find men who can solve a problem once it is stated. It is much more difficult to find men who can sense a problem before it has been recognized or to secure the necessary cooperation in order to put the solution into operation.

Much of our educational procedure consists in presenting answerable problems to students and in teaching them how to find the correct solutions. This probably accounts for the relative ease of solving stated problems as compared with the other two functions. This text has for its chief theme how to influence others, and will, it is hoped, supply a lack in our educational program and increase our

understanding of how to get people to cooperate in the execution of solutions. The author confesses he does not know how to go to work to train people to sense the existence of problems. Possibly the process is comparable to that of inventing and is to be expected in only a few people with peculiar natural gifts. It is possible, however, that far more people could perform this function if they were trained for it. Possibly one way of teaching them is to call their attention to problem after problem that has not been solved and so to get them accustomed to thinking about problems whether or not they can solve them. It is with this thought in mind that the author has introduced in the text many problems for which he doesn't know the answer.

Parts I to IV of this book are a thorough revision of the author's "Psychology of Selling and Advertising," published in 1925. Much of the earlier material has been condensed and a very considerable amount of new material has been added—the two chapters on Consumer Research and Propaganda being almost entirely new. Parts V and VI dealing with Research Techniques and Employer-employee Relations were not previously considered.

The material has been drawn from the psychology of advertising, education, personnel work, and selling. The text is not, however, to be considered as a work upon any of these four subjects. It is rather to be viewed as an introduction to them with the expectation that subsequent courses will follow in which many other aspects of advertising, selling, or personnel work will be given. The primary purpose here is to acquaint the student with many of the problems as well as the principles involved in influencing people, with the expectation that, once his interest is aroused, he will continue his reading much farther.

The author has had some practical experience in the several fields covered by the text. He owes much to the men and women with whom he has worked and to many others whose books and articles he has read, some of which are mentioned in footnotes in the text. It is futile to attempt to acknowledge all these by name.

Definitions have been taken from the "Dictionary of Psychology," by H. C. Warren, and from the recommendation of the Committee on Definitions of the National Association of Teachers of Marketing and Advertising, published in *The National Marketing Review* of 1935. Permission to quote has kindly been granted by authors or publishers referred to in footnotes throughout the text.

E. K. S., Jr.

Stanford University,
*December*, 1937.

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# PART I

## GENERAL SURVEY

Introduction and summary to some extent are combined in this book and appear in the first four chapters. This somewhat unnatural union has been made in order to present quickly some of the main points and to clarify them somewhat before introducing too many details.

Chapter I calls attention to the ramification of human relationships and particularly to the seller-buyer relationship which is the most common of all relationships; points out the inevitable conflicts between the wants of individuals and of groups; and raises other issues which concern men in their interrelationships in business.

The process of buying is analyzed in Chap. II and the elements of buying are set forth in a formula round which a considerable portion of the book is centered. In Chaps. III and IV it is shown that this buying formula explains equally well the process of influencing others in both selling and advertising.

Following these four chapters are Parts II, III, and IV, which are devoted to a more detailed analysis of the psychological principles underlying the influencing of others. Part II deals with what man wants and how such wants are normally satisfied. Part III outlines the psychological principles involved in appealing to such wants; a process essential in influencing others. Part IV discusses the more detailed activities which a salesman must pursue in the actual process of selling a prospective customer.

Part V presents certain techniques of a somewhat psychological nature which are employed in research work relative to the relationships of seller-buyer and employer-employee.

Part VI is devoted to certain aspects of the latter relationship, namely, what employees and employers want and the conflicts between them, and what are the characteristics of leadership and morale.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The psychological aspects of a business are those concerned with the relationships between the human beings employed in the business. These relationships are of every possible type. Thus we have relationship by rank—superior to inferior, inferior to superior, and equal to equal; we have relationship by sentiment—benevolent, friendly, suspicious, jealous, hostile; we have all the complications due to the presence of the two sexes; we have abnormalities resulting from drink, fixed ideas, paranoid tendencies, sickness.

And every person in a business has relationships with others outside that business, with friends, relatives, neighbors, tradespeople, customers, etc., etc. Every such contact has its effect upon an individual; his reaction to each affects his relationships within his business sphere.

A relationship may be said to be "good" when both individuals concerned derive some benefit therefrom. The benefit may be in the form of goods, or information, or opportunity to earn money, or sympathy, or love, or opportunity for self-expression. Morale and real leadership occur only when there is such exchange of benefit. It is the foundation of good society, good government, good business.

These psychological aspects of a business are all-pervasive. The legal, engineering, or accounting aspects of a business can be very largely assigned to specialists in those fields, but the psychological aspects cannot be segregated. Every operation, whether financial, production, or sales, includes some sort of give and take between human beings and so involves psychological aspects. This does not mean that there is no room for specialists in human relations within a business. Quite the contrary. Recent developments necessitate far more attention to this phase of business than ever before. Specialists in this field will need to instruct and guide every official and workman with respect to his contacts with others; they will never be able to confine their attention to giving orders to members of their own individual departments, as is so largely true in other departments of a business.

| SCIENCES NEAREST RELATED TO STUDIES OF FACTORS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR | FACTORS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR<br>With special reference to industry | Illustrative Problems Arising in Industry Affecting THE WORKER IN RELATION TO HIS WORK<br>(Objective conditions of the job, personal condition of the worker, attitude towards task) |
|---|---|---|
| *Geography*<br>*Anthropo-geography*<br>*Anthropology*<br>*Physics and Engineering*<br>*Illuminating Engineering*<br>*Chemistry*<br>*Agricultural Economics*<br>*Mining and Metallurgy*<br>*Transportation Economics*<br>*Mechanical Engineering*<br>*Safety Engineering*<br>*Industrial Engineering* | I EXTERNAL PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT<br>A Climate in general (Temperature, sunlight, altitude)<br>B Natural resources and nearness to food supply<br>C External physical hazards | 1<br>A 1 Effects of seasons on man<br>2 Improvement of external aspect of work-place environment (Ventilation, lighting, noise and vibration in the purely technical aspects)<br>B 1 Availability of free land for cultivation<br>2 Distance from plant and difficulties of getting to work (Probably belongs in Box 13 or 16)<br>C Traumatic hazards of the job<br>1 Natural—cave-ins, floods<br>2 Artificial—explosions, collapse of walls, etc |
| *Biology, Biophysics, and Biochemistry*<br>*Anatomy*<br>*Physiology*<br>*Endocrinology*<br>*Bacteriology*<br>*Neurology*<br>*Anthropology* | II BODILY (PHYSICAL) CAPACITIES<br>A Bodily capacities<br>1 Physique<br>2 Physiological functioning (glandular activity, stamina, etc)<br>3 Neurological endowments or defects (genius, feeble-mindedness)<br>B Inherited racial characteristics (not including nationality)<br>C Inherited sex characteristics | 5<br>A Medical problems of worker in a job<br>1 Physical fitness for the job<br>2 Posture, pace, physical fatigue<br>3 Change of physical power with age<br>4 Occupational diseases and general infections<br>B Fixed racial traits (if any) affecting work, viz alleged laziness of Negro<br>C Sex disabilities, physical and mental<br>Special problems of women in industry |
| *Psychology*<br>*Employment Psychology*<br>*"Industrial Psychology"*<br>*Psychiatry*<br>*Mental Hygiene*<br>*Social Psychology* | III INDIVIDUAL MENTAL RESPONSES<br>A "Mental" traits<br>1 Instincts and impulses<br>2 Mental capacities<br>a Alertness, dexterity, intelligence, etc<br>b Special talents<br>B "Personality" traits<br>1 Emotional bias<br>2 Habits<br>3 "Drive" (Courage, ambition, perseverance, initiative, will-power, etc)<br>C Mental conflicts and control<br>1 Reaction to anxieties and strains<br>2 "Compensations," complexes, neuroses, etc<br>3 Adaptation to environment<br>D. Social sensitiveness<br>1 Behavior patterns and acquired attitudes<br>2 Susceptibility to mob or social pressure | 9<br>A Vocational guidance and employee selection<br>1 Psychological tests<br>2 Capacity for transfer, training, and promotion.<br>B Detection and appraisal of personality traits<br>1 Discovery of potential leaders<br>2 Promotion problems, college men in business<br>C Psychological and psychiatric problems of work, such as<br>1 Monotony, fatigue, rest periods, hours of work<br>2 "Floaters," labor turnover<br>3 Interest in work, incentives, methods of wage payment<br>4 Tools and methods of work<br>5 Reaction to insecurity, thrift plans, stock ownership, personnel work, scientific management, etc<br>6 Mental factors in accidents and inefficiency<br>7 Obsessions, neuroses and other mental hygiene problems<br>D. 1 Conscious restriction of output<br>2 Dissatisfactions due to fancied injustices, etc |
| *Sociology*<br>*Ethnology*<br>*Cultural Anthropology*<br>*History*<br>*Ethics*<br>*Economics* | IV GROUP CULTURE AND ORGANIZATION<br>(Combined physical, personal and social circumstances—"environment")<br>A Beliefs, customs, traditions, structural or institutional attitudes, national traits, etc (Religious, ethical, social)<br>B Economic organization<br>1 Ownership and control of industry<br>2 Technology of industry<br>3 Distribution of wealth<br>4 General economic setting | 13<br>A Nature of group attitudes, prejudices, etc affecting worker's attitude toward his work<br>1 Measurement of morale, etc<br>B The effect of different economic systems and industrial organization upon the wage-earner, including such elements as<br>1 The industrial population and the labor market<br>2 Mechanization, pace, routine work<br>3 Insecurity, unemployment "pre-senescence"<br>4 Competition and monopoly<br>5 The wage system and wage scales<br>6 Insecurity, attitude toward older men<br>7 Personnel practices and labor turnover<br>8 Employee ownership of stock or control of plant |
| *Political Science*<br>*Jurisprudence* | C. Political organization<br>1 Legislatures and commissions<br>2 Laws and courts<br>3 Police and constabularies | C. Obligations and rights of worker<br>1 Compulsory labor, peonage, etc<br>2 Liability for damages, individual contract, etc<br>3 Protection of worker by provisions of law |
| *Education*<br>*Science (Physical, Social)*<br>*Logic*<br>*Statistics*<br>*(Experimental Research)* | D Intellectual organization<br>1 Educational systems<br>2 Art, literature, etc<br>3 Purposeful research | D. Effect of school system on employee's capacity to work, his attitude, etc |

FIG. 1.—Relationships centering around the workman. (Accompanying the preliminary Social Science

| Illustrative Problems Arising in Industry Affecting THE WORKER IN RELATION TO HIS FELLOW-WORKER (At his side, in his plant, in his union, in his community or in the world at large) | Illustrative Problems Arising in Industry Affecting THE WORKER IN RELATION TO HIS EMPLOYER (Foreman, manager, owner, employing class, investor, capitalist, banker) | Illustrative Problems Arising in Industry Affecting THE WORKER IN RELATION TO THE PUBLIC (Consumer, semi-public agencies, police, government, legislatures, courts, commissions) |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | 3 | 4 |
| A. 1 Fights in plant, grievances, irritability, due chiefly to change in climate (?) | A 1. Greater difficulty of maintaining discipline in certain seasons(?)<br>2 Employer's responsibility for good physical environment<br>B 1 Physical layout of mining camps(?)<br>2 Industrial housing(?)<br>C Mechanical engineering aspects of safety for which employer may be held responsible | A Sanitary regulations and industrial code<br>B 1 General housing problem<br>2 General transportation problem of workers living at distance from plant<br>C. Safety codes and legislation for building construction, mechanical equipment, etc |
| 6 | 7 | 8 |
| A Contagious diseases<br>B Racial conflicts among workers(?) See Box 14, below<br>C. | A Medical work of the employer<br>1 First aid, health activities, etc<br>2 Hours of work and rest periods<br>3 Finding jobs for older employee<br>4 Eradication of occupational diseases<br>B Possible adaptation of type of discipline to race problems involved<br>C Sex relations as a factor in personal relationships in industry | A 1 General community health burden<br>2 Regulations of working periods<br>3 General community old age problems<br>4 Special regulations of certain trades<br>B<br>C Protective legislation for women in industry |
| 10 | 11 | 12 |
| A Lack of sympathy or cohesion between highly efficient or highly skilled worker and the mediocre or unskilled<br>B Exploitation of workers by other more dynamic workers, existence of "agitators," "firebrands," etc<br>C Personal traits of leaders of workers (paralleled with qualities of outstanding executives?)<br>D 1 Effect of group payment plans on relationships of workers to each other, especially to older and less efficient worker, etc<br>2 Effect of trade union benefit plans on worker<br>3 Relationships of workers with each other in strikes and in unions from standpoint of individual behavior | A and B Grievances, wage difficulties, conflicts caused by unsuitability of the worker for the job, or personality traits of the worker, involving<br>1 Selection procedure<br>2 Rating, follow-up, promotion, etc<br>B and C Discipline problems caused by<br>1 Poor leadership by foremen, managers, etc<br>2 Neuroses of executives ("Mental hygiene of executives")<br>3 Abuse of wage incentive plans, time study, etc<br>4 General "unpsychologic" handling of situations in plant<br>C Mental hygiene work of employer<br>D Difficulties and misunderstandings due to different behavior patterns of worker, foreman, employer, banker, etc | A Civil Service problems (selection, training, promotion, etc)<br>B Accidents and damage caused by improperly selected motormen, taxi-drivers, having personality traits of recklessness, etc<br>C. Mental hygiene burdens forced on community |
| 14 | 15 | 16 |
| A, 1 Racial cohesion or conflict among workers in industry<br>2 Religious discrimination<br>3 Prejudices against "scab," etc<br>B Group relationships in general, such as<br>1 Unionism, structure and activities<br>a Organization for group action<br>b. Craft versus industrial unions<br>c Jurisdictional disputes<br>d Intra-union problems of factions, leadership, etc<br>e Benefit features, recreation, etc<br>f Labor banks and other business activities and their effect on unionism and on leaders and members<br>g International organization of labor<br>2 Relations of workers under employee representation plans<br>C 1. Rights of workers to organize unions<br>2 Restrictions on boycotts<br>D 1 Workers education<br>2 Union activities of cultural type<br>3 Research work of unions | A. 1 Degree to which employers and workers are influenced by fixed ideas, Marxianism, memories of past abuses, traditions, ethical considerations<br>B 1 Employers' organizations structure, activities, open-shop drives, etc<br>2 Absentee ownership, financial domination of labor policies<br>3 Employers' methods of administration<br>a Technical and organizing ability<br>b Wages paid<br>c Manner of exercising authority<br>d Policies towards older worker<br>e Personnel practices, etc<br>f Housing provisions<br>g Shop committees and employee stock plans<br>h Labor turnover problems<br>4 Problem of joint control of industry<br>5 Group relations with employer<br>a Collective bargaining and cooperation<br>b Restrictive rules, spying systems, etc<br>c Attitudes towards discipline, authority, scientific management, wage changes, etc and whole problem of wage scales<br>d Strikes, violence, etc.<br>C 1 Law of individual contracts<br>2 Laws affecting wage payments, etc<br>3 Relative strength in influencing government<br>4 Court decisions<br>D. 1 Employers' educational work<br>2<br>3 Employers' or joint research work | A Public opinion as a factor in labor conditions or labor disputes<br>1 Attitude of individual consumers towards wage increases and other demands<br>2 Attitude of masses towards child labor amendment, etc<br>B. Effect of economic system on social problems<br>1 Unemployment and insecurity, long range planning of public works, etc<br>2 Crime, maladjustment, pauperism, citizenship<br>3 Leisure time activities of masses<br>4 Cost of products, burden of taxes<br>5 Housing and transportation<br>6 Public personnel practices<br>C Labor legislation and administration<br>1 a Restrictive<br>Sherman Act, Clayton Act<br>Individual contract<br>Compulsory arbitration<br>Regulation of immigration<br>b Protective and facilitative<br>Mechanic's Lien, minimum wage<br>Factory regulation, workmen's compensation<br>Social insurance<br>Employment exchanges<br>2 Attitude of courts towards labor<br>a The injunction<br>b Social outlook of judges<br>3 Industrial constabulary, police in strikes, etc<br>D. 1 Educational system in relation to the worker<br>2<br>3 Research agencies, public and semi-public, investigating labor relations |

nary report of a survey for the Advisory Committee on Industrial Relations of the Research Council.)

**Two Types of Relationships by Rank.**—One type of relationship is that between superior and inferior, another is that between "equals." We never have two persons who are equal in the mathematical sense, but we have many who are so nearly equal that sometimes one and sometimes the other wins in golf or a business deal. By the term as used here, we mean two who meet at the same level, with about the same advantages and handicaps.

The superior and inferior relationship is typified by owner-slave, king-subject, boss-workman, father-son, teacher-student, older-younger, more experienced-less experienced. The superior member of such a pair looks down upon and leads the inferior and the inferior looks ups to and follows the superior.

The relationship of "equals" is typified by seller-buyer, husband-wife, partnership, competitors in sport or business, members of the same team or group, comrades in an enterprise. Selling-buying does not always belong here; sometimes either seller or buyer has the whip hand, but usually there is a genuine give-and-take relationship.

**Relationships Centering round the Workman.**—Several years ago the Advisory Committee on Industrial Relations Research, of which Henry S. Dennison was chairman, presented as part of its report to the Social Science Research Council the chart, shown in Fig. 1.[1] The chart is reproduced here because it shows the very great complexity of the problems centering in the workman. Four groups of relationships are considered, *i.e.*, the worker in relation to his work, his fellow employee, his employer, and the general public. It is quite likely that, if the chart were developed today, a fifth group would be added involving the relationships between the workman and his associates off the job, for such relationships have an indirect bearing on what he does while on the job. The chart shows quite properly that these relationships are based upon all the physical, biological, and social sciences and not upon psychology alone. This should warn the reader that many aspects of human relations will not be considered here, for it would require a good-sized library to cover the whole subject.

**Persons Exalted.**—In the past, the owners of a business have been honored and their profits emphasized, but the rank and file have been very largely disregarded. In recent days, emphasis is being put more and more upon the human beings within a business. The personnel movement has exalted the person, not the thing; or at least it has considered the welfare of the individuals as well as that of profits. It aims to place the right man in the right job, to educate him to perform

[1] See "Autumn Conference of the Personnel Research Federation," *Personnel Journal*, 1929, **7**, 390–393.

his work still better and to improve the conditions under which he works. Admittedly the objective has been to secure greater efficiency. But as progress has been made, it has become increasingly evident that further advances in efficiency are dependent upon improvement in the morale of the working force. Morale appears when the whole group is imbued with a feeling of purposiveness—of partnership in the project. Only then is work really interesting. Consequently, the more thoroughgoing efficiency is sought, the more the individuals in the business must be handled properly and this we are learning means not doing things to or for the workers but with them. Only when of their own free will, they release the energies within them will they reach the maximum of efficiency.

### SELLING RELATIONSHIP IS MOST COMMON

Every individual in a business experiences both superior-inferior and equal situations. Thus a junior executive has relationships with six groups—his own subordinates, his own superiors, his cocqual executives, the consumers of his company's products, the investors in his company's products, and the general public. To be successful in his job he must create a feeling of mutual benefit in each relationship. He may "boss" his subordinates to some extent, but American workmen do not take kindly to domination. He will go further if he gains his ends by influence and persuasion. In the other five relationships no other course is possible. Thus, the executive must "sell"—bring about a favorable reaction to—himself, his program, his firm's commodity.

This is true of every member of the organization, even the president. The general public has the very mistaken notion that all the president of a company has to do is to give orders, that he does just about as he pleases. As a matter of fact, he has a multitude of bosses, many of whom he hardly knows at all. He is the representative of the business with the outside world. He must grapple with every commercial, social, political, and governmental agency that affects his business in any way. In few cases can he lay down the law; in many he must meekly submit, though he may rage inside; in some he may influence events, but in such a case he must give time and effort to doing so. Within his organization he still has to sell himself to his board of directors and stockholders; he must secure the cooperation of his vice-presidents.

Because the "selling," or persuading, relationship is so common in all business affairs it will receive primary consideration in this text. Fortunately more has been written about it than about any other

business relationship. Nevertheless, it is only a short time since the first book was published on the subject and there is a vast amount still to be discovered and understood.

## TWO POINTS OF VIEW

Every human relationship involves two different points of view. Every person must admit, although he may not wish to, that his chief interest is in himself. He evaluates all other persons and all objects according to the benefit he may secure from them. If we speak of a give-and-take relationship, we must see that there may be perfect reciprocity, as in the case of two friends who thoroughly enjoy each other's company; all "take," as in the case of a slaveowner with his slave; or all "give," as in the case of a mother with her young child. But in every case, the two persons involved will view the relationship from different angles and each will seek to secure his own desired benefit.

Much of the difficulty of handling people, of influencing them, arises from this fact that the "seller" and the "buyer" see things from different points of view and consequently misunderstand and misjudge each other a great deal of the time.

It is consequently maintained in this text that the primary duty of the seller is to make every effort to see the situation from the buyer's point of view, to put himself in the buyer's place, and then to present his own proposition in terms of what the buyer wants.

When the seller is concerned only with his own point of view he has no particular interest in studying the buyer; his whole aim is to play up his own proposition. Moreover, he views selling as something that *he* does; he does not recognize that the prospect must think and feel in certain ways before he will finally agree to buy. There results, accordingly, overemphasis upon stunts used in securing the interview, in getting attention, and in closing. When, on the other hand, the seller appreciates the buyer's situation, he presents his proposition as a solution to some want, or wants, of the buyer. Because the seller has discovered what that want is, he can lead the buyer step by step to see how it may be satisfied.

Selling may be accomplished when either the buyer's or the seller's point of view is dominant. But when the salesman presents his proposition in his own way, he is contending against the prospect's maximum resistance; whereas, when he discusses some problem of the prospect and how it may be solved, he is selling along the line of least resistance.

### WHAT DO MEN WANT?

A man's wants determine his actions. The respective wants of two individuals will profoundly affect their relationship. To understand any relationship, therefore, one must understand the wants of those involved. In line with this, Cherington tells us that "one of the main problems of this country for the next fifty years now appears to be the . . . discovery of the significance and nature of human wants and the devising of less wasteful ways of satisfying them."[1]

Do we know what the human wants are? In general, yes. Do we understand the implications and interrelations of these wants? Only vaguely. Are we doing much to find out? No. Fosdick reports:

> It has been estimated that of all the money spent on research in Great Britain and the United States, one-half of the total goes for industrial research and for the underlying pure research in physics and chemistry. Of the remaining half, 50 per cent is spent on research in connection with military questions. Of the remaining quarter of the total sum, the larger part is devoted to research in agriculture and the branches of biology which support it. Further down the list is research in medicine and health. Finally come the social sciences with an infinitesimal fraction of the total devoted to their development. For research in the humanities the amount is relatively so small as to be scarcely discernible.[2]

The ever-recurring discussion as to the conflict between labor and capital is largely futile, because both "labor" and "capital" are abstractions and most of the human elements that so largely constitute owners, employers, and employees have been lost sight of in setting up our abstract terminology. We need to concentrate upon the relationships that are involved in this conflict, relationships between owner and manager, owner and employee, manager and employee, producer and consumer, employee and consumer, etc. To understand such relationships it is imperative that we know what each wants. We shall discover that many wants are common to both parties in a relationship and that the gulf between them is never so great as appears when we think in terms of abstractions. Furthermore, we shall realize that there are all manner of other relationships that must be considered. At the time of this writing there is the conflict between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. If the latter wins and all workmen join one union, the common laborer's interests will dominate; he may insist upon higher wages at the expense of the skilled workman, who will be far outnumbered in voting power. The relationship

[1] CHERINGTON, P. T., "People's Wants and How to Satisfy Them," p. 121, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

[2] FOSDICK, R. B., "The Rockefeller Foundation: A Review for 1936," p. 10, New York, 1937.

between skilled workmen and common laborers may then be productive of as much friction as that between employer and employee.

In any case, much of the difficulty is due to misconception on one side concerning what the other actually wants. Fair play results when one can imaginatively "put oneself in another's place"; ability to do this arises from understanding another's wants.

The same question arises in the producer-consumer relationship. In writing about the cooperative movement, Catlin tells us "the consumer is the true and fundamental economic unit and upon his wants and interests the whole structure should be built."[1] What are these wants? What commodities does a prospective consumer want? What is it that he wants in any given commodity? What kind of service does he want from the seller? How may these wants be determined? How may an executive determine the efficiency of his organization in supplying what buyers want?

The trend is toward a shorter workday. How will the added leisure time be spent? What do people want to do after their work is finished? If it is loafing, the increased leisure will do us harm. If the answer is increased consumption of goods and services, the change will necessitate increased production, more jobs, and more pay, and so will stimulate our economic life. Cherington believes "what people really want is not more leisure but 'a chance to live'—to get from their environment that which they hope will make their existence better worth while."[2] Is he correct? What will make existence more worth while?

Is it conceivable that man's wants can be satisfied? He can be given food enough so that he wants no more. Is this true of other wants, such as clothing, success, power, prestige? It is conceivable that society may be organized so that everyone will have adequate food, shelter, clothing, leisure time, etc. Will everyone then be satisfied?

As the use of mechanical power grows, and as organization, mass production, and efficiency increase, it is obvious that the number of workers required to satisfy any condition of fixed wants of a given population must of necessity decrease. Some interpret the situation to mean that America is headed inevitably toward increasing technological unemployment and more and more "doles."[3] But new wants

[1] CATLIN, W. B., "The Labor Problem," p. 669, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

[2] CHERINGTON, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[3] Actually 78.2 per cent of the male population over ten years of age was gainfully employed in 1920 and 76.2 in 1930; similarly, for women the percentages are 21.1 and 22.

are constantly discovered. Since the writer was a boy there have been introduced electric light and power, vacuum cleaners, electric washers and refrigerators, silk stockings, automobiles, tractors, dustless roads, motion pictures, airplanes, radios, streamlined trains, and many other things. At first these were luxuries for the wealthy; as the prices decreased, they became necessities for many. The automobile is certainly a common necessity today (in California there is one for every three inhabitants). The introduction of these motor cars has given employment to many thousands, not only in manufacturing, selling, and servicing them, but in producing the raw materials for their construction, the oil and gas for their maintenance, the roads on which they are to travel and the garages in which they are to be housed. Scientists and inventors contemplate no limit to the wonderful things which will be made available in the near future. But is there a limit to what man wants?

All the things that make up what we call culture involve the expenditure of effort. To play the piano, to paint portraits, or to solve trigonometric problems, each requires many hours of practice. Do those who fail to accomplish such pursuits lack ability or do they lack the willingness to expend the necessary energy, or both? Is it fair to say that many of the one to two million unemployed from 1920 to 1929 lacked ability and willingness to work? Is there a limit beyond which each cannot rise for lack of ability and desire? Is such a limit common to all or does it vary greatly? If the latter is true, is there any possibility of giving to each person the same cultural standard of living?

Does the fact that about four times as many young people are graduating from high school today as in 1910[1] mean that many people in the past have not had a fair chance to develop themselves, educationally speaking? Is it possible that everyone could be developed to a point far beyond anything so far dreamed of?

If every man, woman, and child were guaranteed a thousand-dollars-a-year standard of living, would there be a sufficient number of men and women who were anxious enough for still more to do the work that must be done? Who, if he didn't have to, would dig ditches, remove the garbage, sort dirty clothing in a laundry? Is security really possible?

[1] Surveys made by Thorndike, Ayers, Strayer, Bonner, and Phillips give the following percentages of first-grade pupils who complete the high school: 8 in 1907, 10 in 1909, 14 in 1911, 14 in 1920, and 15 in 1924. See DOUGLASS, A. A., "Secondary Education," p. 225, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927. In a letter, Douglass estimates 40 per cent in the United States are graduating in 1937 and 60 per cent in California.

## CONFLICTS INEVITABLE

Life is very largely spent in running races in which one occasionally wins but more often loses. This is true whether the race is between two men for the same girl, or between several applicants for the same job, or between merchants for increased sales. There are conflicts within a family, with the housewife spending much of her energy in striving to reconcile disagreements and misunderstandings. There are conflicts between groups, whether they are fraternities on the campus or different business interests in town. There are issues galore which some support and some condemn. Politics provides a vast arena in which men struggle to win their desires. Nations maneuver through diplomatic and other means for a time and then declare war to get what they want. Can life be otherwise than a constant struggle to get what one wants from nature and from other people?

Can all of these conflicting wants be reconciled? If so, how? To what extent are these wants inherently conflicting? To what extent is it the function of business to reconcile these wants; to what extent is it the function of the public?

Some writers maintain that because men are social creatures they should cooperate rather than compete. Does it follow that social creatures can cooperate? What evidence is there that men have ever really cooperated or that they will do so in the future? Is it possible that a system could be developed in which each would struggle to secure things for himself but that his activities would be so controlled that he would do relatively little harm to others? The game of golf is such a system. Can similar rules for life be drawn up and society led to adopt them?

Even when leadership is carried on in good faith for the presumed good of others, it does not always seem to be appreciated. Should not the efforts which have been made to force retarded people to raise their standard of living, so often with unpleasant results, cause us to query the value of too much of this kind of cooperation?

Is it true that "most of the evils of the world come when we try to dominate other people by force for our own benefit"? Should we stand by and allow another to kill a loved one or allow a drunkard to drive off in his automobile? When must we dominate others by force and when should we refrain from such action?

Society is learning that conflicts are injurious. War, we realize, is a fearfully expensive method of settling a squabble between nations. For centuries we have been developing a legal system whereby squab-

bles between individuals might be adjudicated without resort to fist or gun: this gives the little fellow, whether a small man or a small business, a better chance to win on the real merits of the case. In traffic control we have a system whereby, for the sake of general convenience and safety, we give up our own want to go first at all times. But the prevalence of discourteous, unsportsman-like driving and the appalling number of deaths and injuries make clear that all of us are not yet willing to subordinate what we want to the common good.

When there is only one race open to the community, only a very few can place, and all the rest are deprived of the pleasure of being looked up to as winners. If many different standards are set up as measures of success, then far more can have a chance of winning, somewhere in life. The easiest standards to set up are quantitative ones—the fastest runner on the track, the student with the highest grades, the man with the most money, the politician with the most votes. It is much harder to establish qualitative standards of success; yet they permit of almost unlimited possibilities for enjoying the pleasures of achievement. The skilled mechanic, the artist or author or scientist, the professional man, can always make progress toward the goal of qualitative perfection. Here, with no particular harm to others and with absorbing interest for himself, he competes with the best in the world.

It should be the role of education to give us many different and worthwhile standards of success. This is an ideal different from the all-too-common educational procedure of trying to fit all students into one program. It differs also from the general trend in social life toward the standardization of life for all on the level of the average person. It has the advantage of being in accord with the known psychological facts that individuals differ in ability and that a feeling of successful accomplishment or leadership is deeply satisfying to human nature.

**Whose Is the Responsibility?**—When we survey all the misery that is to be found in our social order it is very easy to blame it all on the railroads, the public utilities, the bankers, the capitalists, or even the politicians—always, however, blaming it upon someone other than ourselves. How much misery is occasioned by forces, like some diseases, beyond our control today? How much is due to human weakness, inability, and depravity? Are we better off than our forefathers or the people in China, Peru, Russia or Great Britain? Is there any system under which the work of the world can be done without privation, accidents, and ill will? Think whether you agree with Catlin when he says,

The division of blame for the risks and losses of industry cannot be a simple and easy one. We know that it rests in some proportion with the customer who demands that the goods be produced; in part with the profit-seeking business man who undertakes to satisfy the demand; and in part with the worker who agrees to cooperate in their production. But each party is disposed to be blind to his own shortcomings and to place the larger share of the responsibility upon the others.

The ultimate responsibility of the consumer for industrial conditions is something healthful to reflect upon. . . . Consciously or otherwise, he is the final arbiter who passes upon each man's work whether it be good or evil. The consumer, in other words, is the real employer, not only of labor, but of all the agencies of production. The direction he gives to his purchasing power determines what shall be produced, where capital shall be invested and labor employed. If the goods he demands involve sending men into dangerous places, the incurring of risk from powerful and complex machinery, and the use of poisonous or otherwise harmful substances, then the consumer should be ready and willing to pay (in so far as money can pay) for the necessary human costs and losses resulting. In so far as the consumer is guided chiefly by price rather than by any investigation of the comparative conditions under which goods are produced, and in so far as the cheapest method of production is the one which is most careless of the health and safety of the workers, the enterpriser who likes his business and wishes to remain in it is thereby forbidden to adopt any safety provisions or to show any concern for the welfare of his employees, except such as is plainly self-sustaining and will bring quick returns.[1]

Is it true, then, that the dominant wants of the ordinary citizen, of the average men and women who are the ultimate consumers, determine our social standards, our social conditions, and our social problems? If so, the understanding of these wants is the primary consideration in the psychological approach to business problems.

[1] CATLIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–209.

## CHAPTER II

## ANALYSIS OF A PURCHASE

This chapter starts with a description of what one purchaser thought and did in the course of an everyday purchase. The picture is typical.

### MRS. CARTER'S MORNING ORDER

As soon as breakfast was over Mrs. Carter sat down with paper and pencil and began to plan her day's menus. This was her usual custom, for she found it made ordering from the stores so much easier. First she considered the matter of leftovers which could be utilized, and then proceeded to list the things which must be bought. "Large loaf bread," she wrote automatically. Her family used one daily. She considered a minute, then inserted the word "Tiptop" before bread.

"I must remember to impress that on the grocer," she thought, "he has been sending me 'Aunt Hannah's' and it is too crumbly for toast."

"One pound butter, one dozen eggs, five pounds sugar," were added to the list with little consideration. They were articles that must be renewed as they were consumed. Then Mrs. Carter consulted her menu. "Lamb from the butchers," she reflected, "then a can of Grandmother's peas and Eddy's currant jelly from the grocer. And two cans of tomato soup. No, he charges 12½ cents a can and I can get it for 10 cents at the A. & P." She bit her pencil a minute then added the soup to the list after all. "I really haven't time to go over today, so I might as well pay the nickel extra. But I must remember to lay in a supply some time when I have the car out."

Mrs. Carter had been resting her paper on the back of a magazine as she wrote. Now her eye fell by chance on the advertisement on the back which portrayed a bowl of delicious canned peaches. "I might as well order some peaches," she thought, "I haven't any on hand and they are so nice if anyone comes to lunch unexpectedly."

She looked her menu over again. "That's really all I need today, with what I have in the house. Oh! but it's washday tomorrow. I must see how I am in supplies." She went out to the laundry and looked over the shelves.

"Starch is nearly gone. Well, I want to try this new Stifit anyway. I don't suppose it will come up to the advertisement, nothing does, quite. But I'll try it. And soap flakes—two boxes of Ivory. I've had such good luck with my washing machine since I've used nothing else. Not a single streaky color. Mrs. Mills says Ivory isn't strong enough to get out the dirt. But she is always fussing about her colors running. And if I run the cylinder for 20 minutes I get the dirt out all right. I wonder if it would be worth while to get some of this Soakem to soak the clothes with overnight. The advertisements are certainly glowing. However, mother tried it and said she couldn't see it made a bit of difference. I won't bother now."

Just here the front doorbell rang. Mrs. Carter went to the door to see a rather nervous young woman who began immediately, "Good morning, Madam, may I come in and demonstrate to you the Cochran baking powder, one of superexcellence and—"

"It wouldn't be worth your while," said Mrs. Carter, "I use Royal and I'm perfectly satisfied."

"But, Madam, you would be surprised to see how your cakes would improve with Cochran. You know how often they fall with Royal. But with—"

"No, mine don't fall so very often. Anyway, I am not going to change. Good—"

Mrs. Carter tried to close the door but the woman had her hand on it.

"Surely you won't be so prejudiced as not to see our demonstration at least. Then you can make an intelligent choice and—"

"Good morning," snapped Mrs. Carter and shoved the door vigorously. "I hate to be so rude," she thought, "but what can one do? And she wasn't very complimentary herself. Still, I suppose I am unduly prejudiced for Royal. I never have tried any other but that once up in the country when I could only get Sanford's. It was awful. Or maybe it was the stove. But my goodness, I remember cutting out cookies with an old Royal tin when I was a tiny thing in grandma's kitchen. Mother never used anything else. And I wouldn't know my kitchen cabinet without a red Royal can, and a blue package of Baker's chocolate."

### ANALYSIS OF A PURCHASE

The mental processes involved in a purchase when reduced to their simplest elements are:

1. Want.
2. Solution.
3. Purchase.

Mrs. Carter wants to wash the clothes tomorrow. To do so she must have soap, and as she has very little, she orders more.

She orders Ivory Soap because she has found it *satisfactory*. If it had not been so, she would have tried something else. Because the outcome of the purchase determines whether there will be a repeat order or not, and because today nearly all selling organizations are interested in repeat orders, it is necessary to add a fourth element to our analysis of a purchase. The four elements are, then:

1. Want.
2. Solution.
3. Purchase.
4. Satisfaction.

**The Solution.**—Whenever a want is felt it means that the individual is confronted with some difficulty or is conscious of a deficiency of satisfaction. In the world of selling and buying the solution to such a difficulty will always be some commodity or service. And the commodity or service will be somebody's commodity or service. Mrs. Carter, for example, starts to satisfy her want to have clean clothes

by purchasing soap flakes, and definitely buys Ivory soap flakes, not Lux.

In purchasing, then, the element "Solution" involves always two parts:

*a*. Commodity (service).

*b*. Trade name.

In order to have a terminology here that will fit every case of purchasing, the term "trade name" must be stretched considerably. It will be used to cover such cases as the buying of Ivory, not Lux; of buying sugar from Hawkins', not Sanders', store; and of buying tea from Smith who calls at the door, not from Jones. In other words, the solution to any want that is satisfied through a purchase always involves buying a commodity and, moreover, buying some particular company's or store's or salesman's commodity.

### FORMULA OF BUYING

It is useful to be able to express the elements entering into the process of buying in the form of a diagram or formula. It helps greatly in remembering them. But any formula which represents mental processes is inadequate and tends to misrepresent the facts. This must be frankly recognized at this point in the development of the subject. In the discussion that will follow a fuller and more accurate treatment of the subject will be made.

In buying anything, the purchaser proceeds mentally from want to commodity, to trade name, then purchase; and, upon using the commodity, he experiences satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This can be represented as follows:

$$\text{Want} \rightarrow \text{Commodity} \rightarrow \underset{\text{Retail Store}}{\text{Trade name}} \rightarrow \text{Purchase} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Satisfaction.} \\ \text{Dissatisfaction.} \end{cases}$$

This formula covers the elements involved in buying where a definite buying habit has been established. Thus Mrs. Carter no sooner felt the want of groceries for the day's menus than she wrote down "1 pound butter, 1 dozen eggs, 5 pounds sugar" all of which she telephoned to the grocer in a few minutes. So also she wrote down, "can of Grandmother's peas and Eddy's currant jelly," as soon as she thought of lamb.

But the above formula does not yet contain certain elements that are involved whenever a habit of buying is not fully established or is interfered with by competing habits. For example, Mrs. Carter has been receiving Aunt Hannah's bread which is not satisfactory because it is "too crumbly for toast." And so Tiptop bread is ordered. Aunt Hannah's bread, to repeat, does not adequately satisfy Mrs. Carter's

wants. She is changing to Tiptop because she believes it will be more nearly adequate to satisfy her requirements.

Consider another example: Mrs. Carter has been using Ivory flakes in her washing machine. A recent caller, Mrs. Mills, has recommended another soap in preference to Ivory flakes because the latter does not "get the dirt out." Her remarks have weakened the habit of buying Ivory flakes. And so when Mrs. Carter now starts to write down Ivory flakes she must decide whether she will or will not buy it. Reasons flash through her mind attacking Mrs. Mills' objection and also supporting her own use of Ivory. Had she absolutely no reasons to give herself in defense of her established habit of buying Ivory, the chances are that she would try Mrs. Mills' soap.

In buying it is frequently necessary that reasons be advanced in support both of the commodity and of the trade name. And it is also necessary, that a *pleasant feeling* shall be experienced when the commodity and the trade name are thought of. Lava soap is bought for the garage because it removes grease better than any other that has been tried (reason), and Palmolive soap is bought for the bathroom because of a liking for it (pleasant feeling). The action in the latter case cannot be defended in terms of reasons because it is known, from using other soaps in hotels and at the homes of friends, that Palmolive is not the only soap that will clean easily. But the purchaser likes it so much that he unconsciously asked for Palmolive shaving cream one time when he needed this commodity. Again feelings came into play. The shaving cream was all right but the purchaser didn't like the color scheme of the tube, so he hasn't bought any more.

To insure purchase the commodity must be considered adequate and also pleasing. In a great many cases if the commodity is viewed as adequate it is also liked, and vice versa. But this is not always the case. There are some objects which have been found quite adequate but which are not liked, and there are some things that are liked and bought which are admittedly not so good as other competing commodities.

When adequacy and pleasant feelings are included in the buying formula a diagram like this is the result:

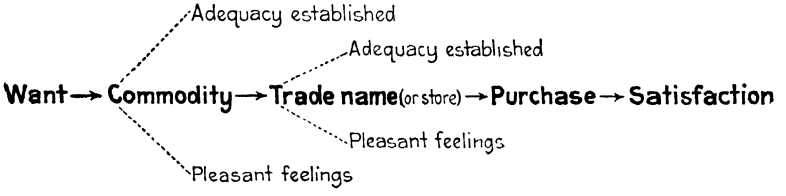



**Fig. 2.—The buying formula.**

When a buying habit is being established it is necessary that the buyer shall be able to give himself reasons as to why the commodity is an adequate solution to his want and as to why the particular trade name is the best one to buy. It is also necessary that he shall have a pleasant feeling toward the commodity and the trade name.

Then, whenever his buying habit is challenged by a friend's remark, a salesman's presentation of a competing article, or the statements in an advertisement, it is essential that the buyer shall have reasons with which to defend his action, and that in addition he shall have a pleasant feeling toward both the commodity and the trade name.

All this is represented by the dotted lines in the formula. To repeat; whenever the commodity is questioned, as, for example, whether concrete or brick shall be used in building a sidewalk, the reasons and feelings that come to mind determine the choice. And whenever the trade name is questioned—whether Ivory or Palmolive shall be used—the reasons and feelings that come to mind again determine the choice. Consequently, when a person is being influenced to buy, not only the first time but also later on, it is important, whenever he hesitates, that reasons for buying both the commodity and the trade name shall be ready to his need and that he shall be conscious of a pleasant feeling tone in both connections.

Recognizing all that has been said in the preceding paragraphs, nevertheless it is true that the primary elements in a well-established buying habit are those on the central line of the formula connected by solid lines. The majority of objects that are bought are purchased with scarcely a thought as to why, and with a minimum of feeling. And it should be the constant aim of the salesman and advertiser to form such direct associations. Reasons and pleasant feelings are related to elements on the central line by dotted lines to indicate that they constitute the elements of defense of the buying habit. As long as they are present buying will continue as in the past. This is well illustrated by Mrs. Carter's reaction to the Cochran baking powder saleswoman. Royal baking powder made good cake and was connected with pleasant memories of childhood in mother's kitchen. As long as it brought to mind cogent reasons for its use and pleasant recollections it would continue to be bought.

An investigator reports that out of 69 sales made in a drug store one morning, there were 32 sales in which the goods were asked for by brand, 23 were made without reference to brand, and 14 were selected by the purchaser from goods he could see displayed in the store. When the brand was asked for there existed a well-established connection between want, commodity, and trade name. Reasons and pleasant

feelings had influenced the development of that association. But at the time the purchaser asked for the article these secondary elements were not prominently in his mind. When the brand was not named, the purchase was not made until after there had been some consideration of the pros and cons of one article versus another, and a certain amount of feeling experienced. It is not surprising that the investigator found that when the brand was asked for, the sale took considerably less time than when the suggestion came from the salesman.

## ROLE OF DELIBERATION

A purchase may refer to a long series of events continuing for several months, as in the purchase of an automobile or a piece of real estate, or it may be completed in a minute or two, as when one sees some object on a counter and buys it offhand. In some cases deliberation continues from the experiencing of some want until the decision is made to buy a certain commodity at a certain store. Thus, one may say, "I'll buy a pair of golf shoes at Thoit's the next time I'm downtown." Or the deliberation may continue up until the actual purchase, as in the case of the woman who feels she must dress up her living room but does not decide whether she will buy a davenport or new drapes or possibly something else until after she has shopped in several stores and seen many objects and compared them all.

When deliberation continues for some time, the prospective buyer is subject to many influences, which affect him in all sorts of ways. Such influences may be grouped into three classes for convenience. There are the impulses arising from within himself, which are called wants in this text. There are, second, influences from the world in general—the opinions of husband or wife or neighbors, and information bearing on the subject. There are, third, attributes of the commodity itself. These attributes may be favorable or unfavorable to buying. They are sensed from reading advertisements, from seeing the commodity in use somewhere, and from seeing it displayed in a store. When asked as to why the purchase was made the buyer may reply, "I've wanted it for a long time" (want) or "My wife insisted I get it, although the cost is high" (influence from without) or "The device for speeding up multiplication computations settled the matter" (attribute of machine).

While deliberating one may make several decisions, such as to start shopping around, to visit one or more stores, to contact this rather than that salesman, to select a given commodity to buy. But only when these decisions are made, only when the buyer is ready, does he buy.

Consequently it must be recognized that buying is just as much an active process of the purchaser as is selling of the salesman.

Other complications might be added here, but these are sufficient to make clear that the buying formula outlines only the barest framework of the whole process of purchasing. It is, however, extremely useful as a starting point in a study of the subject.

The process of voluntary purchasing has been analyzed into the elements set forth in the buying formula. The next chapter will discuss whether these same elements can be employed to explain the process of buying when a prospect is influenced by a salesmen.

## CHAPTER III

### ANALYSIS OF A SALE

Selling and buying are different aspects of the human relationship in which there is an exchange of a commodity or a service for a consideration. In the former the seller takes the initiative and in the latter, the buyer. In a great many cases both actually take the initiative, represented by the term "trading."

**Distinction between a Sales Transaction and the Complete Process of Purchasing.**—Recently I walked into a five and ten cent store, sauntered along the counter until I saw mousetraps on display, read the sign of "3 for 10 cents," picked up three traps and handed them to the saleswoman, at the same time presenting 10 cents with the other hand. She rang up the money, wrapped up the traps, and handed them to me; whereupon I walked out. Although no word was said on either side, this may be called a complete sales transaction—the essentials of a sale were present.

But it cannot be said that these steps alone constitute the complete process involved. Many other items must be added to those in the preceding paragraph before the entire picture is presented. For example, the day before I bought the traps my wife discovered that mice were in the pantry. She made it perfectly clear what was expected of me. Consequently I remembered that mice were caught with traps, that the best trap I knew of was sold in five and ten cent stores, and that there was such a store in Palo Alto. I accordingly decided then and there to buy some traps, also some cheese. And still further I remembered my decision when I was downtown, and I went to the store and made my purchases.

The process of purchasing, in the broad sense, starts with the rise of a want but it does not end with the mere purchase of the commodity. To date I have caught one mouse. From past experience I feel fairly sure there is at least one more in the house, and so the traps are still set. I have experienced a certain amount of satisfaction with my purchase so far, but the incident is not yet closed.

The very simplest type of selling is of that sort outlined above in the buying of a mousetrap. Here the decision to buy has occurred prior to meeting the salesman. The most complex type of selling is

that where the salesman brings to the mind of the buyer a want of which he had not been conscious and then sells him a solution to it.

If a retail merchant, for instance, views selling only in the light of what takes place in his store, he must come to a very erroneous notion of the subject. But if he realizes that his sales force can do relatively little in many cases to influence the purchases that are made because the decision to buy was made before the customers entered the store, then such a merchant has a clean-cut objective for his advertising. And that objective will not be the simple announcement of his wares at sales prices but it will include the influencing of people to make up their minds to buy his commodities and at his store.

The extent to which the retail salesman fails to see selling in its true and broad aspect is illustrated by an incident related by Roland Cole, writing in the October, 1923, issue of *Sales Management:*

> At a dinner in Detroit, a speaker said he had not bought an auto because no one has asked him to do so. The president of Detroit's largest department store said to the speaker, "That may have happened in the automobile business, but it could not have happened in my store."
>
> His claim was challenged by the speaker, who offered to send two people into his store, a man and a woman, give each one $200 in cash, with instructions to buy only when invited to buy. If, at the end of three days, either the man or the woman had any money left, the store proprietor would pay the speaker an equal amount. If they both spent their $200, the speaker stood to lose $400, which the department store man would thereby gain in sales.
>
> On a specified morning the man and the woman entered the store, each with $200 in cash, and went separate ways. It was agreed that each one would wander from counter to counter looking at merchandise. In the event of a clerk asking them to buy, they were to buy; but if the clerk said, "Is there anything I can do for you?" or "Are you looking for something?" or "Are you being waited on?" or any similar question, the man would answer, "I am waiting for my wife," and the woman, "I am waiting for my husband."
>
> Upon the evening of the third day neither the man nor the woman had purchased a single dollar's worth of merchandise, and the only thing to report was that in a half dozen instances the woman had been offered a chair and invited to make herself comfortable while waiting for her husband. They had been spoken to by clerks hundreds of times but in no case after they had submitted that talismanic bit of intelligence about the delinquent spouse, had a sales person said, "While you are waiting let me show you . . . ," or anything that approached it.

Clearly, none of these salespeople considered that their jobs of selling included the arousing of wants in the minds of prospective customers. Their whole function was to help people decide whether they would buy this coat or that one and to take the money, but never to induce a person to buy a coat who had not come into the store for that purpose.

## WILLIAM BAGLEY INTERVIEWS DR. CARTER C. BARNES[1]

Here is an example of selling taken from the life insurance field. Let us see if it shows our buying formula (Fig. 2 page 18) to be of equal value in expressing the mental processes of one to whom something is sold.

*Picture of Carter C. Barnes*, dentist, Middletown, Conn.

Age, thirty-six in 1919—born, May 25, 1883.

Has $3,000 twenty-premium life in this company, taken out at age of thirty. No other insurance known.

Married—has three young children, a boy and two girls.

Now practices alone, but until recently was associated with an elder dentist, Dr. Warden.

Income unknown; probably about $3,500 to $4,000.

Graduate of local college, Wesleyan University, takes an active interest in college affairs and in his fraternity, Psi Upsilon. Is a member of the Methodist Church, the Country Club, and the University Club.

Wife has inherited $35,000 from an uncle, according to the papers.

*Plan.*—Educational policy to provide four years' expenses for son's college education.

Thirty-five-year endowment, continuous premiums, dividends accumulated for old-age fund.

Insurance payable as follows: Interest on principal payable to the boy until eighteen (or age estimated at which he will enter college) if insured dies before the boy is eighteen years old. Beginning at such age the principal to be paid in installments for four years, payable semiannually in September and February.

If the father lives to see the boy through college and wishes to change the beneficiary so as to increase the protection for his daughters, he may do so.

*Interview.*—Bagley telephones Dr. Barnes, saying he wants to see him for a few minutes and asking what time "today" would be most convenient. The dentist says he has no engagement for three o'clock and that if this is not taken later, he will see Bagley at that hour.

Bagley calls at three and finds Dr. Barnes at liberty.

Bagley: Dr. Barnes?

Barnes: Yes.

Bagley: I'm Mr. Bagley. I telephoned you this morning.

Barnes: Oh, yes.

Bagley: Thank you for letting me see you promptly. I thought of something the other day which I believe is a matter of interest and importance to you and I just got the details worked out yesterday. I am glad I can present them at once.

[1] From STRONG, E. K., JR.: "The Psychology of Selling Life Insurance," lesson 1, 1922. Reprinted with permission of Harper & Brothers. The sale that is outlined here was an easy sale, although of the fifteen salesmen who had called on Dr. Barnes during the year, not one had been able to interest him. The author was acquainted with the successful salesman, several of the unsuccessful salesmen, and the prospect, and thus obtained the details of the sale. These were outlined to Griffin M. Lovelace, who finally wrote out the sales interview as it now stands.

Barnes: What did you want to see me about?

Bagley: Dr. Barnes, I believe you have a son.

Barnes: Yes.

Bagley: Of course, he's not old enough to go to college yet, is he?

Barnes (laughs): No, he's only ten years old. But he's already interested in college. Says he's going to Wesleyan, as I did; knows all the football players and is better posted on Wesleyan athletics than I; although I am something of a fan myself.

Bagley: That's fine. It must be a source of much pleasure to you to find your little son already interested in college and thinking definitely of going to college. I came to speak to you about your boy. May I sit down a moment?

Barnes: Certainly. (Both sit.)

Bagley: From what you have just said, Dr. Barnes, I don't need to ask you if you believe in a college training. As you look back on your own experience is there anything else you could give your boy which you believe would benefit him as much as a college education?

Barnes: No, there isn't. It's a big thing for any young man. It broadens his view of life, deepens his capacity for enjoying the better things of life, and equips him to do his part in every way.

Bagley: I heartily agree with you. And doesn't it also increase his ability to earn a living and to take a high rank in his community? Isn't it of real practical value also?

Barnes: I think it is decidedly. But what was it you wanted to see me about? Aren't you with the American Home Life Insurance Company?

Bagley: I am; and I am glad to see from our records that you are insured in our company.

Barnes: Yes, I have a small policy in your company.

Bagley: You haven't yet made any insurance provision for your son's college education, have you?

Barnes: I don't understand just what you mean.

Bagley: I mean you haven't taken out an educational policy for your boy.

Barnes: No. I never heard of an educational policy.

Bagley: This is the idea. If you live, you mean to see that your son gets a college education. If you should happen to die before he is old enough to go to college, or before he completes his college course, he may or may not get a college education, although that is the one thing you would rather he should have above all others to fit him for life. The educational policy insures your boy a college education.

When you think of the scale of living to which you have accustomed your family, you will realize that it would probably take all your present insurance and whatever investments you and Mrs. Barnes have to support the family properly, if you should die.

There might possibly be enough to pay all or a part of the boy's way through college, but you would no doubt feel a lot better satisfied if you made a special provision for a four-year income payable to your son during his college course. Not only would you feel happier to know that his college education was provided for, but you can understand that if anything happened to you, a high-spirited boy would probably hesitate to allow his mother to send him to college if the family income were not ample to provide his expenses without any sacrifice on his mother's part.

Of course, he might work his way through college wholly or in part. Many boys do so and there are persons who seem to think it is a good thing for a boy to have to do so. But I have talked with college teachers and administrators who are strongly of the opinion that the boy who has to pay his way entirely is under a distinct handicap; that so much of his time is required to earn a living that his studies suffer, no matter how conscientious and industrious he may be.

Barnes: I really hadn't thought very much about it. Indeed, I had never seriously considered the possibility of my not being able to see the boy through college myself.

Bagley: But we must face the fact, mustn't we, Doctor? There is such a possibility. About one father in five does not live long enough to see his boy through college. You are in good health and have every reason, so far as your own personal and family history are concerned, to hope to see your boy through college. But there is in your case, as in mine and as in the case of every man, the possibility that our expectations will not be realized. You have seen men in the best of health, men of good habits, and of a long-lived family, cut down suddenly by influenza or some other disease; and many of them were not prepared to go, so far as provision for their children's future was concerned.

No doubt you knew Dr. Kellar.

Barnes: Yes, I knew Kellar.

Bagley: A fine man. One of the best physicians in the city; in the prime of life, in good health; just arrived at a position of distinction in his profession and earning a good income. But the influenza took him and we find that, financially, he was not ready to go. He had a son at the Taft School last year; but this year the boy has been in the local high school, and I understand the family is not left in very good circumstances. If this boy goes through college, he will have to work his way, unless some friend or relation helps him out, and that will be a source of embarrassment to him and to his mother.

What a fine thing it would have been, if Dr. Kellar had had such a proposition for his boy as the educational policy I am prepared to submit for your consideration.

Barnes: What is the proposition?

Bagley: How much do you think your boy would need each year to see him through Wesleyan?

Barnes: Well, he could live at home. I should think his other expenses would be at least $300 or $400.

Bagley: Wouldn't it be well to figure for him if he *would* have to pay his board so that he would be prepared for anything that might happen? Let me show you the plan I had worked out, as a minimum for tuition, board, clothes, books, college activities.

I estimated about $750 a year. From what I can gather from various sources, I judge that $600 might be considered a fair minimum today. Formerly, $500 might have been a fair figure. But costs are much higher now as all of us know. Each thousand dollars of insurance will provide about $260 a year for four years; $3,000 will provide about $780 a year for four years. This can be settled in semiannual payments, say the first of September and the first of February, just at the time of the year when there will be special college expenses.

The amount of insurance is small. It is really quite wonderful to think that for such a small amount of insurance, your boy could have the benefit of four years at college, if anything happened to you, just as surely and under just as favorable circumstances as if you were living, without requiring any sacrifice on the part of his mother, independently of any assistance from anybody, and without the necessity of devoting any of the time needed to do his college work properly to working his way through. Is there anything else that would mean so much to your boy at such a time? Is there anything else which would make him more appreciative of his father; anything else that would more surely tend to keep alive in his heart all his life a deep affection and high regard for the memory of his father? The fact that his father had the foresight and the sense of responsibility and the love for him to provide for his college education would seem to him the most certain evidence of all, that his father was the kind of a father he had always believed him to be.

Barnes: That *is* a fine proposition, Mr. Bagley. I'm very much interested. As a matter of fact, I've been thinking lately of taking out some more insurance.

Bagley: How much have you now, Doctor?

Barnes: The $3,000 in your company and $4,000 in the Mutual Aid Company. I have been talking with one or two agents who have been in to see me and had thought I would take out a little more insurance, but they had not presented anything concrete as you have done. I want to do something for my children. Mrs. Barnes has some independent means and the $7,000 I already have is payable to her. I wouldn't want to change that; but I felt I might take some insurance for the children. This plan of yours is definite. It accomplishes the very thing I would want to do for the boy above all others. What is the premium?

Bagley: If you agree, I'm going to put this on the thirty-five-year old-age plan, deposits every year, and get you to leave the dividends to accumulate at compound interest. If the present dividend scale continues this would make your policy fully paid up in about twenty-three or twenty-four years and fully matured for $3,000 in cash in about age sixty-three or sixty-four; and yet the annual deposit is very little more than the ordinary life plan. At age thirty-six, the ordinary life deposit is $27.17 a thousand. For the plan I offer, the thirty-five-year old-age policy it is only $29.91. Yet you can convert it into a paid-up policy in twenty-three or twenty-four years by accumulating your dividends, assuming our present dividend scale will be continued, and the policy will mature as an old-age cash payment at sixty-three or sixty-four.

This is a plan we advise for professional men who may feel the need of retiring in the sixties, and who have not a commercial business which may be continued by an employee. It is not only a fine proposition for the boy but it is a good thing for you, if you live out your natural lifetime. Don't you think it is a fine combination plan?

Barnes: Yes, it looks pretty good. I suppose this policy has all the usual features, cash values, paid-up and extended insurance, and all the usual privileges.

Bagley: Yes, all of them. It's a beautiful contract and when I get the policy we will go over the details together. (Gets out the application and his pen, asks the usual questions, and is particularly careful to get the ques-

tions regarding the beneficiary right. Barnes signs and Bagley gets a check for $89.73 and arranges to have the examination made that evening.)

Bagley: There is just one important thing, Doctor, that I am going to leave until tomorrow, but I want to get it settled if possible before we send your papers to the Home Office. Please figure out when you expect your boy will enter college, whether in his eighteenth or nineteenth year, so that we may specify that, in the event of your death before he enters college, the payments shall begin at the age of entry, eighteen or nineteen as the case may be. There are certain details that will have to be arranged when we know the age at which he will probably enter college.

Barnes: All right, I'll think that over tonight.

Bagley: Dr. Barnes, you have one or two daughters, haven't you?

Barnes: Yes, two.

Bagley: As I understand your plans for the protection of your children, I believe you would be interested in something concrete to consider for each of your daughters, just as you have selected a concrete proposition for the boy. Will you give me the names and ages of your daughters?

Barnes: Madeline Embry and Eleanor Louise. They are twelve and seven years of age.

Bagley: Thank you, Doctor. I'll want a day or so to work out a plan carefully for each of them. I'll drop in when the plans are ready. Good-bye. Thank you very much, Doctor.

Barnes: Good-by. I'm much obliged to *you.*

## THE WANT AND THE OBSTACLE

This sales interview between Bagley and Barnes has dealt both explicitly and implicitly with the wants of Barnes. Before beginning an analysis of the interview it is advisable to consider the two aspects of a want and the obstacle.

A person feeling a want may focus his attention upon his lack of satisfaction, upon the pleasure he will feel when he gets what he wants, or upon the thing that blocks him from getting what he wants. These three possibilities may be spoken of as the negative and positive aspects of the want and the obstacle.

The negative aspect of a want has reference to the dissatisfaction felt right now. The positive aspect, on the other hand, has reference to the satisfaction to be obtained, the fun, the joy, the happiness that is desired. A daydream is characteristically a dwelling upon what is positively desired. When out for a long hike, a man may feel how hungry and thirsty he is, how hot and sweaty, how tired, how dusty the road is, and so on. Or he may, on the other hand, enjoy the anticipation of ice cream to be obtained at the end of the day. How good it will taste, how cold it will be, how pleasant it will be to sit in the shade and rest—all such pleasures are enjoyed imaginatively. The pessimist naturally thinks of the negative aspect of his want; the

optimist thinks of the positive aspect. The former finds fault and is unhappy almost regardless of how good the situation is; the latter obtains pleasure almost regardless of how bad the situation is.

Sometimes the negative aspect of a want and sometimes the positive aspect should be emphasized in selling. Ordinarily some emphasis on both is desirable, for each intensifies the other.

But now what is the obstacle? The obstacle is the condition which prevents the want from being satisfied. It is always some environmental condition which must be gotten out of the way, dodged, or changed. In the case of our tired hiker, the obstacle is the five miles that must be traveled before he reaches the end of the street-car line. If the five miles could be eliminated he could enter the welcoming "joint," enjoy his cold, refreshing ice cream, stretch his tired legs, and feel the pleasure of having finished a fine outing. But the five miles remain—they constitute an obstacle to his getting what he wants, they force him to keep on and so he must continue to suffer with the heat, the dust, and his aching muscles and sore feet.

If our hiker turns his attention from the negative or the positive aspect of his want—whichever occupies his mind—and concentrates on the obstacle, the distance to go, he is most likely to start thinking of some way of eliminating it. Before he has realized it, he may hail a passing auto and ask for a ride.

Consider another example. A gentleman of fifty years of age realizes from time to time that he has not the strength he used to have; he finds himself getting tired rather frequently; he experiences headaches; his work is less interesting, and so on (negative aspect). He has a general desire to feel better, he wishes to do things which he does not, however, attempt (positive aspect). He secretly attributes his condition to the fact of getting old (an obstacle he cannot overcome). But one day his family physician says to him, "Come in and let me look you over. You don't look well." And the physician locates some disorder (an obstacle he may possibly overcome). Now our middle-aged man finds his troubles concentrated in this particular obstacle. Before this, his wants were so general he more or less ignored them. Now they are intensified because they are focused on one thing which must be eliminated. A vague longing is converted into a dynamic want by emphasis upon the obstacle. It is analogous to the effect of damming a great river. A quiet though mighty flow is changed into a source of energy.

Subsequent chapters will make clear all that these words "want" and "obstacle" mean, but they have been explained sufficiently so that they can be used in analyzing our sales interview.

## ANALYSIS OF THE BAGLEY-BARNES SALES INTERVIEW IN TERMS OF THE BUYING FORMULA

The object of this chapter is to show that the buying formula (Fig. 2) will apply to a sale as well as to a purchase. The Bagley-Barnes interview is accordingly analyzed here in terms of the six headings: (1) the wants of the prospect, (2) the obstacle, (3) the solution, (4) the reasons that the solution is adequate, (5) the pleasant feelings associated with the solution, and (6) the act of purchasing.

**First, what did Barnes, the prospect, want, which might be satisfied by the salesman?**

*a. Positive Aspect of the Want.*—From what Bagley, the salesman, knew of Barnes, he could guess that Barnes wanted the following:

(1) His boy should go to Wesleyan College. This is the primary want; all others are secondary. (The usual primary want appealed to in selling life insurance is the protection of one's wife. But it would be difficult to base a sale on this in the present case because of her recent inheritance of $35,000.)

(2) His boy should become a success in life—a good athlete, a good mixer, have the association of college men after graduation, etc. (But the salesman could not know whether Barnes wanted his boy to work his way through college or not.)

(3) His wife should be free from worry and personal sacrifice.

(4) He should be approved by his son, daughters, wife, friends, associates in business, and the salesman. That is, he desired that his son should always cherish a high regard and pride for him; that people should say, "Look what Dr. Barnes did for his boy"; that his own conscience should be satisfied that he had done everything possible for his son.

Barnes was planning and working to satisfy all these wants. He was looking forward to the time when he would see his boy entering college. But he was not considering the possibility that he might die, and that in that event his wants might not be satisfied. Consequently, his activities were not directed definitely toward the particular end desired by the salesman, but merely toward the general goal of success in his profession.

It was consequently necessary to emphasize the negative aspect, in order to make Barnes feel that he had certain wants that might never be satisfied.

*b. Negative Aspect of the Want.*—(Barnes was not thinking of the following possibilities when the salesman called.)

(1) His boy might not go to college for lack of funds, or

(2) His boy might have to work his way through college, thereby preventing him from getting certain advantages of a college education, or

(3) His boy might have to go to some cheaper college than Wesleyan, or

(4) His wife might have to worry and sacrifice herself to help the boy, or

(5) People generally would not approve of him as much as if he had absolutely guaranteed the boy's education.

Here are the items which would fully arouse Barnes to an appreciation of what he has long been planning to do and to a strong emotional state because the plans were now threatened by the possibility of his death. The most natural response to this attitude would be to inquire if there were any way of eliminating the effect of his possible death.

**Second, what is the obstacle?**

*a. The Contingency of Barnes's Death before His Son Finished College.*—If Barnes lives, presumably his wants for his boy will be accomplished. But if he should die, the subsequent decrease in income for the family might make the college education impossible or to be effected only through sacrifice and worry on the part of both wife and son.

**Third, what is the solution?**

*a.* An insurance policy that will pay the boy's expenses through college in case the father dies.

*b.* The particular policy that will do all this is the one the salesman has to sell, *i.e.*, a policy of the American Life Insurance Company.

**Fourth, what reasons are presented as to why the policy will adequately satisfy Barnes' wants?**

*a.* The boy will be paid $3,000 in eight semiannual installments beginning the September of the year the boy enters college, if the father dies in the meantime. (This is the only contingency that is insured against in this sale.)

*b.* The money paid out for the policy will not be wasted in case the father does not die, for the policy can be continued and Barnes will receive $3,000 in his own old age.

In this sale there is no discussion of the relative merits of the salesman's policy and competing company policies. This is very frequently the case when a salesman has presented his proposition as an adequate solution of what the prospect wants.

**Fifth, what pleasant feelings are aroused which help make Barnes desire to buy Bagley's policy?**

To answer the question as to what pleasant feelings were aroused to help make Barnes desire Bagley's policy it would be necessary to

list everything that was pleasantly experienced by Barnes during the interview, taking into account also everything that was unpleasantly experienced by him. The more the prospect experiences pleasantness as opposed to unpleasantness, the more he will like the salesman and his proposition.

In this connection consider what the effect must have been on Barnes when he heard such expressions as the following:

"little son already interested in college" (line 23)

"as you look back on your own experience in college" (27)

"increase his ability to earn a living and to take a high rank in his community" (33)

"feel happier" (59)

"a high-spirited boy would probably hesitate to allow his mother to send him to college" (61)

"without requiring any sacrifice on the part of his mother" (117)

"is there anything else that would mean so much to your boy at such a time?" (120). Etc.

Contrast all this forward-looking plan for the boy's success and happiness with the opposite type of selling, in which is played up all the trouble that might befall the boy because his father did not carry insurance.

**Sixth, what elements facilitate the purchase?**

In order to study selling it is necessary to divide the process up into small parts for ease of presentation. When this is done the student is very apt to obtain a false notion of the whole process because he studies, not the whole process, but only its parts. This is strikingly so in the case of studying the act of purchasing, the "close" as it is usually designated. The student comes to believe that after the presentation has been made then the salesman does some new things in order to close. This is correct but only to a limited degree. He does make the act of purchasing as easy as possible. And the process of doing this is peculiarly part of the close. But a complete and true conception of the elements entering into the purchase must involve all that has gone before. Only when the salesman has definitely in mind completing the sale when he commences his interview, and maintains this objective throughout the interview, is he likely to secure the sale.

A purchase occurs when there is a sufficiently strong *want* and a *solution*, a way of satisfying it, that appears to be adequate. If the want is not strong enough or the manner of satisfying it not sufficiently understood and accepted, so that the prospect would not buy of his own accord, he may be led to purchase if the salesman closes the interview in a proper manner.

The three elements that distinctly facilitate a purchase other than the fundamental elements of want and solution are: first, keeping all competing solutions and wants out of the prospect's mind; second, making the act of purchasing as easy as possible; and third, giving the prospect a "push." In Chap. XX these elements will be discussed at length. At this point it is sufficient to give a general idea of them.

The successful salesman endeavors to eliminate from the mind of the prospect all competing wants—not only wants that can be satisfied by purchasing a competing trade-marked commodity but also any commodity that will satisfy another set of wants. For example, the insurance salesman tries to prevent the prospect from thinking about other insurance salesmen, or about investing money in bonds or business, or about buying an automobile or a house. It is because a salesman does manipulate the mental processes of his prospect so that the prospect comes to feel strongly the want for the salesman's commodity and to think little or not at all about other wants, that people buy more from a salesman than they would purchase on their own initiative.

In selling, the act of purchasing is facilitated by making it easy to buy. Every exertion that must be made in order to buy is an obstacle to buying. Many a retail merchant finally refuses to buy because he has suddenly appreciated the labor involved in rearranging his shelves to accommodate the new line of goods. Many a college professor has refused to use a new textbook because it will entail much labor on his part in rearranging his lectures. Ease of purchase and ease of installing and using the commodity (particularly as these affect the purchaser) are accordingly factors that affect the sale.

The more a prospect has resisted the salesman, the more figuratively he has set his brakes, the more necessary is it for the salesman to give him "a push" at the end in order to start him going. Even after a prospect has ceased to resist, is really sold, he will remain silent, just as an auto will often stand on a gentle slope after the brakes are released. But if the automobile is given a jar it will start rolling. So if the prospect can be induced to do some little act, as bringing a glass of water, or deciding which one of the bindings he likes the best, or figuring out some calculation, he will come along and sign when he would not do so a moment before.

In the Bagley-Barnes interview, the purchase was facilitated by:

*a.* Intensifying Barnes' wants for his boy, wife, etc.:

*b.* Showing Barnes how the effects of his possible death could be eliminated through life insurance.

*c.* Leading him to buy through:

(1) Keeping all competing solutions and wants out of his mind.

(2) Making the act of purchasing as easy as possible.
(3) Giving him many "pushes."

In this case the pressure was constant rather than jerky. For from the very first "yes" to the question as to whether he had a son, Barnes was successfully kept by Bagley in an acquiescent attitude. He was unable to deny or disagree with any of Bagley's statements or arguments as they were all calculated to fit in with his own ideas. Each agreement led him nearer the purchase, and his final "yes" was only one step ahead in the path he had been following—really easier for him than an abrupt "about face" would have been.[1]

[1] Several sales interviews are given in the Appendix. The reader will find it greatly to his advantage, before going on to the next chapter, to analyze them in detail as has been done with the Bagley-Barnes interview.

## CHAPTER IV

## WHERE TO PUT THE EMPHASIS

Corresponding to the distinction, brought out in the preceding chapter, between a sales transaction and the complete process of purchasing, is the distinction between an incomplete and a complete sales presentation. The salesgirl in the five and ten cent store gives a very incomplete sales presentation, for the reason that ordinarily no more is needed as the customer knows exactly what he wants. But the life insurance agent must present a very complete sales presentation because few prospects ever think about the matter except as a salesman brings the subject to their attention.

### COMPLETE AND INCOMPLETE PRINTED SALES PRESENTATIONS

The same variation occurs in advertisements as in sales talks, for the former are merely printed sales presentations.

The Sanatogen advertisement (Fig. 3) is a complete sales presentation in that it aims to arouse a want and show how that want may be satisfied by the advertised product. It makes clear that a trial purchase may be made at the drugstore; or, if the reader is not yet ready to spend a dollar, it suggests writing for a booklet. Undoubtedly many readers who knew nothing of Sanatogen before reading this advertisement responded in one of these two ways. The General Motors advertisement (Fig. 4), on the other hand, is not a complete sales presentation, for no reader would buy after looking at the advertisement. To begin with, the products are not even mentioned, and only to the extent that the trade names are already known can the reader understand what it is all about.

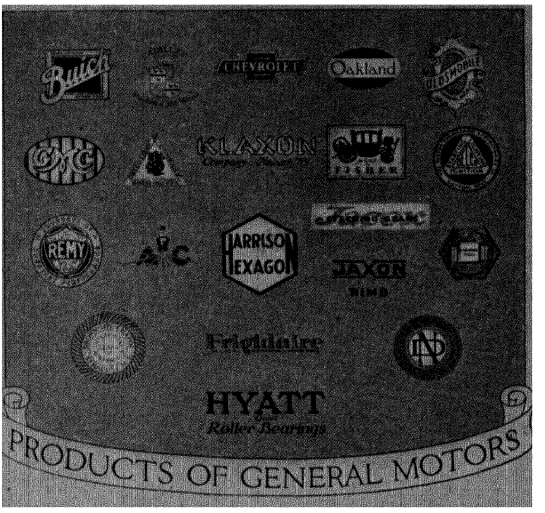
A "want ad" is typically an incomplete sales presentation. The want that leads to action is presupposed to exist and to be so strong that the prospective buyer will of his own accord turn to the classified section and later get in touch with the seller. The want ad

> DODGE Sedan, good condition, sell chp., 1201 Walnut St.

states what is for sale, gives two reasons for buying and tells where to find the seller. No attempt is made to intensify the want, to arouse




FIG. 3.—Illustrating a complete sales presentation.




# The family's crests

YOU RECOGNIZE these trademarks. They are the crests of manufacturing members of the General Motors family—symbols made immensely valuable by years of public confidence.

"Product of General Motors" is your assurance that back of each company are the resources and strength of the whole big family of which it is a part.

## GENERAL MOTORS

BUICK · CADILLAC · CHEVROLET · OLDSMOBILE
OAKLAND · GMC TRUCKS

**FIG. 4.—Illustrating something other than a complete sales presentation.**

pleasant feelings, or to stimulate the act of buying. A much better advertisement of this sort is:

PACKARD '34 5-PASS. COUPE
FIRST COST OVER $3000; USED VERY LITTLE; RADIO EQUIPPED, 6 WIRE WHEELS, TRUNK RACK, LUGGAGE SPACE AT REAR; THE FINISH IS STEEL GRAY; CLEAN BROADCLOTH INTERIOR; CARRIES PACKARD DISTRIBUTOR'S GUARANTEE; PRICE $1550, LIBERAL TERMS.
EARLE C. ANTHONY, INC.
1400 VAN NESS, AT BUSH

The advertisement of the Frederic N. Whitley, Inc. (Fig. 5) has been run for years and brings in a satisfactory amount of business. The want for a fireplace which will not smoke is brought to the reader's attention. And a solution is guaranteed. The statement, "No payment accepted unless successful," is offered as proof that the work will be an adequate solution. No pleasant feelings are played up but anyone contemplating getting rid of a smoky fireplace will need no suggestions along that line.

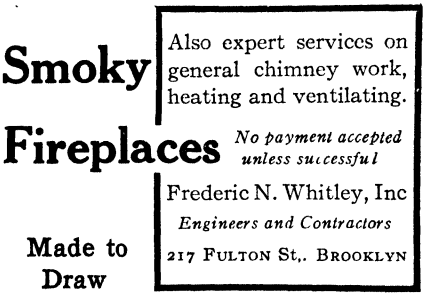



FIG. 5.—An effective advertisement but not a complete sales presentation.

These two small advertisements are sufficient to get the desired business because the elements that are not played up in the advertisements are already present in the minds of those who reply. But if these elements were not present the advertisements would not produce any business.

In order to influence another there is little or no need to tell him what he already knows and thoroughly appreciates. What is essential is to make him realize those things which he is not thinking about now but which would cause him to take the action desired if he were conscious of them.

### WHERE TO PUT THE EMPHASIS

Prospective buyers are not all alike. Some have never heard of the seller's commodity; some may have heard of it, but have never seen it; some have seen it used but never handled it themselves; some

have used it once; others, many times; and still others have used it but found it unsatisfactory.

These various prospective buyers must be handled in different ways in order to make a sale. Does this mean that radically *different* sales talks or advertisements must be prepared to meet these different attitudes? Or does it mean that essentially the same sales strategy can be used in each case, only that the *emphasis* must be shifted according to the attitude and past experience of the prospect?

In order to show that the latter view is the correct one, a variety of sales problems will be considered in this chapter, and the proper sales strategy for each pointed out. By means of this it is desired primarily to show that the solution to each sales problem is implied in the buying formula, and that the differences among these various solutions are merely differences in the *emphasis* that is put upon the elements in the formula.

All this will be illustrated from advertising rather than selling because that is much easier—an advertisement can be seen almost at a glance whereas a sales talk requires many minutes to read. But the principles apply equally well to both advertising and selling.

Emphasis may be put upon any one of the elements in the buying formula. Where it should be placed depends upon a variety of circumstances. Without going into detail it may be said:

1. If the prospect does not feel a want that can be satisfied by the commodity, the want must be emphasized.

2. If the prospect does not think of the commodity when he feels the want, the association between want and commodity must be emphasized.

3. If the prospect does not think of the trade name when he thinks of the commodity, the association between commodity and trade name must be emphasized.

4. If want, commodity, and trade name are well associated, emphasis must be put upon making purchase and use easy.

5. If competition is felt, emphasis must be put upon establishing in the minds of prospects the adequacy of the trade-named commodity, also pleasant feelings toward it.

6. If sales involving new prospects are desired, every element in the formula must be presented.

7. If more sales to old customers are desired, the latter must be reminded. (Developing new uses is comparable to selling to new customers.)

As all these conditions confront every advertiser more or less all the time, it behooves him to keep all the elements in the formula constantly

before the public. But while doing so he can put the emphasis in his advertising upon one element or another, depending upon what he considers his most serious problem.




FIG. 6.—Emphasizing negative and obstacle aspects of a want.

This is a quite different matter from that of designing advertisements to accomplish only one specific end. Such advertisements



# WHO is held responsible?

## *The driver without* WEED CHAINS, *of course!*

"I always use WEED CHAINS on wet, skiddy streets and roads" says the experienced motorist, "because if there was an accident and Weed Chains were not on the tires of my car while the other car had them on its tires, I would be blamed whether I was at fault or not. *I don't care to take chances of being held responsible.*"

Put *genuine* WEED CHAINS on your tires at the first drop of rain or flake of snow. They serve to protect you against law suits, personal injury and car damage.




They are *genuine* WEED CHAINS only when the name WEED is stamped on the Cross Chain Hooks and Connecting Hooks of the side chains. Look for this mark which has stood for quality and safety for over 20 years.

AMERICAN CHAIN COMPANY, INC.
BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT
In *Canada*: DOMINION CHAIN COMPANY, LIMITED, Niagara Falls, Ontario
*District Sales Offices*: Boston Chicago New York Philadelphia Pittsburgh San Francisco
THE WORLD'S LARGEST MANUFACTURERS OF
WELDED AND WELDLESS CHAINS FOR ALL PURPOSES



FIG. 7.—Emphasizing positive and negative aspects of a want.

frequently fail to interest any other readers than those specially aimed at.

**1. Emphasis upon Want.**—If there is no want, the commodity cannot be profitably sold. It is reported that H. D. Perky, the

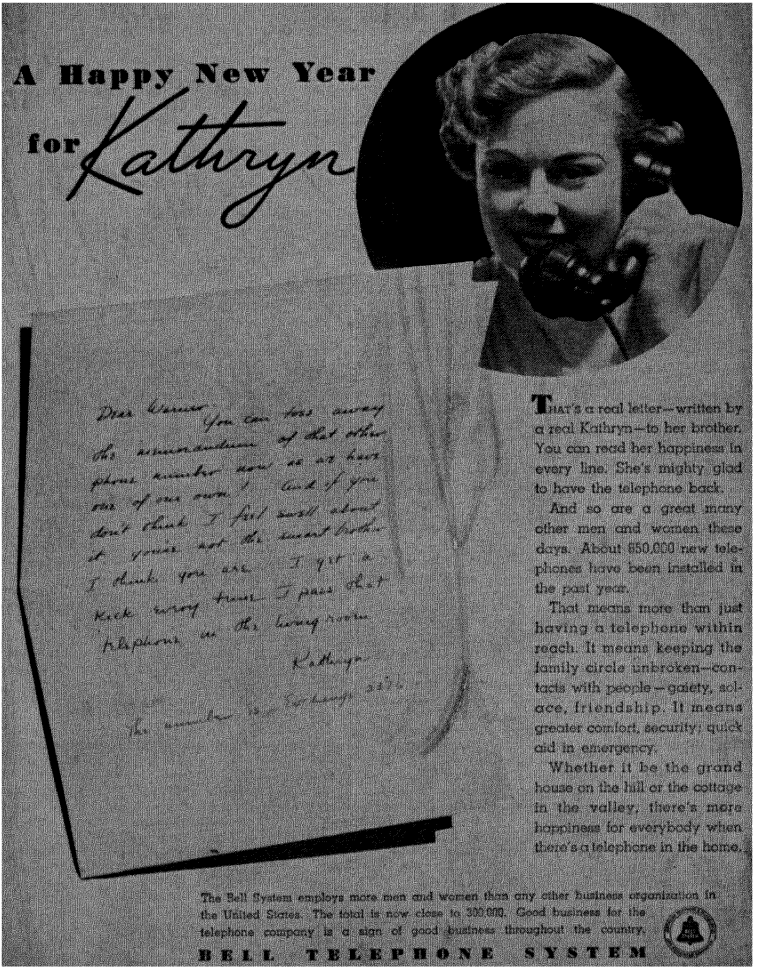



FIG. 8.—Emphasizing positive aspect of a want.

inventor of Shredded Wheat, spent $40,000 before he found that the French are not a breakfast-eating people. There was no want there for any kind of breakfast food. To sell to them it would be necessary to form among them habits of eating an Anglo-Saxon breakfast—a task much too expensive for any breakfast-food company.

The picture and the heading in the Listerine advertisement (Fig. 6) suggest a want possessed by many women. The copy in small type suggests the possibility of bad breath as the obstacle to be overcome. Interest is naturally aroused in the solution—Listerine.

The Weed Chain advertisement (Fig. 7) arouses a want to be in the position of the man on the left. Much of the copy emphasizes the negative aspect of this want—the unpleasantness of being responsible for an accident—but the complacency of the man with the cigar causes the positive aspect of the want to be brought out also.

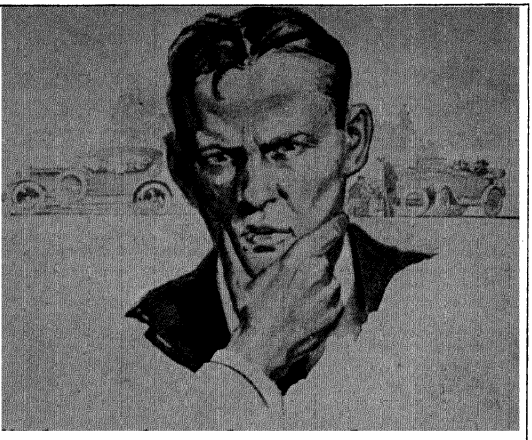
The Bell Telephone advertisement (Fig. 8) stresses the pleasure of having a telephone in the home. If the negative aspect were stressed, the reader would be made to feel the annoyance of missing engagements because friends could not reach him and of having to go out at night to call the doctor because there was no telephone in the house. The positive aspect is also aroused in the Palo Alto Hardware advertisement (Fig. 9). Who can fail to want to go fishing after looking at it?




FIG. 9.—Emphasizing positive aspect of a want.

The trend in selling today is toward selling the results of what a product will do, rather than what the product is. And the first step in selling the results is to create in the man's mind the desire to secure the benefits of those results. This is what is brought out in the advertisements in Figs. 8 and 9.

**2. Emphasis upon Obstacle.**—The Schrader advertisement (Fig. 10) is a fine example of emphasis upon the obstacle. The man in the cut looks puzzled and dissatisfied, and the copy outlines his conjectures as he tries to figure out what is wrong. What obstacle is it which he must overcome? It is not skidding, or driving over ruts, or scraping the tires against the curb, or the like. Finally, he thinks of the chance of underinflation. The copy in small type makes clear why that is, indeed, his trouble. And the fitting solution of his difficulty is shown to be the constant use of a Schrader Tire Pressure Gage.



# "I hear about long mileage —why don't I get it?"

"I do not skid my tires by applying the brakes too suddenly.

"I drive slowly over ruts and rough roads.

"I do not scrape the side walls of my tires against the curb.

"I have cuts promptly repaired.

"My wheels are in alignment.

"My tires fit their rims.

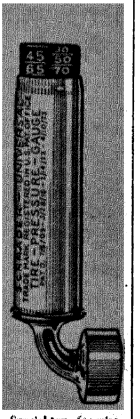
"I do not understand why I cannot get maximum mileage out of my tires.

"I wonder if incorrect inflation can be the reason why my tires wear out too soon."

That's just the reason. His tires are seldom correctly inflated. That is why they wear out long before their time. Some day this man will awake to the importance of correct tire inflation evenly maintained. And he will attend to the job himself. He will own and use a Schrader Tire Pressure Gauge.

This device will tell him at a glance the exact air pressure in his tires at any time. He will find his favorite make of tire yielding more mileage. The Schrader Gauge is accurate and will last for years.

*Buy your gauge today. On sale at motor accessory shops, garages, and hardware stores.*



Special type for wire and disc wheels, and wheels with thick spokes or large brake drums.

A. SCHRADER'S SON, INC., BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Chicago Toronto London

# Schrader

Makers of Pneumatic Valves Since 1844

## Tire Valves · Tire Gauges

FIG. 10.—Emphasizing the obstacle.

To repeat: The Listerine advertisement stresses the negative aspect of the want and then the obstacle; the Schrader advertisement, the obstacle primarily, but the negative aspect of the want by implication; the Bell Telephone and the Palo Alto Hardware advertisement, the positive aspect of the want; and the Weed Chain advertisement, both the positive and negative aspects. Whether the positive and the negative aspect of the want and the obstacle are to be displayed, or any two of them or only one of them, depends upon what is needed to cause the prospect most fully to appreciate his situation.

**3. Emphasis upon Associating Want and Commodity.**—Whenever a company's commodity is not well associated, in the minds of prospective buyers, with their wants, the commodity must be played up. Of course, such advertising helps every company that is selling that commodity. The best way to handle the situation is for all competitors to join in a cooperative campaign. This is what the brick people have done and the advertisement in Fig. 11 emphasizes brick, but no particular trade name. Such advertising causes all those readers who are planning to build homes to think of using brick, not wood, concrete, stucco, or stone. And so it helps all brick merchants.

There has been a remarkable development, since the war, of trade associations carrying on *cooperative advertising* campaigns. There is no question that there will be far more because it is the most equitable and efficient way of handling the problem of associating want with commodity.

The Cast Iron Pipe advertisement (Fig. 12) is another example of cooperative advertising in which the emphasis is primarily upon the commodity.

**4. Emphasis upon Associating Commodity and Trade Name.**—This is the most common problem in both advertising and selling, for in the great majority of sales the prospect knows what commodity he wants; and the seller is concerned only with getting him to buy the seller's own brand of goods, or to buy in the seller's own store.

A Fownes Brothers & Co. advertisement is headed: "Why, 'a pair of Fownes' means 'a pair of gloves.'" The first few lines of the copy follow:

When you say—

"I want a pair of Fownes," to any American glove merchant, he is not likely to answer:

"Excuse me, what was it you wanted?"

He knows that you want gloves—good gloves—and he will show you Fownes if he has them, or explain the merits of another brand.

And the slogan at the bottom of the advertisement is: "It's a Fownes—that's all you need to know about a glove." Here the whole emphasis is upon associating gloves with Fownes, of attempting to get the reader to say "Fownes" instead of "gloves" when he goes into the haberdashery.

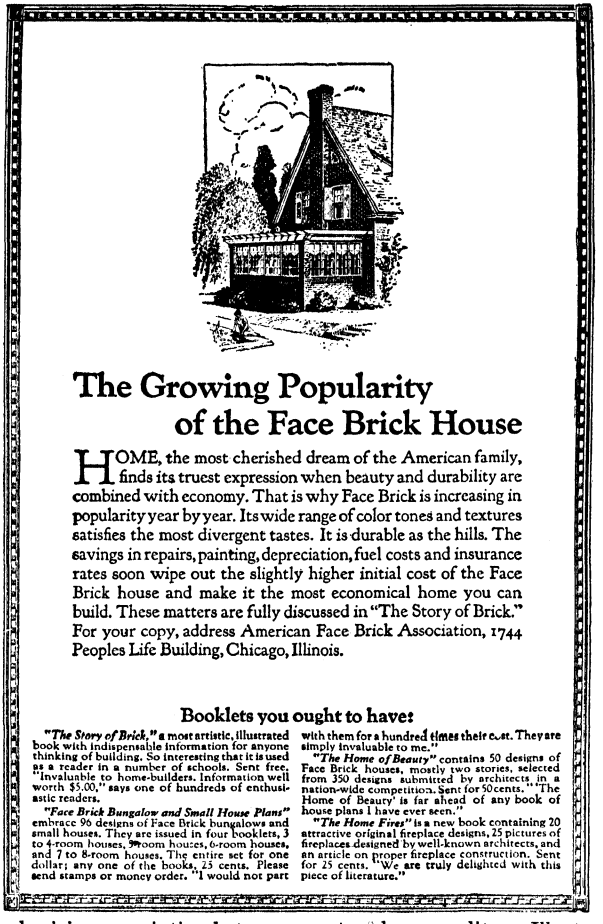



FIG. 11.—Emphasizing association between want and commodity. Illustrates cooperative advertising.

There are two conceptions of memory that affect advertising strategy. In one case the mind is viewed as like any container; to insure memory it is only necessary to put the idea in the mind. In the second case memory is viewed as the result of associating one idea with another. Nothing is to be gained by putting ideas into the mind unless they are connected with other ideas to form a useful whole.

Although the General Motors advertisement (Fig. 4) has several features which seem to bring it into this latter class, it is essentially only a display of trade names: there is no associating of commodities with trade names, for the commodities are not even mentioned.




FIG. 12.—A cooperative advertisement stressing the commodity.

It may, indeed, be more properly classified as *institutional advertising*. The object in such advertising is not to sell a particular product but rather a whole line of products. The immediate objective is

to play up the firm that sells the line. In this case emphasis is upon the units that General Motors have to sell. Institutional advertising is of greatest assistance to selling when all the units have a common trade name. When this is not the case the name of the company must be taught to the public in addition to the names of each of the products. It is questionable whether this is worth while in some cases. Institutional advertising is of value also when stocks or bonds are to be put upon the market, or when for some cause other than that concerning the merit of the goods the company has suffered a loss of reputation, or when jobbers and dealers are to be influenced.




FIG. 13.—Emphasizing association between commodity and trade name. Illustrates reminder advertising.

The Lucky Strike advertisement (Fig. 13) illustrates *reminder* advertising in which the trade-marked commodity is kept before the public, and at least one reason is supplied as to why it should be bought.

But in many advertising campaigns emphasis is placed altogether too much upon the trade name. This is even more strikingly seen in the work of many salesmen. Until the prospect is aware of his want and the commodity to be used in satisfying it, he is not interested and can hardly be made to be interested in any seller's trade name. On the other hand, once he wants the commodity he is naturally interested in the kinds of commodities, and information about them is retained with little effort.

**5. Emphasis upon Making Purchase and Use Easy.**—Many a sale is lost because it is not known where the article can be bought or it is too much trouble to go to the only store that carries it. The Ridgway Tea advertisement (Fig. 14) suggests telephoning—a very easy way of securing the commodity. A great variety of advertisements could be grouped here, all making clear how and where to buy.

The Weed Chain advertisement (Fig. 15) makes clear how to use the product. In doing so it eliminates one of the causes of procrastination, for no one likes to buy something he does not know how to use and he dreads the ridicule that may arise if he buys and then cannot use the article.

Developing a buying habit in the maximum number of consumers means widespread distribution. Coupled with it goes the necessity of

informing consumers where the goods can be obtained. The writer has moved to several different cities and has been much impressed by discovering how difficult it is to find many nationally advertised goods until they are stumbled upon. There is no way of finding out who sells them except by inquiring, and competitors usually "don't know." And it is also very surprising to what an extent local stores refrain from giving their addresses. Apparently, after contributing to campaigns to get people to come to their city, they are content to have them buy at any place. Some hotel will be advertised to tourists for miles ahead and then there is no name on the building to identify it when the traveler gets there.




FIG. 14.—Emphasizing ease of buying. Illustrates association of occasion for buying with trade name.

Much attention can well be given by sellers to the problem of making it easy to order. Many book publishers give no address beyond "New York" or "Chicago," and many people, having no more definite address than that, will not write.

Part of this problem of making purchasing easy is that of courteous and efficient service in the store, delivery of goods, answering inquiries, etc. This applies not only to adult customers but also to children. A checkup in almost any community will show that much of the buying is determined by the children. They naturally avoid stores where they are kept waiting until all adults have been served.

**6. Emphasis upon Adequacy and Pleasant Feelings.**—Everyone acts with a minimum of reasons and feeling when only one course of procedure is open. But when one is confronted with two or more possible courses, then deliberation appears. So, whenever an old customer is confronted with a substitution, he at that moment needs reasons to defend his accustomed purchase. If they do not immediately flash into mind, he will probably succumb to the salesman's pleas. And if the customer does not have a pleasant feeling toward the old commodity he

will be ready to consider something else that may give him such feeling. To maintain one's trade, it is then essential to have associated with the trade name reasons as to its adequacy and pleasant feelings.




FIG. 15.—Emphasizing ease of use.

The advertisements of the Sarco Company (Fig. 16) and the Foamite-Childs Corporation (Fig. 17) illustrate emphasis upon the

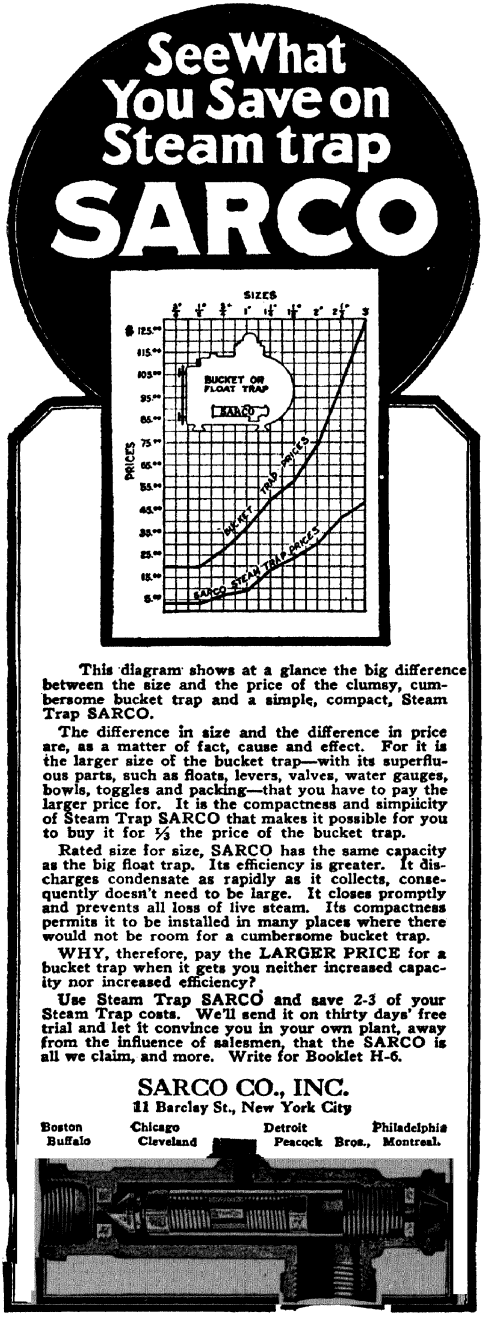



FIG. 16.—Emphasizing adequacy of the trade-named commodity.

adequacy of the product. The Edge Moor Boiler advertisement (Fig. 18) is an example of what is often spoken of as "borrowed prestige." The advertised boilers are introduced through the estab-




FIG. 17.—Emphasizing adequacy of the trade-named commodity.

lished interest in Hershey's chocolate. But a real reason is given here as to the value of the boilers, namely, the Hershey Company has repeatedly ordered more of them. Obviously, they would not do so if the boilers were not satisfactory.

The "big idea" in the Stanley Vacuum Bottle advertisement (Fig. 19) is "will not break." This is a reason for buying that com-

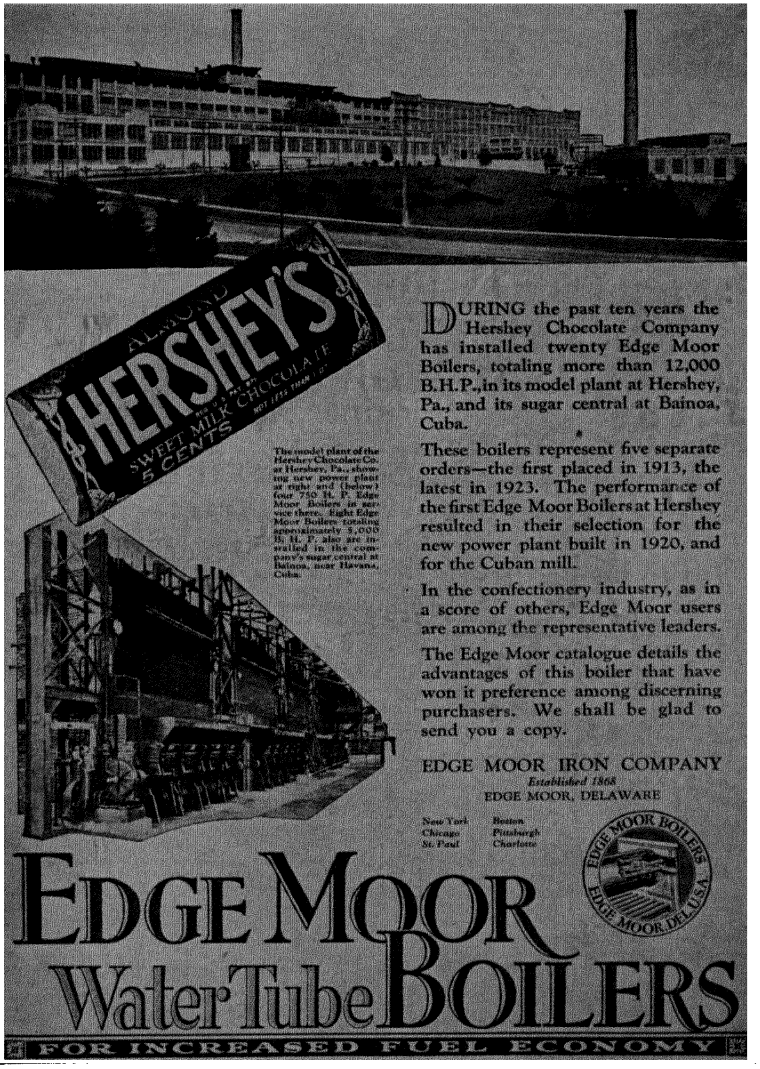



FIG. 18.—Emphasizing adequacy of the trade-named commodity. Illustrates "borrowed prestige."

pany's product instead of the ordinary vacuum bottle made of glass. In the second paragraph of the copy, supporting statements are made as to why it will not break.




FIG. 19.—Emphasizing adequacy of the trade-named commodity.

The advertising of Community Silver, Holeproof Hosiery, Palmolive soap and Karpen Furniture affords good illustrations of the method of making the whole advertisement so attractive that it is impossible not to like the product, although, actually, the pleasant feeling may result not from the product but from one or more irrelevant items in the advertisement. Such advertisements are spoken of




FIG. 20.—Emphasizing pleasant feeling. Illustrates "atmosphere."

as having "atmosphere." A good example of atmosphere effect is shown in the newspaper advertisement of Fatima cigarettes which appeared some years ago (Fig. 20).

For years the advertising of Ivory soap emphasized the various occasions around the home when something had to be cleaned, and showed how Ivory was the soap to be used. In addition, this campaign stocked the minds of readers with reasons why Ivory was the best soap. The advertising of Palmolive soap has been very different. It has associated with the soap pleasant feelings, aroused by looking

at beautiful women, children, and babies. More recently much of the advertising of Ivory soap has been directed at ridiculing the idea that soap can make women more beautiful. The relative value of these three campaigns remains to be seen.

**7. Emphasizing the Whole Formula.**—Every year, old customers die and boys and girls become men and women and start buying. In a few years a commodity will disappear from the market if it is not energetically advertised and sold. It will disappear, if for no other reason, because those who know it have passed on.

In any selling campaign, consequently, considerable attention must be given to the forming of a buying habit in new prospects. This requires that all the elements constituting such a habit must be associated together in the new prospect's mind. Reminder advertising has its place, but unless it is supplemented by complete presentations of the product and of how it satisfies wants the new prospect will not be sold. Or if he is sold, he will be easily influenced to try substitutes.

The advertiser has here exactly the same problem that the teacher has in the school. He must form certain definite associations and must drill the learner until the lesson is well learned. Too many advertisers grow tired of their own copy and spend much time and money trying to find new stunts, overlooking the facts that what is monotonous to them is new to thousands of readers.

**8. Emphasis upon Reminding Old Customers.**—The aim here is to remind people of their wants before those wants are realized, before the individuals who have those wants have had time to go somewhere else.

For years the words "Royal Baking Powder" appeared on every riser on the staircases to the elevated railway stations in New York City. One could hardly escape repeating the name several times as he climbed the steps. Such repetition of a trade name has value in preventing one from forgetting the name and in reminding him to buy if the product is wanted. But such advertising does not refresh the mind with the reasons and feelings so necessary to defend the old habit against substitutions. If they are not revived from time to time, they will most likely be forgotten.

There are all manner of devices that can be used to stimulate the habit. In the old days in San Francisco, after the sidewalk had been cleaned in the early morning, the saloon-keeper threw a mugful of beer on the sidewalk so that the smell would stimulate desire in the passerby. One druggist sprinkles a little perfume in the telephone booths of his store. On the wall a sign tells the name of the perfume.

It is said that "almost invariably lady patrons show an interest in this perfume." The same principle is illustrated by the common custom of placing umbrellas at the door on a rainy day. And displays in the window and store serve the same purpose.

Many buying habits can hardly be stimulated sufficiently through advertising unless the prospect is also stimulated by some additional experience at the same time. For example, the average man will




FIG. 21.—Seemingly emphasizing satisfaction, actually the positive aspect of the want. A good reminder advertisement.

not buy an electric fan on a cool day; he must suffer from the heat before he will buy, and then only if he happens to think of a fan. Consequently, one company arranges to have its advertisements released directly following a hot day and when it seems probable that the next day will also be hot.

The best time for any reminder to appear is just before the prospect will naturally think of buying. A card near the bottom of a can of coffee reminding the housekeeper to order another can is effective, for it suggests the order before she has come to think about the matter, thus heading off the ideas that might come to mind about other brands.

Another type of reminder which is in constant use but which is seldom employed by advertisers is that of preparing a list of things to buy for a certain occasion. Upon request, many have outlined to their friends what to take on an automobile trip. Yet when that question was systematically asked of every salesmen in five automobile accessory departments in one large city, several years ago, only one gave anything like a satisfactory answer. He was just an errand boy, but on being interrogated he replied that he was going to drive out West in his flivver the following summer.

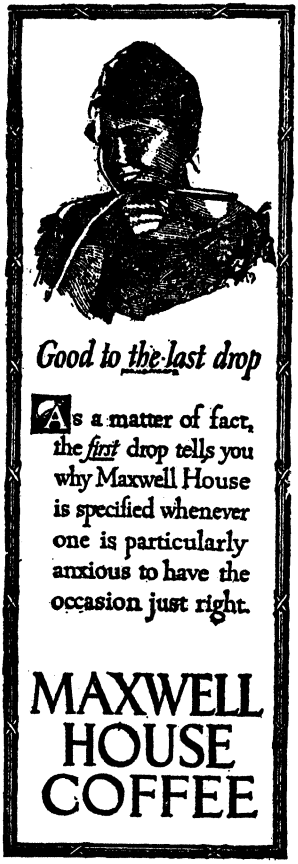



FIG. 22.—"Making the reader want coffee," sacrificed in order to "get attention."

Some day groups of advertisers are going to band together and collectively tell prospects what to buy when they want to do this or that. A beginning along this line is to be seen in the practice of some concerns selling dress goods who recommend a certain soap to be used for washing. And linoleum is shown in a kitchen which has a kitchen cabinet in it, and *vice versa*. Each of these is helped by the other.

**9. Emphasis upon Satisfaction.**—Offhand, the Maxwell House Coffee with its slogan "Good to the Last Drop" emphasizes satisfaction. We have, however, used the term satisfaction in the buying slogan to refer to the experience obtained after use. It refers, in other words, to an actual experience after purchase and use. The man in the advertisement is experiencing that actuality: the reader can only imagine himself having the same experience—this is what we mean by the positive aspect of the want, which is always an imaginative anticipation of the pleasure to come, once the solution is secured. Accordingly, we should not classify such advertisements as in Figs. 21, 23 and 24 as emphasizing satisfaction but rather the positive aspect of the want. Although satisfaction is pictured the reader feels a want, not satisfaction.

Why do advertisers with such possibilities spend money displaying girls that distract one from the commodity and often react unfavorably upon women readers (see Fig. 22)?

### ADVERTISEMENTS THAT DO NOT FIT THE FORMULA

The *Brooklyn Union* advertisement (Fig. 25) does not fit our buying formula. It is a typical advertisement of some advertising agencies and of many newspapers when selling their *own* service; and it is typical of the sort of advertising a college boy or a small merchant likes to run. The supreme effort is to get attention at any cost. Apparently, no thought is given as to what impression should be, or will be, permanently established in the minds of the readers as a result of the advertising.

The Julius Caesar appeal of the Prudential Insurance Company (Fig. 26) is not only poor—it is bad. The posing of the braggart Roman before the smirking queen makes the leopard sneer. The copy arouses mixed sentiments, among which contempt is strongly present in most readers. These unfavorable sentiments aroused by both cut and copy are certain to be directed not only toward Caesar but toward those who hold him up for imitation. The effect here is just the reverse of good "atmospheric" advertising. The feeling aroused becomes associated with the product and the company. It is amazing that, when there is so much of interest to everyone in life insurance, a great company feels it must spend all but one inch of space in a desperate effort to get interest, and to get it in such a way!

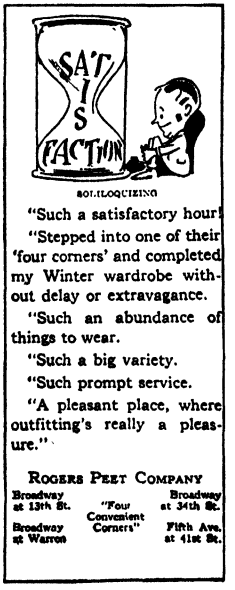



FIG. 23.—Emphasizing positive aspect of the want. A good reminder advertisement.

When the buying formula is followed there is no need whatever to worry about "attention," "interest," "conviction," "desire," "action," or "memory." *If a want is played up, attention, interest, and desire are simultaneously aroused; and when the solution is properly presented conviction, action, and memory are similarly taken care of.*

Reduced to the simplest terms, the main concern is with *satisfying wants.* But in doing so the elements must be presented in their proper sequence or the desired end is not so likely to be obtained.

The Ditto advertisement in Fig. 27 is an illustration of one written from the seller's point of view and not the buyer's. It begins with the trade name and recites the uses of the product. Recently, fifty young men and women were asked, "What is Ditto?" Though they were given three guesses apiece, only four of them mentioned "copying machine." But all knew "multigraph" and "mimeograph." When




**FIG. 24.—Emphasizing positive aspect of the want. Lower half of the advertisement too crowded to give good effect.**

they were told what "Ditto" really is, most of them declared they had never heard of it! Had Ditto been advertised for some time from the buyer's point of view, giving wants first and the machine as a solution, this surprising ignorance would not exist. As it is, a reader, not knowing what Ditto is, ignores all such headings as, "Ditto control is meddle-proof." What business is it of his?

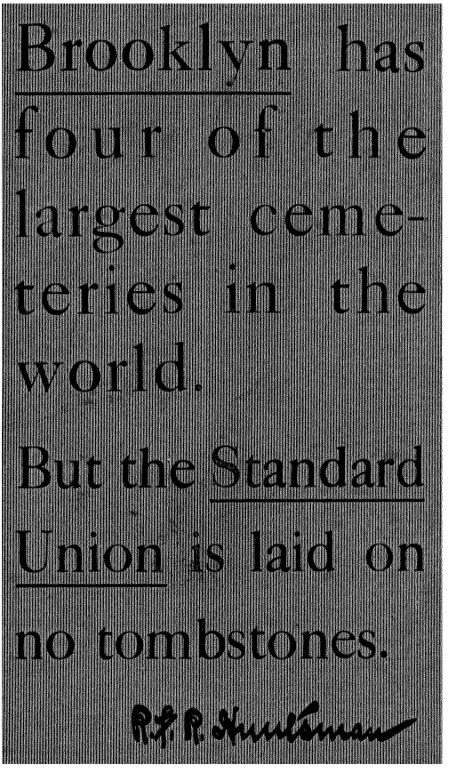



FIG. 25.—Does not conform to the buying formula. Everything sacrificed to get attention.

### THREE STAGES OF ADVERTISING

Writers on advertising frequently point out that the advertising of a product goes through three stages; the pioneering, competitive, and retentive stages.

The pioneering stage of advertising must be employed whenever a new product which is to be placed on the market serves a new purpose. The world has gotten along fairly well without it and is not aware of any need for a change. The advertiser must accordingly acquaint the

public with the situation, he must educate people to appreciate what the new product will do for them. The pioneering stage must be

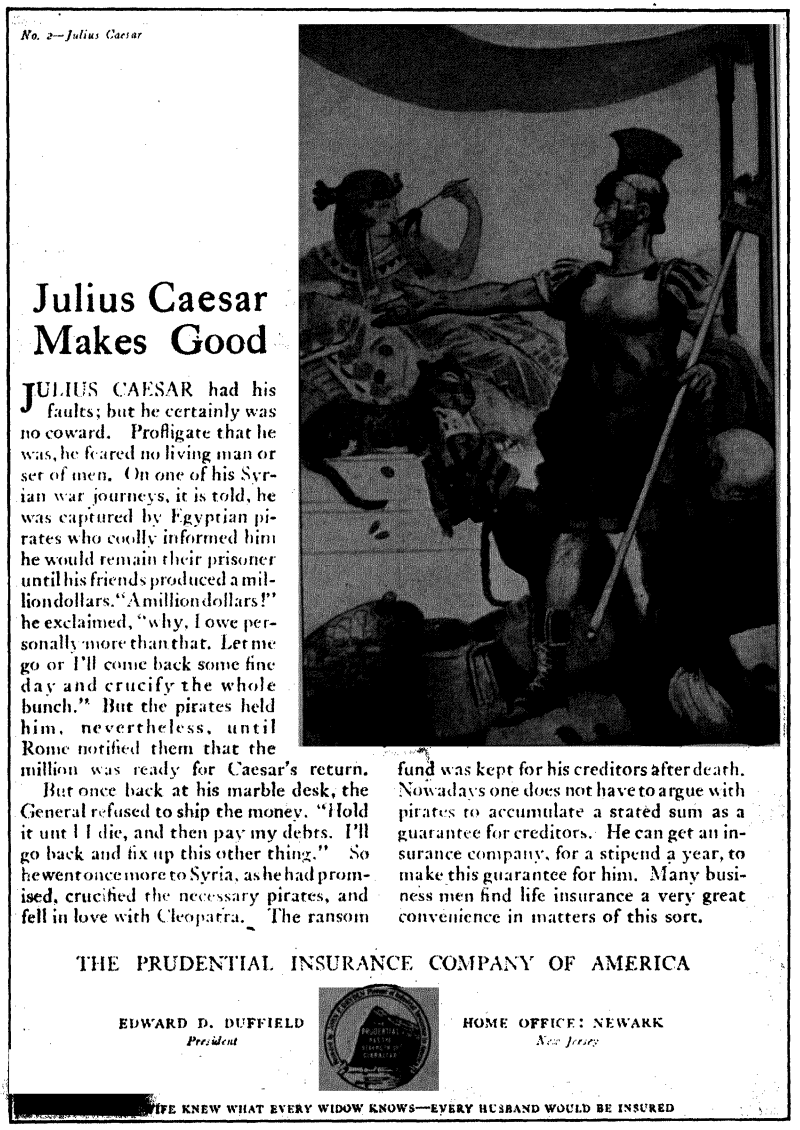



FIG. 26.—Does not conform to the buying formula. Almost everything sacrificed to secure interest.

used also when the new product is to be substituted for an already accepted commodity. Here again the public must be acquainted with

the fact that the new is superior to the old. For example, the public had to be taught what the radio and free wheeling were good for; it had to be convinced that Pyrex glass and Ethyl gasoline were better than ordinary cooking dishes and ordinary gasoline.

After a time competitors appear selling commodities similar to those first manufactured by the pioneer. The chief point to be emphasized becomes then the distinctive superiority of each brand. Most advertising typifies this competitive stage, for most commodities are sold in competition with others which differ only in minor respects.

The retentive stage of advertising is reached when the product becomes very well known. The only thing necessary then is to remind the public from time to time of the trade name. The Lucky Strike (Fig. 13) and the Ridgways Tea (Fig. 14) advertisements are examples of the third stage of advertising.

All this merely states in another way what has been presented in the preceding pages of this chapter. "The stage of a product depends upon the attitude of the people toward it." Consequently it seems preferable to the writer not to worry about what stage the product has reached but to concentrate upon the attitude of the customers and prospective customers toward it. This leads naturally to marketing studies to determine who buy, why they buy, and why the remainder don't buy. Upon the basis of such factual material it is relatively easy to determine what the public still needs

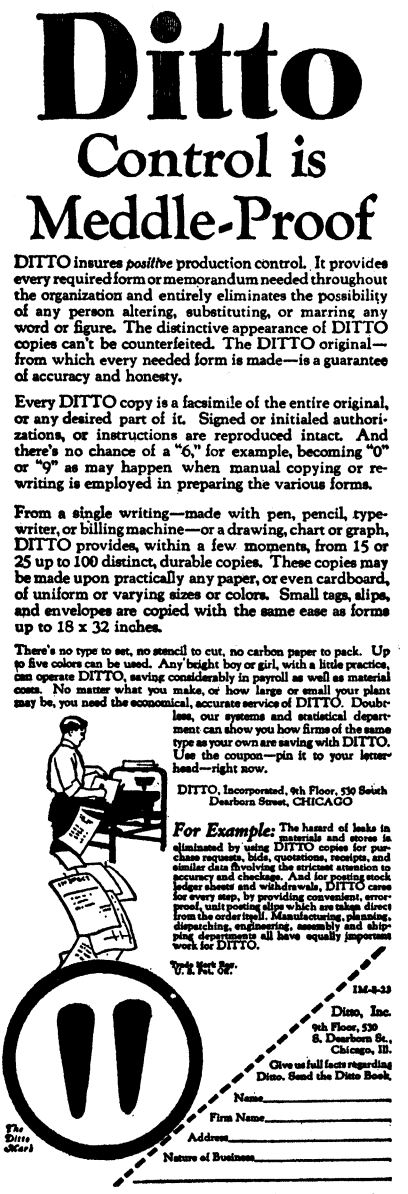



FIG. 27.—Does not conform to the buying formula. Seller's point of view, not buyer's dominant.

to learn about one's product before they will buy and then to present that information to the public.

Because it is so easy to interpret the buying formula (Fig. 2), page 18 to mean that it should be slavishly followed in all cases, it is well to repeat in still another way that the emphasis must be shifted from one element in the formula to another according to the attitude of the buyer.

### FOUR THINGS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN SELLING

The aim of a selling organization is to make customers, to form in the minds of thousands of people the habit of buying a given commodity at a certain place. To do this there are four fairly distinct things to be accomplished. First, some prospective customers must be led to *buy the commodity for the first time.* Second, some prospective customers must be led to *buy the seller's brand for the first time,* instead of a competitor's brand. Third, those who have bought the seller's brand must be led to *buy it again and again.* And, fourth, those customers who are influenced by competitors must be led to *buy despite the competition.*

If it were necessary to run entirely different advertisements to accomplish these four aims, then each advertisement would only be one-fourth as efficient as it might be if each advertisement could accomplish all four at the same time. The same thing holds true in selling. If the salesman must employ four different sales procedures it will take him longer to acquire them, and he will be less efficient for a long time than if he can employ one general sales procedure.

Frankly, it is often impossible to accomplish all four aims at the same time. There are occasions when one aim must be emphasized even to the extent of ignoring the other three. The more, however, an advertisement can secure entirely new customers for the commodity, switch customers from another brand, maintain old customers, and prevent inroads from competitors, the more efficient it is, since, among the readers of any medium there are some who belong to each of these four groups. And in the same way the salesman who can sell a prospect in such a way as to make a permanent customer is a more efficient salesman than one who has repeatedly to sell the man before securing him permanently.

The prospective customer who has never used the commodity at all must be made to feel some want and to see that the seller's commodity will satisfy it. Emphasis must be placed upon the elements on the central line of the buying formula (Fig. 2, page 18), but particularly upon Want, Commodity, Trade Name, Purchase, and Satisfac-

tion. As it is also necessary to show this new customer how the commodity will satisfy his want, some emphasis must also be put upon Establishing the Adequacy of the commodity and upon Pleasant Feelings associated with the commodity and trade name.

The prospective customer who has been buying a competitor's goods must be led to see that the seller's goods will more thoroughly satisfy his wants than do the goods he is buying. Here emphasis must be put upon Adequacy and Pleasant Feelings associated with Trade Name, for the new customer must have reasons why the seller's commodity is better and he must come to have more pleasant feelings toward it than toward the old brand.

The established customer is one who, when he feels his want, satisfies it by buying the trade-named commodity which he has bought before. He does not think of reasons for so acting, nor does he have any particular feeling in the matter, any more than one does in the case of shaving, or starting his automobile. He has a well-established habit and when the occasion occurs the act is performed. From the standpoint of maintaining the habit the most important element is that of satisfaction resulting from the use of the commodity. So long as each use of the trade-named article brings satisfaction, the tendency is for the habit to continue in force.

Forgetting in such a case is guarded against by general publicity, by reminder advertising. In reminder advertising the emphasis is upon the items on the main line of the buying formula and particularly upon Trade Name and Purchase.

The hesitating customer is one who is confronted by a competitor's claims. A salesman in the store, or at the door, or in the office, or in an advertisement suggests a new trade-marked commodity. Whether the new substitute will be bought or not depends upon the salesman or advertisement, and upon the strength of the old habit. In a real sense the habit within the old customer must fight the battle for the company. Whether the old habit will win or lose depends very largely upon its strength and the elements that compose it.

The strength of an established buying habit depends largely upon the number of times it has been performed. But its strength to resist the interference of a competing seller is largely in terms of the Reasons and Feelings that will come to mind at the moment. For these reasons and feelings actually function as would a salesman if he were present to defend the old habit of buying.

**All Four Aims Can Be Accomplished When a Complete Advertisement or Sales Presentation Is Employed.**—The seller who has in mind the ideal represented by the buying formula will shift emphasis

from one element to another of this formula according as specific circumstances warrant. But such modifications will not produce radically new presentations; each will be a portion of the whole campaign. Because each will breathe the spirit of a complete presentation, regardless of the details emphasized, it will appeal to all four classes of prospects.

# PART II

## HOW MAN SATISFIES HIS WANTS

Influencing should be the process by which the "seller" leads the person who is influenced to satisfy his wants and needs by doing what the "seller" desires.

The starting point of this process is the wants of the person to be influenced. Consequently, it is essential to know what are man's wants and his normal methods of seeking their satisfaction. The subject is considered in Chaps. V to VII.

Man possesses many wants; much of the time two or more conflicting wants are striving for right of way. How such conflicts are solved is discussed in Chap. VIII.

Because feeling, sentiment, and good will play an important role in behavior they are considered at some length in Chap. IX.

Immediate satisfaction of a want is often followed by regret. This is an old truism. The aim of good influencing is to create permanent satisfaction as well as transient pleasure. This means "selling" in terms of needs. The attainment of this ethical end is discussed in Chap. X.

Part II, then, treats of the satisfaction of man's wants. It lays the foundation for those processes of influencing others which are presented in Parts III and IV, and at the same time, explains in detail the principal points advanced in Part I.

## CHAPTER V

## MAN'S WANTS

If persuading another through advertising, selling, or any other method, is to be based upon the wants of the prospect, as has been emphasized in Chaps. I to IV, it is obviously essential that the seller shall know what wants the prospect has, or may have.

Seemingly, an easy way to determine all the wants that a prospect may have would be to observe what he does, what he says, and as far as possible what he thinks; and then to interpret these observations in the light of a study of one's own motives and desires. But it is very difficult for a man to obtain a genuine knowledge of his own wants. He experiences many of them every day. Yet he seems to be peculiarly unable to isolate them, to get them clearly before him, to admit that he has them, to know them as he does other facts in life. Man's mind is apparently so constituted that it does not focus upon the wants which are present within it but rather upon the possible means of satisfying those wants. And in the case of wants that are called selfish or immoral, man has learned so to disguise them in order to appear well before others, as well as himself, that he actually fools himself in a great many cases.

### ROLE OF STRUCTURE, STIMULUS, AND RELEASE OF ENERGY

Maintenance of life necessitates the absorption of oxygen, water, and food. These are transformed into a great variety of substances and utilized in replacing worn-out tissues and in carrying on the metabolic activities of the body. Finally certain waste products are eliminated. These processes must be continued or death will ensue; they consequently must be viewed as absolute needs. The most important of these bodily needs is oxygen, for man can live for weeks without food and for days without water but he can live for only a very few minutes without oxygen. As a first step in understanding the causes of behavior let us note how the body reacts when its supply of oxygen is impaired.

During muscular activity there is need for more oxygen and for the greater discharge of $CO_2$ gas from the lungs. Increase in the amount of $CO_2$ gas in the blood stimulates the respiratory center in the medulla

and this nerve center in turn stimulates the muscles of respiration so that their action is more vigorous than before. There are other adjustments set in motion at the same time, increasing the rate and vigor of the heart beat, causing the spleen to discharge new red corpuscles into the blood stream, etc., but for our purposes we may confine our attention to the stimulation of the respiratory muscles.

The cause of an increase in the rate of breathing is, first of all, the existence of an elaborate physiological mechanism which is designed to control the function of breathing; second, the existence of potential, or stored-up energy, within the mechanism; and, third, an increased amount of $CO_2$ in the blood which so stimulates the mechanism that some of the potential energy is released, thus operating the mechanism.

These physiological mechanisms are either innate or acquired. The former is well represented by the mechanism controlling breathing; the latter, by the mechanism which causes one to say "12" when he experiences "3 × 4." Thousands of such acquired mechanisms are established through the process of learning. These habits, as they are called, function because the necessary mechanism has been developed but only when an appropriate stimulus is experienced which releases energy within the mechanism.

The amount of energy released within the body does not necessarily bear any relationship to the strength of the stimulus which releases it. In certain cases, within certain limits, there is a mathematical relationship between strength of stimulus and response, as between amount of candle power of light and degree of sensation of brightness. In other cases, the situation is analogous to shooting a revolver, a very weak pull results in far greater discharge of energy from the exploding gunpowder. In other cases, the opposite result occurs, as when a parent endeavors to get an unwilling child to perform some task. Because of its inherent structure a living organism ignores part of its environment and responds to the rest in varying degree. The behavioristic conception postulated an inert organism which responded only when stimulated.[1] The present conception views the organism as stored energy ready to be released. It is an active organism seeking in its environment the objects it needs for its satisfaction.

**Reflex Action.**—Normal breathing is an example of reflex action, the simplest form of behavior. A reflex consists of an unlearned

[1] The weakness of the whole stimulus-response doctrine is exhibited by the inability to define stimulus except as that which excites an organism. Whether a given object is a stimulus to one man and not to another or whether it is a stimulus to one man today but not tomorrow depends not upon the object but upon the living organism.

physiological mechanism in which certain muscles or glands are stimulated to action by a nerve center which in turn has been excited by some fairly specific stimulus. The whole reflex system develops through the processes of growth in the same manner as do the eyes, teeth, and other parts of the body. The response is dependable in the sense that under ordinary conditions the response will occur immediately after the stimulus is experienced. There are many reflexes in man, such as swallowing, sneezing, hiccoughing, blinking the eyes, jerking of the hand away from a burn, prick, or tickle, and the like.

Reflex action is typical of many of the activities of the body as respiration, digestion, and the like. But these are hardly to be thought of as behavior. Reflex action is also exemplified in a number of activities which protect the body from injury and in chewing and swallowing food. Although these are of great value in the maintenance of life they constitute after all a very minor part of what is ordinarily meant by behavior.

In contradistinction to reflexes are such activities as bookkeeping, answering the questions of an examination, organizing an advertising campaign. These are all learned performances, characteristic of only certain individuals who have had certain specific training. At the same time they are much more typical of the activities which we have in mind when we speak of behavior. Before considering how these learned performances are acquired it is necessary to consider another form of behavior called instinct.

## THEORIES REGARDING INSTINCTS

In the lower animals there are many examples of instincts, involving aggression in fighting, hibernation, migration, nest construction, reproductive behavior, protection of young, etc. Many of these are very complicated but nevertheless essentially unlearned. They appear when the organism has reached a certain stage of maturity. In some cases there is evidence of some learning in that the first few responses are not as well performed as later ones. But in most cases the instinctive response follows the stimulus in much the same fashion as in the case of reflex action. The situation is not so simple in the case of human beings.

Three different views have been expressed regarding instincts in man. The earlier view was that man had many instincts and that they played an important role as the basis of all learned behavior. The latter was an outgrowth and continued modification to some extent of reflex action and to a very great degree of instinctive behavior. McDougall coupled an instinct with an emotion. He maintained

that as a result of experience the motor aspect of the instinct would become greatly modified but the emotional aspect did not change. Furthermore,

> [without] these instinctive dispositions with their powerful impulses the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would lie inert and motionless like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed or a steam engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces that maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will.[1] [He admits that] an acquired mode of activity becomes by repetition habitual, and the more frequently it is repeated the more powerful becomes the habit as a source of impulse or motive power. Few habits can equal in this respect the principal instincts; and habits are in a sense derived from, and secondary to, instincts; for, in the absence of instincts, no thought and no action could ever be achieved or repeated, and so no habits of thought or action could be formed. Habits are formed only in the service of the instincts.[2]

In the development of human thought, following the statement of one view, the pendulum swings to the opposite extreme and there follows a point of view diagrammatically opposed.[3] So others pointed out that there could be no conceivable inherited physiological basis for some of the activities listed as instincts, that man's behavior was almost entirely a reaction to his environment and hence learned, not instinctive. Kuo went further and based all learning upon a great number of "units of reaction," such as are found in the child's spontaneous activities and random acts.[4] And Watson went on to add,

> There are then for us no instincts—we no longer need the term in psychology. Everything we have been in the habit of calling an "instinct" today is a result largely of training—belongs to man's learned behavior.[5]

The first view considered an instinct as an unlearned rather complex mode of response. The second view denied the existence of such modes of behavior in man beyond those to be found in reflexes or the "units of reaction" comprising random movements. The third view, which has already been stated at the beginning of this chapter,

[1] McDougall, W., "Social Psychology," pp. 45–46, Boston, John W. Luce & Company, 1918.

[2] McDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[3] Actually this pendulum has been swinging back and forth from at least the time of Aristotle and Plato, the former favoring the idea that behavior is more or less fixed because of instincts, the latter favoring the conception that people behave as they have been taught to behave.

[4] Kuo, Z. Y., "Giving up Instincts in Psychology," *Journal of Philosophy*, 1921, **18**, 658.

[5] Watson, J. B., "Behaviorism," p. 74, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1924.

stresses the existence of physiological structures which, when stimulated, continue active until the appropriate consummatory response is made, and considers that the responses made are very largely learned rather than inherited. In other words, an individual's specific actions are almost entirely the resultant of learning but the cause of his behaving that way is a physiological structure, stimulated into activity. From this point of view it is natural that the terms "drive," "impulse," "desire," "want," "appetite," and "aversion" are used rather than "instinct."

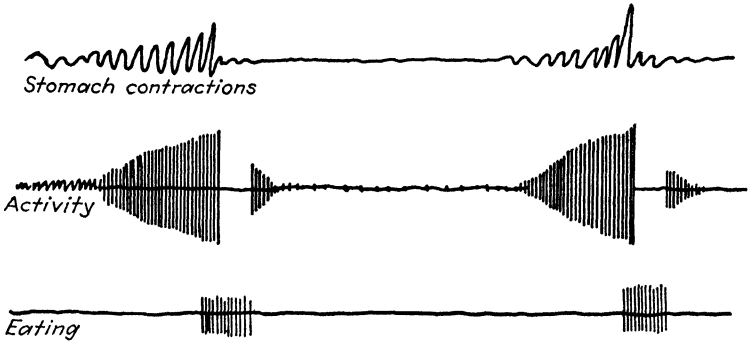



FIG. 28.—Relationship between stomach contractions, animals' activity, and eating. (*After Richter.*)

**Appetites and Aversions.**—Craig first formulated the theory of appetites and aversions, as follows:

> An appetite . . . so far as externally observable, is a state of agitation which continues so long as a certain stimulus, which may be called the appeted stimulus is absent. When the appeted stimulus is at length received it stimulates a consummatory reaction, after which the appetitive behavior ceases and is succeeded by a state of relative rest. . . . An aversion . . . is a state of agitation which continues so long as a certain stimulus, referred to as the disturbing stimulus, is present; but which ceases, being replaced by a state of relative rest, when that stimulus has ceased to act on the sense-organs.[1]

The sequence of events in the case of the appetite for food is shown in Fig. 28 from Richter.[2] He kept rats in a large cage, attached to which was a smaller cage in which they ate. Periodically they became active and at the height of each such period of activity they entered the small cage, ate their fill, returned to the larger cage, cleaned themselves, and then rested. The relationship between the

[1] CRAIG, W., "Male Doves Reared in Isolation," *Journal of Animal Behavior*, 1914, **4**, 121–133.

[2] RICHTER, C. P., "Animal Behavior and Internal Drives," *Quarterly Review of Biology*, 1927, **2**, 307–343.

stomach contractions, which occur after a period of no eating, physical activity, and eating are shown diagrammatically in the figure. General exploratory activity can very well be assumed to be the first reaction to the increasing stomach contractions which when they have become more pronounced lead to the reaction of directly seeking food and eating it.

**Preparatory and Consummatory Reactions.**—Physiological conditions of excitement do not arise spontaneously. They result from stimuli from within and without the organism. Thus in the case of hunger, after the stomach has been empty a certain length of time rhythmical contractions occur which in turn give rise to stimulations received in the brain which arouse the conscious state of hunger. In the small baby there follow restlessness and crying. In the adult there follow deliberate plans to satisfy the hunger as soon as convenient. But if there is too long a delay, the adult becomes restless and uneasy and finds increasing difficulty in attending to other matters. Hunger is the conscious state we experience when the organism is aroused because of the need for food. It is one of the basic appetites which drive man to action.

Two types of reactions follow such a drive, preparatory and consummatory reactions. The former is to be characterized first of all by general restlessness with accompanying decreasing ability to pay attention to activities not appropriate to satisfying the need. The hungry organism is then led to move about until it finds food. Secondly, the organism learns from experience where food is to be obtained and so preparatory reactions become, with increasing maturity, more and more habit-formed responses appropriate to getting food. Consummatory responses are such as satisfy the need—eating food in this case. The physiological need arouses the organism to activity, which in turn makes use of appropriate preparatory responses leading up to the consummatory response. When this final response has been made the need is satisfied and the aroused physiological state quiets down and the whole series of activities ceases.

**Cause and Occasion of Behavior.**—The occasion of the Civil War was the act of firing on Fort Sumter; the cause was the long history of conflict between the North and the South. Without that historical background Fort Sumter would not have been fired upon and if it had been, war would not have resulted.

Similarly, the cause of behavior, according to this third view, is a physiological condition of excitement, not an external stimulus.

The state of agitation to be called hunger does not arise merely, or primarily as a result of the presence of food stimuli, or explorable stimuli, but rather as a

result of an internal initiating physiological excitement, viz., physiological *hunger*. Similarly, the state of agitation to be called fright . . . does not arise merely, or primarily, as a result of danger-threatening "disturbing stimuli," but rather as a result of an initiating internal physiological state, which, for want of a better name, we may call *timidity*, and which must be present in order to make the animal sensitive to such "disturbing stimuli."[1]

External objects are occasions to action. In the case of aversions, they seemingly cause behavior because a response occurs immediately. But this is because there is a structure ready to respond. Thus, a long-horned cow causes a wild scramble to get over the fence on the part of a city dweller, but not in the case of a cattle man, who no longer is afraid of such an animal. In the case of appetites, the organism seeks out the appropriate objects for its use.

## PRIMARY, SECONDARY, AND TERTIARY WANTS

Man's wants may be classified according to the extent to which the physiological mechanisms are innate or learned. Primary wants are accordingly those which man possesses at birth or which appear at a later date as the result of normal maturation. The mechanism involved in eating is ready to function at birth; the mechanisms involved in walking and sex mature more slowly and hence the associated wants do not appear until about eighteen months after birth in the case of walking and thirteen to fourteen years after birth in the case of sex.

Primary wants are ways of behaving which function, to some extent at least, without learning. All become modified in many respects with experience. The modifications pertain, however, to the ways in which the wants are satisfied and not to the essential character of the wants themselves. Thus we come to eat meat with a knife and fork, no longer to suck milk from a nipple; but each of these acts is performed primarily because of a want to eat.

In addition to these primary wants of man there are certain other wants which are acquired very early in life. These secondary wants are to be found among practically all who grow up in a similar social environment.

They function very largely as ways of satisfying the primary wants by bringing the organism into the proper environmental situation so that an appetite is satisfied or by getting the organism away from an irritating stimulus in the case of an aversion. Thus the secondary want to be with others ("gregarious instinct") is probably acquired very early in life as a means to the satisfying of most of the primary

[1] TOLMAN, E. C., "Purposive Behavior in Animals and Man," pp. 273–274 New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1932.

wants. Once established, it functions to such a degree that very few individuals are comfortable if alone for very long.

All habits not included under the two preceding headings fall in the third classification of tertiary wants. These are the habits which are peculiar to individuals and not to all men. The writer does not like onions, garlic, or cucumbers; his wife likes all three. These likes and dislikes represent ways in which the want to eat is specifically modified by our own tastes. Every habit represents a learned way of satisfying the basic wants. Because of the presence or absence of a specific habit, the individual behaves one way or the other. But unless we know that the individual possesses the habit we cannot count on its functioning in a given situation, whereas the primary and secondary wants are much more likely to function if an appropriate situation is presented.

The remainder of this chapter is largely devoted to a description of the primary wants; secondary and tertiary wants are considered in the following chapter.

## PRIMARY WANTS

As psychologists differ among themselves with regard to the forms of behavior which may be classified as primary, the following list must be viewed as merely the opinion of the writer.[1]

**Organic Needs.**—The best understood of all of man's wants is that of *eating*. When he gets hungry—when the want reaches a certain strength—he wants objects that have a certain taste and odor. Natively man knows nothing of calories or vitamins, nor does he ever really want such things except as ways of securing good health or a slimmer figure. He wants what tastes and smells good.

Even this seemingly simple want is far more complicated than appears at first sight. Physiologists have found it necessary to distinguish hunger from appetite.

The term "appetite" was used by them because of a need to explain several well-recognized (although psychologically heterogeneous) facts which were not included within the concept of hunger. Among these facts are: (*a*) that previous experience with the taste and smell of a food modifies one's liking or disliking for it; (*b*) that one eats candies and other dainties "to please the palate," even when not hungry; (*c*) that the conditions under which food is served—table linen, silver,

[1] Tolman uses the terms first-order and second-order drives in about the same way that primary and secondary wants are used here. He lists tentatively the following as first-order drives: food-hunger, sex-hunger, excretion-hunger, specific contact hungers, rest-hunger, sensory-motor hungers (*i.e.*, the aesthetic and play hunger), injury-avoidance (fright), interference-avoidance (pugnacity). The first six of these are appetites, the last two aversions. See Tolman, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

guests, etc.—modify one's liking or disliking; (*d*) that the anticipated pleasure of eating depends upon a different motivation from the pain of hunger.[1]

*Thirst* is another such want occasioned by depletion of water in the body.

Similar is the *want for air* when that supply is inadequate. Ordinarily, under such conditions we need to eliminate $CO_2$ as much as to take in oxygen, but the want is for deep breaths of air.

*Excretion* of bodily waste products is a fourth organic need.

*Rest and Sleep.*—Undoubtedly, the chief cause for the want to sleep is the need to recuperate from activity, but the entire explanation of sleep is not yet known. Since rest cannot be secured by lying down anywhere, the want for rest involves the search for an appropriate resting place. Lower animals show this tendency very clearly. Whether there is anything unlearned in man in searching for a comfortable place is a question, since he has ample opportunity to learn during infancy. In any case all men seek comfortable resting places when fatigued.

The *temperature* of man's body must be maintained at about 98.6 degrees Fahrenheit. When too warm he perspires, when too cold he shivers. These are reflex actions. In addition man gets away from too hot or too cold situations and towards one of more appropriate temperature.

Internal drives, together with a very few appropriate behavior patterns, constitute these native organic needs. Nearly all that the adult does in response to these wants is learned. The sum total constitutes a considerable proportion of all his behavior. Much of the work of the world is performed so that food and shelter may be obtained. If food, water, proper temperature, and comfortable places to rest were as plentiful as air we should have a very different sort of civilization.

**Sex.**—The initiating physiological state for this want is an internal disequilibrium of glands and sex organs. Removal of the sex glands before puberty prevents the appearance of sexual behavior; removal after puberty causes such behavior to disappear. The grafting of testes reestablishes sexual activity in the castrated rat; the grafting of ovaries in the castrated rat induces typical feminine behavior. This is not the place to consider the many complicated interrelations which occur in sexual behavior; it is sufficient to note in passing that the bodily structure, the maturation of this structure and especially

[1] Reprinted by permission from "Motivation of Behavior" (p. 104) by P. T. Young, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1936.

of the organs of reproduction, the action of other internal glands, and the environmental stimulations from the mate all react upon each other and affect the total behavior.

Experimental studies upon rats, for example, show that the activities attendant upon copulation are unlearned; in other words, there is a sex instinct, as such, in rats. How much is unlearned in man in this respect is unknown, since man grows up in an environment where much can be learned long before he is mature. An accompaniment of hunger is restlessness, as we have seen; similarly when sex hunger is experienced the organism exhibits increased activity, well exemplified in the rushing about of the high school and college student. One phase of this is called wanderlust, the desire to be somewhere else. The writer has often noticed that interest in foreign trade on the part of college men is usually confined to those who have not yet found a mate and that, once engaged, most men quickly accept business openings nearer home. To repeat, man has the sex drive, an accompanying increased restlessness, and the capacity to learn the means to the satisfaction of this want.

Woodworth raises the question whether or not the "subtle differences in external behavior which makes each sex attractive to the other" is part of "the unlearned core of sex behavior."[1] Apparently he favors this interpretation, although admitting the possibility that they are learned with many other forms of social convention. Observation of adults suggests that the sex instinct must be considered in terms of two levels—the purely physical level and the psychical level. On the physical level the characteristic responses are pursuit by the male and retreat of the female, followed by seizure and submission. James[2] emphasizes coyness in the female, calling it an antisexual instinct, which

> . . . has to be positively overcome by a process of wooing before the sexual instinct inhibits it and takes its place. As Darwin has shown in his book on the "Descent of Man and Sexual Selection," coyness has played a vital part in the amelioration of all higher animal types and is to a great degree responsible for whatever degree of chastity the human race may show.

The psychical level pertains to the mental relations between individuals of the opposite sex who are in love. Owing to coyness and to social customs, the purely physical responses are inhibited until

[1] WOODWORTH, R. S., "Psychology," p. 250, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1929.

[2] JAMES, W., "Psychology," Vol. II, p. 437, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1908.

marriage. All manner of responses result, included under the term "courting." Novelists and poets have not yet listed all of these psychical sublimations of the physical tendencies of this instinct. Some writers assert that all of the aesthetic interests arise in this way. But it is going too far to assert that music, painting, sculpture, architecture, drama, literature, and all of the finer elements of life have no other cause for their development than the thwarting of the sex instinct. Nevertheless, such interests are powerfully motivated in this way; and so are the more unselfish traits, such as tenderness, courage, ambition, devotion, and fidelity.

Advertisers should realize that appeals to the physical aspect of the sex instinct will get attention without question but will lead only to such action as is in accord with man's selfish wants. It is only when the psychical aspect is aroused that man wants to do something for his wife, sweetheart, mother, or sister. To influence such action, women depicted in advertising should be of the type that men respect. And it is this same type of wholesome-looking women that appeals to women. All others are branded as "hussies" and correspondingly scorned.

**Maternal Love.**—Just how much of what a mother does is native and how much is learned is difficult to say. But there is no question that she cuddles her child, and feeds it, attends to it when it cries, and protects it from harm, without any training. All the rest can be easily explained on the basis of experience, motivated at first by her tender fixation on it and later by the habits already built up in caring for it. The important point to note is not the specific actions the mother performs but the fact that she wants to protect and care for her child and that if necessary, she will struggle most desperately, to accomplish that end.

It is beyond the scope of this text to give what is known about the physiological mechanisms underlying these wants. The following example, however, focuses attention upon such mechanisms and makes clear that behavior can be greatly altered by the presence or absence of some chemical substance.

A rat, at first completely oblivious to offspring that may be offered to her for adoption, will, after a few injections of prolactin (a pituitary hormone) eagerly adopt and mother as many as may be placed in the cage with her. Her maternal yearning seems to become universal. She will cherish not only infants of her own species but baby mice, baby rabbits, or, indeed, even baby squabs. "For a healthy adult rat," says the report, "to do other than make a prompt meal of the proffered squab betokens a fundamental change in her disposition. What is the explanation of the change? The reacting organs are the same; the energy of the system is the same; yet the reaction is strikingly different. We seem to be intro-

duced here to what may well prove a far-reaching biological principle that may be designated as 'chemical conditioning.' "[1]

There seems to be no ground upon which to base any native behavior of the father toward his offspring. His love for them is probably all acquired, arising partly from his love of the mother so that caring for them is a means of pleasing her, and partly from a great variety of motives. Whatever may be its source, many fathers clearly show unmistakable love for their children.

No matter why, it is quite obvious that practically all are very much interested in young children, animals, and birds. It is probably because of such an attitude that we support orphan asylums, hospitals for children, societies for their protection and for the protection of animals, and many other social institutions. It is not surprising that women have been largely responsible for the development of these institutions and for their maintenance until the state will take them over.

Although this maternal want leads to far more altruistic conduct than does any other, yet sometimes it leads to actions that are undesirable. Many mothers cannot maintain a regular regime for their children because they want so much to please them and see them delighted and happy. Many men and women will give to a charitable cause that emphasizes the alleviation of suffering, but they will not give to an organization which devotes its energies to eliminating the conditions that cause the suffering. The same situation holds true within the home. Parents will spend all that they have to cure a sick child but frequently will not spend a cent in preventing the child from getting sick. The former situation arouses the parent's emotions, the latter does not—that is the explanation.

A typical illustration of appealing to the maternal motive in selling is quoted from an old issue of *Printers' Ink.*

I remember standing in a piano store and listening to a workingwoman as she talked to a salesman. The thing that she was saying was that she had had to work all of her life since she was sixteen years old, and her husband had had to work all of his life, and they hadn't had any advantages. They themselves had a daughter, Mary, and Mary was sixteen years old now. Times were better—they had money in the bank, and they were just going to buy a piano to make Mary a lady.

There was my fundamental for 150,000 workingmen and women in that city, and I went back to my desk and wrote till my fingers ached and the gist of it all was "To make Mary a lady," to give her the opportunities they had missed. I think I even forgot to mention the price, but we sold pianos from one end of the

[1] FOSDICK, R. B., "The Rockefeller Foundation: A Review for 1936," pp. 28–29, New York, 1937. The quotation is from a report of a special committee of the National Research Council under the chairmanship of Dr. W. B. Cannon.

working district to the other, sold them because we were merchandising heart beats and not so many pounds of ivory and wire.

**Filial Love.**—Most writers maintain that on the part of children toward their parents there is no instinctive response corresponding to the paternal instinct. Children do have the maternal motive itself, though in weaker form, showing it toward dogs, cats, and dolls. This sentiment they show in some degree toward their parents. But they have relatively less opportunity because the parent does not often satisfy the ideal situation arousing this want, not being small, helpless, or given to crying. Children show love most when the mother breaks down and cries, or when either parent is sick or in distress. If parents would have their children love them not only in childhood but in after life they must provide rational opportunities for the child to begin serving them early in life and continue doing so as years go on.

**Want for Activity.**—The food man eats is transformed during the process of digestion into certain chemicals which are employed in replacing worn-out tissues and as sources of energy for muscular work. Apparently, the presence of stored-up energy causes a desire for activity in order to use up these chemicals. Such a condition of "unspent energy," Tolman suggests, "is a state of physiological disequilibrium which requires a complementary fatigue for neutralization and equilibrium."[1]

Consequently, the human body, in a normal state of health, is in constant movement. Talking, smoking, whistling, chewing, knitting, whittling, playing with a necklace, afford energy outlets and give thereby some satisfaction, aside from other considerations. Similarly, play affords satisfaction, whether it is tag, baseball, tennis, swimming, driving an automobile, or a game of solitaire. This almost constant desire for physical activity, this sheer enjoyment of being alive and active, explains to a large extent why most amusements are indulged in, although it does not explain why any one of them is pursued in preference to any other one.

There are certain forms of activity that deserve particular mention. Manipulation is one of these. The first coordinated movements of the baby involve the handling of objects while looking at them, and throughout life we continue this activity. We are never content merely to look at a new object, we must feel it and manipulate it before being satisfied. Hunting and fishing are other activities of peculiar interest. It would almost seem that man has some inherent desire to seek food; otherwise, it seems impossible to explain the very great satisfaction that so many men obtain from these two activities,

[1] TOLMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

which today are very largely divorced from the satiation of hunger and involve, after all, a great deal of exertion.

This want for activity for its own sake shows itself in physical movements, but all the time the individual is seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and handling objects. If we put the emphasis on what he is doing we call it play, if we put the emphasis on his perceiving activities we may call it aesthetic appreciation of color, form, design, music, and beauty in general. Such a distinction is not one of kind but only of degree.

Man wants not only sensory stimulation but constant change and variety, as well. Accordingly, man's interest is best maintained when the object he is attending to is constantly changing. Objects that supply such changes are interesting, if for no other cause. So a man digging a ditch, or a window dresser in a store, or a dog crossing the street is watched, in preference to still objects. Combinations of color, rhythms, melodies, sharp contrasts, are singled out because they provide a variety of stimulation.

Possibly, the most pleasing effect from sensory stimulations comes when these are in rhythmical order. Melody everyone enjoys; but man has to learn to enjoy harmony. In design the rhythmical repetition of several elements in a border is more interesting than a haphazard arrangement. This is one of the reasons for the enjoyment of poetry and for the ease with which advertising jingles are memorized.

If we are to maintain that the presence of excess energy naturally leads to a desire for sensory stimulations and for motor activity, it is appropriate to add that man naturally desires a certain amount of mental activity. Daydreaming, reminiscing, sitting on the porch with friends and discussing the people that pass are typical of such mental activities. They require a minimum of effort, consisting almost entirely of mere rearrangements of one's existing stock of ideas. Any really constructive thinking would not fall in this class; it is viewed as work, not play.

Individuals differ here as they do in all other respects. Many are easily satisfied; others seek activities requiring a certain amount of thought, as in bridge, checkers, chess, literary societies, etc. A few choose professions such that they continue to learn all through life; but to most people study has become a lost art by the age of twenty-five.

**Avoidance of Exertion.**—Experimental work with rats shows "that there is a very strong tendency for rats eventually to differentiate and select the spatially shortest route from a set of alternative, relatively undefined possibilities." Tolman states that it is a most reasonable hypothesis to suppose there is a fundamental principle of "least

effort." But there are not yet sufficient data to determine "the specific forms in which this single principle will clothe itself."[1]

It is certainly easy to accept such an hypothesis for on every hand we see people taking short cuts of all sorts. In fact the principle of shortcircuiting in learning is just that. Most inventions are labor-saving devices which mean ways of avoiding exertion.

However, when man wants to he can exert himself with intense energy, as on a hunting trip, and call it great sport. The work a man can do under such conditions is tremendous. For example, a 180-pound man does the equivalent of lifting 450 tons one foot when he climbs out of Grand Canyon, not counting the work performed in transporting his body horizontally seven miles. Yet he will enjoy making the trip during a vacation, though at home he may grumble a good deal at walking a few blocks or at carrying out the ashes. When a man wants to do anything energy is forthcoming, and when he does not want to, there apparently is no energy available.

**Avoidance of Disgusting Objects.**—Man has the reflexes to spit out, retch, turn away from disagreeable tasting and smelling objects. Because these are so intense, one experience is usually sufficient to make a lasting impression. Consequently, we very quickly learn to avoid situations of this sort even before we can actually smell or taste them. Present-day interest in cleanliness is an example of such learning (see page 106).

Appeals in terms of disgust are useful, particularly in sanitary campaigns. McCann utilized this appeal in his campaign, in New York City years ago, against the use of rotten eggs in bakeries. But disgust, like fear, is an emotion that causes a person to stop and get away. Consequently, care must be taken that it should not become associated with the remedy but only with the old procedure.

**Avoidance of Pain.**—Man is equipped with a variety of reflexes by which he escapes from pain. He jerks his hand away from a rose thorn or from a hot stove; he sneezes and coughs to expel an irritant in his nose or throat; he ducks his head away from an object coming toward him; and so on. In addition, the small infant shows alarm if it is allowed to slip in one's arms or if it hears a loud noise. Offhand, these appear to be all of man's native equipment which are to be included under the escape motive. But man's emotional mechanism by which he feels fear must not be overlooked, for it undoubtedly plays the major role in adult fears.

Largely from experience man learns to recognize situations that are likely to cause pain and to escape from them. This must be

[1] TOLMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 110, 111.

true, for the small baby shows no fear of a furry animal or a snake. However, if his mother screams at sight of the latter, he may be frightened because of her scream and so associate the sight of the snake with fear. The adult has had far more experience than the child and apprehends in his environment far more possibilities for injury. He is cautious, we say, in contrast to the recklessness of youth.

**Avoidance or Overcoming of Interference.**—The total situation, on the basis of experience, releases energy sufficient for the response to be made. Thus only enough energy is released to pick up a small book, when only that much is needed; but much more is released to pick up a chair. Whenever the movement is checked, more energy is released to overcome the interference. This is strikingly illustrated in cutting a lawn. When the lawnmower is stopped the most sensible thing to do is to stoop down and remove the snag, but this is almost never done. Instead, one gives the lawnmower a real push ahead and continues trying harder and harder to go ahead. Only when this procedure will not work is the more sensible one employed. Even in the most trivial occurrences of daily life this principle holds true. A glance of irritation is frequently seen flashing across a person's face when someone else beats him to an elevator and forces him to check his onward movement. Almost everyone has "gotten even" by "accidentally" stepping on the other's heels.

Interference causes a release of energy, frequently sensed as fear or anger.

So far Cannon and his collaborators have failed to find any physiological difference in glandular and visceral processes associated with fear and anger. It is of course quite possible that there are such differences, still to be discovered; on the other hand, it is possible that whatever differences exist are to be explained in terms of experience—that in both cases energy is released and directed into the channel most appropriate to the total situation. "Most appropriate" must be interpreted in terms of the presence of an excessive amount of dynamic energy and not on the basis of the best thing to do resulting from deliberate thought. The newspapers publish daily examples, such as the following, where the behavior was utterly detrimental to life itself, although presumably intensely satisfying at the moment. Ill feeling had existed for several months between the chief of police and a former mayor of a southern city. Following the breaking of a piece of curbing by a scraping machine before the home of the former mayor, he met the chief of police on the street and, after they had argued the matter, each placed his left hand on the other's shoulder and began

shooting with the free hand. Death was almost instantaneous for both.

Tolman classifies pugnacity and fright as aversions and differentiates between them as follows:

> Both fright and pugnacity are gettings-away from their respectively evoking disturbing stimulus-situations. But the manner of getting away is characteristically different in the two cases. When the individual is frightened, his ultimate desideratum is prevention of injury. And the best way to do this is to hide or run away. When, on the other hand, the individual is pugnacious, and not frightened, his ultimate desideratum is the prevention of interference—irrespective of possible injury. And the only sure way to prevent a given object or other organism or situation from interfering is to destroy it. In fright, the organism flees or hides; in pugnacity, he strikes and attempts to destroy.[1]

Tolman goes on to emphasize that "the same complex of objective stimuli will threaten injury to the one individual and interference to the other, according to their differences of temperament."

The failure to sink a putt, or to find a tool in its accustomed place, or to meet a friend at the time agreed upon, tends to produce explosive action. The stronger the want, the stronger is the tendency to overcome the obstacle, whatever it is, if there is any chance of success. If there is no chance then the opposite type of response is more likely, namely, avoidance. It is for this reason that failures either nerve us on to greater effort or make us "quitters."

Interference may arise not only because of the presence of some object or person but because of the activation of some conflicting behavior system. Here two responses are desired and only one can be made—a phenomenon that is discussed at some length in Chap. VIII. At this point it is sufficient to point out that the conflict is annoying in itself, sometimes fearfully so. The writer hazards the guess that it is because of such annoyingness that many, including poorly educated as well as learned people, devote much time to real thinking toward the reconciliation of conflicting ideas.

## WHAT IS A WANT?

As already stated a want is a drive—a physiological mechanism stimulated to activity. These activated structures are called drives, desires, wants, urges, and attitudes. No one of these terms is entirely satisfactory. Drive and urge lay too much stress upon the energy factor without emphasizing sufficiently the fact that energy is directed; attitude stresses the general direction of the action to be taken but too little the energy aspect. Want stresses the present lack of some

[1] TOLMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

satisfaction, whereas desire stresses much more the goal to be reached which will bring satisfaction. Although want does not convey the energy factor as much as we should like, it appeals to the writer as the best term to use in this connection.[1]

Young emphasizes that bodily needs are not the same as conscious want. "A man," he says, "dying of hunger greatly needs food, but during starvation the hunger pang ceases, the conscious desire for food being replaced by a sense of weakness, and the activity level drops to a very low point. During all of this, the need for food increases steadily to the point of death, while the conscious desire for food at first increases and then decreases."[2] Here we have a case where conscious want correlates far better with actual behavior than does bodily need.

**Latent and Dynamic Wants.**—Strictly speaking, a want is always an aroused structure. But for the sake of convenience we may speak of latent and dynamic wants, the former a structure in equilibrium, the latter a structure aroused to activity. All this is well illustrated by holding one's breath. At the start there is no conscious desire for air. After a few seconds the want becomes conscious. From then on the want becomes stronger and stronger, changing from indifference to slight discomfort and then agony. At this point the want becomes dominant over every other consideration.

A want is, accordingly, not a constant factor. It is constantly fluctuating from zero strength on up toward maximum strength and then back to zero. In the case of appetites this fluctuation in strength is somewhat cyclical in character. So, three times a day man experiences a want to eat, and after eating he ceases to want to eat for a time. If the meal is delayed, the want becomes greater, and if no food is obtained for several days then the want becomes so intense that practically every other consideration is forgotten in the intense striving to satisfy it. In the case of aversions this cyclical phenomenon is absent, for they are set off by situations external to the organism.

**Role of Consciousness.**—Leaving out of account now the purely vegetative functions, it is important to note that when a want reaches a certain degree of strength the organism becomes conscious of it. The exact role of consciousness is still a debated question, but it is appropriate to say that human behavior consists primarily of conscious

[1] It is to be noted that Doob prefers the term "attitude" in this connection and apparently uses it as we have employed want. See Doob, L. W., "Propaganda," New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1935.

[2] Reprinted by permission from "Motivation of Behavior" (p. 81) by P. T. Young, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

activities. This does not mean that one is conscious of everything he is doing. The performance of any skilled act is dependent upon the development of a very complex physiological structure which, once set in motion, quite automatically controls the detailed actions that are involved. But one is always conscious of the fact that the activity as a whole is in process and, being freed from directing the details, one can give attention to controlling the process as a whole.

In terms of consciousness a want is primarily a sensation, but there is very apt to be added to this feeling and emotion, well represented by the term "craving." There is in addition the impulse to act in accordance with the desire so that existing dissatisfaction will be changed to satisfaction. Intellectual calculations are not involved in the want itself, although they are utilized when it comes to the consideration of how the want may be satisfied.

Each want represents a different physiological mechanism. Each mechanism arouses a different conscious state and when the organism is satiated there is experienced a conscious state peculiar to it. The term satisfaction has reference to the quiescence which is sought by the organism. But, as just stated, there are as many different kinds of satisfaction as there are wants. The satisfaction from eating is different from that of stretching out in bed when tired, or relaxing before a fire upon coming in from the cold.

**Two Aspects of Want.**—In the preceding chapters two aspects of a want have been recognized—positive and negative. These correspond to Craig's appetites and aversions. If Tolman's classification of drives is to be accepted then there are some drives which are appetites and some which are aversions and each of them would have only one aspect, either positive or negative, but not both. This may be true as far as the first few times these drives are experienced, but afterward the individual becomes more or less aware of the whole series of events involved in that behavior pattern. Thus, in the case of eating, he is conscious both of how hungry he is (negative aspect) and how good the food is going to taste (positive aspect). There is a double motivation here, *i.e.*, to escape hunger and to secure the anticipated pleasure. To the extent that this holds true, all drives, after experience with them, are both appetites and aversions. This seems to be more true of appetites than of aversions. In the latter, the negative aspect is usually dominant but even here the positive aspect is present to some degree. Thus, if the negative aspect alone were present, a person would merely run when pursued by a bull. It is in terms of the positive aspect that he "anticipates" the place where he will be safe and so runs in that direction. Here also there is double

motivation—running both from the bull and to the safe place. The two aspects are stressed in this text for it makes a good deal of difference in many cases whether one or the other or both aspects are motivating behavior.

**Relative Strength of Wants.**—Considerable work has been done upon the relative strength of drives in animals. Worden, for example, ranks the drives in rats in this order: maternal, thirst, hunger, sex, exploration. But this order depends upon the relative status of each, *i.e.*, how long since the animal has eaten, drunk water, been separated from its litter, etc. It would seem to be an almost impossible task to determine the relative strength of wants in man because each varies from zero strength (immediately after satisfaction) to maximum. Yet this factor of relative strength is extremely important in attempting to explain and to foretell behavior.

**Satiability.**—Satiation applies directly to appetites such as eating, thirst, and sex. The conception of satiation can be applied with far less certainty to many other activities, as playing bridge or a piano, for other factors enter, such as weariness in sitting still, desire to satisfy other wants, etc. Whether the principle can be applied to man's desire to accumulate money and possessions of all sorts is another matter. Seemingly, there is no limit here. The economist's theory of marginal utility is affected by the factors relative to satiability and insatiability of different wants. One's conception as to how man may best be satisfied is similarly affected.

**Behavior—Very Complex.**—A human being is a very complex organism. There are always several wants to be satisfied and at each moment their relative strength changes. Man is also always in contact with his environment and that changes from moment to moment. There is increasing conflict between his wants, as to which shall dominate. There is equally increasing conflict between the different ways by which the wants may be satisfied.

Behavior is always an expression of the organism as a whole. We cannot think of the wants just described and those to follow in the next chapter as separate units which function separately. They are only parts of a whole and function completely, only in part, or not at all, depending upon the activity within all the other parts. As Wheeler expresses it, "the human being is an energy system which responds as a whole to forces acting upon it from without and to disturbances from within."[1]

[1] WHEELER, R. H., "The Science of Psychology," p. 82, New York, The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929.

# CHAPTER VI

## SECONDARY AND TERTIARY WANTS

Symonds has outlined the principles which should be considered in selecting a list of secondary wants, which he calls derived drives, as follows:

> These second-order derived drives, to be at all fundamental, must have learnings attached to the primary drives in the first few weeks or months of life, and under conditions which are practically universal for every human being. Such reactions are those learned in connection with the acts of feeding, urinating and defecating and in avoidance of pain, all of which, in the helpless state of infancy, require the assistance of others, particularly the mother. Any list, therefore, which may be made of the "fundamental" second-order drives must be the personal choice of some individual. As the list is added to, the drives become less and less universal and fundamental. There is no sharp dividing line between the second-order drives which may be counted on to operate in everyone and the very personal and specific wants of each individual.[1]

Tolman lists tentatively the following as second-order drives: curiosity, gregariousness, self-assertion, self-abasement, irritativeness.

> [They are all aversions.] For they appear to be evoked primarily by external situations. They go off when stimuli "threaten" a state of unfamiliarity (and its presumably resulting physiological disturbance), one of lack of company, one of dominance by others, etc. They are like the first-order aversions, continuously ready to go off, whenever such threatening or disturbing stimuli are present. They are not cyclical and spontaneously aroused, as are appetites. The organism does not, it would seem, wake up in the middle of the night and (out of a clear, moon-lit sky) start to be curious, to be gregarious, to be assertive, to be submissive, or to be irritative, as he may wake up, and be hungry or lustful. He has to be presented first with some "threatening" stimulus.[2]

We agree in the main with what Tolman has said but at the same time repeat what has already been stated in the previous chapter (page 87) that, after previous experience of a want, the organism feeling it rearoused responds both to the dissatisfying state initiated by the stimulus and to the anticipated satisfying state to be secured by reaching the goal.

[1] SYMONDS, P. M., "Human Drives," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1934, **25**, 691.

[2] TOLMAN, E. C., "Purposive Behavior in Animals and Man," p. 294, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1932.

To emphasize that there is as yet no clear-cut agreement as to what wants should be included under the heading of second-order drives, the list of Symonds is given: *i.e.*, desire to be with other persons; desire for attention from other persons; desire for praise and approval; desire to be a cause; desire for mastery; desire to maintain the self; desire for security, protection; desire for affection, tenderness, intimacy, sense of belonging; curiosity (reaching, grasping, manipulation, exploration).[1]

It will be noted that the lists of Tolman and Symonds do not agree entirely with that of the writer, given below.

### THE ROLE OF LEARNING

Because learning plays so much greater a role in the development of secondary wants than of primary wants, it is well to digress a moment and note how such wants are modified through experience. To consider this question thoroughly would require many pages before the complicated ramifications of the learning process could be covered. Seeing that the subject will be considered at some length in the next chapter, it is sufficient now merely to outline the steps involved in one very simple case.

Some hours after birth the infant becomes ready for food. It may be assumed that stomach contractions bring about this readiness for food which earlier did not exist. If now a nipple is put in his mouth, he starts sucking and swallowing. The mechanism consists of a physiological state of disequilibrium (hunger) plus reflexes of sucking in reponse to a nipple in the mouth and of swallowing in response to milk in the mouth. At the beginning, any object of the general characteristics of a nipple, as a finger or corner of the blanket, will start the sucking reflex, particularly when the infant is ready to eat. But through many repetitions of sucking the many kinds of "nipples" that give no milk and of sucking the one nipple that gives milk the infant learns which is which. In other words he associates desire for food with a specific kind of nipple and demands this nipple and no other. (Parents well know the difficulty of switching a baby from the breast to a bottle.)

Learning depends in such a case upon the following: First, the infant when aroused by the physiological mechanism of hunger demands food in his stomach and will continue demanding it until food is obtained or he is exhausted from struggling. In the latter case another native want, that of rest from fatigue, gains the ascendancy over the want for food. Second, the infant exhibits the readiness to be a food-demand-

[1] SYMONDS, *op. cit.*, p. 694.

ing organism, as Tolman expresses it. Just how far the infant is aware in any sense of the word of the object which will satisfy his want on the first few occasions is not at all clear. But any one who has witnessed a new-born infant take the nipple must realize that in some way the infant is prepared for that action even before he can learn its significance through swallowing the milk. Third, the food-demanding infant becomes active, struggling and crying, in such a way as to indicate to an adult that something is wrong. This tendency lies at the bottom of the trial and error activity so essential to all learning. When we are unable immediately to do what we want to do, we resort to all manner of activities and in so doing increase the chances of hitting upon an appropriate environment in which the want may be satisfied. Fourth, the infant has the capacity to learn, that is, from repeated experiences with different kinds of "nipples" and the results obtained from sucking them, he associates the results with each kind of "nipple." The longer the period of learning, the more he comes to know about the one much-to-be-desired nipple and to distinguish it better and better from all other suckable objects.

Supplementary to the above are certain skills or dexterities which are ready to function when the appropriate need arises and so become initially associated with the appetite. There are in addition, on the one hand, all the activities which the organism is natively capable of performing and, on the other hand, all the objects with which he comes in contact. Through frequent repetition, activities and objects which bring satisfaction are differentiated from those which do not and the appetites are steadily satisfied in more and more appropriate ways.

In this way the baby acquires a larger and larger number of habits associated with eating and insists more and more that these habitual practices shall be made use of. Eventually, the adult demands clean linen, knives, forks, and spoons, and all the other paraphernalia of a dining room as pre-requisites to the serving of food. Anyone who has tried to teach his child proper table manners knows that such learning necessitates long-continued repetition and appeal to a great variety of motives before adult behavior becomes customary, but even a small child will insist upon his own high chair or his own spoon.

## SECONDARY WANTS

Below are presented the secondary wants which it seems to the writer are learned very early in life and so are common to nearly all those who live in this country. Whether all of them are acquired in other forms of social environment is a question the writer has not attempted to answer. It is well to realize that some of these acquired

wants might be materially changed if our social life were radically altered. What such changes might be is an interesting topic for speculation.

**Want for Emotional Excitement.**—Emotion is a stirred-up condition of the organism. How many kinds of emotions there are is still a debatable question. Some would restrict the list to fear, rage, and lust; others, like Woodworth, recognize joy, surprise, mirth, grief, and so on.

Cannon[1] tells us that under the influence of the emotions of fear and rage the heart beats more rapidly, the blood pressure rises, and breathing becomes deeper and also more rapid. The blood is driven out of the entire digestive system to the heart, lungs, brain, and muscles, through the contraction of the blood vessels in the digestive system and their dilation elsewhere, particularly in the muscles. Sweat may break out on the skin, thereby preparing the body for rapid elimination of heat and waste products following excessive muscular activity. Such changes constitute the fundamental basis of an emotion. But the mechanism is even more complicated. There are two small glands situated near the kidneys, called the adrenal glands. They also are stimulated, and they pour into the blood stream a chemical called adrenalin. This chemical affects the various internal organs directly. It stimulates the heart to greater activity; it causes the blood vessels in the stomach and intestines to contract and those in the muscles to dilate; it causes the stored-up sugar in the liver to be poured into the blood to be used as fuel for the working muscles; it eliminates consciousness of fatigue; and it even goes so far, apparently, as to put the blood in such condition that it will clot more rapidly than usual if the body is wounded.

What man experiences when emotionally excited is the sum total of the consciousness of all these bodily changes. And apparently, whether he is excited because of fear, rage, or love, the body is prepared for the maximum expenditure of muscular activity.

The above constitutes what might be called the physiological side of emotion; the psychological, or conscious, side is hardly understood at all. But it is clear that the conscious differences between fear, rage, and love cannot be explained as Cannon has described emotion; there are other elements that must be included.

The emotions of fear, anger, and love are constituent elements of the primary wants to avoid or overcome interference and to love, and have already been considered in the previous chapter. But man

[1] CANNON, W. B., "Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage," New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1915.

learns to dissociate the emotional aspects of these drives and to enjoy the emotions for their own sake. In terms of an automobile, the emotional mechanism is run out of gear. It is this latter aspect we are discussing here.

The experiencing of emotion is usually pleasant. Even in fear, worry, and other unpleasant emotions, a small degree is enjoyable. Children like to work themselves up over an approaching ragman whom they view as a kidnapper. Much of the enjoyment of reading novels, listening to the radio, attending a motion picture, going to a fire, or even chatting with friends, comes from emotional thrills of all sorts. Apparently, a great number of people get much of their amusement in this way—not in doing things, but in experiencing emotions aroused through reading, daydreaming, and being with people.

Much of life is spent in experiencing emotion, expressing it to others, and being stimulated emotionally by the behavior of others. Man apprehends the emotional state of another because of that person's facial expressions, cries, and general behavior. And the sight of such emotion in another arouses emotion in the observer. This feeling may be of similar nature to that observed, as when one smiles at another's mirth or feels sentimental when lovers kiss. On the other hand, the observer's emotion may be quite different from that displayed in the one observed. Thus, the sight of a child crying from fright arouses not fear but parental anxiety in the adult observer.

Köhler reports the same thing in chimpanzees who are next to man in the evolutionary scale.

> Their range of expression by gesture and action is very wide and varied. . . . Much is easily comprehensible to us human beings—for example, rage, terror, despair, grief, pleading, desire, and also playfulness and pleasure. . . . The expression of other feelings becomes intelligible to the careful observer within a few weeks, with one exception: there are certain spells of "pure excitement" over whose exact character I have formed no definite opinion, even after six years' study. But among themselves the animals understand perfectly "what is the matter," on almost every occasion—that is evident from their communal behavior towards the individual in question.[1]

The great masterpieces of art, whether in literature, music, painting, sculpture, or architecture, all arouse emotion. They arouse, however, not the baser forms but the highest and loftiest manifestations. And it is because of this that they live. The Christian religion with its insistence upon love of God and fellow man is built upon a dis-

[1] KÖHLER, W., "The Mentality of Apes," pp. 317–318, London, George Routledge and Sons, and New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1925.

sociation and sublimation of love and other related elements which in their native form result in behavior not to be distinguished particularly from that of animals.

**Want to Be with Others.**—Most authorities agree that man is a gregarious animal in the sense that he finds satisfaction in being with others and becomes restless and uneasy when alone. Solitary confinement is a severe punishment, because it keeps the prisoner from the satisfaction of this want.

> The group connexion of chimpanzees is a very real force, of sometimes astonishing degree. This can be clearly seen in any attempt to take one animal out of a group which is used to hanging together. When such a thing has never happened before, or not for a long time, the first and greatest desire of the separated creature is to get back to his group. Very small animals are naturally extremely frightened, and show their fear to such a degree, that one simply has not the heart to keep them apart any longer. Bigger animals, who do not show signs of actual fear, cry and scream and rage against the walls of their stockade, and, if they see anything like a way back, they will risk their very lives to get back to the group. Even after they are quite exhausted from these outbursts of despair, they will crouch, whimpering, in a corner, until they have recovered sufficient strength to renew their raging.[1]

It is difficult to imagine any unlearned basis for the desire to be associated with others, but it is easy to see why such a tendency should arise very early and continue throughout life. Most of the wants of a baby are satisfied through the service of others. Consequently, the satisfaction of his wants becomes associated with the presence of people and the first step in satisfying such wants is to make people come to him (by crying) and later on to go where people are. A second explanation for man's desire to be with others is to be found in man's want for emotional activity. When man is with others he is almost certain to be emotionally aroused, whereas when he is alone he must resort to artificial stimulants, such as liquor, drugs, novels, day-dreaming, and the like.

The desire to be emotionally stimulated by being with others forms the background, in a sense, to much of man's behavior. Much of the drift from isolated farm life to the crowded districts of a city or from domestic service to work in a busy store or cannery, is to be explained on this basis. All other wants, moreover, are intensified when man is with his kind. The typical crowd at the beach, at a picnic, assembled to witness a parade, at the theater or a dance, can be aroused to a high pitch of enjoyment because the emotion of each one intensifies that of every other.

Some few persons, on the contrary, exhibit a desire to get away from others. Often this can be explained as due to the individual's

[1] KÖHLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–294.

being "fed up" with society or being engaged in some activity in which he does not want to meet interference.

A corollary of the want to be with others is that to watch others. When not actively engaged, everyone loves to be where he can see what others are doing. Tenants gladly pay more for an apartment fronting on the street than for one which may overlook a wide expanse of country but has no close-up view of human beings. The ditch-digger or the sign painter always has his audience, and the larger the crowd, the more newcomers just have to see what is there. It is because of all this that advertising illustrations depicting action are more interesting than those that may show the article very clearly but only as a "still-life" subject.

**Want for Approving Behavior and for Escape from Disapproving Behavior of Others.**—Man not only wants to be associated with others, but he wants their approving behavior. Starting with earliest infancy and continuing throughout life, man must satisfy many wants through the aid of others and that aid is likely to be forthcoming if the others are smiling and showing approval, but not otherwise. Hence, approving behavior from others becomes a very potent factor in life.

No one can ever realize how much his own conduct is determined by desire for approval. He may gain some idea, however, by watching others. Examples are ever present. One situation is well described in an editorial of *Batten's Wedge*, as follows:

> In northern cities it is customary for men to begin to wear straw hats on May 15, and not before. It is customary to discard straw hats on September 15. No matter what the weather is on September 16, straw hats are not worn.
>
> Now, then, for what individuals say: Ask a thousand men about this, and nearly everyone will tell you that it is a silly custom, that he never pays the slightest attention to it, that he never follows any kind of a bellwether, and that he suits his apparel to the thermometer and not to the fool habits of a lot of clerks.
>
> That's what the individuals will say.
>
> But take a look at the streets. Nine out of ten men will be wearing straws on September 14 and about one in a hundred on September 16. Or ask the hat stores what the public's habits are. They will tell you. . . .
>
> Public opinion is in a large measure the unconscious opinion of people, and public action is largely the undeliberate action of people.

Consider the matter more in detail. A straw hat will sell for $3.50 on May 15, and for $1.75 on July 15. But on September 15, very few men in the United States would accept the same straw hat and a $10 bonus, all as a gift, if acceptance meant that the hat must be worn till October 15. What has occurred during these four months to cause such a depreciation in value? Clearly, there has been no

change in the hat—it is still the same new hat. But there has been a great change in the amount of satisfaction that can be got out of the hat. It may be expressed like this:

May 15—A hat + satisfaction, because of approval.

July 15—A hat.

September 15—A hat + dissatisfaction, because of disapproval. When it is said that a commodity has "style" or "prestige," it is meant that whoever owns it will get a considerable amount of satisfaction from it because people will approve of him for having it. Rothschild reports a case of the fostering of this idea of "prestige" in advertising an apartment house in New York City.

> It was at a time when the demand for apartments of its class was not large, and it was necessary to make definite plans to secure tenants. The first plan that suggested itself was to run an advertising campaign in a newspaper whose circulation was mainly among well-to-do families. Then another plan was suggested, and finally decided upon—namely, to run the campaign in a paper that reached all classes. The purpose of this was, not to reach the prospective tenants themselves, but to create generally the impression that these $12,000, $15,000, and $20,000 apartments were the finest in New York, and in this way to build up a sort of prestige which would give the apartments an added value with the type of prospect who was considered the most likely.
>
> As it turned out, this was exactly what happened. The apartments became, in a sense, the talk of the town, and their reputation among those who could not afford them made them especially desirable to those who could.[1]

It is literally true that what a man wears, thinks, and does is very largely controlled by what others about him wear, think, and do. Only the exceptional man deviates from the standards of the crowd, and then usually in but few respects. "Custom, convention, prestige, fashion—all are names indicating the power which a group exerts over the choices or acts of its members, through mere social approval, public opinion, or uncompelled deference to superior competence."[2] Today a person no longer responds only to the public opinion of neighbors but to the public opinion of millions whom he has never seen but whose point of view he has got through newspapers and magazines, at the motion pictures, and over the radio.

Approval leads to the feeling of satisfaction and the continuance of what is being done. Disapproval leads to dissatisfaction, the cessation of what is being done, and the tendency to do something else.

[1] ROTHSCHILD, R. C., "Using 'Waste Circulation' to Sell the Product," *J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin*, August, 1922.

[2] DICKINSON, Z. C., "Economic Motives," p. 216, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1922.

For example, a professional ballplayer, after having muffed an easy fly, was observed to adjust his cap three times, remove his glove and put it back on twice, spit on his glove four times, shift his position several times, pull up his trousers three times, and make many minor movements, in response to the hooting of the crowd, to which he pretended not to pay any attention. A few minutes later he caught left-handed a high fly, and on walking back to his station made none of these movements, but merely smiled, squatted down, and remained quiet.

Because approval from others has been accompanied so many times by the satisfaction of some want, one comes in time to seek approval for its own sake. A nod of appreciation, a compliment thrills one; a shake of the head, a frown makes one uneasy, sometimes for a considerable period of time.

*Showing Approving or Disapproving Behavior.*—When someone performs any act of strength or daring, or rescues someone from fear, or relieves from hunger, or makes a gorgeous display, approval is shown by smiling, or staring in a respectful manner, or shouting encouragement. On the other hand, evidences of physical weakness and meanness, emptyheadedness, deformity, and cowardice cause us to frown, hoot, and sneer.

Both of these responses are shown repeatedly at a baseball game. Often a crowd is seen to reverse itself within a few minutes, first hooting and yelling at a player for muffing an easy catch, and then cheering just as vociferously over the successful handling of a difficult one. The crowd secures as much satisfaction from one activity as the other.

Approval is shown more enthusiastically toward acts of physical strength, daring, and their like, than toward manifestations of intellectual achievement, moral character, or good manners. The poet or the scientist or the thorough-going gentleman receives no homage comparable to that accorded a Babe Ruth, a Jack Dempsey, a circus acrobat, or a hero in war.

Two explanations of showing disapproval may be advanced. First, it is a response to the actions of another which interferes with what we are doing or threatens to make us behave in other than our accustomed manner, and hence causes us to be annoyed and feel uncomfortable. This is exemplified in one's strong condemnation of those whose beliefs are foreign to one's own. Second, it is a method of dominating others; one expresses disapproval in a group where he expects support and thus secures group action against those looked down upon.

Approving behavior—*i.e.*, acclaim, admiration, applause, cheering, homage—is shown: first, toward another who has performed a spectacular or unusual feat, with expressions of submission to him as a recognized superior or leader; second, toward another who is championing a cause in which one is interested; and third, as a means of relaxation from suspense after watching a hero rescue someone or an actor perform most dramatically. One also learns to show approval in order to attract attention to oneself—as in "apple polishing"—and in order to give pleasure to a friend.

**Want to Dominate Others.**—Woodworth believes:

> This mastery motive cannot be wholly a learned affair. Practically all the "conditioning" that the child gets would tend toward making him submissive and not masterful. . . . But the child shows from an early age that he has a will of his own and wants his own way in opposition to the commands of other people. His independent spirit is not learned.[1]

The writer would attribute this want for mastery to the presence of at least two factors: first, that the wants of a child are more likely to be obtained when he is dominating the situation than otherwise. This is true not only when he is dealing with those of his own age or younger, but also with older people. Hence, the child early learns to demand submission from many persons. Second, interference of any sort with what one is doing arouses renewed effort to overcome the obstacle; hence, one naturally tries to overcome others who stand in the way, in order to obtain satisfaction of other wants. It is in these ways that we learn to dominate others. When one has learned to do so and has received the reward of satisfying some want by first overcoming another person, it is easy to see how, in time, one would come to feel the mere dominating of others to be a thrill in itself. There are some men and women who impress one as enjoying the dominating of others for no other reason that just to be doing it.

Dominance and submissiveness characterize most forms of animal life. Yerkes points out that

> . . . every group of chimpanzees more or less promptly and definitely displays the principle of dominance. Age, sex, size, vigor, alertness, resourcefulness, temperamental characteristics, clearly function as determiners of the order of dominance. It is not merely a matter of leadership by a given individual, or even of primacy of initiative and control of every situation by a despot. Instead, the system of relationship extends or may extend throughout the group, thus constituting an order of hierarchy.[2]

[1] WOODWORTH, R. S., "Psychology," p. 259, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1929.

[2] YERKES, R. M., and YERKES, A. W., "Social Behavior in Infrahuman Primates," Chap. XXI of "A Handbook of Social Psychology," p. 1019, Clark University Press, 1935.

Carpenter's[1] study of howling monkeys at Panama indicates, on the other hand, that there is at least one group of animals in which dominance is not displayed to any degree—that the organization is distinctly socialistic in form.

When any two individuals meet, one of the following relationships is established:

1. A dominates B.
2. A submits to B.
3. A and B both struggle for domination.
4. A and B establish friendly relations.
5. A, preoccupied with other matters, does not notice B and no relationship between the two is established. Here, however, B is left with a resentful feeling toward A. Social conventions being what they are, the first three relationships are usually not immediately apparent. But introspectively, any one individual will realize the presence of all three relationships in his own case, and by watching two men meet, one can often tell the relationship which has been established between them. This is shown by the way the head is carried, by the way the eyes gaze ahead or drop, by the general carriage of the body, and by the increase or decrease in activity.

Domination is accomplished often in terms of superior physical size and strength, but sometimes the large man submits to a smaller one who shows superior quickness and daredeviltry of action. Alexander the Great, Napoleon, and Nelson are examples of great natural leaders who were short of stature. The public learns to look up to and follow the intellectually superior man, but as a rule this is not done readily unless he is superior physically also. Really to comprehend this the reader should contrast his own attitudes toward an insignificant-looking man before and after learning that he is a famous physician.

Statistical facts are lacking to determine whether all men possess this want to dominate others or not. Probably all have the desire but many are too handicapped by lack of physical prowess, good health, and intellectual activity to make any outward effort to control others. It is certain that many seem to care nothing for domination and shun all opportunity to lead except in some very restricted activity, such as checker playing or old-coin collecting. In between the two extremes of human beings—the dominating leader and the almost totally submissive follower—are the great majority of men and women. These show domination when they can and submission the rest of the time.

[1] CARPENTER, C. R., "A Field Study of the Behavior and Social Relations of Howling Monkeys," *Comparative Psychology Monographs*, 1934, **10**.

*Rivalry* is a definite form of domination. In anger there is the desire to injure or destroy another; but when a rival exists, the desire is to dominate him and to enjoy the satisfaction of having him recognize one's superiority. Frequently, when the rival has bowed in submission surprising benevolence is shown him. Many people do not desire victory except when they have really won. Thus, in a game of chess one player will often insist that his opponent take back a move whereby the opponent's queen would be captured. The best form of rivalry is shown by many a scientist or an engineer who gives up his secrets as fast as he discovers them, desiring not the profit so much as the reputation for success.

Rivalry is so strong in most men that the satisfaction to be obtained from beating an opponent is sufficient to lead a man to strive diligently when he would not do so for mere financial return. The sales manager knows that a prize, of small monetary value, will produce greater returns than there would be if each salesman were given the same value in the form of an increase in salary.

Posting the records of daily production where all can see them has often brought out returns far in excess of what a bonus system will accomplish. Here, a man may contend with his fellows and also with his own past record. Or, a squad of workers may be pitted against other squads. To feel that one is improving or that one is beating others is very sweet. In a sense every man is so contending openly or secretly with some others. If he cannot do so in the realm of his daily work, he does so in some other connection, such as building up a Sunday School class, rising in position in his union, beating his crowd at poker, telling the rottenest stories, etc. The substitution of worthwhile rivalries for inconsequential or vicious ones is (or should be) one of the aims of the school, the church, the press, the employer, and all leaders of society. The way to break up a bad gang of youths or a hostile group of employees is not to "bust" them, but rather to substitute some worth-while and interesting occupation for the undesirable activity.

*Display.*—The want to dominate is shown in a multitude of ways, from the sheer physical domination of the bully to the subtle innuendo at a woman's bridge party. Display of anything the mass has not adds value to that thing because it helps the owner to feel superior to others and also leads others to look up to him. So, poor grammar, improper eating habits, lack of membership in a fraternal order, wearing clothes out of style, etc., ad infinitum, are the grounds on which others are pushed down and ourselves thereby elevated. Because no one likes to be pushed down, to be disapproved of, a great deal of

attention is devoted to these "little" things and often they cause more worry than really important matters. The display of the rich is one reason for their being looked up to by the multitude; it is also a potent cause for envy and jealousy and a desire to pull the wealthy down.

*Workmanship.*—(See page 534 for discussion.)

**Want to Be Submissive to and Follow a Leader.**—To list such a want as this one seems to contradict the preceding section. But that is not the case, for the reason that a man possesses both tendencies, just as he does the two to run away and to fight. It depends upon the circumstances which response he will make. The desire to submit to a leader may be explained by the fact that man has many wants to be satisfied, that sometimes they can be most easily obtained by dominating the situation and at other times by submitting to others. Thus, a child may learn to dominate his mother and submit to his father because these are the most appropriate ways of securing their aid to his projects.

When a person encounters resistance from another he may submit outwardly because if he simply goes on just the same only in more roundabout ways, he may "get" his opponent. This performance, which we see going on all around us in every walk of life, is not, however, the type of submission we have reference to here, for in such a situation there is no want to be submissive; instead there is the want to dominate, only it is thwarted for the time being. The phenomenon we are discussing is a whole-hearted giving in, brought about possibly, as Woodworth suggests, because it brings genuine relief from the effort and strain of struggling. Whatever the explanation, all of us at times have experienced great satisfaction from following some leader. Hero worship is a form of this mode of behavior. On this basis is to be explained much in the attitude of the masses toward Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, and Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States.

In adult life submission is very apt to be shown to superiority of any kind, whether of physical size, of mental ability, of social standing, or of wealth and power. This occurs in response not only to real indications of these qualities but to anything that suggests them. So the loudly dressed man or the occupant of a large automobile is submitted to, although the former may be a streetcar motorman off duty and the latter may have squandered all his earnings for a ride.

The more thoroughly the dominance of a leader is recognized, the more blindly will any action of that leader be approved. Such blind approval often leads to annoyance afterward when it is realized not

to have been in accord with customary standards. If the leader goes too far, so that approval cannot be shown, the individual may not be able to show disapproval, and so will keep quiet.

As a man is always submissive to the group to which he belongs, he always enjoys praise from it, but he may become most resentful if the same praise comes from a group upon which he looks down. This submissiveness of the individual to a group is one of the factors underlying cooperation as it causes unity of action of all in the group. It is this principle that explains the strength of superstition, social etiquette, customs, and ideals, held by the group. To stand out against these ideals is to stand against the group, and usually to court disapproval. On the other hand, agreement gives man a sense of security and the sweet pleasure of being one with his kind.

Such submissiveness explains why a large group of followers is so unable to contend against recognized leaders. Filene reports that the efforts to establish industrial democracy in his department store have been thwarted by "the almost invincible timidity of many an employee in taking hold, in taking advantage of the opportunities . . . freely placed before him."[1]

**To Be Noticed by Others.**—If a man does not secure submission from others or willingly show submission to them, if he is receiving neither approval nor disapproval, he feels uneasy, for his status with respect to them is undetermined. All have experienced this upon entering, for example, a dentist's waiting room where no one paid any attention. The irreducible minimum of what man wants when meeting strangers is to be noticed and looked at as though he were a human being and not a piece of furniture. If not noticed, he will be uncomfortable and dislike the cause of his uneasiness.

The fact that everyone experiences this annoyance would suggest that all should take care not to occasion annoyance in others. One fundamental of good service should be, accordingly, that all engaged in meeting others should acknowledge an arrival by an immediate nod or statement to the effect that "I'll be with you in a minute." This would hardly interfere with the work going on and would put newcomers at ease and eliminate the first possibility of friction. There is no question that many railroad and public utility companies have lost vast sums because individual voters have not been treated as they would like to be treated. Many a labor problem becomes a problem because workmen miss this man-to-man recognition when they meet their executives.

[1] FILENE, A. L., "A Merchant's Horizon," p. 147, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

**Curiosity.**—That phase of mental activity called curiosity deserves special attention. A curious person pays attention with a wondering attitude, which leads to more or less continuous exploration or examination.

To what kind of object does one exhibit curiosity? Tolman says, "an unfamiliar object," when he defines curiosity as a desire "to get more stimulation from some distant and unfamiliar object." The writer disagrees with this, favoring the definition given in the "Dictionary of Psychology": "curiosity is a tendency, regarded by many as congenital, to seek information or knowledge, especially to acquire information regarding a partly known event or situation." A person shows no curiosity about a new object or an old one. The typical response to a new object is to ignore it. The average person never discovers automatic sprinkler heads in a building, or styles of architecture exemplified in houses, or symptoms of disease in the faces of passersby. On every hand are thousands of things to see, but because they are new, unfamiliar, they are not seen. On the other hand, an old, familiar object is hardly noticed, as a scar on a friend's face. To familiar objects there is an established habit of reacting, and response is made in that way with little thought of the object itself, of the response, or of why there is any reaction at all.

When a *new combination of old familiar things* is met, what is called curiosity is experienced. The announcement several years ago of four-wheel brakes illustrates the point. Wheels and brakes were familiar, but brakes on front wheels presented a new combination. Once they had been seen, the novelty was gone. A cat that barked at a meowing dog would arouse great curiosity and would be a gold mine for a side show. The Dionne quintuplets and the typical comic strip in the newspaper are two other good illustrations. Probably no advertisement was more discussed in its day than the one showing the statue of Venus de Milo with the heading, "If Venus had arms."

Curiosity is similar to recognition-memory and resisting interference in that all three are forms of behavior arising from peculiarities of the functioning of the nervous system itself. We recognize an object which we have experienced before but not too often, for then it is familiar and we don't think about it at all. Resistance arises whenever any activity, once started, is checked. Curiosity arises whenever two or more familiar activities are experienced together for the first time. Under certain conditions almost any activity will arouse familiarity or resistance or curiosity; under other conditions the same activity will not arouse any of these three phenomena. Because of this, the "appeal to curiosity" is a shibboleth of very

doubtful value, since men differ so greatly regarding what things and what conditions are needed for arousing their curiosity. If, however, two familiar but hitherto unrelated items are presented together it is most likely that they will be examined with unusual interest, *i.e.*, they will arouse curiosity.

### TERTIARY WANTS

All habits not included under the two preceding headings of primary and secondary wants fall in this third classification. It includes all learned physiological structures which are characteristic only of some men and not of mankind in general.

As we have seen, activity following birth is initiated by primary wants. In satisfying these primary wants, secondary wants are acquired and also a host of specific habits. From one point of view it is thus possible theoretically at least to explain any action of an adult in terms basically of one or more primary wants. But from another point of view this is not entirely true. Each habit takes unto itself many of the characteristics of a primary want. It is to be thought of as a physiological mechanism and, when once set in operation, functions to some degree like a primary want. Drinking alcoholic liquor or coffee and smoking are good examples of habits which are aroused to activity every so often, and the individual makes all manner of adjustments to his environment to satisfy them. Any attempt to explain them in terms of basic wants results in a most unsatisfactory conclusion. The peculiar flavor of these activities resides in themselves. Smoking is a habit which satisfies a great variety of other wants, to be sure, but the sum of all of them is peculiarly different from the enjoyment of smoking itself.

From the first point of view, objects are not wanted; what is desired is the satisfaction of certain primary wants. All objects are accordingly to be viewed as means to some more remote ends. From the second point of view, many objects are so wanted for their own sake that the average person cannot understand what is meant when he is asked, "Why do you want an automobile, a pair of shoes, or a toothbrush?" Strictly speaking, a sweetheart is desired because she satisfies certain bodily cravings. But, as already stated, one tends to overlook this distinction, one comes to want the sweetheart herself, and, furthermore, one comes to want many objects because they are means to getting the sweetheart. One even comes to want extra work and hardship as a means to obtain objects which will be in turn means of obtaining approbation from the girl and so eventually lead to obtaining the girl herself and the final satisfaction.

Under appropriate conditions a habit is enjoyed for its own sake over and above the satisfaction secured through its use as a means to some goal. Driving a motor car gives more pleasure than that obtained by riding in the car plus the fun of manipulating a large mechanism. Consequently, to list all man's wants it would be necessary to list all his habits in addition to the more basic drives considered above, for every habit may contribute some pleasure that comes from the mere doing of it. It is, of course, not presumed that every habit always makes such a contribution, as most of them are performed with little thought. Nevertheless a good deal of the pleasure of life comes from performing habits for their own sake as well as for the contribution they make to more remote ends. Consider in this connection the pleasure which results from playing bridge or golf, from wearing a new dress or getting the answer to a problem in mathematics.

We have seen that interference with any basic activity causes resistance with accompanying annoyance, irritation, anger. The same applies to interference with the performance of any habit once set in operation. The older we become, the more strongly entrenched are our habits and the more we insist upon doing a thing in our own way. Very frequently conditions change and the old habits are no longer as useful as formerly but the tendency is strong to continue as before. In such cases we have clear proof that the habit is maintained for its own sake; otherwise it would be discarded for a better procedure. This does not mean that older persons do not change their habits. They do to a noticeable extent. But they do not do so as readily as the young and in most cases they certainly do not like to do so. They like their own ways and continue in them whenever possible.

If the explanation of behavior is expressed in terms of primary wants alone or in terms of habits alone we do not have a complete explanation. What I eat—whether spinach or turnips, for example—depends upon what I like (tertiary wants) but why I eat at all depends upon the primary want to eat. If I were starving I undoubtedly would eat turnips and enjoy them, which means that to eat is far more fundamental than my likes and dislikes for specific foods. The complete explanation of behavior must be in terms of primary wants as they are modified by secondary and tertiary wants. But in many cases the only explanation that is necessary may be based upon tertiary wants alone. Chapter XXVII is included in this text not only because accident prevention is one phase of influencing others, but also because the developments in that field illustrate the importance of

analyzing the behavior of those having accidents in terms of the specific habits of performing the job.

Advertisers use the appeal of cleanliness; it is spoken of as a motive. Actually there is no drive for cleanliness, but only a great many specific habits which may be grouped under this convenient classification. Some wash their teeth every morning, some twice a day, a few three times a day, some not at all. Some wash their hands when they are dirty and particularly when they are sticky, some wash them before every meal. Some men who keep their hands very clean in the city will never think of washing them before cooking a meal on a fishing trip. Nearly everyone will make a fuss over a speck in the water at a hotel, or dirt on the meat platter, but will drink out of a rusty tin can at a farm pump or eat meat, cooked over a campfire, that has dropped into the fire at least once. Much of what is called cleanliness is merely an effort to secure approval and dodge disapproval.

Anyone still skeptical of this view should watch children and note how often they show any desire to be clean. If their dirty condition did not hurt their parents' educated beliefs, they would not wash their faces or hands or take a bath or change their clothes at all. A good share of the credit for present standards of cleanliness is due to soap manufacturers and others who have financially profited by raising standards of living. In some connections it is essential to know what specific habits of "cleanliness" a person possesses. In other connections it is as essential to know what are the underlying explanations of why they have these habits.

**Health.**—Appeals to health are not identical with appeals to escape pain and suffering. Few go to a dentist until they feel pain and practically none go to a doctor until they have to. Frankly, as long as health exists it is ignored; but when it is threatened or lost, it is sought most eagerly. Logically, health is the positive state, sickness the negative aspect. But, psychologically, the reverse is true. People will not buy medicine or anything else to keep well, but they will buy to get well. Interest in health is acquired and can never be so strong as the positive want to escape pain and suffering. Health appeals have the greatest effect when directed to women in terms of protecting their loved ones from harm. Everyone is familiar with the mother who will not allow her children to eat some indigestible food, when she will eat it herself in their absence without a thought of consequences. Her concern for their welfare is the cause of interest in health, but having no such native interest in her own welfare she disregards health appeals as applied to herself—as long as she is well

and surprisingly often when she is not. (See Figs. 3, page 36, and 37, p. 231, for appeals to this motive.)

**Acquisition, Collection, and Possession of Objects.**—William James believed that man has natively a want to acquire and possess objects. He wrote in his "Talks to Teachers," that the "depth and primitiveness of this instinct would seem to discredit in advance all radical forms of communistic utopia. Private property cannot be practically abolished until human nature is changed." On the other hand, Taussig wrote, "I am skeptical of the existence of an instinct of ownership as such; and at all events I am very doubtful whether this plays any special part in the psychology of the business man."[1]

There is no question but that man wants to own things. However, this can be explained on the basis that through owning them he can control them and so use them whenever he desires. If man instinctively wanted to possess everything he encountered, then objects would be sought just in order that they might be possessed. The writer does not believe this is the case. Objects are valued only as they make it possible for the owner to satisfy some want. When they cease to do this they lose all value.

[1] TAUSSIG, F. W., "Inventors and Money-makers," p. 81, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915.

# CHAPTER VII

## LEARNING

Learning is "the process of acquiring the ability to respond adequately to a situation which may or may not have been previously encountered." At birth man is able to satisfy only a very few of his wants and those in only a very elementary sort of way. He must learn which movements to make and in what sequence to make them if he is to satisfy his wants in an adequate manner. Once having acquired appropriate habits, he tends to employ them if possible. But established habits do not always fit new conditions; thus, the continual learning of new and better habits is necessary.

From the moment the ovum is fertilized until adulthood is reached the organism grows according to a hierarchy of internal regulatory factors. "To development that primarily is so regulated, the term maturation is given nowadays in order to set it off from other processes by which response mechanisms are acquired,"[1] such as learning. Thus a baby cannot learn to walk before a certain age because the parts of the body involved in the process are not developed sufficiently to function. After reaching that age, the baby learns to stand and walk. It is not possible to differentiate completely between maturation and learning for "in all maturation there is learning and in all learning there is hereditary maturation," as Carmichael has put it. But it is important to realize that much learning must wait until the body is sufficiently mature to perform the necessary actions. This is particularly true of sex and maternal behavior, which cannot truly function until adolescence.

An understanding of how man learns to satisfy his varied wants is extremely important if one desires to influence others. The main thesis of this text is that the easiest way to influence another is to aid him to solve his problem in his own way. To try to make him do what one wants by presenting reasons that influence oneself may be successful if one's own way happens to be the prospects' way; otherwise, such procedure is very apt to be useless. The role of influencing another consists first of getting the prospect to realize he has a problem

[1] STONE, C. P., "Maturation and 'Instinctive' Functions," in "Comparative Psychology," p. 38, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

to solve and second, of helping him solve it, but with sufficient aid so that he will arrive at the solution desired by the teacher or seller.[1] The better one understands how problems are solved the better can one aid others in solving their problems.

### FOUR FACTORS INVOLVED IN LEARNING

Analysis of an act of learning shows that first the learner experiences a *want*, that second this want predicates a *goal* to be reached, that third there is some *obstacle* to be overcome or got around, and that fourth a *means* of overcoming the obstacle and reaching the goal is discovered. An example drawn from the writer's experience may be used to illustrate the above.

Years ago I was driving my car along a fine dirt road, well graded, recently dragged. Presently, I dropped down a slight grade, expecting to find a bridge ahead over a little stream. Instead, I discovered that the creek was to be forded. Slowing up, I plunged in only to come to a sudden stop, mired in the mud. The stop was so sudden that the engine stalled. Starting the engine, I tried going ahead and then in reverse, but with no result other than that I sank deeper in the mud. Then I tried wrapping chains around the wheels, but that didn't help. Finally, I decided that the only way to get out was to dig away the mud from about the rear wheels. To do this I needed a shovel. Looking up, I saw a farmhouse some distance away. So I trudged over and borrowed a shovel. With it I presently dug my way out and, after returning the shovel, went on my way.

In this case there was first of all a *want* to go on to my destination (the *goal*). When I got stuck in the mud the *obstacle* only intensified my desire to get out and go on my way. I sought for a solution to my difficulty. I tried going ahead in low, then in reverse, then using chains wrapped about the wheels. I also considered putting stones under the wheels. Finally I thought of a shovel. After using the shovel I found that it was an adequate *solution* to my difficulty. As I drove along I felt a glow of satisfaction that I was out of the hole and going on.

Once a want is experienced, the remaining three factors may occur in one, two, three order. But more often all three are developed, little by little, more or less simultaneously. As a want is realized, the difficulty, or obstacle, is analyzed and solutions flash into consciousness. As such solutions are scrutinized, further details are seen in the difficulty and it is more clearly understood. Because this whole time the want is checked, it comes to be felt all the more. Discovering a

[1] The ethics of this will be discussed in Chap. X.

solution is essentially a trial-and-error process, a trying this and giving up that, until finally a solution emerges that is good enough for the matter in hand.

## RISE OF A DYNAMIC WANT

The basis of action is a dynamic want. If the want is dormant, there is no action or tendency to act. When the want represented by a physiological mechanism is stimulated then the organism tends to act accordingly. The organism does not always so act, because there may be other wants present which conflict with it, or there may be no opportunity to act in terms of the want.

Want is comparable to mental set or conscious attitude or *aufgabe*. Purpose is another synonym. The expression "will to learn" similarly has reference to the attitude taken by the learner. Many experiments have been performed which prove the importance of the "will to learn," or want factor in learning. For example, a group of students instructed to memorize a list of words remembered 50 per cent more than another group who were instructed merely to listen passively as the words were read.[1] The difference would have been far greater if there had been a genuinely passive attitude toward memorizing upon the part of the second group, but this is hard to obtain from a class of students who are responding to their instructor in a classroom.

Those trained in the stimulus-response (S → R) point of view in psychology will object to any explanation of learning which starts with an aroused want instead of a stimulus. From one point of view they are entirely correct; from another point of view the precipitating stimulus, or occasion, can be ignored in a great variety of cases and the aroused want be used as the starting point to explain learning. It must be granted that a want does not change from a dormant to a dynamic condition in and of itself. There is always some stimulus that sets it off. That stimulus may be inherent in the organism or external to it. When the stimulus is internal, it may be ignored for all practical purposes, except that when we talk about a dormant want we are postulating that there is no stimulus and when we speak of a dynamic want we are similarly postulating that a stimulus has aroused the mechanism which is the physiological correlate of the want.

To lay stress upon the stimulus is in many cases to put the cart before the horse. Consider, for example, an inveterate cigarette smoker who has not smoked for some little time. Something calls smoking to his mind and he lights up. Any one of a great variety

[1] PETERSON, J., "The Effect of Attitude on Immediate and Delayed Reproduction," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1916, **7**, 523–532.

of things may be the precipitating factor, such as the odor of a pipe, the sight of someone smoking a cigar, an advertising sign, an accidental touching of the cigarette package in his pocket, etc. These are mere incidents to the really significant fact that he is a confirmed smoker, and if one of these stimuli does not arouse him to smoking, another will.

When we consider this matter further we have to realize that the stimulus that did start our friend to smoking had no effect upon another bystander. Why? Merely because he does not smoke. The odor of a pipe is a stimulus to one and not to the other because one has a strongly organized want to smoke and the other lacks all this. Woodworth tells us that "a stimulus is whatever arouses the individual to any activity."[1] According to this definition, the only way you can know a stimulus is by noting if the organism responds to it. As I look up from writing the above there are literally hundreds of objects that might conceivably act as a stimulus but they do not so act because I don't want them to, that is, I am intent on making this point clear. During the coming year many of these objects will function as stimuli because on those occasions I'll have wants appropriate to them. Man is a selective organism—he selects out of his environment the objects that are to function as stimuli. Only occasionally do objects stimulate him seemingly unawares, as the sudden blast of an automobile horn behind him. But even here he has a physiological mechanism always ready to respond to a sudden noise. If he didn't have such a mechanism, automobile horns would not be used.[2]

When we come to discuss the process of influencing another we shall have use for external stimuli, because influencing is only another term for stimulating. There we shall refer to these stimuli as appeals. And we shall recognize that appeals may be divided into two main classes—those that stimulate a want and those that direct the aroused activity into a specific channel (see Chap. XIII). We do not then ignore stimuli; they have their place in explaining behavior. Nevertheless, whenever we attempt to explain what anyone is doing we always find him possessed of aroused wants. How the want came to be aroused is ordinarily of relative unimportance compared with the fact that he has the want.

[1] WOODWORTH, R. S., "Psychology," p. 103, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1929.

[2] Wheeler expresses the point of this paragraph as follows: "The end is established before the perceptual act begins. In fact this law is general; a goal is always established before any mode of behavior commences." WHEELER, R. H., "The Science of Psychology," p. 514, New York, The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929.

With this digression finished, let us return to the main thesis of the chapter, *i.e.*, how man learns the means of satisfying his wants.

### COMPREHENSION OF THE GOAL

The first time an individual experiences a want he may have no comprehension of the goal or it may be very vaguely present in his mind. But after some experience, the goal comes to mind practically simultaneously with the want. In fact, the striking characteristic of many wants among adults is that the two elements, the want and the goal, are fused into one entity. Thus we say we want a pair of shoes; we don't even think of the want to escape injury to our feet by covering them with shoes, or of the disapproval we should encounter if we walked downtown barefoot, etc. All of the many wants which have led to the custom of wearing shoes are ignored, all we think is that we want shoes.

There are, however, many other cases in which we may not realize what the goal is. I well remember the case of a young man who, when I was living in Pittsburgh, called upon me one morning to obtain my opinion regarding two business opportunities, one in Pittsburgh and the other in Kansas City. There was no question but that the latter was better in every respect. The fact that the young man favored the Pittsburgh position aroused my curiosity. Long afterwards I learned that only the evening before he called upon me he had met the young lady who later became his wife. His suddenly aroused interest in her made the Pittsburgh position more desirable, yet I am positive that that morning the young man had not yet realized why he wanted to stay in Pittsburgh. It is quite likely, however, that he did come to connect the girl up with the job during the ten days before he made up his mind.

Learning involves not only discovering how to reach a goal but also discovering what the goal really is. One reason why young people don't know what they want to do in life is because they have not yet any particular goal. Apparently very few ever formulate a goal to be reached as far ahead as five years, for when college students are required to make such a report only a small minority express any definite aim. The often heard expression "I don't know what to do" is indicative of general dissatisfaction, symptomatic of unsatisfied wants, and also of lack of comprehension of what would satisfy the wants. It is rather significant that ratings of college students on the single item "Has he a program with definite purposes in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?" correlates .46 with scholarship at Stanford University, giving nearly as significant a coefficient as that

obtained from a two-hour college aptitude test (Thorndike) with scholarship (*i.e.* .51—both coefficients corrected for attenuation).[1]

The more nearly the anticipated goal agrees with the true goal, the better. Action is directed, of course, toward the former and if it differs from the true goal, the latter may never be reached, or only after the anticipated goal has been revised. Many of the bitter disappointments in life arise from the fact that after long-continued struggle to reach an anticipated goal we discover our anticipations to have been faulty.

### DISCOVERY OF AN ADEQUATE SOLUTION

The typical method of finding the means to satisfy a want when old solutions are useless is to try one thing after another in the hope that one of them will be useful. Thus, when the writer was stuck in the mud he tried reversing the car, tying chains to the rear wheels, putting stones under the wheels, etc. Finally he tried using a shovel to dig the mud away from the wheels and the car was freed.

Consider another very simple case of learning. Brown's dentist has moved his office into a new office building. Brown gets off the elevator and is confronted with three hallways—to the right, to the left, and straight ahead. As there is nothing to indicate where Room 626 is, after a moment's hesitation and looking around he goes to the left. Exploration of this hallway shows numbers from 637 upwards. Retracing his steps he tries the hallway straight ahead and finds numbers only from 627 to 636. Retracing his steps again he discovers room 626 on the right-hand hallway. Entering the waiting room he sits down. The want to reach the dentist's office is satisfied.

Because of past experience Brown knows that Room 626 is on the sixth floor, and upon alighting from the elevator he realizes that one of the three hallways will lead to the desired room. Which of the three he will enter is dependent upon a variety of factors: he may have a habit of going to the left when faced with such a dilemma, he may be facing to the left after leaving the elevator, the hallway to the left may be better lighted by the afternoon sun, etc. Realizing that any one of the three may be the correct pathway, the learner seizes upon almost anything as a basis for decision. Exploration of the first and second hallways does not result in reaching his goal, so the third hallway is entered and the goal reached. Then the series of activities is completed.

A week later the learner again alights from the elevator. If now the sight of the three possible pathways brings to mind that the left-

[1] See p. 451

hand hallway and the one straight ahead do not lead to Room 626 and that the right-hand hallway leads to the dentist's office, he will turn to the right. But if he does not remember, he may have to do some exploring again before finally reaching Room 626. Upon the first visit the learner had no basis for deciding the correct pathway—it had to be found by exploration. Upon the second trial he has the possibility, at least, of knowing where each pathway leads. After further trials he will eventually know the correct pathway.

Four stages in learning may be recognized. First, the learner is possessed with a want already aroused which means he is set to behave so as to go toward the goal which will satisfy the want. How clearly he apprehends the goal depends upon his past experiences in satisfying the want. But in any case, because he is not facing exactly the same environmental conditions with which he has coped before, he must make some readjustments in his previous procedures in order to reach the goal.

The second stage in learning is a reacting to certain portions of his environment. He may conceive of a possible means of reaching his goal and look for an appropriate *S* (stimulus) to facilitate this (for example, want to go to Palo Alto for lunch and look for the bus); or he may notice the *S* and see in it a means to his end (see the bus, and recognize its significance); or better still he may more or less simultaneously be considering possible means and looking around for proper facilities. In any case, what he perceives in his environment are *S*'s that are conceived to be means to the goal.

The third stage in learning is responding in terms of both the want and the *S* (runs for the bus, climbs in when it stops, etc). This series of responses may be very few in number (as in finding the dentist's office) or the series may continue for a long period of time (carrying on an extensive piece of research on the supposition that *S* is the means to the goal). The whole series is exploratory in the sense that the learner is seeking a goal and is hoping the path he is choosing will take him there. If it does not, he retraces his steps and tries some other pathway, which means he repeats the second and third stages of learning.

The fourth stage occurs only when a pathway finally leads him to his goal. Then he makes the final consummatory response, that is, satisfies the aroused want. That ends the series.

Upon the next occasion when the learner is aroused to satisfy this same want and is faced with approximately the same situation, he will remember some of his former experience. To that extent, he will eliminate unnecessary exploratory responses and reach the goal in less

time. After several trials he will remember the correct pathway and go directly to the goal; or, as Tolman so aptly expresses it, he will learn "what leads to what."[1]

What is involved in this remembering? Actually the process of remembering is the same type of mental process that entered into the perceiving of an *S* as a hoped-for means to the goal. The *S* would never have been noticed if it had not been a "sign" that through its use the learner could advance toward his goal. The first time the patient sought Room 626 he knew that the room had to be on the sixth floor and that one of the three hallways led to it. Possibly on the second occasion he knew (remembered), in addition, that the hallway to the right led to Room 626. So he went directly there. If he had remembered that the way to the dentist was down the darkest hallway and his next return was in the morning instead of the afternoon he might then turn confidently in the wrong direction. Here his memory would have been useful in the afternoon but not in the morning. This last example is added in order to emphasize that what is remembered may or may not prove useful, depending upon how nearly the first and second experiences are alike.

To repeat, what is perceived or remembered at any moment is anything which is related in some way to the goal to be reached. Each object so noticed arouses memories of experiences which are related in some manner to the purpose in mind; each such object is a "sign" that through utilization of the object progress will be made toward the goal. The difference between an expert and an average person lies in the fact that the former has had a rich experience with many objects in a certain field and consequently finds a multitude of meanings in them, whereas to the novice they have few or no meanings at all. In solving any problem, the individual is dependent upon his past experiences with the objects within his horizon. As one's experience with most objects is far from complete, it follows that many objects are seized upon as aids only to have it turn out that some are misleading or nonsignificant on the one hand or reliable on the other hand. Trial-and-error learning results very largely from the manipulation of objects all of which were first interpreted to have usefulness and upon actual trial most found to be useless.

It is essential for learning that the means which lead to failure come to be identified, as well as the one which leads to success. In the solving of a wire puzzle the pieces often come apart to the surprise of the learner. But that does not mean he has learned to solve the

[1] TOLMAN, E. C., "Theories of Learning," Chap. XII, p. 403, in "Comparative Psychology," New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

puzzle. Only when he has learned that certain manipulations are wrong and certain others are right and knows the difference between them, can he perform the puzzle whenever he pleases. Experiments in the Chicago laboratory upon both rats and human beings have shown that if the learner is permitted to travel over a maze along the correct pathway a number of times by having all the wrong pathways blocked off, he learns something about the maze but not enough to run the maze correctly when the wrong pathways are not blocked off. Carr summarizes the results of the experiments as follows:—

> No one learned the maze during their guided trials; in fact, too much guidance was actually detrimental. In other words, a certain number of errors must be made and eliminated before the subject is ever able to run the maze correctly. Correct modes of response are established in part by learning what not to do.[1]

In daily life complete learning results very often from one experience. Few have to be stung more than once by a bee to learn the difference between bees and flies. There are, on the other hand, examples of learning where one repetition is not sufficient to establish a new habit. In these cases the learner is not able to comprehend fully the steps he employed which led to the goal. The first time the parts of a wire puzzle come apart is usually a surprise to the learner and about all he can utilize of the experience is a memory that just before the parts separated they were in a certain position. The old goal becomes modified to the extent of including within it the getting of the parts into the position just preceding their coming apart. Many more repetitions are necessary before the learner will come to know the wrong movements from the right ones and to establish in his mind the proper sequence of right movements.

Because in the more involved examples of learning many repetitions are required, much stress has been put upon repetition as though repetition as such could explain learning. There are many experiments, usually included under the heading of incidental memory, which show that repetition alone does not cause learning. Myers[2] asked his subjects to draw a representation of a watch face with Roman numerals. Of 200 persons so tested, all but 21 put in "IV" instead of the "IIII" and all but 8 put in a "VI." Looking at a watch thousands of times to tell the time does not equip a person with the

[1] Carr, H. A., "Psychology, A Study of Mental Activity," p. 98, New York, Longmans, Green & Company, 1925.

[2] Myers, G. A., "A Study in Incidental Memory," *Archives of Psychology*, 1913, 4, p. 95.

ability to recall the details of that watch face. Thorndike[1] read a list of 1,304 pairs of words and numbers like bread 29, wall 16, Texas 78, to a class, with instructions to "pay about as close attention as you would in an average class." The class was then asked to record the number which occurred after a given word, or the word which occurred after a given number. The average percentage of correct responses of numbers in response to hearing the word, when the pair had been repeated in the series 18 to 21 times, was 37.5. The average percentage of correct responses for the words in response to hearing the number, when the pair had been repeated 24 times, was 0.5, which is no more than mere chance guessing would give. The way the pairs were presented led the subjects to consider each word as belonging to the number that followed it but not to the number that preceded it. Repetition of word and number following it caused the two to be associated but repetition of number and word following it did not cause the two to be associated. Repetition as such does not explain learning, although it is a necessary adjunct in many cases. The old adage "Try, try again" is good advice, because much learning is dependent upon trying and trying until the appropriate movement is hit upon. Learning will, however, be greatly facilitated if the learner concentrates on determining what he is to do and then doing it.

It has been customary to distinguish between trial-and-error learning and reasoning on the basis very largely that the former involved trying this and that in rapid succession, whereas the latter involved thinking through the contemplated activities to the end and so deciding which, if any of them, led to the desired goal. There is no question that most people will employ the former in preference to the latter whenever possible, and many will wear themselves out trying all manner of alternatives which could be easily thought through and seen as futile. This preference for overt activity is probably because reasoning always takes time and during that time the pent-up individual must hold still. This affects him, as any other obstacle to action affects him, by occasioning irritation and renewed effort to go on. Hence, the tendency is always to cut reasoning short and go ahead.

After the above distinction between trial-and-error learning and reasoning has been recognized, it must be admitted that all learning involves both, but in varying degree. Every object that is perceived as a means to some end involves incipient reasoning in the sense that the object is so perceived. One does not ordinarily stop a rattle in an

[1] THORNDIKE, E. L., "Human Learning," p. 23 *ff*, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1931.

automobile by flying round pouring oil into every crevice and tightening every nut and screw. Usually there is a preliminary period of locating the rattle as accurately as possible, followed by an inspection of the area before oilcan, screw driver, or monkey wrench is brought into play. And at the other extreme, when reasoning has predominated in the search for a proper solution, the learner tries out the best solution to see if it works before finally accepting it.

In present-day literature much is made of "insight" as distinct from trial-and-error learning. Improvement in trial-and-error learning takes place gradually. When there is a sudden improvement in learning, it is accepted that the learner has grasped some portion of the problem. There is a little puzzle that illustrates insight exceedingly well. It consists of four troughs under glass leading diagonally from the center to each of the four corners of a flat little box. In each trough is a small marble. The stunt is to get all four marbles into the four outside corners at the same time. Ordinary manipulations will only once in a long while lead to success. But if the learner suddenly thinks of whirling the puzzle box, success is his instantly. Here a new means is conceived of which is quite different from anything previously tried and is vastly superior to all the old ways.

Insight represents in most cases a new analysis of the obstacle. The German psychologist, Köhler, reports this example. A banana was placed just outside the cage of an ape and directly in front of the banana a large box was placed inside the cage. This made it impossible for the ape to reach around the box through the bars and secure the banana. For two hours the ape vainly tried to obtain the coveted food. Finally, the experimenter allowed smaller apes to approach the banana from the outside. The older ape threatened them, but at last when one approached very near the banana, he pushed the box out of the way and grabbed the fruit. Had the ape sensed the true obstacle at the beginning he would have moved the box immediately.[1]

The writer does not believe that insight represents a really different method of learning from trial and error. Getting his automobile out of the mud hole was primarily trial and error—he tried one thing after another as fast as he thought of them. Nevertheless, each thing he tried involved a certain amount of insight into the nature of his difficulty. The term "insight" is useful, nevertheless, whenever we wish to emphasize that the learner apparently discovered a means which he had not used before in that connection and which was not seemingly suggested to him by any element in his environment. The

[1] KÖHLER, W., "The Mentality of Apes," p. 62, London, George Routledge and Sons, and New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1927.

writer has inserted the words "apparently" and "seemingly" in the preceding sentence because he is far from sure that there is any genuine case of an invention or any other example of insight in which the new method "came out of the blue sky." He is quite sure that some element in the environment or in the memories brought to mind at the time, or some combination of them or their parts, is the basis for the new conception. It is, however, quite fitting to give such infrequent and exceedingly useful solutions to difficulties a special name.

In this very brief outline of the learning process it is impossible to mention all the factors involved. Two additional characteristics of learning should be included. First, there must be present a readiness to persist toward the goal, a continuing which can only be explained by an aroused drive that will not be satiated until the consummatory response is made. Second, a tendency exists to select sooner and sooner the correct responses, also to select short cuts; so that finally the learned performance is executed not only more quickly and easily than at the beginning but in a qualitatively different manner.

Analysis of the learning of very complicated problems shows that the same principles apply as in very simple cases, such as those already discussed. But because of the greater complexity in the former there is involved in such learning far more opportunity to make mistakes and to become all mixed up. Suppose, for example, that in getting to the final goal the learner must choose correctly ten times the right pathway from several alternatives and that only after making these ten choices correctly will he reach the goal. This is what a rat has to do in solving a complicated maze or a man has to do in solving a complicated wire puzzle. Is it any wonder that many repetitions are necessary before each turning becomes identified? Is it any wonder that such learning is characterized as trial and error? Many problems in everyday life are far harder to solve than these, because it is difficult to know at that time or even later on whether following a certain "pathway" had brought one nearer the final goal or not.

### UNDERSTANDING THE OBSTACLE

There is always some obstacle to the satisfaction of a want. If a man experienced no desire for food until the moment a tray was placed on the table before him, there would still be the obstacle that the food had to be lifted to his mouth. Such an obstacle can easily be overlooked, because so little effort is required to overcome it. But it is an obstacle, nevertheless, and is easily appreciated as such in the case of a sick man who is not able to perform the simple act of feeding him-

self. An obstacle is, then, a specific environmental condition which must be changed or gotten around. It would be possible to extend the definition of obstacle to include not only environmental condition but also the presence of a conflicting want, for in a certain sense the "obstacle" to satisfying a want is sometimes the presence of a second want. It seems better to refer to the latter situation as one of conflicting wants and to restrict the use of "obstacle" to external conditions which must be altered before the want can be satisfied.

From many points of view discovering an adequate solution and understanding the obstacle are the same thing. Finding a solution involves finding an adequate means to the goal which is, at the same time, finding a way around the obstacle. When the obstacle is clearly apprehended, it is relatively easy to find a way around it. But when the obstacle is not so clearly understood, there is a great advantage in attempting to comprehend what it is before beginning the usual "try, try again" process.

Understanding the obstacle is valuable in another way. Anything that interferes with what we are trying to do arouses annoyance, irritation, anger, and releases energy. Consequently, when an obstacle is recognized as such there is a stronger tendency to overcome it than before. This is why in influencing others it is so valuable to point out what it is that prevents them from getting what they want. Thus, the life insurance salesman fairly challenged the prospect who already had all the insurance he wanted by the remark "Did it ever occur to you that your life insurance might prove to be no protection at all for your family?" (page 612). Such a challenge to the usefulness of all his insurance had to be investigated.

Obstacles may be utterly unknown, merely guessed, partially understood, or thoroughly comprehended. Thus, a man may not be feeling very well and yet have no thought of the cancer which is the cause. A little later he will be guessing what is the cause—he may think he is catching cold, that he is smoking too much, that he needs a vacation, that maybe he has a cancer since his aunt's cousin has one. This we may call the hunch stage. Later on, after the first visit to a physician, he may know that he has a cancer but not how serious it is. Finally, after thorough examination by experts he will have a complete analysis. The last two stages are typical of problems, for problems are statements of what is to be solved.

Because man finds adequate thinking hard work, he always tends to side-step it when possible. So the tendency is to analyze the obstacle only enough to reach a hunch as to what it is and then start looking for a means to get around this meagerly conceived obstacle. The better

procedure, of course, is to continue analyzing one's difficulty until the obstacle is at least fairly well understood. Recognition of this is the underlying cause of the increasing emphasis upon research work in all departments of a business, for it is the special business of a research man to reduce hunches to definite problems and then to solve the problems in an adequate manner. Craig points out:

> The conclusion of the chief executive has come as an unconscious piecing together of his impressions received from his personal experience of the past, from current reading, from men in the same trade, from men in his own organization, from trade and technical journals, from statistical services, and from his bankers. As a result of this unconscious analysis, the decision is often influenced by immediate and temporary conditions or even by the physical condition of the executive himself.
>
> In unusual cases of genius this "hunch" method of determining general policies will produce brilliant decisions; but by and large, greater progress will be made by a conscious analysis of the facts.[1]

Craig explains why "hunches" have been used on the ground that up to 1917 the executive did not have a measure of external conditions or methods for the proper interpretation of facts which were available. These are true explanations but Craig's third reason is the chief one, namely, that business could be carried on successfully without adequate study. The financial difficulties of the last twenty years have so changed conditions that hunches have had to be more sharply localized, if not reduced to definite problems.

## LIMITATIONS TO LEARNING

**Learning Dependent upon Capacities of Organism.**—The ape is not as intelligent as man and so, in the example given above, he did not try moving the box away from in front of the banana for a period of two hours, whereas a man would try this expedient almost at once. All learning is dependent upon the capacities of the learner.

**Learning Dependent upon Past Experiences.**—If I had never used a shovel or seen one used to remove mud, I probably would never have thought of borrowing a shovel to dig my car out of the mud; but I might have used a branch of a tree or a fence board instead. Learning is not dependent primarily upon the objects that surround one (the stimuli) but upon the familiarity the learner has with these objects. The objects become stimuli only as the learner sees in them a means to his end and to do so he must have had experience of that sort with them before.

[1] CRAIG, R. C., "Scientific Methods *vs.* 'Hunch' in the Chief Executive's Office," *Industrial Management*, July, 1922.

If a motor goes dead on the road, the uninformed driver may fumble with many gadgets which have nothing to do with the trouble, it is true, but that is because he hopes each one in turn may be the proper gadget to turn. He does not, however, manipulate parts of the automobile which he knows have no connection with the motor. Every action is expressive of a hope that his manipulation will do the trick; every action is also at the same time an indicator of the learner's experiences with motors.

Because we are so totally unaware of thousands of things about us which we never perceive, we naturally assume that every landscape or every street corner is seen by everyone as we see it. If a geologist, a nature lover, and an average man view the same landscape, the geologist will see different kinds of rocks and something at least of their geological formation; the nature lover will note a great variety of flowers and birds; while the average man will see only masses of rocks of varied coloring and a few of the more strikingly colored flowers and birds. On crossing the desert for the first few times, the tourist is nearly always fearfully bored; there is just nothing to see. But after further experiences and particularly after camping in the desert, it becomes a place of unmistakable charm. What one sees is limited very largely to what one has learned to see. Consequently, when looking about for means to satisfy a want, we use only those environmental elements with which we are familiar.

Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske in his book, "The Navy as a Fighting Machine," expresses this idea when he says:

> It must be borne in mind that in actual life our only real guide to wise action in any contingency that may arise is a memory, more or less consciously realized, of how a similar contingency has been met, successfully or unsuccessfully, in the past. Perhaps most of us do not realize that it is not so much experience that guides us as our memory of experiences. Therefore, in the training of both officers and enlisted men in strategy, tactics, seamanship, gunnery, engineering, and the rest, the memory of how they, or someone else, did this well and that badly (even if the memory be hardly conscious), is the immediate agency for bringing about improvement.

At times a learner utilizes an object which is really new to him. Such cases are probably not exceptions to the rule but are to be explained on the ground that some element in the new object is similar to an old familiar object and the new object has been utilized in terms of the familiar part.

**Learning Dependent upon Available Means.**—If when my car stuck there had been no farm house in sight, I should have given up the idea of using a shovel, because there would have been none avail-

able. In other words, only those means can be utilized which are available to the learner. But the fact that they are available does not imply that he will surely use them—he must have the capacity and experience in terms of which to sense that the means will serve his purpose.

**Learning Dependent upon the Want and Its Goal.**—If the learner has a faulty conception of his goal, then he may never hit upon an adequate means to the true goal which is available all the time, because he is trying out many other possible means which he does have in mind.

In order to reach the final goal the learner frequently maps out his journey in stages and views each stage as a separate subgoal to be reached. Here he often makes a very grievous mistake in assuming that each subgoal will lead him to the next and that there are not other pathways which could be used to better advantage. Such subgoals are often referred to as assumptions. They need to be tested out as thoroughly as anything else in the whole learning process but too often, once they are formulated, they are accepted as true. If they are not true, they can delay learning very seriously.

Sherlock Holmes was always preaching to Watson the necessity of distinguishing between the facts and the assumptions based on the facts. The trouble with most of us is that we do not question our assumptions but accept them as true. For example, while driving my motor car along a country road the wheels suddenly skidded just enough to turn the car at a right angle to the road. By the time I was able to stop it, the car had run off the edge of the road and was headed down a steep incline. My companion and I stepped out of the car and walked about surveying the situation. Our first reasoned reaction was that the car would be wrecked if it went down the steep incline to the level pasture below. This conclusion was an assumption; yet in terms of the assumption, just as much as in terms of the actual situation itself, the further reactions were made. After trying a number of plans which all proved ineffectual for getting the machine back on the road, we finally questioned the assumption itself. After a careful survey we decided that if we moved very slowly it would be possible to get the car down the steep incline (our second assumption). Once the pasture had been reached, it was clear that we could get back on the road at a point farther along. This plan was carried out and we went on our way. Our first assumption was incorrect, and as long as we held to it so long the car was stuck. With a change of assumption we freed ourselves from the difficulty.

## CHAPTER VIII

## CONFLICT

There are conflicts between individuals and there are conflicts between different desires or purposes within an individual. The former type of conflict will be considered somewhat in Chaps. XXVIII to XXX. It is the latter type that concerns us here.

Two types of conflict within an individual may be distinguished: one is conflict between two means to the same goal; the other, a conflict between two wants or goals.

**Conflict between Two Means to the Same Goal.**—As an example of such conflict, consider the case of a college student who feels the pressure of preparing his college work. All that can be accomplished in one evening is either to write up his laboratory notes or to do some reading in the library for his history course. The accomplishment of either will relieve the pressure upon him as to his studies. There are here represented two alternatives, each leading to the same goal; but since both cannot be pursued in the same evening, a choice must be made between the two.

The preceding chapter was chiefly concerned with how the learner discovers a solution to a want. Finding a solution is synonymous in many respects with deciding which means to employ. If in searching for a solution only one way is discovered and that proves successful, then of course no choice is made, the means is merely accepted as the solution. But in many cases various means are available and then it is necessary to choose the best one.

Most experimental studies of learning are not typical of the majority of situations confronting one in daily life, for the experimenter has too often confronted the learner with the necessity of choosing between alternatives which have no significance for him at the beginning. In daily life, on the other hand, the learner is more or less familiar with the alternatives. Thus, our college man has studied in the library and has written up laboratory notes many times. In such cases the decision is made upon the basis of the ideas that come to mind in connection with both alternatives. He may decide to go to the library when he realizes it will be closed tomorrow and an examination is likely to be given the following day; he may decide to write up the notes because it is raining and his room seems more inviting.

**Conflict between Two Different Wants.**—A man is a complex organism, usually possessing several different wants at the same time. Some of these can be satisfied simultaneously or nearly so; others cannot. When wants can be satisfied only by activities which are mutually opposed, there is conflict between them. Such conflicts are inevitable a great deal of the time.

Suppose that our college student wants not only to prepare his lessons for tomorrow, but also to write to his mother and his aunt, whose letters have not been answered for some time and, third, to spend the evening with his girl. The boy is now confronted with three different wants. The conflict is not between different means to the same goal, as in the preceding section, but among three different goals.

Stone gives an excellent example of such conflict between mutually opposed responses. Three groups of rats were employed: typical domesticated white rats, half-breeds obtained by crossing albino females and wild brown males, and full-blooded wild males. At the time of the test the rats had been deprived of food for 48 hours. When placed in the apparatus the rats had the alternative of hiding out of sight or of coming to the open cage for food. The tame rats very quickly learned to come to the food box. On the tenth trial 70 per cent of the half-breeds came to the food box within one minute, in contrast to only 10 per cent of the wild rats.[1] Here is a good example of conflict between two wants which could not be satisfied at the same time. If the wild rats had been deprived of food for 12 hours instead of 48 hours, fear would have dominated hunger much more fully; if they had been deprived of food for 72 hours, hunger would have dominated fear in a larger percentage of cases. Which one of several wants is satisfied first is dependent to a considerable degree upon the relative strength of the several wants.

**Conflict between Different Means and Wants.**—Man is very often confronted not with a simple conflict between two means to the same goal or between two wants leading to different goals but with situations involving both kinds of conflicts. In debating what to do tonight, our college student may decide against writing to his mother and his aunt, not so much because his desire to please them is weaker than his want to see his girl but because he detests writing letters and very much enjoys dancing. So he decides to send his aunt a gift for her birthday, to call his mother on the long-distance telephone and to go to the dance with his girl. Here the decision is made to a considerable extent on the basis of finding a more satisfying means of pleasing his mother and

[1] STONE, C. P., Chap. IV, "Motivation: Drives and Incentives," in "Comparative Psychology," pp. 98–100, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

aunt than writing letters and at the same time seeing his girl by way of dancing.

**Conflict because of Consequences.**—There is still another complication causing conflict and necessitating decision. This may be designated as decision in terms of consequences. Having planted a lawn, I realize that I must cut it regularly. To do this I must purchase a lawnmower. At the hardware store I am shown several different makes. One decision I must make is between wide and narrow machines. Which do I want most: to push a heavy machine and get the job done in less time or to have to work longer but with less effort by pushing a lighter machine? There is also the element of cost. Do I want to pay more now and expect the machine to last longer and necessitate less expense in sharpening the blades, or the reverse? The actual choice of the lawnmower is an expression not only of the want to have the lawn cut but also of the relative significance of the consequences incident to the purchase.

The development of the merchandising devices of giving a trial before payment, of guarantees, and to some extent of installment buying is a recognition that the buyer wants to be sure that the consequences will be satisfactory. If he can be assured of this before paying part or all of his money, he can decide that much more easily.

## INDECISION

While a conflict continues there is a state of indecision. This is not a passive state but very much the reverse. When the indecision is caused by conflict between two different means to the same goal there may result a long debate, but the individual realizes all the time that by one or other of these means he will presumably reach his goal. The situation is usually much more serious when the conflict is between two different wants, for it appears that only one is to be satisfied and at the time the individual desires both. The more the total situation is contemplated, the more both are desired. Making a choice under these conditions is probably the most wearying activity known to man, causing the expenditure of a very large amount of energy. Such conflicts are the basis for many functional disorders known as psychoneuroses. It is doubtful whether anyone breaks down because of too much hard work, but many break down from worry, which is another term descriptive of the state of indecision occasioned by conflict.

## METHODS OF SOLVING CONFLICTS

Two different phenomena are involved in solving a conflict. There is, first, the process of choosing one alternative in preference to the

others. There is, second, the necessity of escaping from the conflict itself.

Indecision, we have just seen, is a most wearying activity. Because this is so, the longer one is unable to decide what to do, the more he tends to do something to end the conflict, with less and less regard to the merits of the two alternatives. If man could calmly and quietly consider the pros and cons of each conflict, he could solve many of them on a rational basis. Instead, he gets more and more excited and finally, unable to control himself further, he lets go in some direction—too often in a direction which happens to appeal to him at the last moment. It is on this basis that many suicides are to be explained; ending life seems sweet in contrast to continuing the intolerable conflict.

Methods of solving conflicts may be grouped under the three headings: (1) both wants satisfied, (2) one want preferred to the other, (3) conflicting wants kept apart. The third group comprises devices by which man endeavors to escape the conflict itself rather than to decide the issue upon its merits. Many examples in the first two groups are similarly affected by this tendency to escape indecision and the conflict is settled on what seem to be trivial grounds.

**Both Wants Satisfied.**—Conflicts in daily life are frequently disposed of by satisfying both wants, one after the other. Thus, a college professor who wants to play golf and must correct examination papers by a certain date, does the former in the afternoon and the latter late into the night. Our college student telephones to his mother instead of taking far more time to write, and then goes to the dance.

In other cases an adequate solution is found to both wants. Thus, a man all ready to go to a football game receives word that a very old friend is in town for only that afternoon. An adequate solution to both desires—to see the game and to be with the friend—is to take him to the game if another ticket can be purchased. A young couple wish to be married, but the man is not earning enough. The very common solution is for the girl to keep her business position.

Sleeping over a conflict is a very good habit to form. Frequently, in the morning new considerations come to mind which enable one to coordinate the seemingly conflicting desires into one procedure which more or less satisfies both; or the new considerations make clear that, after all, one want is more important than the other and so the conflict is solved by a clear choice of one of the alternatives.

**One Want Preferred to the Other.**—Man is an organism within which there is an unceasing conflict among many forces. In general, the stronger the want, the more likely it is to be satisfied. This is

illustrated in the case of the wild and the tame rats of Professor Stone when the former reacted to fear of man in preference to hunger, whereas the latter did the reverse. Consequently, when there is conflict between a strong and a weak want, the former dominates and the individual may hardly realize that there was any conflict at all. It is only when the two are nearly equally balanced that a conflict occurs. When this happens, the final decision is not made purely in terms of the two conflicting wants. What does happen is that the individual considers one alternative and the other and, as he does so, all manner of possibilities come to mind, concerning the relative merits of the goals to be reached, the means of reaching them, whether both have to be reached immediately, etc. These possibilities have varying values themselves, and if the more interesting of them are mainly on the side of one alternative, then the choice is made accordingly. Every means used is a way of behaving acquired in some other connection, is an acquired want in itself, and the desire to perform that activity itself is a consideration, as well as reaching the goals to the wants uppermost in mind. It is these considerations that tip the balance one way or another and determine the solution to conflicting wants.

William James[1] recognized five types of decision, all of which, it seems to the writer, fall within the scope of this section. In his first type of decision, the *reasonable type*, "the arguments for and against a given course seem gradually and almost insensibly to settle themselves in the mind and to end by leaving a clear balance in favor of one alternative, which alternative we adopt without effort or constraint."

In the second type some *external factor*, as a secretary's reminder of an appointment, starts a man going in one way and he lets himself drift with a certain indifferent acquiescence. In the third type some *internal factor* starts a man going, such as the recollection of an engagement, and he accepts that alternative which is at the moment uppermost in the mind.

The fourth type of decision often ends deliberation as suddenly as the second or third type does. It is occasioned by a *change in attitude.*

It comes when in consequence of some outer experience or some inexplicable inward change, *we suddenly pass from the easy and careless to the sober and strenuous mood,* or possibly the other way. The whole scale of values of our motives and impulses then undergoes a change like that which a change of the observer's level produces on a view. The most sobering possible agents are objects of grief and fear. When one of these affects us, all "light fantastic" notions lose their motive power, all solemn ones find theirs multiplied many-fold. The consequence is an instant abandonment of the more trivial projects with which we had

[1] JAMES, W., "Psychology," Vol. II, pp. 531–535, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1908.

been dallying, and an instant practical acceptance of the more grim and earnest alternative which till then could not extort our mind's consent. All those "changes of heart," "awakenings of conscience," etc., which make new men of so many of us may be classified under this head. The character abruptly rises to another level, and deliberation comes to an immediate end.

In the fifth type of decision, the feeling that the evidence is all in, and that reason has balanced the books, may be present or absent. But in either case we feel, in deciding, as if we ourselves by our own wilful act inclined the beam: in the former case by adding our living effort to the weight of the logical reason which, taken alone, seems powerless to make the act discharge; in the latter by a kind of creative contribution of something instead of a reason which does a reason's work. The slow, dead heave of the will that is felt in these instances makes a class of them altogether different subjectively from all the three preceding classes. . . . Subjectively and phenomenally, the *feeling of effort*, absent from the former decisions, accompanies these. . . . If examined closely, its chief difference from the three former cases appears to be that in those cases the mind at the moment of deciding on the triumphant alternative dropped the other one wholly or nearly out of sight, whereas here both alternatives are steadily held in view, and in the very act of murdering the vanquished possibility the chooser realizes how much in that instant he is making himself lose. It is deliberately driving a thorn into one's flesh; and the sense of *inward effort* with which the act is accomplished is an element which sets the fifth type of decision in strong contrast with the previous three varieties, and makes of it an altogether peculiar sort of mental phenomenon.

James goes on to emphasize that *effort* is not involved in making a decision so often as we ordinarily think:

. . . the immense majority of human decisions are decisions without effort. In comparatively few of them, in most people, does effort accompany the final act. We are, I think, misled into supposing that effort is more frequent than it is, by the fact that *during* deliberation we so often have a feeling of how great an effort it would take to make a decision *now*. Later, after the decision had made itself with ease, we recollect this and erroneously suppose the effort also to have been made.

**Rationalization.**—Resolution of a conflict between two wants is very frequently accomplished by devising a plausible justification for one of them. Take the case of a stenographer desiring to appear well before her boss and to eat a snack at 4 P.M., the latter of which would be of doubtful propriety in an office. When the raisin people advertised some years ago that raisins supplied iron and increased efficiency, she was able to eat them openly before the boss. She didn't eat them for the iron but because they tasted good, but she justified the act in terms of increased efficiency, which she felt would be a satisfactory explanation. The "mental process of devising ostensible reasons to justify an act or opinion which is actually based on other motives or grounds, although this may or may not be apparent to the rationalizer" is know as rationalization.

The comic strips in the newspapers supply us every day with illustrations of rationalizations. Our friend Clarence is shown preparing for a comfortable evening at home. He comes down to supper in his smoking jacket and slippers. After supper his wife suggests that he should go down to the corner store and get some candy. He reminds her that she should not eat sweet stuff as she is trying to reduce, gets his newspaper, and then goes to the humidor. Not a single cigar! The next picture shows him dressed and going out the door. On his return he is seen giving his wife a box of candy and explaining that he was only kidding when he said he would not go. All the way home Clarence was undoubtedly convincing himself that he did not go for cigars but because his wife wanted the candy.

Rationalization enters into the solving of many conflicts by making it appear that an undesirable action is after all acceptable. Thus college students do not steal silverware from hotels, they merely collect souvenirs. Many dishonest business activities are viewed by those who practice them as customary, what everyone does. A prominent businessman, never before identified with any philanthropic activity, was asked to serve on a committee to raise funds for a settlement house. He accepted because he was anxious to become better acquainted with the chairman, from whom he hoped to secure certain business advantages. He, of course, never admitted his real motive but rationalized it all in terms of helping the poor. An interesting turn in this incident is that, while raising funds not for the poor but to impress the chairman, he became genuinely interested in the poor and later became chairman of the board in charge of the settlement. Long before he accepted this appointment he had forgotten his original motive and had whole-heartedly accepted the rationalizations as true.

In most cases it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine what is the real motive for an action. This is particularly true when that motive is unacceptable to the individual. He covers it up by expressing rationalizations that make a better impression, and it is not long before he forgets the original motive entirely. Much of the explanation by anyone caught in a misdeed is of this sort—first clever rationalizations which are later believed in implicity. When a person is asked whether price or quality influences his choice he is far more likely to report quality than price, even though he bought the cheapest of all. He does this because he wants the interviewer to be impressed by his motive. McMurry[1] reports that when people are asked why they do not use airplanes many report that the terminals are badly located, that

[1] McMurry, R. N., "Finding the Why in Buying," *The Management Review*, 1936, **25**, p. 123.

the equipment permits no moving about, etc. He maintains that in many cases these objections are mere rationalizations and that the real reason why these people do not fly is fear; but as this reason is not in good standing socially they give "reasons" which sound well.

Many of the most serious conflicts are between securing some pleasure of doubtful propriety and doing what is considered to be upright and ethical. Probably all of us have on more than one occasion devised an explanation of the pleasurable aspect which has made it compatible with our sense of duty. Our rationalization has not actually made the pleasurable activity any more ethical than it was before, but it has released us from the tension of indecision and permitted us to secure our pleasure.

**Sublimation.**—Rivers writes that in the process of sublimation, "the energy arising out of conflict is diverted from some channel which leads in an asocial or antisocial direction, and is turned into one leading to an end connected with the higher ideals of society."[1] Thus the bad boy in school is sometimes reclaimed by his being made manager of the football team or chairman of social activities. His excess energy is now directed into useful instead of annoying activities. Sublimation is to be distinguished from the usual methods of resolving a difficulty in that a socially superior means is substituted for one less valuable to society.

Much of what is best, socially speaking, in the behavior of man is a sublimation of naturally selfish desires. The case of the businessman who served on the committee to raise funds for a settlement in order to become better acquainted with the chairman and later on became vitally interested in the affairs of the settlement itself is an example of sublimation. The devotion of husband and wife to each other and to their children is another example. Many writers contend that superior work in art, literature, and music is seldom done except as a sublimated reaction to conflict. The ideals of the Christian religion are typically sublimations. This is one reason why religion provides so satisfactory a solution to conflicts for many people.

Sublimation is a most important concept from the standpoint of education, emphasizing the social need of redirecting the naturally selfish desires of youth into more useful channels. In many respects this is what is meant by the expression "proper adjustment to one's environment." Take the case of two college students who have been flunked out of college because they devoted too much attention to athletic and social affairs. The facts are that both failed in their

[1] RIVERS, W. H. R., "Instinct and the Unconscious," p. 156, Cambridge University Press, 1920, Cambridge, England.

work. One may vent his anger and cover up his failure by expressing criticisms of his instructors who were unfair and the college authorities who didn't care about him (rationalizations). The other may go away with the determination to show up the crowd who so grossly underrated his abilities, by making a great success. The blocking of their efforts to get a degree leads to self-pity and cynicism in the first case and to downright determination to succeed in the second case. The latter is an example of sublimation.

**Conflicting Wants Kept Apart.**—Under this heading will be considered a variety of methods of solving a conflict, most of which lead to an inadequate solution. These methods are not so much methods of reaching the solution as they are ways of escaping from the conflict.

*Logic-tight Compartments.*—It is well recognized in educational psychology that transfer does not always take place from one experience to another. In fact, if there is not some common element between the two there will be no transfer, and even if there is, it may not occur. This simply means that we know many things which we use under certain conditions but not under other conditions. The deacon who is unscrupulous in business affairs is a byword. He keeps his actions on Sunday distinct from those on weekdays. Years ago, the writer questioned a Sunday School class of high school age regarding the Flood. Only one had ever felt any contradiction between the Bible story and the course in ancient history which made no mention of a flood. As far as the others were concerned, the two historical accounts had no relationship to each other. There could be no conflict because the two accounts were not associated. We are all saved many conflicts because the contradictory ideas are never associated together. Undoubtedly, also, some conflicts are eventually eliminated by classifying the conflicting ideas in different pigeonholes. This occurs frequently in clashes between religious and scientific concepts: one is to be believed, the other to be known.

*Unpleasant Forgotten.*—Some contend that there are conflicts which are solved by forgetting the element that is unpleasant. On at least two occasions the writer has completely forgotten engagements which he did not at all desire to meet. He cannot be sure that they were forgotten because they were unpleasant, since some pleasant things also slip out of mind; but the Freudians claim that this is quite likely to happen.

With some people suppression of the unpleasant results in forgetting not only the unpleasant element itself but also certain other associated elements. Rivers[1] writes as follows:

[1] RIVERS, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

One of the most frequent features of the nervous disturbances of war has been the complete blotting out of the memories of certain events, the obliteration usually extending considerably beyond the event which furnished its special occasion. . . . In such cases soldiers have lost the entire memory of their lives from some moment preceding a shock or severe strain until they have found themselves in hospital, perhaps weeks later, although during at least part of the intervening time they may have been to all appearance fully conscious and may even have distinguished themselves by actions on the field of which they have no recollection. Although these memories may remain for months or years quite inaccessible to memory when approached by the ordinary channels, they may be brought to the surface by means of hypnotism or by the method of free association.

McDougall gives another example of suppression or repression in which the individual is confronted with "two strongly desired and incompatible alternatives" and "allows himself to be led by circumstances into following one line without having thought out the problem and without having made a well-considered decision."

. . . a youth, conscious of good abilities, strongly desires to go into business and acquire wealth. At the same time he has intellectual ambition, desires to distinguish himself in science and to enter college with that goal in view. He is a little ashamed of his strong desire for wealth and luxury; he does not like to admit its strength even to himself; the shame is the mark in consciousness of a third impulse which, working obscurely, *represses* the desire for wealth. He enters college. But now, instead of working happily towards the goal of his intellectual ambition, he finds himself unable to concentrate on his studies; he suffers from headache and insomnia. He seeks advice; and questioning reveals that he has many dreams, some of which, on analysis, clearly show the obscure working of the repressed desire for the alternative goal and line of effort. Such is a mild case of neurasthenia. Its essence seems to be a lack of disposable energy, or an inability effectively to concentrate energy on the daily task, together with general symptoms of fatigue or undue liability to fatigue. The repressed tendency continues to work within the patient; and the repression is maintained at the cost of a certain amount of energy that should go into his work. The condition is distressing, not only because of the checking of the repressed tendency, but also because the patient finds himself inefficient, cannot make satisfying progress along the line which he has chosen.

The desire for wealth has generated in our patient's mind various schemes by which it may be attained; the memory of these is repressed together with the desire; and these, together with their affective basis, constitute a *complex*. The complex, working obscurely, may engender not only dreams, but also waking fantasies that may run through his mind, or occupy the background of consciousness, while he sits attempting to concentrate on a book or lecture, fantasies of successful commercial operations or fantasies of wealth and luxury.

Further, the complex is apt to distort his judgment. He may express unduly harsh judgements or otherwise display an excessive animosity against a friend who has taken the line now closed to him, or against successful business-men in general; he is then in danger of becoming a rabid socialist or communist. When he is challenged to justify the violence of his scorn or hatred for such persons, he seeks to do so by calling them cruel oppressors of the poor, robbers or sharks, and argues

with much show of reason that capitalism is the root of all the evils of our civilization. This is the process known as *rationalization*, the alleging of reasons for a conclusion or a line of conduct the motives for which, being unacknowledged, unacceptable, and perhaps disreputable, are repressed and, therefore, obscure to the subject.

Thus the repressed impulses of a complex may produce, not only general inefficiency, but also actual disorder of mental process and of conduct.[1]

These examples make clear that suppression of the unpleasant is not a satisfactory way of solving a conflict. The unpleasantness that is forgotten is not completely wiped out and it may make all manner of trouble in other connections. It is much better, if possible, to face the facts and find some kind of resolution of their antagonistic tendencies. Rest, a change of scenery, is one way of handling such situations. A frank confession is another. But this is usually difficult because the conflict involves elements one wants to give to another even less than to contemplate oneself. Careful analysis of the whole situation with a judicious amount of rationalizing will often, however, put the matter in such shape that it can be discussed with another. For example, Smith had been instructed by C to obtain certain information from A and B. Later, when C asked if he had it Smith said, "Yes." Actually he had obtained what he believed was all the necessary information from A but had not been able to get in touch with B, who was out of the city. The slip caused Smith a great deal of anxiety, for he was afraid C would learn from B that he had not spoken to him. When Smith came to realize that his "Yes" was a practically true answer to the implied question "Have you the information," and that he had made a real effort to see B, he was able to explain the matter to C and so relieved his anxiety.

*Substitution of One Response for Another.*—In hysteria the patient unwittingly substitutes one response for another and generally the substituted response is of more primitive form. Thus in shell shock the fear-flight response which causes conflict with the desires to be brave and to secure approval is replaced by fear-immobility in the form of paralysis or anesthesia of some part of the body. In such circumstances a soldier may find himself unable to use his right hand or to see with his right eye, both of which unfit him for active duty. Usually accompanying such substitutions there is suppression of fear and all recollection of the event. The writer had a stenographer many years ago who could take shorthand, type out letters on the typewriter and keep a set of books perfectly well but could not write longhand

[1] McDougall, W., "The Energies of Man," pp. 282–284, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

more than two lines at a time. The most likely explanation of her peculiar paralysis was that she had written a letter at some time which caused her great mortification and that the whole event was subsequently suppressed and along with it the related activity of handwriting.

Another phase of substitution is called hypochondriasis. Here the individual becomes unduly concerned with his various pains and discomforts, becomes so absorbed in them that he escapes the deeper conflicts which result from them. Thus, a woman acquaintance has escaped the hated drudgery of housework by becoming convinced that she is an invalid. But if she particularly wants to attend some affair, she calls her healer for absent treatment and, shortly afterward, quite cured, enjoys herself in a normal manner until household duties again send her to bed.

*Daydreaming* is another favorite manner of escaping from conflicts. The actualities of life are avoided while the mental mechanism unfolds a picture of life in which everything works out most delightfully. Novels and motion pictures are enjoyed, in part at least, because they supply new materials for the daydreaming and also because the reader identifies himself with the hero, and secures vicariously fame and success.

Wheeler writes:

> Everyone constructs a world about him to his liking, a world which gratifies his unfulfilled desires. In this way he avoids the intolerable experiences which the actual environment in his estimation holds for him. In day-dreams, also, ambitions are born, plans are constructed and inventions are created. Accordingly, the person who never day-dreams is generally innocuous: On the other hand day-dreaming in its *extreme* form leads in children to pathological lying or at least to persistent habits of exaggeration. Carried to an extreme in unstable adults it may become a form of paranoia in which the patient has delusions of grandeur; he is Alexander the Great and has conquered the world, or he is Christ and has saved it.[1]

*Use of Alcohol and Drugs.*—Alcohol removes the inhibition of the higher levels of mental activity. This is why a sober member of a drinking party finds little to amuse him in the inane jokes which cause outbursts of laughter and hilarity. When a person suffering from conflict between duty and desire resorts to drink, duty is more or less temporarily eliminated and his anxiety vanishes. Similarly, fear of consequences is banished and the otherwise cautious person feels confident he will succeed. Alcohol solves no conflicts but it does eliminate conflicts from the mind temporarily.

[1] WHEELER, R. H., "The Science of Psychology," p. 191, New York, The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929.

# CHAPTER IX

## FEELING, ATTITUDE, SENTIMENT, GOOD WILL

In discussing the human relationships of buyer-seller, or employer-employee, or of two individuals in any other connection, such terms as feeling, attitude, sentiment, good will, morale, and the like are freely used. What is meant by these terms? Are they different mental processes, one from the other, or are they more or less related? Do they have reference to essentially different mental processes from those already considered in previous chapters?

### CROSS-SECTIONAL VERSUS LONGITUDINAL APPROACH

Early psychology attempted to describe and explain what was in mind at a given moment. From such analyses it seemed clear that there were different processes, such as perceiving an object, attending to one object instead of another, remembering a certain event, performing some habit, feeling an emotion, and so on. Because of this approach to psychological phenomena it is still customary to consider these topics in separate chapters in elementary textbooks.

Another approach, the longitudinal instead of the cross-sectional, lays emphasis not so much on the components of consciousness at any given moment, but rather upon behavior units. In terms of what has been previously presented in this text, the longitudinal approach starts with the rise of a dynamic want and traces the whole series of events until that want system is satisfied. This may require only a few seconds or a long period of time, as in the case of falling in love.

As soon as the longitudinal approach is adopted one realizes that in every behavior unit there are exhibited many, if not all, of the kinds of consciousness which have been studied from the cross-section point of view. But now the emphasis is not upon studying these kinds of consciousness one at a time but rather upon seeing them merely as aspects of a totality, a human being in action. Here behavior is conceived of as a chain of connected links. To cut the links apart and study them separately is to lose sight of how and why they were linked together and, more important still, of what was the significance of the chain as a whole.

### HABIT, ATTITUDE, GOOD WILL ARE ESSENTIALLY ALIKE

Such terms as perception, memory, habit, attitude, sentiment, good will, morale, and interest are all essentially alike in that they refer to acquired modes of behavior and may be classified as tertiary wants. When the sensory element of the moment is emphasized, as in watching a quail or in experiencing the pain from a rose thorn, it is called a perception. When the motor element is emphasized, as in writing one's name, playing a piano, or skating, it is called a habit; when the recalling of a previous experience is emphasized, as remembering a name or reciting a poem, it is called a memory; when the tendency to react in a certain general direction is emphasized, it is an attitude; when the emotional element is emphasized, it is an emotion or a sentiment. When a person salutes the flag as it is carried by, he exhibits a perception in sensing the flag; a habit in moving his arm; a memory in remembering the flag and the custom of salutation; an attitude, in that he has a tendency to act in a patriotic manner; and a sentiment in that he feels a thrill at seeing the flag. Such a person doesn't have five kinds of acquired behavior; he has only one, but that one can be referred to under five different terms according as one or another element of the whole process is considered.

Good will is a habit in which emotion or pleasant feeling and attitude are emphasized; the same is true of morale. The former has reference to the disposition of one person to act in a friendly way toward another, while the latter may be used in the same sense, but more often refers to the disposition of members of a group to act with the group. Finally, an interest is a feeling, or an attitude, which accompanies special attention to some object or activity. A person interested in postage stamps is one who probably collects them or did so formerly; he may be expected to salvage an unusual stamp thrown in a waste-paper basket. What he does are habits, what he remembers about stamps are memories, his interest is an attitude, and probably a sentiment also.

All these eight forms of behavior are acquired; each is represented by a physiological structure; there are appropriate occasions under which they are stimulated into activity; once aroused, the released energy at least tends to cause the appropriate activities to continue until the goal is reached. Furthermore, these forms of behavior are primarily directional rather than motivational; that is, the terms have reference to physiological structures which direct behavior in a certain direction but do not initiate behavior. Thus, the Englishman's habit of driving on the left-hand side of the street merely means that when

driving he will turn to the left and not to the right as in this country. The habit prescribes the way he will go. Similarly, the possession of an attitude favorable to prohibition means that the individual will act for that cause when occasion arises, but the amount of energy expended will be largely dependent upon the presence of motivating elements.

## SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BEHAVIOR

A survey of all wants, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary, reveals certain characteristics which are common to all behavior units.

**Behavior as Acceptance or Rejection.**—Terms such as feeling, interest, attitude, and belief emphasize the direction of behavior, whether toward or away from some environmental situation. In the case of feeling, the acceptance or rejection is vague, general, diffuse; we feel pleasant or unpleasant without necessarily knowing why. In the case of interest, the acceptance or rejection is quite specific. Here we know the object or activity which we like or dislike. Attitude has reference to the general direction in which a person will go—he is in favor of prohibition or against it. The term "belief," similarly, refers to acceptance, while disbelief refers to rejection.

**Behavior: Specific or General.**—Perception and habit are both specific in nature, one referring to the apprehension of definite stimuli, the other to the performance of definite actions. Attitude on the other hand refers to general behavior. Thus, one's attitude on education or eugenics or labor unions is one's general disposition to approve of certain aspects of these subjects and to disapprove of others. Much of the control of people by propaganda is accomplished by appealing to their well-established general attitudes. Experimentation bears out this general nature of attitude. If a person is in favor of Jim Crow cars for Negroes on railroad trains, he is most likely to be in favor of all other measures unfavorable to that race. Each person has evidently a general attitude which is favorable or unfavorable, and this controls to a very considerable degree his reaction to specific cases relating to Negroes.[1]

A prejudice is often based on only one experience or on a few similar experiences. In this it is similar to a perception, carrying with it the clearness and certainty that go with perceptions. But a prejudice usually is also a generalization in that the individual imputes to all items of a class the characteristics of the one or few items he has experienced. Thus, one sales manager will not hire men with red hair

[1] LIKERT, R., "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," *Archives of Psychology*, 1932, No. 140, p. 38.

because one such red-headed man was a dismal failure. Many superstitions have undoubtedly grown up in this manner. One man who walked under a ladder did have bad luck, therefore all who walked under a ladder will have bad luck! Symbols and slogans function in the same way—they are reacted to in place of the actual situation.

**Behavior: Central or Segmental.**—As Doob and Allport have pointed out, some wants or attitudes regulate the more enduring aspects of the individual's behavior, while other wants regulate a smaller portion of the whole. A man's love for his wife results in his regulating a large portion of his life in terms of that want; if he is deeply religious, much of his life is determined by that attitude. If he cares little for his wife or his religion, then these wants may be thought of as segmental, not central, since they regulate only small portions of his total behavior. His insistence on a certain brand of tooth paste would be an example of a very specific and narrowly segmental attitude. People differ in this respect very greatly; some have strong convictions which govern their behavior while others, like the proverbial "good fellows," seem to have few major convictions and drift very largely with the tide. A purpose is an excellent example of a central attitude; it need not necessarily endure for long but while it is present it controls much of one's behavior.

**Behavior: Purposive.**—All behavior may be viewed as purposive in the sense that there is an internal drive which persists until a certain goal (environmental situation) is attained. The first few times the drive is experienced, the organism may have no knowledge of the actual goal to be reached, but after it has been experienced it comes to be distinguished from all inappropriate objects as the goal of the drive. Life consists in discovering the appropriate goals for each drive, in discovering better and better ways of attaining these goals separately, and of discovering better and better ways of securing as many of them as possible with least conflict among all of them.

**Behavior: Organized Adjustment to Total Situation.**—An adult human being must be thought of as made up of a vast number of specific wants or attitudes and many general ones. At any moment some of these processes are active while the remainder are latent. A struggle is going on between the active wants for right of way, since all cannot be simultaneously satisfied. Each active system tends to stimulate latent wants which are associated with it. The final outcome depends upon the strength of the conflicting wants, reinforced by the strength of related wants which are aroused into activity.

The more any habit is used, the stronger it becomes. The same is true of all other aspects of behavior, whether they are attitudes,

beliefs, interests, or what not. Consequently, day by day one builds up his peculiar character or personality, making it harder and harder for himself to deviate from the paths laid down at an earlier date. This phenomenon is referred to as the inertia of habit—in more everyday language, "getting into a rut."

In the struggle for existence among one's wants the strong become stronger, the weak gradually die. This in itself produces a change in one's total personality, particularly in early life. The environment about one constantly changes, calling for new adjustments. These favor certain habits and attitudes, giving them an advantage they might not otherwise have had. The recent economic depression has had a profound effect upon the lives of millions. One cannot possibly calculate what will result, but it is clear that many attitudes have been greatly altered and because of this the behavior of people will be different from what it would have been if there had not been a depression. Human behavior can be controlled to some degree by education and all the forms of publicity and propaganda now in use, but as long as there are economic depressions and other forms of catastrophe human behavior will be an unknown degree beyond the control of man.

## FEELING

Psychologists are not agreed as to how many kinds of feeling there are nor as to the explanation of them. Woodworth[1] contends that one may have a variety of kinds of feeling, such as pleasant or unpleasant, excited, expectant, surprised, etc. Other psychologists restrict feeling to pleasantness—unpleasantness.

Feeling is not an attribute of an object. All may agree that an object is sensed as square or oblong, sweet or bitter, but not as to whether it is pleasant or unpleasant. The latter is a personal reaction to the object, a way of feeling occasioned by the appearance of the object and the attitude of the individual. If one is grouchy, almost everything is unpleasant, and vice versa.

What is the role of feeling? Is it a mere by-product of activity which makes life more interesting, it is true, but otherwise has no influence upon subsequent events; or is it a cause of behavior? In everyday life we assume the latter; we say, "I do what pleases me and I do it because it pleases me." This is the hedonistic view. On the other hand, we are faced with the difficulty of conceiving how an aspect of consciousness, a nonphysical process, can cause bodily movement.

[1] WOODWORTH, R. S., "Psychology," pp. 280–285, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1929.

The hedonistic view goes too far in attempting to explain the cause of behavior in terms of feeling. The primary cause is to be found in the arousal of wants, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary. The tired mother gets out of bed on a bitterly cold night when her baby cries, not because it is pleasant to do so—it is far otherwise—but because of her want to care for the child. No one ever achieves success in life by following the dictates of his feelings alone. Many of the activities necessary to achieve a distant goal are very unpleasant in themselves.

If we should grant that feeling is a cause of subsequent behavior, we should have to maintain that it was a rather unreliable guide. Pleasantness is present when we believe we are on the right track, doing the correct thing, or nearing our goal. Whenever our expectations are wrong, our feelings are apt to be equally unreliable indicators of success. Again, feeling is unreliable in that it may be aroused by some factor which is quite irrelevant to one's main activity. The fact that a girl has smiled at a male employee may cause him to feel pleased all the morning, although his work may have been done quite inefficiently. Until such time as his mistakes are called to his attention he would undoubtedly testify that his work was pleasant.

Because psychologists cannot explain the relationship between consciousness and physical activities it does not necessarily mean that feeling which is an aspect of consciousness plays no role in behavior. Young writes:

> . . pleasantness . . . is more frequently associated with seeking or maintaining behavior than with avoidance, and unpleasantness is very often associated with escape and avoiding reactions. . . .
>
> On the side of interpretation we regard pleasantness and unpleasantness as individual experiences which reflect the dynamic interplay of motivating processes. When there is conflict, unpleasantness is felt, and when there is release of conflict or a solution of some difficulty, pleasantness appears. If a wish is thwarted, there is unpleasantness; if realized, pleasantness. If good news is received, *i.e.*, news satisfying some desire, there is pleasantness; if bad news, unpleasantness. Whatever injures the tissues, or increases mental tension, or leads to failure and maladjustment, induces unpleasantness. Whatever satisfies a tissue need, releases tension, brings success and adjustment, evokes pleasantness. Pleasantness and unpleasantness are thus the manifestations within conscious experience of the dynamic interplay of motivating factors. They are the subjective signs of conflict, release, over-stimulation, and other conditions existing within the physical mind.[1]

From the practical point of view it is appropriate to stress feeling in dealing with people. So in the buying formula (Fig. 2, page 18)

[1] Reprinted by permission from "Motivation of Behavior" (pp. 383-384) by Young, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

we emphasize that the buyer is more likely to buy if he feels pleasant when considering the commodity and the trade name. Similarly in building morale in an organization we emphasize that employees will be more loyal if they feel pleasant regarding each element in their relationship to their employer. It is immaterial from a practical point of view whether the feeling causes the desired action or whether the feeling is a mere by-product of strains and stresses within the individual which are causing the desired action. From the practical point of view we cannot know the inner strains and stresses, whereas the feelings expressive of the latter are fairly well depicted in the outward behavior and expressive movements of the individual as well as by his comments. In other words, when the individual to be influenced gives expression to pleasantness we can use this as an indicator that the motivation is producing the desired result.

**Law of Fusion.**—Feeling is acquired as a result of experience with the object. If it has served our purposes it is liked, we feel pleasant toward it. Feeling toward an object is also acquired in a somewhat different manner. If object A is experienced at the same time as object B which arouses pleasantness or unpleasantness, object A tends to take on the same feeling tone. Later, when A is experienced alone it tends to arouse this same feeling tone again. Thus, a certain brand of candy may come to be especially liked because it has been eaten on some auspicious occasion. This *law of fusion* explains the effectiveness of Community Silverware advertising. People enjoy looking at the beautiful pictures and artistically displayed dining-room tables in the advertisements and much of that pleasant feeling becomes associated with the trade name of the knives and forks and spoons that are also seen in the advertisements. The development of feeling on this basis is quite illogical. Almost any spoon that is displayed frequently enough on beautiful table linen will come to be felt as beautiful. And almost any candy that is sold in *the best* and most ornate candy store in town will become the standard candy for that community.

The Fatima cigarette advertisement (Fig. 20, page 55) owes its strength almost entirely to the atmosphere caused by layout and illustration. Such advertising causes a liking for Fatimas without one's knowing why. Because of this *law of fusion* of elements into a total effect which then colors each element, it is important that advertising shall not appear alongside unpleasant matter. Patent medicine advertisements are helped by beautiful advertisements of women's dresses or feathers, but the latter are injured to just the extent that the patent medicine advertisements are aided. Ugly pictures and unpleasant thoughts, and fear, dread, and disgust are all very danger-

ous elements to use in an advertisement for this reason. Their effect radiates out over the entire page and is apt to be attached to the product advertised instead of to the idea of not-using-the-product.

### SENTIMENT

Ideas and concepts are generalizations based upon percepts in which the relationships between percepts are usually emphasized far more than the elements comprising the percepts. These are the most reliable of all forms of mental content, constituting the data upon which a science is built. Unfortunately from the standpoint of influencing people they are peculiarly weak because they are so largely devoid of emotion. One cannot get a thrill out of the classification of plants in botany or out of a description of the processes involved in digestion. There is, however, one form of idea which is peculiarly effective in influencing behavior, namely, a sentiment. It may be defined as a system of ideas emotionally toned. House is an idea but home is a sentiment, for in home we have the idea "house" plus the tendency to feel emotion.

An illustration will make clear how a sentiment is developed. Mr. Hill of Cleveland was entertained by a friend at lunch in Pittsburgh. While eating, Hill asked, "Why did a city develop here at Pittsburgh?" Several explained it by the amount of coal found there, and by the transportation facilities afforded by the confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers forming the Ohio. At this point Mr. Hill awkwardly spilt the soup into his lap, and immediately felt chagrined and humiliated. On being asked what he thought of Pittsburgh, upon his return home, Hill replied with derogatory remarks, complaining of the water, the police system, the hotels, etc.

Interpreting this psychologically, it may be said that at the moment *before* he spilt the soup he was gathering ideas about Pittsburgh. It is quite likely that if Mr. Hill were called upon five years later to explain the cause of Pittsburgh's becoming a large city, he would advance the two ideas of coal and water transportation. He had associated them with the idea of Pittsburgh so that they formed a *complex idea.* But *after* he spilled the soup, there developed within his mind a very different combination called a *sentiment.* The unpleasant emotion of chagrin or mortification became associated with the idea of Pittsburgh. Consequently, whenever afterward the thought of Pittsburgh came to him, the unpleasant emotion was aroused. Naturally, he disliked Pittsburgh. And so when asked his opinion of the city, he found fault with it. He would never admit to his friends that he disliked Pittsburgh because he made a fool of him-

self and spilt soup in his lap at a club luncheon. But he would give rationalizations that would sound reasonable and would not injure himself and at the same time would give expression to the unpleasant sentiment within him. Many of the derogatory, "catty" remarks one makes are expression of dislike of a person who has injured one's pride in some way.

An unpleasantly toned sentiment has been described and the course of its development traced. Such unpleasant sentiments have no place in selling and are the worst foes to business that can be imagined. But *pleasantly* toned sentiments are the ideal content of a customer's mind or of an employee's.

One of the peculiar functions of advertising is to develop such sentiments. The advertising of Community Silverware has already been considered in connection with the law of fusion. All the elements in the advertisement except the silverware itself constitute the atmosphere. They are inserted in order to cause a feeling of pleasantness to attach itself to the silverware. One presentation may have little effect upon the public, but constant repetition of such advertising establishes a sentiment in their minds. The final result is that whenever the trade name "Community Silverware" is mentioned the person feels good and says, "I like it; it is beautiful."

**Sentiments the Cause of Many Actions.**—That it is practically useless to argue with another about politics or religion is widely accepted. The explanation of this is that a man's political views are due to a sentiment. Whenever the party, its platform, or its leaders are attacked he grows angry and flies to their rescue. If there were no sentiment, new ideas would be absorbed much more readily and would tend to eliminate old, contradictory ones. But new ideas cannot affect emotions except to stir them up. To cause any number of people to desert their party, the old sentiment must be broken up and a new one established—not an easy thing to do under ordinary circumstances. The novelist Ibanez described very vividly in *The New York Times* (May 17, 1920) how loyalty to Carranza was broken up through ridicule. Here the sentiment was destroyed by counter emotion. Ibanez says Carranza was laughed out of Mexico despite the expenditure of millions in propaganda. His candidate for the presidency, Bonillas, was nicknamed "Flor de Te" (Tea Flower) and the opposition reported one ridiculous story after another about him. No amount of explaining the truth of these stories did any good, for by the time they were printed Mexico was laughing about the next concocted anecdote.

Each individual has many sentiments, and as they are aroused, he acts very largely in terms of them despite arguments to the contrary.

## GOOD WILL

Good will is a pleasant sentiment, ordinarily thought of as possessed by a buyer toward a seller. Psychologically it does not differ essentially from the pleasant sentiment that any one person has for another, since in each case the person has a pleasant feeling toward the other and wishes to deal with him in preference to others.

The exact nature of this type of behavior has puzzled many business-men, and much has been written on the subject. A prominent advertiser wrote some time ago, as follows: "Such concerns as Armour, Eastman Kodak Company, etc., value their good will above all other assets, I believe. Yet manufacturers themselves do not know of what their good will consists."

There is no question that good will is worth money. Frank H. Sisson, vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, is quoted as follows:

> The value of goodwill is real because it is now a definite, bankable asset in the credit departments of every large financial house in New York and most of the other large cities. . . . The Coca-Cola Company began with a little druggist in Atlanta, and has been in the hands of one family until last year. Then the original owners sold the business to a very conservative group of bankers for $25,000,000, in spite of the fact that the tangible assets were worth perhaps not over $5,000,000. . . . Advertising goodwill amounted to at least twenty million dollars in the Coca-Cola transaction, and was valued at this sum by a group of keen financiers. The earnings justified them.[1]

When Chrysler bought out the Dodge Brothers in 1926, $146,000,000 changed hands. Of this, $79,341,318.22 was credited to good will. The value of plants, inventory, and receivables was figured at $4,300,000 in the case of the Shinola, Bixby, and Two-in-One businesses, yet $8,300,000 was paid for them by the Gold Dust Corporation. The three trade names were credited as worth $4,000,000. Out of $45,000,000 paid by the Post Products Company for Maxwell House Coffee, over $30,000,000 was paid for the name alone.

Good will may be defined as "the disposition of a pleased customer to return to a place where he has been well treated." From the accounting point of view, good will is

> . . . the excess earning power enjoyed by a business over and above that met with in similar enterprises as a result of the friendly and profitable relations existing between the business and the buying public. This advantageous relationship may be due to wholly personal factors in the management, to long usage, to advertising,

[1] SISSON, F. H., "Manufacturer and Advertising Agency Should Cooperate More Closely," *Printers' Ink*, Dec. 8, 1921.

to particularly satisfactory service rendered, or may result from other causes or combinations of causes, including favorable location, tradition, and the like.[1]

Expressed in still another way, the value of good will is the saving in selling expense occasioned by old customers' continuing to buy.

It costs a considerable sum to secure a new customer—a cost that is made up of expense in advertising, expense in window display, and expense in rendering good service to regular customers who in turn influence their friends to trade at the store. Suppose that we set this cost of securing a new customer at $30 and suppose that we set the net profit obtained from the average customer at $15 a year; it then follows that there is a loss of $15 from handling the business of a new customer who goes elsewhere at the end of a year, that the business breaks even with a new customer who continues to trade for two years, and that there is a profit of $15 a year from only those customers who continue more than two years.

To illustrate the value of good will further on this basis, imagine two stores with 1,000 customers each. Store A loses 100 customers and Store B loses 200 customers a year, which are replaced by new customers. Store A loses $1,500 on 100 new customers the first year, breaks even on 100 customers the second year, and nets $12,000 on 800 customers who have traded there more than two years, a final net of $10,500 a year. Similarly, Store B loses $3,000 on 200 new customers, breaks even on 200 customers, profits to the extent of $9,000 on 600 old customers—a final net of $6,000. The difference in profit of Stores A and B, amounting to $4,500, represents the difference in value of the good will towards the two stores. Losing 100 customers instead of 200 a year means a difference in profit of $4,500.[2]

It is important to distinguish between the good will of a business employing a trade name and a business that does not have a trade name, such as a retail store. Consider these two types separately.

[1] LINCOLN, E. E., "Applied Business Finance," pp. 157–158, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1923.

[2] The actual situation is, of course, more complex than the above figures would suggest. Store A must render better service than Store B in order to secure the better good will. Hence, Store A spends more money than B in conducting its business. On the other hand, it must cost Store B proportionately more to secure 200 new customers each year than it does Store A to obtain 100 new customers. Careful studies are needed to throw light on the relationships here. It is perfectly clear that no store can afford to render such service that it would lose no customer except from death, moving away, etc. What the optimum relationship is between keeping old customers with the expense of maintaining good will and losing many old customers with little expense of trying to keep them, remains to be established.

What is the thing that is worth so much money in the case of a business using a trade name? The answer usually is that it is the trade name. But clearly a trade name all by itself is worthless. For example, the day "Kodak" was first thought of, it was worth nothing to the Eastman Kodak Company. But today it is worth millions. There has been no change at all in the trade name to justify this tremendous increase in value, but there has been a change in the minds of millions of people. The physiological structure of their brains has been altered. They have been taught to think "Kodak" whenever they want to take a picture or develop a film. And they have been taught to have a pleasant feeling toward this company and its products. The tangible elements that are worth several millions are changes in the chemical constituency of nerve cells in the brains of many men, women, and children.

But if good will is a sentiment, a way of thinking and feeling that exists in people's minds, how is it possible to sell it? No one can sell another man's mind or any portion of it. The mind itself or any portion of it is not sold, but the key that controls that mind can be sold. And that key is the trade name. It becomes a specific stimulus, or occasion, causing a definite response to be made. In exactly the same way that "2 + 4" controls your mind so that you must think "6," so "Kodak," or "Onyx," or "Quaker Oats" controls your mind. The situation is quite otherwise when good will is attached to a person instead of a trade name. The good will that customers have toward a corner grocer is a case in point. This good will is frequently rated as an asset and sold along with the fixtures, lease, and goods on the shelves. But such good will is not easily conveyed to another. Cases where a grocer's clerk sets up in business and takes with him many of the grocer's customers are familiar to everyone. Part of the good will the grocer thought belonged to him evidently did not belong to him at all, or at least was his only as long as his clerk chose not to go into business. And frequently after a new proprietor has paid money for good will he finds that the old customers quit coming. They liked the old grocer but not the new one. However, the case is quite different when the good will is attached to the trade name. It is then not attached to employees or even to the employer but to a name, and whoever owns the trade name has the allegiance of all the old customers.

**Advantages of a Trade Name.**—Without a trade name a manufacturer cannot reach the ultimate consumer through advertising, nor can he hope to build up consumer good will which he can control. His output is dependent upon the self-interest of a relatively small number of distributors. They may find it to their advantage to continue to

buy from him and then again they may not. The chief danger to the manufacturer lies in the fact that a change in the buying habits of a few distributors may most profoundly affect his whole business.

The good will arising from satisfactory use of a commodity is associated with its trade name, and the owner of the trade name gets a continued advantage. Moreover, money spent in advertising not only goes to the selling of goods today but carries over to the development of more good will.

Although trade names developed because of their value to the seller, they are of real value to the consumer also. He avoids having to buy many a "pig in a poke," once he has a good acquaintance with trade names; he is enabled to identify and secure goods of the same sort that he has previously found worth while; and he knows how to avoid what he has learned is unsatisfactory. In other words, a trade named commodity tends to become standardized as to quality, specifications, and price, thus making it easy for the buyer to obtain what he wants with a minimum of trouble. Contrast the uniformity of quality of coffee in every can of a nationally advertised brand with that of "a pound of coffee" supplied by grocers generally. Not only are trade-marked goods standardized as to quality but they are widely distributed, whereas non-trade-marked goods or locally named commodities are difficult, often impossible to obtain, when one moves to a new locality.

Such advantages to the consumer result in a saving of time in making purchases, which means also a saving in time for the retailer. With a stop watch it was ascertained that it took 26.3 seconds to buy bottled and canned goods when the trade name was not given as against 9.3 seconds when the trade name was mentioned. In the case of bread the figures were 21.0 and 10.6 seconds, with a saving of 10.4 seconds. One investigator reports that the average drug clerk in a busy store completes 32 sales per hour. Purchases could not be made at this rate if it were not that the consumer is already well informed as to what he is buying, and that consequently it is unnecessary for the clerk in most cases to do more than wrap up the article, to announce the price, and to make change. If there were no standardized trade-named drugs and no advertising of them, the time necessary for each transaction would be at least doubled, with consequent loss to both consumer and seller.

One objection to the use of trade-marks that is often raised is that once a trade name is well established there is a tendency on the part of the owner either to lower the quality or to raise the price. It is a fair question whether there is any more of a tendency to do this in the case of trade-marked goods than in that of non-trade-marked goods.

# CHAPTER X

## ETHICS OF INFLUENCING OTHERS

Some of the antagonism toward advertising and selling is occasioned by resentment at the thought that another can control, or at least has the effrontery to try to control, one's behavior. This is, of course, the avowed aim of advertising and selling. The question naturally arises: Is it ethical to influence others? The question is a knotty one, for in every human relationship influencing is going on continuously, whether deliberately or unwittingly.

### WHAT KIND OF INFLUENCING IS ETHICAL?

It is perfectly obvious that there are situations where influencing is essential. It is impossible to conceive of the parent-child or teacher-pupil relationship without influencing. It is also difficult to conceive of a society which would not expect a man to warn a stranger when the latter was in danger. It is even considered the duty of a man to prevent a stranger from committing suicide, to use force in deterring him, if necessary. Consequently, the first step in answering the question "Is it ethical to influence another?" is to recognize that certain examples of influencing are considered essential by society; if judged by society as essential, they must be considered for all practical purposes ethical also.

Our original question must accordingly be changed to read, "What kind of influencing is ethical?" or "On what basis can ethical influencing be distinguished from unethical influencing?"

Before attempting to answer the question, it is well to consider two aspects of the problem: first, whether creating new wants introduces any additional considerations from those involved in other forms of influencing; and second, what ethical significance attaches to the emphasis upon securing resales as distinct from mere sales.

### ETHICS OF CREATING NEW WANTS

One of the essential functions of advertising is the creation of demand. People who do not at the moment want goods are deliberately influenced so that they will buy them today or in the near future. Is this ethical?

Because the word "create" has been used in this connection some have assumed that such influencing is different from other forms

There can be, of course, no creation of new primary wants. But new secondary and tertiary wants are created almost every day, for every new solution to the satisfaction of wants may become through use a derived want. It is only in this sense that an advertiser can create the want for a new product. But such influencing differs in no essential form from all other influencing; in all cases the prospect's mind is manipulated by introducing new ideas and appealing to old ones.

Rightly or wrongly much credit is given advertising and selling for changes in our social and economic life. It is very frequently claimed that manufacturers of soap and of plumbing fixtures have been more responsible than any other factor for the transformation in sanitation that has taken place in the home during the last three decades. There can be no doubt at all that only by heroic sales effort has the American public been persuaded to carry life insurance, for it is very seldom that anyone deliberately buys such insurance even today. Yet there are very few purchases that a man makes in his entire lifetime which mean so much to his wife and children in case of his death, or to himself, if he lives to the age of retirement.

It is questionable, furthermore, whether many of the commodities in fairly general use today could have been sold to the general public if it had not been influenced to buy. If the public had been merely acquainted with the facts about the vacuum cleaner, for example, when it was invented, very few of the cleaners would have been bought. The small number of sales would have prevented mass production and consequently the cost would have been prohibitive to all except the wealthy. But through widespread advertising and aggressive selling many have been influenced to buy, thereby making mass production possible with a resulting price low enough for the general population to purchase.

Who can possibly measure the effect of widespread use of vacuum cleaners, electric washing machines and refrigerators and the thousand and one other inventions which have been forced upon the attention of the public through advertising? Until we can measure such effects and contrast them with what would have occurred otherwise, we are in no position to determine the value of creating new wants. The writer would guess that the sum-total effect has been favorable, rather than otherwise, but this is only a guess.

### ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF A RESALE

Price, or value, is an expression of what the seller will take for his goods and of what the buyer will pay for them. This system works

fairly well so long as neither has a monopoly. But whenever the buyer must buy at a time of scarcity or the seller must sell at a time of oversupply, the former is forced to pay far more than the usual price and the seller is forced to sell at far less than the usual price. It is most natural for both to suppress information—the buyer intimating that he is not eager to buy, the seller claiming that there is a shortage. Fundamentally the relationship between buyer and seller is nonethical, since each is endeavoring to get as much as possible from the other in return for as little as possible. Although this is true, it does not prevent both parties from realizing a gain by the transaction—in fact, if both did not believe they were profiting, they would not enter into the sales agreement. Consequently, it can be claimed that the normal buyer-seller relationship is an ethical one. But clearly the effort is always to outdo the other, and when this is accomplished by unscrupulous methods the procedure is unethical.

It has been taken for granted from earliest times that buyer and seller would cheat each other if they could. This is typified by our conception of horse trading and is probably one reason why those engaged in trade have been so looked down upon in almost every country. The common law on this subject has been summarized in the term *caveat emptor* ("let the buyer beware"). When that expression was formulated the seller had the advantage; today the buyer may not have the advantage, but he is in a much more favorable situation.

This conception of the buyer-seller relationship is still upheld by most of the population of the globe. Only within the last fifty years in this country has haggling over the price been banished from the typical retail store by the adoption of a set price for all. Still, many stores change the price from day to day and some feature these changes in their advertising. The seller has in this way eliminated individual haggling by trying one price after another until he finds the one which will sell his goods with greatest profit. It is only recently that manipulation of price has been considered of any ethical significance. This new conception has little to do in this country with the buyer-retail seller relationship but much with the competitive relationships among retailers and among producers. The small retailer objects to the chain stores' selling goods so low that he cannot make a profit at similar prices. The small manufacturer objects to his large competitor's cutting the price in his territory and raising the price in the rest of the country, in order to force him out of business. There are also charges of unfair competition made as between manufacturers and retailers. Thus, a manufacturer objects to a chain or a department

store's selling his goods as a leader and thus ruining the sale of those goods in other outlets.

This is not the place to discuss the theory of competition and the question whether an economic system based upon competition is best or not. It is important to note, however, that most of the rulings upon legislation have assumed that free competition must be maintained. The theory today is that "a status of free, fair competition must be preserved as the foundation of trade and commerce in order that the survival of men in business shall be determined by their efficiency rather than by artificial factors." As in any game, so in business, there is need for rules. These have been set up by trade associations and government. In the words of Stevens, "the final test of the fairness of a given method is whether it restricts actually, or potentially, the normal operation of the law of competition with the resulting survival of efficiency."[1] Because free, fair competition is held to provide the best basis for economic life, the final test of business activities is the effect of such competition upon the general public. If we only knew what was best for the general public, who are at one time or another producers, sellers, buyers, and consumers, it would be easy to set up proper rules, but evidently we do not know all this. Naturally, there is a continued struggle between different groups to get what they want, without much regard for the interests of others.

It is the factor of overproduction which has most seriously affected the original buyer-seller relationship. When there is a surplus of goods the buyer knows that he does not have to deal with a particular seller and so he seeks the seller who serves him best. This has resulted, in recent years, in intense competition between sellers to secure enough buyers in order to dispose of their goods. Much of the money and effort so spent is a sheer waste and contributes a large share toward the very great cost of distribution today, where in many lines it costs more to distribute goods than to manufacture them. This intense competition results also in keen concentration upon producing better goods at lower cost—otherwise they cannot be sold—and upon giving better service to the buyer.

Out of this has grown the new objective of not merely making a sale but of so making the sale as to secure the future custom of the buyer. Businessmen realize that it is absolutely essential to retain customers to stay in business and that it is usually easier and cheaper to sell a satisfied customer a second time than to find and sell a new

[1] STEVENS, W. H. S., "Unfair Competition," p. 8, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1917.

prospect.[1] To secure a second sale it is necessary so to sell the buyer the first time that he remains satisfied with his purchase. This necessitates selling him good goods which meet his needs and making him like the seller personally.

So soon as the emphasis shifts from a single sale to repeat sales, ethical considerations come markedly to the fore. Here the whole emphasis must be put upon so serving the buyer that his wants will be better satisfied than elsewhere and that long afterward he will continue to realize that the goods are adequate and the service is pleasing.

So long as buyer and seller are equals there must be a struggle between them as to who shall get the major advantage. But with overproduction, or possibly we should say ample production, the buyer has sufficient advantage so that the seller must serve him well, must exert himself to see that the buyer still remain satisfied, must truly become the purchasing agent for the buyer. This shifts a considerable amount of that effort to get the major advantage away from the buyer-seller relationship and on to the relationships existing among retailers, among wholesalers, and among producers. The shift from underproduction to ample production has entailed a fearful loss to society in the latter's attempts to adjust itself to the new condition. One gain, on the other hand, is the necessity of treating customers fairly. It looks also as though eventually it will be possible to regulate the competitive relations among retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers in a much more thoroughgoing way than could ever be done between sellers and buyers. For the former are fewer in number and can much more easily be handled in trade associations and other natural groupings.

## FOUR CONSIDERATIONS IN EVALUATING THE ETHICS OF INFLUENCING

With the above two digressions out of the way, we are now ready to consider the question: On what basis can ethical influencing be distinguished from unethical influencing?

Four different considerations may be taken into account in an attempt to answer the question. The ethical value of influencing

[1] Although many concerns pride themselves upon rendering service and do a surprising amount, yet at the same time many of them do not appreciate the value to them of their old customers. Many magazines, for example, make introductory offers to newcomers but expect old customers to pay twice as much. Many a meat market gives the best cuts to strangers and works off the poorer meat upon regular customers. Most stores give better service to those who charge their accounts than to those who pay cash, although the latter cost them less to serve.

may be judged first, as to whether the resulting behavior is better or poorer than it would otherwise have been; second, by the methods employed; third, by the effect upon the personality of both the influencer and the influenced; and fourth, by the future consequences. As we shall see, the first three considerations are to a large degree covered by the fourth consideration. Yet, there are some advantages to be gained by taking these three into account separately.

### ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESULTING BEHAVIOR

Influencing is good or bad depending upon whether the resulting behavior is better or poorer than it would otherwise have been. This evaluation seems fairly simple until the issue is raised as to what is good and what is bad behavior. Then it is realized that each individual and each social group has a somewhat different answer, that there is no adequate standard of ethical conduct. Philosophers, from the time of Socrates, have attempted to answer the question, "What is good behavior?" without arriving at any answer agreeable to all of them. One answer given by some in recent days is expressed by the terms "self-realization" and "perfectionism," in which it is emphasized that there are many values to be taken into account, such as economic, bodily, recreational, social, personal, aesthetic, intellectual, and religious; and that no life can be considered well rounded if any of these are omitted; but, because people differ in many ways, the relative emphasis upon each of these values will vary among individuals. However valuable such a point of view may be, it does not supply a standard in terms of which two forms of behavior may be readily evaluated as to their goodness.

When the influencing concerns the choice of one from two or more means to the satisfying of a single want, the influencing is to be judged good or ethical when it advocates the best means. Here goodness is equivalent to efficiency; and it is possible in most cases to determine whether the influencing is ethical or not, just as it is possible to determine by research what is the best procedure. The scientist's ideal of efficiency is to be viewed as an ethical ideal of doing the task in the best way. In this realm there are standards, some only vaguely formulated, others reduced to carefully formulated specifications; in terms of these standards experts usually agree fairly well as to which is the best way.

But when the influencing concerns the choice of satisfying one from among several different wants, we are faced with a real problem in determining the ethical significance of the influencing, because we so often do not know which is the best procedure to follow. It

is in this realm that philosophers have speculated all these years as to how standards might be established for measuring the goodness of behavior. As far as a single individual is concerned, the answer not only must lie in the direction of satisfying the best combinations of wants today but also must insure that the best combination of wants may be satisfied continually throughout life. The use of alcohol today may bring more satisfaction than could be obtained without it; but if this use leads to excessive drinking, the use today is not ethical because it prevents the best possible satisfactions in the future. Here again, knowledge is necessary for ethical behavior: knowledge as to which combination of wants should be satisfied today, knowledge of which combination should be satisfied from time to time throughout life, and knowledge of the effect of satisfying this and that want upon future behavior. Obviously, no one can ever possess such extensive knowledge.

We should conclude that as far as resulting behavior is concerned, A's influencing of B is ethical if B is led to behave in a way that satisfies a single want more effectively than previously or if he is led to satisfy a complex of wants more effectively, with due regard in both cases to future consequences. The chief consideration here is the supplying of information which provides B with a better basis for his behavior. It must not be overlooked, however, that if the means employed are unethical there may be an unfortunate effect upon the personality of either or both of the two parties concerned. Consequently, the ethics of influencing another cannot be determined solely upon the basis of whether the best solution is obtained.

### ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MEANS EMPLOYED

Here we are concerned with the questions: Does the end justify the means? Is all fair in love and war? Is a white lie ever justifiable? Which is better—efficient results with unethical means or inefficient results with ethical means?

The means to be used in influencing another pertain to the type of information supplied, whether honest or misleading; to compliance with the rules of the game; and to the type of appeals used in motivation. The first two are considered below, the third is discussed in Chap. XVI, on Propaganda.

**Honesty.**—The ethics of selling is often viewed as primarily a matter of fair dealing in which there is no fraud or misrepresentation, in which the truth is told, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. If A supplies B with all the information he possesses, although it is inadequate, his action is presumably ethical but not very efficient.

If A gives false information or withholds some essential information, the action is unethical. This should not be interpreted to mean that A is always under obligation to give all the information he has. In many cases B is utterly unable to understand the whole subject, nor is he always interested in doing so. Under such conditions the "essential" information is only that which B needs to make a proper decision. This is typically the situation between a professional man and his client.

Dishonesty misleads the person influenced as to the best route to his goal, often preventing him from reaching it at all. Dishonesty is thus an unethical means of influencing which produces less adequate behavior on the part of the person influenced than would occur otherwise and, as is pointed out below, tends to undermine the development of his personality. The fact that the person influenced never knows of the dishonesty does not affect the ethical significance. Thus, one may buy a garden hose and be entirely satisfied with it for years. But if it was purchased on the representation that it was the best on the market, although only second-grade, the seller is guilty nevertheless; for the buyer secured less service for his money than he could have obtained if he had known all the facts. Dishonesty in business is not restricted to the seller; the buyer has often manipulated rumor so that owners came to believe their possessions would become less valuable and so sold out.

Advertising today is not free from objectionable features. There is a great tendency to exaggeration, some of which is out and out misrepresentation. Some advertised products are distinctly injurious to health. Some presentations are indecent or perilously close to that classification. Some advertisements are poorly designed, ugly, and offend aesthetic taste. On the other hand, there is without question real improvement in advertising over that of earlier days; anyone can see this who takes the trouble to compare advertisements in publications of 40 and even 20 years ago with those of today. There is still too much objectionable advertising, but the percentage which is to be so classified has grown less with time.[1]

It has always seemed to the writer that criticism of advertising has been strikingly unfair as compared with that made about selling. Advertising is seen by thousands; much of it is printed and so affords perfect proof of what is said: selling, on the other hand, is listened to by one or only a few, and what has been said can only be repeated

[1] This is certainly true of the better publications of the country; the writer is not so sure as regards the poorer grades of publications. Some carry a mass of pernicious advertising.

from memory, which affords very poor proof of it. The utterances of salesmen must be far more prone to exaggeration and misrepresentation than the statements in printed advertising. It is evident that sales organizations appreciate this fact, for many print on their order blanks statements repudiating any special agreements made orally by their salesmen.

Dishonesty in advertising has primary reference to the statement as to the nature of the goods for sale. Gross dishonesty can usually be punished by existing laws, but there are certain forms of dishonesty which have been with us so long that they are largely ignored by society. Not very much has been accomplished as yet with regard to exaggeration. It is still viewed as more or less the prerogative of the salesman to wax eloquent over his goods and to speak of them as "the best and purest of the kind" or as "better, much better, than others, and the best obtainable anywhere."

The distinction between outright dishonest advertising and the exaggeration more or less expected of a seller may be illustrated as follows. In the former case, the seller claims that a table is mahogany when it is not; in the latter case, the seller states that the table is worth $40 but can be had today for $25 and is the best you have ever seen at that price. The former is misstatement of fact, an outright falsehood; the latter is a statement of opinion, merely the seller's opinion of the merit of his goods. In the latter case, it is impossible to winnow the true from the false. A certain portion of the gullible public will always be misled. There seems to be no safeguard that can be erected to protect such people against others' opinions.

Many authorities consider that exaggeration weakens the force of an advertisement because it very subtly undermines the confidence of the reader in everything that is stated. During the last few years many associations of merchants and manufacturers have discussed the subject and in some instances have adopted a standard terminology for describing their goods. The Pure Food Law and the Federal Trade Commission have been responsible for much progress along these lines. In a case brought by the latter the Supreme Court decided (1922) that trade names and labels must not convey to the purchasing public an inaccurate description of the materials or ingredients of the products. It is not always easy to decide, however, whether a term is misleading or not, for to those who are informed a word may be understood as indicating an adulterated product, whereas to the uninformed public it may stand for the pure product.

A more serious type of dishonesty in selling is that which comes under the heading of implied misrepresentation. The actual words

used can be interpreted as conveying a fact, but they are usually interpreted in another and misleading sense. Thus, if a distributor of a food product advertises that his goods contain no arsenic, he gives the impression that the goods of at least one of his competitors do contain that poison. Or the lurid page description of two successful gushers between which the advertising company's property is located gives the impression that the stock for sale is in a gusher-to-be, even though the company's property may be several miles from either of the described oil wells. It is actually quite easy to adhere technically to the truth but at the same time give a false impression, just because the human mind does not necessarily think in a logical manner.

Insistence upon greater honesty has undoubtedly been brought about through the realization on the part of businessmen, who expect to continue in business, that dishonesty did not pay them in the long run, a realization which Russell speaks of as the law "that only wares that are worth the purchaser's while to buy are worth the vendor's while to advertise."[1] A second cause for this interest in honesty has been the further realization that the dishonesty of others whose advertisements appeared alongside of the honest man's advertisement, injured him indirectly through undermining public confidence in all advertising. A third cause has been the unwillingness of many to be dishonest in advertising any more than they would be dishonest in other relationships with their customers.

The formation of an association of any group of men is followed very shortly by considerations of certain outstanding unethical practices of which the majority do not approve and by which the majority suffer. The development of local clubs of advertising men, followed in 1905 by the formation of the Associated Advertising Clubs of America (since 1925, the Advertising Federation of America) led to discussion and action against dishonest advertising. The slogan "Truth in Advertising," which was formulated in 1911, shows the emphasis put upon this phase of advertising. The trade papers, *Printer's Ink, Advertising and Selling,* and *Editor and Publisher* have continuously campaigned for high ethical standards. The first of these formulated a model statute for the punishment of fraudulent and misleading advertisers which prohibits "any assertion, representation, or statement of fact which is untrue, deceptive or misleading." This statute has been adopted by 25 states. In 13 other states similar legislation has been adopted, but in a very much weaker form because

[1] RUSSELL, T., "Commercial Advertising," p. 4, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920.

of the inclusion of the term "knowingly" or some similar expression, before "untrue," which makes it necessary that such intent be proved.

Before the end of the nineteenth century several publishers had adopted rigid codes of ethics governing the advertising they would print. Today publications of the better class refuse a very considerable volume of advertising which violates these codes, but there are clearly other publications which have very laxly enforced rules, if any at all. Evidently here as in every other walk of life there are some who have little regard for ethics or decency so long as they can escape prosecution, whereas there are others who always set for themselves higher standards of conduct.

Today the Better Business Bureau is one of the effective agencies engaged in suppressing dishonest advertising. It originated in the Vigilance Committee of the New York Advertising Men's League, which actively attacked many extreme forms of undesirable advertising that hardly exist today. This action of the New York group was the direct outcome of the National Convention held at Boston in 1911, which stressed honesty in advertising. The National Vigilance Committee was organized a year later. Its name was afterward changed to Better Business Bureau. While it is now incorporated separately from the Advertising Federation, it has the active support of the advertising profession as well as of many other business groups. It is supported by annual contributions approximating $2,000,000 from ten thousand business concerns.

The need for such an organization is illustrated by the fact that the Boston Bureau began warning the public by radio and bulletins within a month after a nationally known swindler began operations in that area. It was only after two years that an indictment was secured and only after four years that the case could be brought to trial. A conviction finally stopped this swindle, which it is believed involved sales of over $150,000,000 in stock.

The convention of the Advertising Federation of America held in Boston in 1936 celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Truth-in-Advertising movement by adopting a new code of ethics stressing "Sincerity-in-Advertising." This code specifically condemns "false statements or misleading exaggerations"; "indirect misrepresentation of a product, or service, through distortion of details, either editorially or pictorially"; "statements or suggestions offensive to public decency"; "price claims that are misleading"; "pseudo-scientific advertising, including claims insufficiently supported by accepted authority or that distort the true meaning or application of a statement

made by professional or scientific authority"; and "testimonials which do not reflect the real choice of a competent witness."

Aside from such agencies within the advertising profession, there are others outside which are concerned with dishonesty in advertising. The courts are interested in fraud, deceit, misrepresentation, and libel. Under the old common law only the injured party had a right to sue. The Clayton and Federal Trade Commission Acts of 1914 gave the Federal government power to prosecute even a single individual who violated the code in interstate trade. The Post Office Department prosecutes those who use the mail to defraud. Under the Food and Drugs Act the government prosecutes dishonest labeling of packages.[1]

The Federal Trade Commission is charged with investigating and prosecuting unfair methods of competition in interstate commerce. Farther reaching control of business practices was instituted under the N.R.A., the purpose of which was commendable in many respects but at the same time largely impossible of enforcement. One great difficulty of attempting to control ethical standards in advertising or selling by court action is that the latter is too slow. An advertiser may influence millions of readers for several months before a court will order him to "cease and desist." Even the size of fine likely to be assessed is of little consequence in comparison to the gain from the misleading advertising. The only adequate punishment in such cases that occurs to the writer would be to compel the convicted advertiser to give as much paid-for publicity of his conviction as he used for business publicity in the offending advertisements.

[1] Because there is a Food and Drug Act we should not assume that consumers are adequately protected. Hon. W. I. Sirovich, in advocating a new Food and Drug Act before a committee of the House of Representatives, said:

"Ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, do you realize that 120,000,000 people in the United States spend $20,000,000,000 annually for food, drugs, cosmetics and nonalcoholic and nonintoxicating beverages. Think of it, $20,000,000,000! Yet the Congress of the United States for the current fiscal year appropriated net, only $1,493,000 to run the Food and Drug Administration and to enforce all the pure food and drug laws throughout the entire United States, which means that less than one cent a year is spent on each person to prevent him or her from being poisoned by unscrupulous racketeers in foods, drugs, cosmetics, and beverages throughout the United States.

"May I repeat that to carry out the provisions of the Pure Food and Drugs Act there are only 76 food and drug inspectors employed. Imagine 14 inspectors being able to cover all the nefarious chicanery in food and drugs in the State of New York! Imagine the great expanse of the State of California being successfully covered by four inspectors! This is a tragic indictment of the negligence of legislation to provide sufficient appropriations to safeguard and preserve the vital interests in pure food and drugs of the consuming people of the United States." *Congressional Record*, 73d Congress, 2d session, March 6, 1934.

**Rules of the Game.**—The ethical significance of the means employed in influencing another may be considered, not only from the standpoint of whether the statements are honest or not, but also as to whether the rules of the game are adhered to or not.

Every game has its rules; without them there would be endless confusion. There is nothing innately ethical about many of these rules; but once they are accepted as the established rules, players obey them in order to have the approval of other players, who would disapprove of anyone who disregarded them. However, there is never perfect compliance with the rules. On the golf course, for example, some players disobey the rules because of ignorance; others, when they can force the interpretation of a rule to their own advantage; still others cheat whenever they think they will not be caught. Even in organized baseball an umpire is essential to interpret and to enforce the very-well-formulated rules.

In business there are the same tendencies. Customs arise which become the accepted way of doing things. In time, certain of these customs are given the sanction of law. There is here as elsewhere in life, approval for those who comply and disapproval for those who violate the accepted procedures. Some of these customs are clearly ethical, others have no more to do with ethics than the rule on the putting green that the player farthest from the hole putts first; still others were once accepted but are now denounced as unfair, as for example, rebating or giving secret discounts to favored customers.

The situation in business differs from that in a game in one very important respect, namely, conditions change so rapidly that the established rules are never anywhere near adequate. In such a situation some men tend to follow the old rules, others develop new rules; with the result that there is room for honest difference of opinion, as well as opportunity for the less scrupulous to do as they please. The interplay between new institutions and practices and legal regulation is well expressed by Henderson.

> There are few more fascinating pursuits than the study of the effect which economic and legal institutions have upon each other. A new economic institution makes its appearance, grows, waxes strong. It encounters legal restraints, perhaps arising out of tradition, or based on a chance legal precedent, or perhaps representing a hostile economic interest. The tug of war begins. If the economic institution is vital and draws sustenance from important springs of human endeavor, the legal restraints will begin to show signs of strain. Precedents will be distinguished, principles encroached upon by exceptions, and the symmetrical pattern of the law distorted. Perhaps a new equilibrium will be found, or perhaps the legal restraints will snap and fall asunder. Perhaps again they will prove the

more tenacious of the two, and the economic institution will perish, throttled by the dead hand of the law.[1]

Because there is a necessary lag between the rise of a new business situation and the recognition by custom and law as to what is fair practice there is always a period of time during which the existing rules are recognized as inappropriate and new rules have not yet evolved. What is ethical is a matter of debate. In time the rules are worked out, but by that time conditions may have changed again. At any given time much of business practice is well defined as far as custom is concerned, but much is still uncertain.

There has been a marked tendency in recent years to establish so-called codes of ethics for all manner of business organizations. These codes are generally rather idealistic presentations of the existing customs, or rules of the game. They not only state what are the duties and responsibilities of each member to all the others, but in many cases they go further and give the duties and responsibilities of members to those from whom they buy and to whom they sell. Such code formulations undoubtedly help to establish in the minds of businessmen what are the customs to which others will expect them to adhere. But as in baseball, so here, there is the need for an umpire to interpret and enforce the rules; otherwise the small group who will not play fair are not controlled.

## ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EFFECT UPON DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

Another basis for evaluating the ethical significance of any means used in influencing is in terms of the effect upon the development of personality of both the person influenced and the person doing the influencing. False information is unethical, not merely because at that time B makes an inadequate adjustment to his environment, but because when he discovers that A lied to him he mistrusts A for the future, thus laying the basis for a poor relationship between the two of them—a relationship bad both for them and for society, which suffers from all poor human relationships. Moreover, B tends to mistrust others because of A's treatment of him and this, therefore, affects many other relationships in which B is involved.

Similarly, whenever A uses the wrong kind of appeals or uses even good appeals excessively, B is not likely to develop into a well-rounded personality. Compelling a boy to study his lessons by threat of punishment is an example of the former situation; continued domina-

[1] HENDERSON, G. C., "Statistical Activities of Trade Associations," *American Economic Review*, 1926, **39**, 219.

tion of a boy from early childhood into late adolescence is an illustration of the latter situation, typified by the expression, "tied to his mother's apron strings." Learning consists to a considerable degree in determining "what leads to what," and unless the learner can experience to some degree both correct and incorrect solutions he will never really know those that are correct.[1] Parent, teacher, and employer are confronted with the problem of when to guide the learner into the right pathway and when to allow him to explore for himself. Only the latter procedure develops initiative and self-reliance. Whether the guidance movement of today will employ its counseling to keep young people subservient or to teach them to stand on their own feet and be eager to fight their own battles remains to be seen. The assistant personnel manager of a very large corporation reported to the writer that a survey was made a year after a thousand men had been laid off in 1930 to discover what had happened to them. It was found that most of the men who were brought up on farms had disappeared; many of those who could be traced had returned to the farms of relatives and were contributing labor toward their upkeep. But few of those who had been brought up in large cities and had worked as machine tenders all their working days were earning anything at all. Most of them had settled back upon relief. This official added, "our industrial civilization has kept these men upon routine work so long that they are unable to make new adjustments."

### ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FUTURE CONSEQUENCES

The outcome of a purchase may be determined in a very few minutes, as in drinking a milk shake, or after many months, as in the case of buying an automobile. Yet, in any case the second purchase is governed by the recollection of what happened the first time. This recollection includes memory of the original purchase and various more recent incidents connected with the use of the product. Because the latter are more recent they tend to overshadow the original transaction. In other words, it is the consequences following upon a purchase which very largely determine the second purchase.

Future consequences of this sort affect one in another way. He fails to do something and afterward realizes that he made a mistake and regrets his failure. Out of such experiences arises concern for the future consequences of one's actions; one becomes cautious, we say. The older anyone becomes, the more he considers whether a proposed action will bring him future satisfaction in addition to immediate satisfaction. But very few ever accumulate sufficient experience to

[1] See p. 115 for further discussion of the point.

make them truly cautious or to come to prefer future satisfaction to immediate satisfaction to any great degree.

It is ethical to influence, as we have already seen, when the resulting behavior is better than what would have occurred otherwise. This is particularly true when superiority is judged not on immediate results but in terms of future consequences. When the latter are considered, this first test of the ethics of influencing another becomes practically synonymous with the third test, *i.e.*, the effect upon the personality of the individual influenced. The ethical value of the means employed can also be best determined in terms of the final outcome. Consequently, the future consequences of behavior afford the best basis upon which to determine ethical considerations. The practical difficulty of such a basis is that in so many cases the future consequences are not known. This merely emphasizes what has previously been pointed out that in many situations the ethics of behavior is not known and cannot be ascertained until years later, in terms of what resulted. This is one reason why it is so unfair to condemn men of past generations for many of their actions which were the accepted procedure in their day, though now viewed in an unfavorable light.

**Future Consequences the Basis for a Salesman's Confidence.**—There is probably not a salesman in the world who would fail to reach a businessman if he came to tell that man that his wife had been injured in an accident or that his house was on fire. He would know that, regardless of whatever might happen in his efforts to get to the businessman, all would be forgiven afterward in gratitude for the service rendered. It is largely because the salesman does not appreciate the real service he will render that he lacks confidence and does not insist on seeing his prospect and on making his prospect listen.

A salesman will be fortified against temporary rebuffs whenever he can satisfy himself that what he is selling is actually needed by the prospect, and that long after the sale has been made the prospect will say, "I am glad I bought that." It is not enough to believe in one's product, though that is essential. The salesman must believe that each individual he calls upon needs that product. When he feels that way he has confidence that he cannot obtain in any other way. Unfortunately, this statement does not apply to some salesmen—those who are willing to sell anything and sell to anyone as long as there is a good profit. But the vast majority of salesmen are honest and conscientious, and they must believe in what they are doing in order to succeed.

**Future Consequences the Basis of Public Confidence.**—A business that provides the luxuries of life or caters to the passing whims of the

public is permitted to continue as long as it does not do any particular harm and is carried on according to the laws of the country. Such businesses are very apt to be discriminated against in times of great social strain, as during the World War, and normally are taxed proportionately more. But if such businesses do cause harm, public opinion gradually crystallizes against them and eventually they are legislated out of existence. So lotteries, gambling, liquor, and many drugs have been prohibited. The fact that the prohibition of liquor in this country has been repealed and that the enforcement against gambling is very lax in many places is evidence of how much more strongly wants that are immediately felt influence the public than do future consequences.

On the other hand, the more thoroughly the public appreciates the need that is supplied by a business, the more the public will support that business, other things being equal. The significant thing is not that the business satisfies want in a thoroughgoing way but that the public appreciates the fact. Much of the public antagonism to railroads is due to past ill treatment but most of this would be forgotten if the public appreciated just what the railroads mean.

**Future Consequences Not the Basis of Action.**—Men and women act because of dynamic wants and not in terms of future consequences. Frankly, people should act because of future consequences but they do not do what they ought to until such time as they come also to want to. The action comes because of the want and not because of the consequences. A good illustration of this is given by a lady who, after addressing munition workers on War Thrift, asked if anyone had anything to say.

> One girl arose and said: "Yes, I have something to s'y. Savin's is all right and very good, but I want to tell yees that my mother never in her life saw a whole roast chicken till I brought it home the first Sunda' after my first pay day, and I want to tell yees that my mother's going to have a whole roast chicken every Sunda' as long as I can buy it." She then added: "I always had to buy the cheapest blouses made, and at last I bought a silk blouse, and my young man came home on a furlough. He looked at me and said, 'Why, Maggie, what have ye done to yerself? I never saw ye look like that!'" Then, with a challenge in her voice, she added: "I want to s'y that, savin's or no savin's, as long as he talks like that I'm goin' to buy silk blouses!"

Maggie's recent purchases are an expression of her immediate wants. To put her savings in a bank, on the other hand, would be consideration of her future needs.

Goods and services can be classified according as they satisfy a want or a future need. There are, first, some things which are wanted

by some particular individual but which are not needed, as candy by a sick child (class A); second, there are some things which are both wanted and needed, as bread and butter by a hungry child (class B); and, third, there are some things which are not wanted but are needed, as castor oil by a sick child (class C).

Objects in class A comprise the temporary pleasures of life, those things which bring enjoyment but no definite benefit, such as candy or the vaudeville. A person wants them, but he cannot justify them to himself as things essential to his welfare.

Objects in class B bring immediate satisfaction and at the same time can be justified as of utility in the future. Analysis of any such object will show, however, that it is viewed in two ways—it is wanted and it is needed. At luncheon time, a man wants to eat and at the same time he considers that he must eat or suffer a headache in the afternoon. The want is fundamental; it cannot be explained, whereas the need can always be explained by reasons—the man needs the luncheon in order to escape a headache.

Objects in class C bring no immediate pleasure, but can be justified as of utility in the future. Here are included many of the obligations, the responsibilities, the actions that are owed to society, etc. Very few of them are ever sought until they have been transferred from class C to class B; in other words, until they are viewed as wanted in some way or other they are neglected.

The above classification is presented primarily to emphasize the distinction between want and need. The distinction is affected to a very considerable degree by the cultural level of each individual, for the higher the cultural level, the more the acquired wants which become established as genuine needs. In other words, as soon as one becomes adjusted to a higher standard of living he suffers acutely if he cannot maintain it.

The vastly greater strength of wants as compared with realization of future consequences as causes of behavior is illustrated in the following quotation explaining why people continue to buy worthless stock.

> The great body of persons victimized through oil stocks and mining stocks are salaried men and women, small merchants, inexperienced people with incomes not quite large enough to satisfy their tastes—all that great class of mankind that wants to be rich and sees no chance of achieving this end without some quasi-miraculous stroke of fortune.
>
> Let us take the man slaving in another man's office, factory, store, or shop at a fairly decent salary. He can live respectably on his earnings. He can even put by a little for the rainy day. His family is in no need whatever, but—! His wife envies the fur coat and the motor car of the woman next door. His children have not the luxuries that are heaped upon those of other men. He is tired of

slaving. He sees no bright prospect ahead. Promotion is slow, the cost of living high, the possibility of a competence remote, and the chance of wealth utterly out of reason, unless—Just here I step in with my promises of thousands of dollars in dividends on hundreds of dollars invested. I cannot promise or suggest too much to such a man. He wants no 6 per cent a year. He has no capital to make such a return worth considering. He asks for 20 per cent a month, 50 per cent, a hundred, a thousand. Nothing is too grotesque, for he has the fever of getting rich.

Now, you can lecture such a man all you like. You can work off all the logic of all the generations on him. You can even point out to him that he has speculated and been trimmed before. All of no avail. He is restless, yearning, hungry. He will take another flyer in spite of hell and high water. All I have to do is to get to him, arouse his interest, titillate his greed, and convince him. Then I walk off with his savings.[1]

Here is the secret of selling worthless stock to people who have been stung before, who would advise any friend not to buy, but who themselves buy again and again. They possess a very great want, they see no way of overcoming the obstacles to satisfying it except by taking a big chance, and so they take it.

The chief problem in influencing another is "How to arouse a want that will cause him to do what I want him to do." Every other problem is secondary to this one. In fact, all other problems put together do not equal this one in importance. Unless a want can be satisfied the person will not do as desired.

## SUMMARY

The kind of influencing that is ethical is that where the proposition is honestly stated, the seller does not violate some accepted rule of procedure, and the needs of the buyer, as well as those of the seller, are satisfied. The Golden Rule summarizes this very well, provided it is emphasized that both parties are intelligent and know what is best for themselves. In other words, influencing that is done so that the buyer is permanently satisfied involves an amount of understanding of his needs which is not usually considered when we repeat the words, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

But unless the person influenced wants what is offered to him, he will not respond. Consequently, influencing that is to be both successful and ethical necessitates that the person to be influenced must be led to want what he already needs.

[1] SMITH, E. H., "Fool's Gold—How I Sold You Your Fake Mining Stock," *Collier's*, Dec. 3, 1921.

# PART III

## PRINCIPLES OF INFLUENCING OTHERS

The principles of influencing others may be discussed under the two main headings of Preparation and Execution. The former is the main topic of Part III; the latter, of Part IV.

Preparation involves:

1. Acquisition of necessary knowledge; relative to
   *a.* Product or service and its uses
   *b.* Wants of prospect that are to be satisfied
   *c.* Prospects, who they are and where located
2. Determination of sales strategy
3. Proper use of appeals.
   *a.* Intensification of prospect's wants
   *b.* Establishment of adequacy of solution

Chapter XI, Consumer Research, considers the first topic under preparation, *i.e.*, acquisition of necessary knowledge.

Chapter XII, Determination of Sales Strategy, shows how the acquired information is to be utilized by outlining the steps involved in influencing another.

Chapters XIII–XV consider how appeals should be presented.

Chapter XVI, Propaganda, discusses the above points as they pertain to influencing groups of people regarding social and political issues.

# CHAPTER XI

## CONSUMER RESEARCH

The text of this chapter can very well be given in the words of Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors Corporation.

> Modern industry with its large-scale operations tends to create a gulf between the customer and those responsible for guiding the destiny of an institution. We can no longer depend upon casual contacts and personal impressions—our business is too big; our operations are too far-flung.
>
> There are two sure routes that lead headlong to the abyss of business oblivion. First to continue to spend large sums of advertising dollars talking to consumers about things in which they are not interested; second, to promote a product whose consumer quality fails to measure up.
>
> We must not only win, but we must hold new customers. The ability of our products to satisfy customers is the only force we know of that will insure repeat purchases.[1]

This chapter discusses the first heading under preparation for influencing another, *i.e.*, acquisition of necessary knowledge, as outlined on the preceding page.

Acquisition of necessary knowledge for selling may be considered for convenience under three sub-heads: first, knowledge of the product and its uses; second, knowledge of what wants are satisfied by each of the uses of the product; and, third, knowledge as to who are prospects for the product and where they are located.

Many sales organizations see to it that their salesmen know their goods and considerable about the lines of their competitors. Salesmen are frequently required to serve an apprenticeship, working in the shop and office where they can learn how the product is made and sold. In some concerns salesmen are trained in specially conducted courses before they are sent out to sell. There is, however, no uniformity among sales organizations as to how much information a salesman needs or as to how he is to secure it. Too many still rely upon a salesman's learning what he needs to know while actually engaged in trying to sell. It is no wonder that so many new men are employed each year and so few succeed, for lack of thoroughgoing knowledge

[1] Message to stockholders, Sept. 11, 1933.

of what is to be sold prevents a salesman from developing confidence in himself to cope with the questions and objections of prospects.

A product is not just one product with a number of uses; it is actually as many different products as it has different uses. Each use satisfies a different combination of wants possessed by different groups of individuals. Consequently, information about a product should be organized about each use of the product.

Many sales organizations and experts in this field are still so obsessed with the point of view of the seller that they do not recognize our second subhead—knowledge of what wants are satisfied by each use of a commodity. For example, the Committee on Marketing Research of the American Marketing Society (New York Section) expresses the scope of marketing research under the four headings: policies, product, market, and methods and means. Product includes "its salable utilities, incidents of price, style, quality, etc."[1] Only when it is realized that selling is half of the seller-buyer relationship and that that relationship involves activity on both sides, will sellers recognize that they must understand what the buyer is trying to do if they are to serve him.

Knowledge of who are the prospects for a certain commodity and where they are located is very important. Without such information the salesman may waste much of his time and good advertising may fail, because the right people are not contacted. This third step in planning a sale can be undertaken only when there is information available about uses of the product and why people want it.

## MARKETING RESEARCH

Marketing research has been defined as "the study of all problems relating to the transfer and sale of goods and services from producer to consumer involving relationships and adjustments between production and consumption; preparation of commodities for sale, their physical distribution, wholesale and retail merchandising, and financial problems concerned."[2] Several major problems may be recognized, namely:

1. Design of product, involving cooperation between the sales and production departments, taking cost into account.
2. Design of package.
3. Determination of best channels of trade, involving complex relationships with wholesalers, retailers, and customers.

[1] *American Marketing Journal*, 1934, **1**, 65.

[2] Committee on Definitions of National Association of Teachers of Marketing and Advertising, *National Marketing Review*, 1935, **1**, p. 157.

4. Development and maintenance of credit standards.

5. Organization and operation of sales department, involving the selection and training of district sales managers and salesmen, division of territory, quotas, etc.

6. Development of advertising campaigns.

7. Development of appropriate display of product in retail stores.

8. Development of most economical methods of transportation of product, including storage at most convenient points.

9. Determination of policies relative to competition both nationally and locally.

10. Determination of price for product with appropriate discounts based upon all the foregoing considerations plus cost of production and general company policies, such as keeping plant operating, etc.

11. Determination of most economical provision against risk, in the form of insurance, hedging, and the like.

12. Determination of the actual and potential market for the product and the characteristics of such markets.

As this text is confined to the problem of influencing others, of which selling goods or services is a part, this is not the place to consider most of the topics listed above. They belong under the general heading of marketing. We shall confine ourselves to the specific problem of selling. But it is well to realize that all marketing activities are interrelated and that the success or failure of the salesman is often conditioned upon factors beyond his control. The quality of the goods, the price, the design of the package, the method of distribution, the organization of the sales force, the storing of the goods, the credit extended, and many other phases of marketing may be more important than the selling activities of the individual salesman.

The definition of marketing, as given by the National Association of Teachers of Marketing and Advertising, states that "marketing includes those business activities involved in the flow of goods and services from production to consumption." Under this conception it is customary to trace the flow of goods from their origin at the farm, mine, or fishery through jobbers to the manufacturing concern, where they are altered in form, and then through wholesalers and retailers to the ultimate consumer. Some of the evils in our present economic system arise most naturally when the emphasis is thus placed upon the flow of goods. Once the goods are started on their journey, it is incumbent upon each business organization to pass them on to the next; otherwise a loss is experienced. Consequently, tremendous pressure is put upon retailers and consumers to buy what has been manufactured. This pressure appears in advertising, selling, and all

manner of devices including price cutting, extension of credit, installment buying, and unfair trade practices. These all cost money which some business organization must stand if they cannot be passed on to the consumer.

In many cases today half of the retail price represents the cost of production and half, the cost of selling the product. The mark-up in department stores has risen from 15 to about 35 per cent in recent years, which means that formerly 85 cents in each dollar was paid for the goods and 15 cents for the service of selling, whereas today the figures are 65 and 35 cents, respectively. Of course, the customer receives better services from better educated and trained salespeople, buys under more pleasant surroundings, has more extended credit and better delivery, and all that. It is a question, however, whether the customer really gets 20 cents more value from all these services out of each dollar he spends today as compared with a decade or two ago. The irony of the situation is that profits in department stores are far less today than they were when the markup was only 15 per cent. The pressure to force goods down the throats of a somewhat reluctant public has cost the dealer some of his past profits and has cost the public an increase in price.

There is another way of viewing marketing and that is to consider it as including those activities involved in the flow of consumer demand from consumption to production. Whenever a retailer stocks certain goods, he does so upon the expectation that consumers will buy; the same thing is true of the buying of wholesalers and manufacturers. To the extent that their judgment is good, they prosper; to the extent that their estimates of future sales are faulty, they are forced to resort to one device or another to dispose of the goods. Ultimate consumer demand is, then, actually a very potent factor today, determining success and failure in marketing. The trend in recent years toward hand-to-mouth buying is in harmony with all this: retailers, wholesalers, and even manufacturers have reduced their stocks on hand and to a very considerable extent not ordered until they were fairly certain they would sell. This seemingly intangible factor of consumer demand takes on a much more tangible form when we stop to realize that every purchase is a vote in favor of a dealer and a commodity. The public votes once in four years for a president but every day as to which concerns shall prosper and which shall fail. What is clearly needed is a method of better comprehending why the votes are cast as they are.

The most economical distribution of goods is dependent, of course, upon many factors, but one of the most important is consumer demand.

Any retail outlet has, for example, a certain group of customers who want its products and find it the most convenient place to buy. As this group come to the store of their own initiative, the cost of selling them is a minimum. There is another group who are not so ready to buy at that store, among other reasons being the one that they live about halfway between it and another competing outlet. To secure their business the retailer must exert some effort of one form or another. Selling this group costs something more than the minimum. Then, there is a third group who are so situated that they naturally would trade elsewhere. To secure their business, still greater effort is necessary and the cost of selling them is considerably in excess of the minimum. Finally, there is a fourth class who will not buy of their own initiative. To sell them many inducements must be made. When the emphasis is placed upon moving goods, the natural tendency is to sell goods and too frequently this is carried to such a length that there is a net loss from selling the last few units. In some places the net loss in selling the last 20 per cent has wiped out all the profit in selling the first 80 per cent! If our marketing system could be geared up more completely in terms of consumer demand, there would be somewhat fewer sales but these would be made at less expense and in many cases the net profit would be greater.

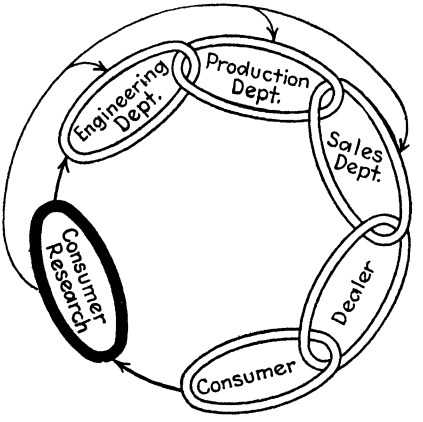



FIG. 29.—The relationship of consumer research to business management. (*From General Motors Coporation.*)

Because the manufacturer must plan months and even years ahead, and the extractive industries which supply the manufacturer with raw materials must plan even longer periods of time ahead, it is not feasible to set up a system whereby production will start only after a consumer has placed his order. This would displease the customer more than anyone else. A wait of one to two years would precipitate a rebellion. As has already been stated, what is needed is a more responsive system whereby the demands of the consumer can be appreciated by retailer, wholesaler, manufacturer, and producer of raw materials. This would provide production of goods in terms of what people want and at reduced cost, for much of the cost of selling is incurred in attempting to sell what people do not want. The diagram in Fig. 29 very aptly illustrates the relationship between

consumer research and all the other major activities of production and marketing. The finished goods flow in this diagram from the engineering department, which designs them and the equipment which produces them, through the production department, sales department, and dealer to the consumer, while at the same time the consumer demand flows from consumer to the designers, producers, and sellers influencing them with respect to the next units to be marketed. In other words, "manufacturers used to 'make 'em like it.' Now they ask, 'What kind of cars do people want?'" Consumer research is the missing link which enables a producer to operate in terms of consumer demand, with resulting improvements not only in the product but also in the sales personnel and all the contacts the company has with the buying public.

**Relative Insignificance of Marketing Research Today.**—Coutant[1] quotes Dr. Stine of Dupont Laboratories as stating "that there are about 1,600 research laboratories employing 35,000 workers and costing $200,000,000 a year to maintain . . . production at a high efficiency, with products and methods constantly improving." In contrast to this "there are not more than 30 well qualified executives (of whom about 12 are on the staffs of large advertising agencies), somewhat less than 500 full-time workers, plus 1,000 or so part-timers, and at the outside not over $3,000,000 a year in financial support" for marketing research. This emphasizes how much less developed is the science of marketing than that of production and suggests one reason why distribution of goods is so expensive. It also suggests that there will be many opportunities in the near future for capable marketing experts.

## CONSUMER RESEARCH

The objective of consumer research is to determine who are the actual and potential customers for the product, what are their characteristics, and why they buy or don't buy. From this information the sales department determines the most advantageous areas in which to concentrate its efforts; the advertising department ascertains what are the best appeals to use and in what way the potential customers are most readily reached; and the individual salesman is enabled to reach personally the most likely buyers. Stated in other language the objective is to

1. Find out what the customer wants

[1] COUTANT, F. R., "Market Research as a Profession," *Market Research*, 1936, 5, 18. See also p. 9.

2. Design products in line with his wants

3. Describe products in the same language that he uses in expressing his wants

4. Synchronize merchandising tactics with current buying habits—as disclosed by research findings.[1]

Each sales problem is unique in certain respects. Consequently, the list of topics to consider in a consumer analysis, as given below, is to be viewed as merely suggestive. They present a general idea, however, of the scope of consumer research.

1. Who is the regular consumer? the potential consumer?

*a.* Geographical location. Number per trading area; also according to large cities, towns, rural districts.

*b.* Personal characteristics: (1) Age, (2) Sex, (3) Education, (4) Occupation, (5) Religion, (6) Nationality, (7) Social class, judged by type of home and location, (8) Income. (Years ago in one survey it was ascertained that it was primarily women of German nationality who continued to bake bread in their homes. This fact made it possible to concentrate the sales efforts to sell flour for baking bread in that city.)

*c.* Buying habits. (1) Frequency of purchase, (2) Amount purchased, (3) Time of year, (4) Quality versus price considerations, (5) Purchase by trade name, (6) Consumption variation with price changes, (7) Likelihood of change in buying because of changes in price, fashion, etc. (Some women, for example, use oleomargarine as a substitute for butter whenever butter is advanced in price. The differential in price between the two at the varying prices of butter which leads to the optimum sale of oleomargarine is of great importance in determining the price of the latter. Viewed from the outside, it appears that Henry Ford lost many millions because he failed to anticipate the effect of changing fashion. One writer reports his loss in 1927 and 1928 amounted to 116 million. With the introduction of the new model, his profits amounted to 125 million in 1929 and 1930.)

*d.* Per capita consumption by above groups, whenever signifi cant expressed in terms both of actual and potential buying.

2. Why do people buy?

*a.* Needs and wants which are satisfied by product. Expressed also in terms of uses of product.

*b.* Relative importance of each of above.

*c.* How well is each use understood? (A person may buy a product regularly to satisfy one want but never use it in connection

[1] Customer Research Staff, General Motors Corporation, 1934.

with other wants. A person may use the product, but not entirely correctly, so that he is not completely satisfied and can easily be persuaded to use a substitute.)

*d.* How are those needs and wants otherwise satisfied? (1) Not satisfied, (2) Inadequately satisfied, (3) Satisfied by competing products. (In the last case the competing product may be a very similar one sold by another concern or it may be a quite different product, as for example, Bread A versus Bread B and Bread A versus flour converted into bread at home.)

*e.* Factors which tend to prevent sale of seller's product. (1) Competing products: consider importance here of price, quality, and other attributes. Amount of business of each. (2) Service rendered by competitors. (3) Relative good will toward each competitor in each area. (4) Aggressiveness of each competitor as expressed by local and national advertising, sales force, sales policies. (5) Natural conditions which affect sales, as climate, proximity to large city, hardness of water, presence of bakeries in sale of flour, etc. (6) Lack of income.

3. Location of most advantageous markets.[1]

*a.* Extent to which needs exist for product by geographical areas, or by classes of people.

*b.* Relative buying power in each trading area. To what extent are such data normal or influenced by unusual conditions? How do such factors as employment, wage scales, population trends, etc., affect buying power?

*c.* Relative amount of competition by areas and by classes of population.

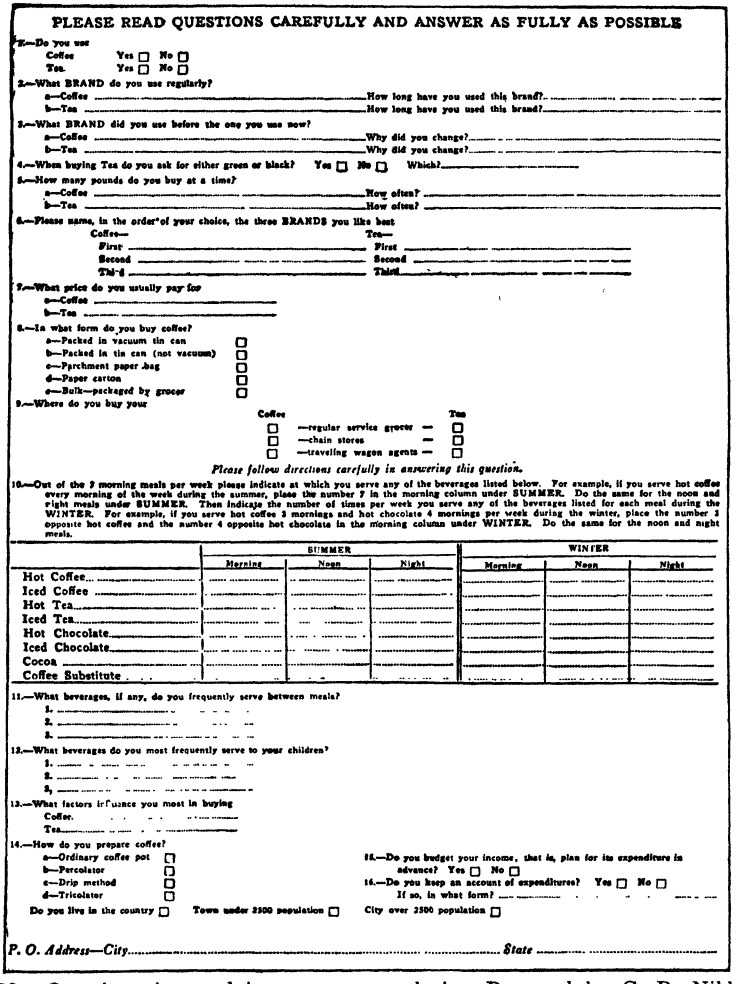
**Questionnaires Used in Consumer Research.**—One of the favorite means of securing information about consumers is with a questionnaire, which is considered in some detail in Chap. XXIII. At this point it is sufficient to note two such questionnaires. The first, shown in Fig. 30, relates to the consumption of coffee; the second, to the use of

[1] For example, the New England Council recommended in 1931 that business concerns analyze their past sales and determine the most profitable lines, customers, and territories and concentrate their selling efforts on them. In doing this they should review their sales for the last three to five years to determine:—

1. Lines having best turnover and contributing most to net profit
2. Customers most profitable to serve.
3. Territories yielding most net profit.

Then by research, determine the possibilities and probable costs of building up the less profitable lines, customers, and markets, to profitable sales. If probable returns do not warrant effort and expense required, eliminate these unprofitable lines, customers, and areas.

fertilizers (see Fig. 31). The former investigation was conducted by an advertising agency to determine the buying habits relative to coffee and tea for the benefit of a particular manufacturer. The second investigation was conducted by the National Fertilizer Association for



**PLEASE READ QUESTIONS CAREFULLY AND ANSWER AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE**

1.—Do you use
Coffee Yes ☐ No ☐
Tea. Yes ☐ No ☐

2.—What BRAND do you use regularly?
a—Coffee ..... How long have you used this brand?.....
b—Tea ..... How long have you used this brand?.....

3.—What BRAND did you use before the one you use now?
a—Coffee ..... Why did you change?.....
b—Tea ..... Why did you change?.....

4.—When buying Tea do you ask for either green or black? Yes ☐ No ☐ Which?.....

5.—How many pounds do you buy at a time?
a—Coffee ..... How often? .....
b—Tea ..... How often? .....

6.—Please name, in the order of your choice, the three BRANDS you like best

| Coffee— | Tea— |
|---|---|
| First ..... | First ..... |
| Second ..... | Second ..... |
| Third ..... | Third ..... |

7.—What price do you usually pay for
a—Coffee .....
b—Tea .....

8.—In what form do you buy coffee?
a—Packed in vacuum tin can ☐
b—Packed in tin can (not vacuum) ☐
c—Parchment paper bag ☐
d—Paper carton ☐
e—Bulk—packaged by grocer ☐

9.—Where do you buy your

| Coffee | | Tea |
|---|---|---|
| ☐ | —regular service grocer — | ☐ |
| ☐ | —chain stores — | ☐ |
| ☐ | —traveling wagon agents — | ☐ |

*Please follow directions carefully in answering this question.*

10.—Out of the 7 morning meals per week please indicate at which you serve any of the beverages listed below. For example, if you serve hot coffee every morning of the week during the summer, place the number 7 in the morning column under SUMMER. Do the same for the noon and night meals under SUMMER. Then indicate the number of times per week you serve any of the beverages listed for each meal during the WINTER. For example, if you serve hot coffee 3 mornings and hot chocolate 4 mornings per week during the winter, place the number 3 opposite hot coffee and the number 4 opposite hot chocolate in the morning column under WINTER. Do the same for the noon and night meals.

| | SUMMER | | | WINTER | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Morning | Noon | Night | Morning | Noon | Night |
| Hot Coffee | | | | | | |
| Iced Coffee | | | | | | |
| Hot Tea | | | | | | |
| Iced Tea | | | | | | |
| Hot Chocolate | | | | | | |
| Iced Chocolate | | | | | | |
| Cocoa | | | | | | |
| Coffee Substitute | | | | | | |

11.—What beverages, if any, do you frequently serve between meals?
1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

12.—What beverages do you most frequently serve to your children?
1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

13.—What factors influence you most in buying
Coffee. .....
Tea. .....

14.—How do you prepare coffee?
a—Ordinary coffee pot ☐
b—Percolator ☐
c—Drip method ☐
d—Tricolator ☐

15.—Do you budget your income, that is, plan for its expenditure in advance? Yes ☐ No ☐

16.—Do you keep an account of expenditures? Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, in what form? .....

Do you live in the country ☐ Town under 2500 population ☐ City over 2500 population ☐

*P. O. Address—City*..... *State* .....

FIG. 30.—Questionnaire used in consumer analysis. Prepared by C. R. Niklason.

the benefit of the fertilizer industry. In addition to the reports from individual farmers in a county, each interviewer filled out a report based upon his experiences in the county (blank not included here). The final results were based upon records from more than 48,000 farmers.

**THE NATIONAL FERTILIZER ASSOCIATION, CONSUMER SURVEY, *SOUTHERN* DIVISION**

Name_____ County_____ P. O. _____ State_____

Owner ☐ Manager ☐ Tenant ☐ White ☐ Colored ☐

1. Do you use fertilizer? - - - - - - - - Yes - ☐ No - ☐

2. Please list below acres of crops harvested in **1927**, yields per acre, acres fertilized, quantity of fertilizer used per acre, and analysis.

| CROPS GROWN | ACRES OF EACH | YIELD PER ACRE | ACRES FERTILIZED | FERTILIZER USED | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | AT TIME OF PLANTING | | SIDE OR TOP DRESSING | | |
| | | | | LBS. PER ACRE | ANALYSIS | ACRES | LBS. PER ACRE | KIND |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

**Note:—Give corn yields in bushels, each equivalent to 56 pounds shelled corn, and cotton yields in pounds of lint per acre.**

3. How much fertilizer and what analysis were you using five years ago on your most important crop?

| PRINCIPAL CROP | USED FIVE YEARS AGO | |
|---|---|---|
| | POUNDS | ANALYSIS |
| | | |

4. From your general experience what increases do you expect from the use of fertilizers on your most important crops?

| PRINCIPAL CROPS | AVERAGE YIELD WITHOUT FERTILIZER | AVERAGE YIELD WITH FERTILIZER* |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |

***Note that average yield is called for—Question 2 refers to 1927 yields only.**

5. Have you made any comparisons with different kinds or amounts of fertilizer? Yes ☐ No ☐
   a. Or with and without fertilizer? Yes - ☐ No. - ☐

6. Have you ever tried home-mixing? Yes - ☐ No - ☐
   a. If so, were the results satisfactory? Yes - ☐ No - ☐
   b. If not, why? _____
   c. Do you home-mix now? Yes - ☐ No - ☐ If so, for what crops? _____

7. *Special question for the non-user.* Do you think that it would pay you to use fertilizer? Yes - ☐ No - ☐
   a If so, why do you not use it? _____

8. Do you consider fertilizer a necessity? Yes - ☐ No - ☐ Not sure - ☐

9. As compared to other things that you buy, do you consider fertilizer low, average, or high in price? Low - ☐ Average - ☐ High - ☐

10. In selecting the grades of fertilizer that you use, which of the following has helped you most? (Check only one.)
    a. Your fertilizer dealer - - - - - ☐
    b. Your county agent - - - - - - ☐
    c. Your farm paper - - - - - - - ☐
    d. The agricultural college - - - - - ☐

11. In deciding on what brand to use or what company's goods to buy, to which of the following do you pay the most attention? (Place figure "1" after the one considered most important, "2" after the second most important.)
    a. Reputation of company - - - - - ☐
    b. Service of the dealer - - - - - ☐
    c. Quality or drilling condition - - - - ☐
    d. Cost per pound of plant food - - - ☐
    e. The price per ton - - - - - - ☐

12. Which of the following do you consider important?
    a. Color of the fertilizer - ☐ b. Odor of the fertilizer - ☐ c. Size of bags - ☐

13. Do you think it would pay you to use more fertilizer per acre than you are now using?
    Yes - ☐ No - ☐ Not sure - ☐
    a. If so, are you planning to use more? Yes - ☐ No - ☐

14. Have you noticed any of the following effects of fertilizer on the quality of your crops?
    a. Better market quality (all cash crops)? - - - - - - Yes - ☐ No - ☐
    b. Better feeding quality (grain and hay)? - - - - - - Yes - ☐ No - ☐
    c. Better shipping quality (fruits and vegetables)? - - - - - Yes - ☐ No - ☐

FIG. 31.—Questionnaire used in investigating the use of fertilizers. (*National Fertilizer Association.*)

15. Have you noticed any of the following benefits from fertilizer?
    a. Quicker start ☐ d. Earlier maturity ☐
    b. Resistance to disease ☐ e Benefit to following crop ☐
    c. Less winter injury (to wheat) ☐ f Less frost injury ☐

16. In general, have you had any unsatisfactory results from the use of fertilizer during the past three years?
    Yes ☐ No ☐
    a. If so, what do you think was the cause? _____

17. Is the service that you receive from your fertilizer dealer or company satisfactory?
    Yes ☐ No ☐
    a. If not, what has been the trouble? _____

18. Which of the three plant foods do you consider most important on your farm? Which second? Which third? *(Indicate with numerals)*
    Nitrogen ☐ Phosphoric Acid ☐ Potash ☐ Not sure ☐
    *Note to interviewer.* In your opinion does this farmer know the meaning of the figures used to express a fertilizer grade? Yes ☐ No ☐

19. Have you ever visited your State experiment station or experiment farms or fields?
    Yes ☐ No ☐
    a. Have you attended meetings or demonstrations conducted by your county agent?
    Yes ☐ No ☐
    b. Did you get information of practical value from these visits or from the meetings or demonstrations attended?
    Yes ☐ No ☐

20. What farm papers do you read, in order to preference?
    1 _____ 2 _____
    3 _____ 4 _____
    a. Do you prefer articles based on experiment station results or on farm experience?
    On station results ☐ On farm experience ☐ No choice ☐

21. Do you take a daily newspaper? Yes ☐ _____ (Name of paper) No ☐
    a. Does your daily have a farm page or department? Yes ☐ No ☐
    If so, does it interest you? Yes ☐ No ☐
    b. Do you take a local weekly newspaper? Yes ☐ No ☐
    c. What general or religious magazine do you prefer? _____

22. Have you received bulletins on the use of fertilizer from your State experiment station?
    Yes ☐ No ☐
    a. Have you read any of them? Yes ☐ No ☐
    b. Have you obtained information of practical value from reading these bulletins?
    Yes ☐ No ☐

23. Have you received booklets, folders, or other advertising matter from fertilizer companies?
    Yes ☐ No ☐
    a. Has this advertising matter been of help to you? Yes ☐ No ☐

24. Do you buy your fertilizer from a local merchant or dealer, direct from a manufacturing or mixing company, from a co-operative association, or through your club or farm bureau?
    Local merchant or dealer ☐ Manufacturer or mixer ☐
    Co-operative association ☐ Farm Bureau or club ☐
    a. Do you pay cash on delivery or buy on time or credit? Cash ☐ Credit ☐
    b. *If on credit,* do you give note or buy on open account? Note ☐ Open Account ☐
    c. *If you pay cash,* do you borrow at bank or finance yourself?
    Borrow at bank ☐ Finance self ☐
    d. Have you had any difficulty in securing credit? Yes ☐ No ☐

25. How much fertilizer did you buy in 1927? _____ tons

26. From what product that you sell do you obtain the largest part of your cash income? *(Indicate not more than three with numerals in order of importance)*
    a. Live stock ☐ e. Potatoes ☐
    b. Dairy products ☐ f Vegetables ☐
    c. Wheat ☐ g. Fruit ☐
    d. Corn ☐ h. Tobacco ☐

FIG. 31.—*(Continued.)*

## SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Each marketing problem is somewhat distinct from every other one. In some cases there is a vast amount of information already in print bearing upon the problem; in other cases there is little or nothing printed that is useful. There is, however, altogether too much of a tendency to assume that each problem is entirely unique and that only original research will provide adequate data. In nearly every case, an amazing amount of useful information can be unearthed in a good library by one who knows how to do so. Judging from experience it would appear that very few, including college graduates, know how to use a library.

The following indirect sources are suggestive of many others.

1. Public libraries. In addition, many business concerns and trade associations maintain excellent reference libraries, many of which are members of the Special Libraries Association. Through a proper approach it is usually possible to obtain, temporarily and at no great cost, all of the data so far published upon a subject.

2. Government reports, such as Census of Distribution of 1929, Marketing Research and Service Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Federal Crop and Livestock reports, Federal Reserve Board bulletins, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce reports, Federal Trade Commission reports, Department of Agriculture reports, and reports of state agencies.

3. Research bureaus, such as university bureaus of business research, National Bureau of Economic Research.

4. Trade associations.

5. Trade papers.

6. Directories and manuals.

7. Publications. Bibliographies on many subjects may be secured upon request from such magazines as *Printers' Ink, Sales Management, Advertising and Selling;* also from the Department of Commerce at Washington.

8. Advertising agencies.

9. Banks.

10. Clipping bureaus.

The following direct sources are essential in order to obtain specific data regarding one's own products.

1. Records of the company: credit records, sales records over the last few years, segregated by product and consumer.

2. Reports of salesmen and other representatives of company.

3. Informal interviews with general public, consumers, retailers, wholesalers.

4. Questionnaires handled by trained interviewers or sent through the mail, addressed to general public, consumers, retailers, wholesalers.[1]

5. Laboratory field tests.[2]

6. Trial campaigns.[3]

7. Special services, such as that of the A. C. Nielson Company of Chicago, which receives reports from 3,000 retail food, drug, and department stores every 60 days as to the number of packages (or other units) of each brand sold. From these figures it is possible to determine the movement of goods to the consumer by brands.

There is one simple source of information that far transcends any of the others in importance when the objective is to discover the uses of a product and to understand why people want to use it—that method is actual experience. An example makes the point clear.

The president of a certain New York advertising agency strolled into the copy department one morning and found one of the copywriters struggling over the writing of a farm-paper advertisement for a well-known roll roofing. At the head of the sheet of copy paper over which the man was frowning were just three words—"Easy to Lay."

"How do you know it is easy to lay?" asked the president with a smile. "Did you ever lay any?"

The copywriter looked up, floundered for a minute, and then admitted with a grin he never had laid any, and that all he knew about this roofing he had learned from the advertisements in the agency's files.

"I thought so," remarked the president. "That's what I came in here about. They are using this roofing to roof a whole row of chicken houses on a poultry farm out near my place and I want you to go out there and spend the afternoon watching the men. If possible get them to let you help. Don't let on that you know anything about roofing, but talk with them about it. Ask them questions about ready roofings in general—how they should be laid, what sorts of buildings they are best suited for, what they are made of, how long they last, how they begin to 'go' when they do start to weather, why they are using this particular brand—all the questions you can think of to ask. And on your way back this evening jot down all the ideas and information you have acquired."

The next morning the president stepped into the copy department about 10.30 and found a very busy copywriter with five pieces of farm-paper copy written and a sixth almost finished.

"Oh, I got more ideas than I can use in 6 months," enthused the copywriter before the president had time to ask a question. "We've only been skimming around the edges in our copy."

[1] Development and use of questionnaires are discussed in Chap. XXIII.

[2] Discussed in Chap. XXII.

[3] Discussed on pp. 383–385.

That was two years ago, but to this day whenever copy is needed for that roofing the requisition automatically goes to this one man, who "knows more about it than any man in the shop and writes such darn convincing ads," as one of his fellow copymen once expressed it. All because he has seen the product *used*. He writes *facts* and deals in *ideas*. His copy appeals because he knows what he is writing about.

It is undoubtedly true that far too much copy is written and too many marketing campaigns are planned by men and women who are working with merely an academic knowledge of how the particular product or machine or commodity—or whatever it is they are advertising—is used. Yet actual use is one of the most effective developers of copy angles and basic marketing ideas.

Perhaps it should be admitted, also, that use is a great disillusioner. There are some men who hesitate to use the commodity or product they are advertising or selling because of this very fact; it spoils some of their pet arguments and copy claims.

It is the present writer's strong conviction that this is an added argument for, rather than an argument against, use. For if the copy claims and arguments are not based on fact, they are after all only copy claims and arguments; they may make the first sale, but they will eventually militate against the product's success if persisted in.

But the important point is, that if the claims that have been made in an idealized conception of the product are not based on fact or performance, the sooner that is found out the better, for the sooner the searcher will start out to find what there really is about the product or its performance that can be used as the "big idea" upon which to base its marketing plan, or upon which to build some particular advertisement or sales solicitation.[1]

The information obtained from all these sources seldom agrees in all particulars. Because the research man in charge cannot know the correct answer to many of the problems he is investigating and because he cannot rely implicitly upon many of his sources of information, it is necessary for him to decide which set of information he will favor when two or more sets disagree. Here is one of the places where the experienced man is worth much more than the inexperienced. From handling many sets of data in many different connections one gains a feeling as to the fitness of the various parts. This feeling is not, of course, akin to omniscience, but it does safeguard against many mistakes. It is much better to rely upon the judgment of an expert in such discrepancies than to take an average of a half dozen or more references.

The same general observation holds good regarding who shall collect the information. The more expert the man, the better is the job done. It is really amazing what mistakes an ignorant person can make. This applies to securing information from reports, from company files, and from interviews with others.

[1] "Use—a Fruitful Source of Marketing and Copy Ideas," *Printers' Ink*, Oct. 20, 1921.

### WHO SHALL DIRECT A MARKETING RESEARCH?

It is the vice-president in charge of marketing, or one of his subordinates who usually first senses the problem and desires a solution. Sometimes some other official brings up the subject and requests information upon it. But in any case the executive in charge of marketing is expected to ascertain the facts. It might seem, then, that he should direct the research. There are, however, three very good reasons why he should not do so. First, he is too busy with routine administrative activities to give the necessary time. Second, he is seldom trained to carry on research work. Third, he is unwittingly biased and is consequently prone to interpret the data so as to support his own policies. As has been pointed out in earlier chapters, man manipulates his environment in order to satisfy his wants; to manipulate a lot of data and secure an answer which interferes with one's own program is out of harmony with human nature. Few, very few, can do this. Many writers have pointed out that actually industrial research is usually for the purpose of supporting the boss's policies and when it does not do this it is thrown in the waste-paper basket. The vice-president in charge of marketing should, consequently, determine the problem to be solved, but whenever that requires extensive research he should delegate the actual work to an experienced research man.

If an organization is large enough to afford its own research department, the head of that department is the logical man to prosecute the necessary research. Such a research organization has ready access to the company's files and is in a position to know intimately the policies of the company. The research department can carry on simultaneously short investigations of immediate moment and more extensive studies requiring many weeks of time. With continued research the value of each study increases appreciably, for there is not merely the ascertainment of certain facts in each study but more and more the determination of complex relationships between the several bodies of facts. Because of all this the research department can ordinarily render service superior to that supplied by outside agencies. In cases where the latter are in a position to render superior service the head of the research department is better fitted to deal with them than is a busy administrative official. The head of the company's research organization is also in a better position to deal with a fellow executive than is an outsider in those cases where the fellow executive is biased against the results. He knows the executive's idiosyncracies and can wait until an appropriate time to present

the results, and he can also continue to bring them up from time to time under different guises until the executive has had time to readjust his thinking. No executive wishes to be biased or wrong, he believes he is right; to change his views requires time coupled with appropriate "selling" of the new point of view.

If a business does not have its own research department, it must utilize other agencies when such work is to be done. And even if it has such a department, there are certain problems that an outside research organization can handle better. The advertising agency is one of the outside organizations which should be considered. For its own purposes it is forced to investigate all sorts of advertising media and investigate from many angles. Already familiar with this field, it can usually determine the answers to media problems more readily than can the research department of the business. The advertising agency has also the advantage of seeing a problem from an outside point of view and very often may have investigated a similar problem for one or more other business concerns. The disadvantages of employing an advertising agency in this connection are: first, that some problems are too confidential to divulge to any outside concern; second, that an agency may be experienced in handling certain research problems but not the one under consideration; and third, that an agency has certain distinct biases which may materially affect the interpretation of the collected data. For example, an advertising agency is paid very largely by receiving a 15 per cent discount from the publisher upon the space used by its clients. Its greatest profit comes from using large space in a few publications, for a double-page spread costs the agency about half that of preparing two page advertisements and about one-fourth that of preparing four half-page advertisements. Its natural inclination is toward using large space occasionally rather than small space regularly.

Independent research and statistical organizations are often in a position to carry out the research of a business concern in admirable fashion. Here, again, their value depends very largely upon the caliber of the men in charge and their experience with the type of problem to be studied. The disadvantages are first, that some problems are too confidential even to be discussed with an outside concern, and second, that there is often too great eagerness on the part of the independent organization to get new business, hence, a willingness to undertake investigations for which they are not prepared, and also a great temptation to please their client rather than ascertain the facts.

The writer recalls a case where a wholesaler had built up a very fine business almost exclusively restricted to one metropolitan area.

When the son took charge he rapidly expanded the business into the surrounding territory, establishing warehouses in five nearby cities. Several years later he called upon a research organization to discover why he was not making money, now that he had met the expenses of expansion. The outside concern analyzed his own figures and proved that all of the new units were losing money and only the old metropolitan unit was profitable. The son threw the report in the waste-paper basket and told the research man to get his money from the book-keeper. He had set his heart upon having the biggest business of its kind in the state and would not believe he couldn't accomplish it. The research man said long afterwards, "I could not do otherwise, but in doing so I lost all opportunity to secure business from him or from his many friends. That's one reason I quit the research business."

When comparative studies are desired which will throw light upon a whole industry, the research can usually be better undertaken by a trade association, a governmental bureau, or a university research organization. Such organizations can obtain the support of the industry as a whole and secure confidential data which would not be given to an individual competitor. The reports of the United States Bureau of Labor, for example, concerning employment, cost of living, retail and wholesale prices, cost far more than a single company can afford to spend, yet through such agencies the company obtains the data at no expense. The recent development of the Census of Distribution is another example of how data which many companies need but cannot afford to gather are now supplied by the government.

Trade associations are usually composed of competing members. This handicaps the research activities of such an association, confining its efforts very largely to the presentation of comparative figures. It is almost impossible under such circumstances to report the specific activities of individual concerns. Yet there is a very great value to company A in knowing what has been the experience of companies B, C, and D. The Retail Research Association has met this situation by bringing together 18 large department stores, reaching from coast to coast, but including only one store in any metropolitan area. Because they are noncompeting they are able to open their books to each other to their great mutual advantage.

The stores in this group have standardized accounting systems, and so can study comparative costs intelligently. One of the first things any successful business man must know is the cost of selling a commodity. All the facts about the operation of each store are made available to every other member. Filene's, for example, knows what is selling well in Brooklyn or Detroit, and the price at which it was bought and sold. This takes some of the gamble out of our buying program.

If one store has unusual success with a particular department, a committee goes to that store and studies its methods, and passes these "trade secrets" along to all the other stores. Similarly, if one store has difficulty with any department, experts from the other stores go to that city and make a study in a joint effort to solve it. In short, the Retail Research Association is all that its name implies—a laboratory in retail research.[1]

## INTERPRETATION OF DATA

One of the objectives of a consumer research is to determine what are the best appeals to use in influencing prospective customers.[2] It is most important in this connection to distinguish among the three steps of (1) gathering data, (2) interpreting data, and (3) deducing conclusions.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the explanations given by anyone as to why he did something are mere data—what they mean is still to be determined. Such data are reliable in the sense they are actual reports. Whether they are accepted to mean what the words seemingly intend or something else depends upon the judgment of the second party. It is here that the greatest source of error enters in a consumer research. Consequently, whatever meaning is attached to the data must be viewed as a mere hypothesis to be tested in every possible way before final acceptance. In other words, what a person says, and probably thinks, is the reason for his action is one thing; his underlying motive may be quite another.

One cause for the above condition is that very many actions are performed with little or no thought, or with thought concentrated upon only one or two elements in the whole procedure. So an individual is really not aware of the whole process and of why he came to act as he did. When actions have occurred many times, there is a characteristic shift in interest from the want to the means by which the want is satisfied, so that in time one merely says, "I want a pair of shoes" or "a piece of soap." The wants which are satisfied by shoes or soap are hardly thought of, and in fact the average person considers an interviewer more or less crazy if he persists in asking why shoes or soap are wanted. If a reply is forced out, the answer is very often "cooked up" on the spur of the moment, just for the sake of obliging. These rationalizations are thus post-factum justifications of action, given in order to impress favorably both the interviewer and oneself. The example was given in a preceding chapter of persons who, afraid to fly in an airplane, state that such transportation is too expensive

[1] FILENE, EDWARD A., "Contributions of Research in Business," Sixty-ninth Convocation of the University of the State of New York, Oct. 19, 1928, pp. 6–7.

[2] "What are the best appeals" is discussed in Chap. XIII.

or that it is too much trouble to go way out to the airport. If these rationalizations are accepted at face value, the air transportation company might reduce prices and build new fields nearer town only to find such individuals presenting new rationalizations as to why they still were not using the air service.

Undoubtedly, this tendency to transfer interest from the want to the means is one of the greatest obstacles to ascertaining why a person behaved as he did. This tendency explains also to some degree why salesmen talk so much about their product and company instead of what the product will do for the customer. The product stands in their minds for all the wonderful things it will do, hence there is no need for stating such details. But the prospect, not having advanced that far in his experience, must still think in terms of his wants and not of the accepted means of satisfying them.

The more the wants of prospects for a particular commodity are considered, the more complex seems the whole situation. For example, a woman in buying a textile fabric has in mind more or less of the following: Will it wear well, be comfortable, be easy to dry-clean or to launder; is it in fashion, will it become me, is it attractive, beautiful; can it be used for a number of different occasions; is the price within my means; etc. The piece of merchandise that she finally buys is a reflection of all these elements plus many others, such as what her shopping companion says, what the various salesmen have said, weariness from looking around, necessity of getting home to prepare supper, etc. How can one possibly answer the question, "Why did she buy?"

The complexity of elements which enter into the decision to buy emphasizes most emphatically that selling cannot be explained on any one basis, as, for example, price. The insistence in certain quarters that each commodity have attached to it detailed specifications of its physical and chemical qualities would safeguard the buyer in a great many cases. But such specifications can never supply the really important information a consumer desires where style and prestige are involved any more than detailed specifications of paint and canvas will account for the differences in good and poor paintings.

The pure scientist has not yet evolved appropriate procedures for analyzing such fearfully complex situations as are involved in the purchase of a woman's dress and, consequently, cannot state just what were the motives and their relative degree of importance. Although the practical businessman would profit greatly from such accurate analyses, he does not need all this, at least today. What he does need is a better understanding than he had last year, or a

better understanding than that of his competitors, so that he can increase his sales, or decrease his losses, over last year. A 5-per cent gain in knowledge will give him a very nice increase in profits. From the practical point of view, then, the problem is that of selecting some phase of the whole situation, analyzing it sufficiently to gain a better appreciation of why people buy, and using the information.

In attempting to interpret data from a consumer research it is helpful to observe certain general considerations. First, the wants or buying habits of consumers should be subdivided according as they pertain (1) to the purchase of the article itself (why is soap bought at all?), (2) to the purchase of this or that brand, and (3) to the purchase from this or that store. Thus, a woman may prefer brand A but purchase B because the retail store she trades at does not carry A. This situation is quite different from that of another woman who buys brand B because her husband likes it better than A.

A second consideration, recently pointed out by Lazarsfeld,[1] is whether the reason given pertains (1) to the attributes to the commodity purchased, (2) to influences coming from others, or (3) to impulses within the purchaser. Thus, a purchase of some trinket may be explained on the ground that it was "cute," that "my sister thought it would look good on the hall table," or that "I had to buy something for my sister-in-law's birthday." From the standpoint of sales in that store, the attributes of the article are responsible in the first two cases—influencing the buyer directly in the first case and influencing the buyer's sister, who in turn influenced the buyer, in the second case—while in the third case the buyer was set to buy something when she came to the store. In other words, as far as a sale by the store is concerned in the third case the attributes of the object were immaterial; the woman bought in the store because of her past experiences. But if we are interested solely in why this "cute" article was purchased and not another one alongside it, differences in the attributes of the two articles are particularly significant.

Weaver[2] calls attention to a third consideration—whether the purchase is made spontaneously or after deliberation. One's false teeth, spectacles, automobile, or house are bought after great deliberation, while a box of matches is bought with a minimum of consideration. Seemingly this distinction is correlated with price. Probably, however, it is correlated far more with habit. Those articles we buy

[1] LAZARSFELD, P. F., "The Psychological Aspect of Market Research," *Harvard Business Review*, 1934, **13**, 66.

[2] WEAVER, H. G., "Consumer Research and Consumer Education," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1935, **182**, 94.

only once in a while call for careful thought, while those commodities we buy regularly are purchased rather automatically. Analysis of buying motives is ordinarily much easier when the purchase is made after deliberation rather than spontaneously.

Fourth, "what" questions must be distinctly segregated from "why" questions. What a person bought is a matter of fact, why such a person bought is always subject to doubt. Whenever possible, "what" questions should be employed instead of "why"; in many cases the why can very well be ascertained in terms of all the actions performed.

Fifth, because so many factors enter into the decision to buy and because the buyer cannot possibly have the information necessary to answer all his queries, he desires to deal with a seller who is reliable. Having confidence is a short cut to securing the necessary information —so one asks the retailer, "Is this all wool?" instead of testing it.

## SERVICE SHOPPING

Customers want, not only satisfactory goods, but also satisfactory service. What constitutes satisfactory service is one problem; determination as to whether or not it is supplied by one's sales force is another problem. The former can be ascertained by questioning customers as to what they want in this respect; the latter, by employing shoppers to trade in a store and report upon their experiences.

According to the figures in Table I, a store loses more customers because of discourtesy than because of unsatisfactory merchandise. If this is true it is probably because there is better standardization of merchandise throughout all stores than there is of personal service.

TABLE I.—WHY CUSTOMERS ARE LOST[1]

| Reasons for loss | Per cent lost | |
|---|---|---|
| Indifference of salespeople | 9 | |
| Ignorance and misrepresentation of goods | 8 | 30 |
| Haughtiness of salespeople | 7 | |
| Over-insistence of salespeople | 6 | |
| Errors and delays in service | 17 | |
| Unwillingness to exchange goods and tricky methods | 10 | 33 |
| Attempted substitution of goods | 6 | |
| High prices | 14 | |
| Slip-shod store methods | 13 | 37 |
| Poor quality of merchandise | 10 | |

[1] "Better Retailing," p. 17, National Cash Register Company, 1935.

Service shopping is employed by many stores today to provide the management with a measure of the service actually rendered to customers. It is not to be confused with price shopping or com-

parative shopping, by which the merchandise values of one store are compared with those of other stores. Typical customers are employed to make purchases (the goods are subsequently returned) and to do all the things regular customers do. A report is made upon each purchase. One such procedure asks for ratings on a rating scale[1]

TABLE II.—SERVICE SHOPPING RATINGS UPON THREE DRUGSTORES[1]

| Points studied | Store A | Store B | Store C |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. Appearance of store | 2.9 | 2.8 | 2.7 |
| II. Length of wait for service | 3.9 | 4.0 | 4.0 |
| III. Appearance of clerk | 2.8 | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| IV. Politeness of clerk | 3.6 | 3.8 | 3.6 |
| V. Knowledge of work | 3.2 | 3.5 | 3.6 |
| VI. Sales methods | 3.1 | 3.6 | 3.4 |
| VII. Attitude on leaving | 3.1 | 3.3 | 3.0 |
| VIII. Customer's general reaction to store | 2.7 | 3.0 | 2.8 |
| IX. Customer's general reaction to salesperson | 2.9 | 3.1 | 2.9 |
| **Distributions of the ratings on items III and VI** | | | |
| | Store A | Store B | Store C |
| III. Appearance of clerk | | | |
| Slovenly | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Careless and untidy | 10 | 4 | 2 |
| Average | 21 | 14 | 20 |
| Neat | 5 | 15 | 9 |
| Well-groomed | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| VI. Sales methods | | | |
| Indifferent | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Little interest | 4 | 0 | 6 |
| Mechanical | 19 | 17 | 15 |
| Endeavor to satisfy | 12 | 21 | 13 |
| Satisfactory | 0 | 1 | 5 |

[1] Poorest rating is 1, average is 3, highest is 5. Data based upon 39 independent ratings.

for: opinion of the total sale, interest in customers, merchandise information, physical display of merchandise, courtesy, and alertness. Under merchandise information, for example, the shopper indicates whether the salesperson: (1) knows nothing, not even stock content; (2) can display merchandise but knows only prices; (3) can give essentials, as price, size, widths, etc; (4) can answer usual questions asked by customers; and (5) tells important points about the merchandise.

[1] See Chap. XXIV for discussion of rating scales.

Approximately 39 individuals traded at each of three typical drugstores and reported the service as given in Table II. On several items the three stores average approximately the same rating but, on




FIG. 32.—An institutional advertisement based upon a consumer research.

the whole, Store B is rated highest and Store A lowest. Store A is rated lower in respect to appearance of clerk and sales methods, suggesting of course, that here are two things the manager can rectify to advantage. Actually, in not a single item is the difference in

ratings equal to the probable error of the difference which means that no difference is statistically significant.[1]

The data in Table II are presented in order to illustrate the procedure in service shopping and also to emphasize that even with 39 individual reports the results may not indicate any difference of which we can be sure. These 39 shoppers prefer Store B to A but another 39 shoppers might conceivably prefer A to B. How much less reliable must be the results based on only a few shoppers!

Shopping reports can be used to real advantage as a barometer of service rendered and as a basis for instruction in service. In one case the first rating showed 50 per cent of customers satisfied. As time went on the ratings rose to 75 per cent. It was estimated that 85 per cent represents the maximum possible, taking cost of supervision and training into account. One of the most effective methods of utilizing the individual reports of shoppers is to have them distributed to appropriate department heads by the merchandise manager and handed in turn by the department heads to the salespeople to whom they refer. In this way the salesperson learns what the shopper said about him and knows that his superiors have also seen the report. Likewise, each department head knows his superior has had opportunity to compare his department record with those of other departments. Those rated low naturally take more interest in any training that is offered. At the same time the training staff is supplied with actual case material around which the instructions may be built.

Macy's and Bamberger's stores have made an unusual use of such consumer research by advertising their efforts to ascertain what their customers want. Figure 32 shows one such advertisement.

Certain additional aspects of consumer research are considered in Chap. XXV.

[1] See p. 424 for explanation of statistical procedure.

## CHAPTER XII

## DETERMINATION OF SALES STRATEGY

Every salesman analyzes his prospects, develops a sales strategy, and plans what to say in order to "put it over." But the majority of salesmen do this without knowing how they do it. They have learned to sell through experience. Their process of learning has been like that in learning to swim. What they found did not work they ceased to do; what they found successful they continued to do. The whys and wherefores have not bothered them. Out of this haphazard method of learning have come many first-class salesmen, many not so successful, and a multitude of failures.

Genuine analysis and careful planning must more and more replace intuition and playing hunches. Because in some cases a one best sales presentation can be developed, it will be the function of the sales manager to work out this best method and then teach it to all his salesmen. Usually in such cases low-grade salesmen can be profitably used. But in other cases a one best sales presentation cannot be developed because of the great variety of prospects and the varying combinations of their needs for the different articles in the salesman's line. In such cases it will be more profitable to employ a higher grade of salesman. Every salesman will have to learn to analyze his job in a more thoroughgoing way than is customarily done today.

"Helping them to buy" apparently calls for more experience and training than "pressing them to buy," but once the knack is acquired, the selling is done more easily and the buyer is far more likely to be satisfied and to become a regular customer.

Because analysis is not possible without knowledge, it is necessary that a salesman shall know:

1. His goods and the service his company renders.
2. His prospects and their wants and needs.
3. Efficient selling methods.

In terms of this knowledge the salesman must determine:

1. The sales strategy for each prospect.
2. The sales presentation, *i.e.*, what must be presented to "put over" the sales strategy.

The view held here is that selling is not pouring ideas into a prospect's mind; it is solving with him a problem which he wants

solved (although he may not have been aware of it until the salesman called), and which can be solved by the purchase of the salesman's goods.

### DETERMINATION OF SALES STRATEGY

A proper sales strategy can be expressed by the three words: Wants, Obstacle, Solution. In more detail it can be outlined as follows:

1. Wants.
   *a.* Just what are the wants of the prospect?
   *b.* Just how strongly does the prospect desire to satisfy each of them?
2. Obstacles.
   *a.* Just what obstacles prevent the prospect from satisfying his wants?
   *b.* Just how clearly does the prospect comprehend these obstacles?
3. Solution.
   *a.* What specific proposition will remove the obstacles and give the prospect what he wants? (In other words, what quality or quantity, or model or specific service is to be presented as the solution?)

Obviously, the more strongly a prospect feels a want, the more the salesman can build his sale upon it; the less strongly a prospect feels a want, the less the salesman can utilize it until he has aroused it. Similarly, the more clearly the prospect understands what prevents him from satisfying a want, the less it needs to be discussed. But if the prospect does not know what is wrong, what the obstacle is, the salesman must force comprehension of that obstacle upon him before he can go on to present his commodity as a solution.

**Examples of Sales Strategy.**—Several examples of sales strategy are given below in order to illustrate the above outline.

*Selling an Automatic Electric Generator.*—The "picture" of the prospect in this case is given on page 293. This is a particularly complete picture of a possible buyer and includes more detail than can usually be obtained, but not more than can often be secured by one who is wideawake and actively seeking such data.[1]

The *wants* of Mr. Acre:

1. To provide for, protect, and please his wife. (Apparently very strong.)
2. To be recognized as a leader in his community. (Apparently quite strong.)

[1] The information presented here was obtained by my former colleague, Mr. H. W. McIntyre, from the salesman who sold Mr. Acre.

3. To secure approval. (Apparently not so strong as in many men, *i.e.*, what others do and say does not influence him greatly.)
4. To avoid drudgery. (Like the average man.)
5. To keep his son with him on the farm.
6. To provide good working conditions so as not to lose his hired men. (Probably as strong as in most farmers.)
7. To be free from worry about fire.
8. To save money.

The *obstacles*, which prevent him from satisfying these wants and which, of course, can be eliminated by the purchase of an electric generator, are:

1. An old-fashioned house and barn, devoid of modern conveniences.
2. No electricity.

Mr. Acre has always lived in his home and so is accustomed to all the inconveniences in a house and farm which might be eliminated through the use of electricity and electrically driven machinery. He has not comprehended them nor associated them with his wants. Consequently, they must be brought to his attention before he will desire to eliminate them.

The *solution* is the salesman's electric generator. It will supply electricity and so make possible many conveniences for the house and barn, and these will satisfy the above wants. The generator must, accordingly, be presented as a device to do the following:

1. Save Mr. Acre's wife the drudgery of pumping and carrying water.
2. Enable his wife to cook by electricity on hot, stuffy days.
3. Enable his wife to clean the house with an electric vacuum cleaner.
4. Eliminate most of the drudgery of washing clothes.
5. Supply a modern, sanitary toilet.
6. Give good light to read by at night and save the smelly job of filling kerosene lamps.
7. Eliminate the inconvenience of carrying lanterns to the barn, etc.
8. Save himself and his men the drudgery of pumping water for the stock.
9. Save the drudgery of milking, by installing a milking machine.
10. Save the drudgery of turning the grindstone.
11. Save the drudgery of sawing wood.
12. Protect the house and barn from danger of fire from an upset lantern or lamp.
13. Provide a good stream of water in case of fire.

14. Eliminate gossip about a farmer who does not provide his family with modern conveniences (to be very indirectly insinuated).

*Selling Life Insurance.*—Let us note how three different "pictures" of prospects lead naturally to three different sales strategies.

Chapter III contains a sales transaction between Bagley and the dentist, Dr. Barnes. Ignoring the interview here and using only the "picture" of the prospect, the following can be deduced:

*Wants* of Dr. Barnes:

1. To send his boy to college, preferably to Wesleyan.
2. To provide so that his boy will get the most possible out of his college life.
3. To protect his wife from worry and personal sacrifice.
4. To obtain approval from his son, daughters, wife, and friends.

*Obstacle.*—What stood in the way of all these wants being satisfied and could be eliminated by the salesman's service was the contingency of dying before the boy finished college.[1] Like most men in good health, Barnes was giving no consideration to this contingency; he was not aware of any flaw in his plans. But he was planning and working and looking forward to the time when his boy would enter college.

*Solution.*—Insurance so planned that the boy would receive sufficient money each half year to put him through college if his father died.

Consider, second, the prospect to whom Judson sold (see Appendix A). Here is a prospect, aged thirty-eight, who is married (wife, aged thirty-five); has a son six years old and a daughter four years old, both in good health. He owns his home, mortgage of $4,500. He is planning to send his son to college. Probably he has insurance, but the amount is unknown; what is carried probably is payable in lump sum at death.

*Wants* of this prospect:

1. To protect his wife from financial worry and trouble the rest of her life.
2. To give his children a good education and to give them a good start in life.

[1] Bagley was selling only life insurance. If he had also been selling accident insurance then the contingency of Barnes' being injured in an accident might have been added to the list of obstacles to be overcome. And some salesmen might have sold further insurance as protection to the family by setting up the possibility of Mrs. Barnes's losing through poor investment the money she had just inherited. But this would have been a difficult obstacle to establish in Barnes's mind.

3. To make sure that his family always has at least the necessities of life.

*Obstacles:*

1. Contingency of prospect's death. But the more insurance prospect has, the more he will be convinced that this obstacle has been eliminated and so he will really feel no interest in discussing the matter.

2. Contingency that his wife will lose most of the lump-sum insurance money now assured to her. As soon as this idea is comprehended by Mr. Prospect then the feeling that his wants are provided for is eliminated; he is back again in the position he was in before he bought any insurance. In many respects this obstacle is the key to the sale just because it arouses deep concern over what will become of his family if he should die.

*Solution.*—Judson secures additional information about Prospect's family and financial situation. In terms of it he outlines a program whereby $7,000 of his present insurance will be used to pay off the mortgage and to clean up his estate after his death. The remainder of his present insurance will be converted to "income" insurance. This, together with new insurance, will provide $250 per month for twenty years and $100 per month thereafter as long as Mrs. Prospect lives.

Now consider a third prospect, Mr. Alderson by name.[1] This prospect is a wholesale shoe merchant, firm rating—$100,000, personal wealth—$500,000. He is about fifty years old, married, has two children—daughter eighteen, son ten. He is director of the Faithful Trust Company and the Round Tube Works of Pittsburgh. Active member of the Episcopal Church. Member of House Committee, P—Golf Club, D—Club, Chamber of Commerce, and interested in Salvation Army and School for Blind. Has traveled extensively in America and Europe. Spends summer at seashore and is said to be a great fisherman. Said to be easy of access, but very hard to get an interview with if he is not already interested in the matter to be submitted. Reported as courteous, even-tempered, dignified, but firm and quick in his decisions. Has been solicited by many insurance agents but is not known to carry any insurance.

A likely assumption is that Alderson has left his estate in trust for his family, since he is a director of a trust company. He, accordingly, is already convinced that his family will be well taken care of in the event of his death. (If the estate is not left in trust then

[1] For the complete sales presentation, see STRONG, E. K., JR., "Psychology of Selling Life Insurance," Chap. II, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1922.

all of the contingencies possible to a large estate are present and can be played up as obstacles to be eliminated.)

*Wants* of Alderson.—On paper they are about the same as outlined above for the preceding prospect.

*Obstacles:*

1. Contingency of death. As already stated, this can have but little weight because of his trusteed estate plans.

2. Possibility of loss to his family through the mismanagement of his trusteed estate. (Frankly, the possibility of this loss is remote, but such losses do occur.) This obstacle is the key to the sale. Unless this possibility of loss is made clear, the prospect will not be convinced that his wants are not all provided for.

*Solution.*—$100,000 of insurance as a minimum of protection and an absolute certainty, if his trusteed estate should be lost.[1]

These three cases illustrate three somewhat different sales strategies and they illustrate how such differing sales strategies are to be deduced from the "picture" of the prospect. A salesman who tried to sell any one of these prospects in terms of the sales strategies designed for the other two prospects would in all probability fail.

Over against the view presented here there is the practice of many salesmen who talk about life insurance with no idea of how they sell, and of other salesmen who use only one sales strategy trying it out on every prospect they meet. Their sales result very largely from those cases where the prospect happens to fit their sales talk. But it is the exceptional salesman who fits his presentation to his prospects.

## DETERMINATION OF THE SALES PRESENTATION

The sales strategy settled, the salesman must, second, determine what he must present to his prospect in order that the sales objective will be reached. Such planning involves answering the following questions:

1. What must I present to make him strongly feel his *wants?*

2. What must I present to make him clearly understand the *obstacles* to his wants?

3. What must I present to convince him that my proposition is an *adequate solution?*

[1] This last case is a decidedly exceptional one in which it is essential that the prospect be one of those men who pride themselves on getting what they want, regardless of obstacles to be overcome. It is based upon an actual sale. Since first publication, the writer has heard of several successful sales in which the insurance agent reports he used this strategy after previous attempts to sell had failed.

4. If competition is met, what must I present to convince him my proposition is the *best solution?*

5. In what *sequence* shall I present my remarks?

**Selling Dr. Barnes.**—In a preceding section the sales strategy necessary to sell Dr. Barnes has been outlined. What shall be the preparation for "putting over" this sales strategy?

1. *What Will Make Dr. Barnes Strongly Feel His Wants?*—Get Barnes to talk about his boy, about his boy's going to college, about his Alma Mater, about his own experiences at college, about the value of a college education. (Positive aspect of the want. See page (25), lines 15 to 35 for details as to how these items were handled.)

Cause Barnes to realize the dissatisfaction which would result if any of his desires were blocked—negative aspect of the want—namely, his boy might not get a college education, or his wife might have to sacrifice to put him through college, or he might have to work his way through and thereby lose some of the real advantages of the college life (lines 46 to 83). Hint at the fact that people will not respect Barnes if he fails to send his boy to college, using story of Dr. Kellar and other stories if necessary (lines 84 to 96).

2. *What Will Make Dr. Barnes Clearly Understand the Present Obstacle to His Wants?*—Cause Barnes to consider just what effect his death would have upon his plans. Make him realize that one father out of five does not live; that men he knew, who were in good health, have died with little or no warning (lines 84 to 96). (As in this sale, so in many others, the obstacle and the negative aspect of the want can be considered together.)

3. *What Will Convince Dr. Barnes That the Proposition Is an Adequate Solution?*—Get Barnes to estimate the cost of sending his boy to college; get him to state how much the boy will need each six months; show him how the insurance company can send a check for that amount just when it is needed (lines 88 to 113). Tell him of several instances where this has been done—preferably about men he has known. (In the interview given in Chap. III such instances are not given, because they were not needed. The salesman undoubtedly had such "ammunition" in reserve.)

Show Barnes that the plan will save his wife from all worry and personal sacrifice; that if he does not die, the money he has paid in is not lost; that he will get a lot of genuine satisfaction from knowing that his plans are now absolutely guaranteed (lines 114 to 157).

4. *What Will Convince Dr. Barnes That the Proposition Is the Best Solution?*—A salesman must always be prepared to meet competition—he must always be prepared to show how his proposition is

superior to that of other salesmen. But nothing is gained by presenting any of this "ammunition" unless the prospect demands comparisons with other salesman's propositions. In this sale Barnes started such a discussion (lines 158 to 160). But the salesman headed it off in one sentence (lines 161 to 162). Had Barnes pressed the matter, the salesman's answer would have been based upon knowledge of the details of his own and his competitor's policies.

5. *In What Sequence Shall the Above Items Be Presented?*—The best rule to follow is to present first the item that the prospect is judged to be most interested in. Here that item was judged to be "the boy—the boy going to college." The remaining items should ordinarily follow along in such sequence as to establish in the mind of the prospect, first the want, second the obstacle, and third the solution. But when a prospect believes his wants are already satisfied, the best sequence is to establish the obstacle first, the wants second, and solution third. (Note how Judson used this sequence in Appendix A.) How to start and close a sale is discussed in detail in Chaps. XVIII and XX.

**Objections.**—Most authorities stress preparation for handling objections. This is most important. But it is still more important to plan to convince the prospect that the salesman's proposition is an *adequate* solution and, if comparisons are forced, that it is the *best* solution.

Seldom is a battle, or sale, won by remaining on the defensive. The salesman, like the general, must take the offensive if he would win. And this means actively convincing the prospect that the solution is adequate, and is the best one. Planning for this will, of course, take into account objections that are likely to come up. But such planning as stressed here, will do more than answer objections after they are uttered, it will anticipate such objections and will answer them before they are thought of definitely.

Chapter XIX will be anticipated to the extent of stating that every salesman should know every objection that is likely to be made to his proposition and have at his tongue's end several answers to each. But it must be emphasized again that in order to sell he must go beyond merely answering objections—he must definitely convince his prospect that his solution will give him what he wants. A sale is not likely to be accomplished by discussing objectionable features.

**Advertising Yarn to Women.**—A few years ago a certain company emphasized "quality" in advertising its yarn. As the result of a consumers' research it was ascertained: first, that the great bulk of yarn was bought by women to knit sweaters; second, that women very

frequently underestimated the amount needed and that they often found it impossible to secure more of exactly the same color; and third, that women were far more interested in the beauty of the finished sweater than the quality aspects of yarn.

Here is expressed the want for sweaters, beautiful sweaters. The obstacles are lack of money to buy sweaters, inability to buy desirable sweaters, lack of yarn to use in knitting sweaters—all solved by the company's product. In addition is the further obstacle, inability to match already used yarn with new yarn, due to poorly standardized production. The solution is standardized yarn.

What should be presented in the advertising? First of all, sweaters and sweaters displayed in color. The advertising campaign, accordingly, stressed one sweater after another in color. And half of the copy consisted of detailed directions for making them up. Second, the yarns were shown in color and the reader was assured that the color was fast. Third in importance came the quality aspects of the yarn.

**Advertising Automobile Insurance.**—A mutual automobile insurance company was stressing its low rates. At the end of each year it refunded to its policyholders a considerable amount which represented a decided saving over many other policies. But a consumer research showed that cost was not the most important element. First of all, the buyer wanted to be saved the trouble of appearing in court, if he had an accident, and he wanted the affair settled without delay. Second, he wanted to be absolutely sure the company would save him this trouble; he wanted to be sure it would not go bankrupt just when he had an accident. And third, after he had secured these two, he was interested in getting the service as cheaply as possible.

Advertisements were accordingly prepared showing illustrations of accidents; headings emphasized "settled without delay—settled out of court," and the copy stressed this thought. In order to establish confidence in the company the entire list of directors was given in a column at one side of the advertisement, together with their business connections. And at the bottom of this column appeared a few figures as to the size of the company, financially speaking. The "30-per cent-refund" appeal was relegated in most advertisements to the latter part of the copy instead of appearing in the heading, as formerly.

Here, again, the change in strategy resulted in a very satisfactory increase in business.

# CHAPTER XIII

## APPEALS

An appeal may be defined as "the incentive used in advertising or selling in order to induce the individual to buy." When the individual buys he is possessed of a motive, a complex of one or more dynamic wants.

Appeals have been defined in several different ways according to the theory of selling which was upheld.

### THREE THEORIES OF SELLING[1]

There are, undoubtedly, many theories more or less active in the minds of sellers as to how to influence others to buy. But a perusal of the literature on the subject leads to the conclusion that there are only three general theories which are definitely formulated.

**Selling in Terms of Mental States.**—The first theory is usually expressed by the five words: "*attention*," "*interest*," "*desire*," "*action*," "*satisfaction.*" There is implied in this theory that the prospect must successively experience the *conscious states* of attention, interest, desire, action, and satisfaction. And the emphasis is put upon establishing these states of consciousness.

E. St. Elmo Lewis in 1898 formulated the slogan, "Attract attention, maintain interest, create desire." Later he added the fourth term "get action." These four terms represent four states of consciousness which must pass through the mind of the prospect before he will buy. In other words, if the prospect experiences attention, interest, desire, he will be more likely to act; and, consequently, an advertisement or sales talk must be planned to arouse these conscious states in him.

Sheldon[2] is apparently responsible for adding the fifth term, "secure satisfaction." In his writings of 1905 and 1910 the term does not occur. In his correspondence course of 1911 he lists "four states

[1] This topic is considered in more detail in the author's "Psychology of Selling and Advertising," Chap. XXII, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., and in "Theories of Selling," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1925, **9**, 75–86.

[2] SHELDON, A. F., "The Science of Business Building," 1905 and 1910; "Salesmanship," 1911; "The Art of Selling." The Sheldon School, Chicago, 1911.

that occur in the mind of the customer in every sale," and then adds, "while these four mental states are sufficient for a sale, two more must be added for the purpose of business-building, namely, confidence and satisfaction." In his "Art of Selling," published the same year, he lists the four with satisfaction added as "the successive steps in the process of a selling transaction."

This slogan of Lewis and Sheldon has had a very profound effect upon the selling world. At the time it appeared, there was no clear and definite formulation of what was implied in selling. Books on selling and advertising were hardly more than a jumbled collection of opinions on a great variety of topics. The formula caused some order to come out of chaos.

Writers have felt free to revise the formula. Thus, many writers have emphasized that an intellectual rather than an emotional state of mind is the key to action and have substituted for "desire" such words as convictions, confidence, or judgment. Other writers have omitted the term "satisfaction." It is not so surprising that in the years immediately following Sheldon's addition of the word "satisfaction," the word should have been omitted, because at that time the objective of selling was still viewed by nearly all as merely to secure a sale. But as the years have rolled by, more and more sellers have come to see that the objective of selling is not a single sale but a customer. The word "satisfaction" should, consequently, be included in any formula in order to emphasize this new objective. On the other hand, all writers using this formula have listed attention and interest as the first and second items in it.

The slogan is possibly carried to its fullest extent in "The Selling Process" by Hawkins,[1] at the time he wrote it, sales manager of General Motors. He recognized three stages of attention: (1) compulsory attention, (2) curiosity to some degree, and (3) intentional or spontaneous attention; and three stages of interest: (1) attentive interest, (2) associating interest, and (3) personal interest. He insists that the prospect must be taken through all these six stages before he reaches the state of desire. Regardless of whether this is true or false, the writer is certain that no salesman ever can identify these six stages as they are experienced by a prospect; and no salesman ever does or can say to himself, "Now he is in stage three of attention; I must get him into stage one of interest." Although Hawkins' book is based on this formula, the writer is convinced from studying it, especially Chap. IX, that Hawkins' point of view belongs under the third theory, where wants are emphasized, not states of mind. But

[1] HAWKINS, N., "The Selling Process," Salesmanship, Inc., 1918.

he has clearly attempted to fit his views into this formula of attention, interest, desire, action, satisfaction.

Books on advertising written between 1920 and 1925 devoted only a few pages to this, the first, theory; outlining, instead, what to do and how to do it. This is even more true of such books written in the last few years. The theory is still upheld, however, in many sales manuals and nearly all authorities in both advertising and selling still stress getting attention as the first step.

**Selling in Terms of Appeal and Response.**—The second theory comes to the selling world from behavioristic psychology. All behavior, according to this view, can be expressed by the formula: "*situation-response.*" The word "situation" comprises factors external to the individual and also factors within him. Thus, the remark, "Let's have a smoke," would be an external factor and the presence or absence of a desire to smoke would be an internal factor leading to the response of smoking or not.

The expression "*appeals-response*" has appeared frequently in the advertising world as a substitute for "situation-response." When either of these formulas is employed, undue emphasis always seems to be laid upon the external factors; and the emphasis has accordingly been put upon determining which appeals will stimulate.

Hollingworth[1] gave his book the subtitle, "Principles of Appeal and Response," indicative of his behavioristic point of view. Chapters I, XIII, XIV, and XV discussed the various appeals that will produce a buying response. Much space was devoted to the question as to which appeals are the strongest. The remainder of the book considered four tasks of the advertiser or seller, namely: catching the attention; holding the attention; fixing the impression; and provoking the response. The theory is, apparently, that if the proper appeal is presented and the prospect gives it his attention, the desired response will result, especially if the process is skillfully handled.

Hollingworth made clear to the discerning reader that the strength of an appeal is dependent upon the prospect's own instinctive and habitual ways of acting. In other words, appeals are good or poor depending upon the internal factors affecting the individual at the time. But the ordinary reader was not apt to get this point.

Parts II, III, and IV of Starch's book[2] were concerned with a study of the prospect, the appeals that can be made to him, and the presen-

[1] HOLLINGWORTH, H. L., "Advertising and Selling," D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1913.

[2] STARCH, D., "Principles of Advertising," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1923.

tation of those appeals. His whole work stressed the necessity of determining what appeals will be most effective in selling a particular commodity to a particular class of prospects.

So long as emphasis is put upon appeals—external factors presented by the salesman—just so long there remains the problem of making the prospect pay attention and become interested. This is true because the emphasis remains upon causing the prospect to become interested in what the salesman has to say instead of upon the seller's adapting himself to the prospect and presenting to the buyer what he desires (review Chap. II in this connection). It is most natural, then, that both Hollingworth and Starch should continue to emphasize the getting of attention and interest.

**Selling in Terms of Want and Solution.**—The third theory views man as a dynamic being. Whether man buys or not depends very largely upon the internal factors within him, summed up in the word "*wants.*" Unless he wants he will remain unaware of, or at least uninterested in, what the seller has to present.

Psychologists may not experience any difficulty in keeping both external and internal factors in mind when they use the expression "situation-response." But the layman without a broad grasp of the subject must apparently overlook one or the other; he cannot keep both before him. As he himself is naturally interested in what he is presenting, namely appeals to the prospect, it seems best to emphasize the internal factors in any formulation that is given to him as a guide in his thinking.

The words: "*want,*" "*solution,*" "*action,*" "*satisfaction,*" express this third theory of selling. The emphasis is put upon the wants of the prospect, and the seller's function is to guide the thinking of the prospect to the desired end of satisfying the wants through buying the seller's goods.

One of the early outstanding books on advertising was that by Tipper, Hollingworth, Hotchkiss, and Parsons.[1] In the section devoted to a discussion of the theory of selling appeared these five main heads:

1. Fundamental needs of man.
2. The commodity.
3. The establishment of association between commodity and need—the creation of mental habits of such a sort that the feeling of the need at once suggests to the mind of the individual the commodity in question.

[1] TIPPER, H., H. L. HOLLINGWORTH, G. B. HOTCHKISS, and F. A. PARSONS, "Advertising, Its Principles and Practices," Chap. IV, New York, Ronald Press Company, 1915.

4. The making of the association dynamic.
5. The securing of vividness of impression.

The emphasis here is upon what the prospect wants or needs, and the aim of advertising is to associate this need with the seller's goods. The starting point is what is in the mind of the prospect, not appeals to be put into that mind. This sounds a new note in selling literature, but for some reason little attention was given it.

Charters[1] pictures the prospect as having a need to be satisfied, or a problem to be solved. He defines the art of retail selling as the art of helping the customer to define his need and to select the articles which will satisfy that need. The five steps of purchasing, according to Charters, are:

1. The customer tries to get a clear idea of what he wants.
2. He looks at many articles which might possibly satisfy him.
3. He studies these in the light of his standards.
4. He selects the one which seems to meet them best.
5. He sizes up his purchase and experiences a feeling of satisfaction or of dissatisfaction.

Here a picture of selling is given where the prospect is very active because he has a want to be satisfied and the salesman's job is to aid the prospect in his endeavors to solve his problem. The emphasis is quite different from that expressed in the other two theories of selling.

This third theory, as set forth in Chaps. II to IV, was formally advanced in the writer's "Psychology of Selling and Advertising" published in 1925.

Recent books on selling and advertising recognize the role of consumer wants. In Herrold's[2] text (1923) are to be found passages supporting all three of the theories discussed here. No one can read his work, however, without appreciating his emphasis upon the buyer's wants. Copeland[3] (1924) devotes two chapters to listing consumers' buying motives. Tosdal[4] (1925) expresses the same view as the writer. Kleppner[5] (1925) recognizes three different advertising problems according to the attitude of the consumer toward the proposition.

[1] CHARTERS, W. W., "How to Sell at Retail," Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922.

[2] HERROLD, L. D. "Advertising for the Retailer," D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1923.

[3] COPELAND, M. T., "Principles of Merchandising," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1924.

[4] TOSDAL, H. R., "Principles of Personal Selling," pp. 75, 84–85, 122, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1925.

[5] KLEPPNER, O., "Advertising Procedure," New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1925.

The first is present when the consumer has a need not appreciated before or, appreciating the need, has never satisfied it by way of the product. The second problem is present when the consumer knows two competing brands and must be shown which is the better. The third problem exists when the consumer is well acquainted with the merits of various brands and must be continually reminded of the advertiser's own product. Poffenberger (1925) recognized human wants as an essential element in advertising, stating, "To have for sale a commodity that will satisfy a real human need, and to show in advertising that it will do so, and to show that it will do so better than any other commodity is to furnish the essential requirement for effective association."[1] But much of his text is devoted to measurements of appeals and to getting attention, typical of theories two and one, respectively. In the revised edition of 1932, he gives a formula consisting of need, desire, various appeals, reaction, satisfaction.[2] The title of the book by Cherington[3] (1935) most distinctly emphasizes the same view, *i.e.*, "People's Wants and How to Satisfy Them."

Doob[4] has more recently outlined the psychological problems of advertising and propaganda in different terminology from that used by the writer. It appears, however, that his point of view is essentially the same as above. The writer dislikes one expression used by Doob, namely, "make people perceive" the advertisement, as though "hitting" them hard enough is all that is required. People will see the advertisements they want to and ignore the rest. Consequently, the same principles are involved in leading them to see the advertisement that are involved in leading them to want to use the advertised product.

**Similarities of the Three Theories.**—The three theories have a good deal in common; they differ primarily in the place of emphasis. Lucas and Benson present Fig. 33 in order to stress the similarity between the first and third theories. The former includes attention and interest, which are omitted in the third. These states of mind must, of course, be present in any sale, but that does not mean that any kind of attention is favorable to buying. Since relevant attention and interest are always present when a want is aroused there is no need

[1] POFFENBERGER, A. T., "Psychology in Advertising," p. 502, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1925.

[2] POFFENBERGER, *op. cit.* (rev. 1932) p. 36.

[3] CHERINGTON, P. T., "People's Wants and How to Satisfy Them," New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

[4] DOOB, L. W., "Propaganda," Chap. XII, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1935.

to worry about them at all—they are automatically and efficiently taken care of under the concept "want."[1] This is indicated in Fig. 33 by the dotted lines from want to attention and interest. On the other hand, when attention is stressed, as in the first theory, the advertiser and the salesman are very likely to concentrate on arousing this state for its own sake without necessarily securing any advantage

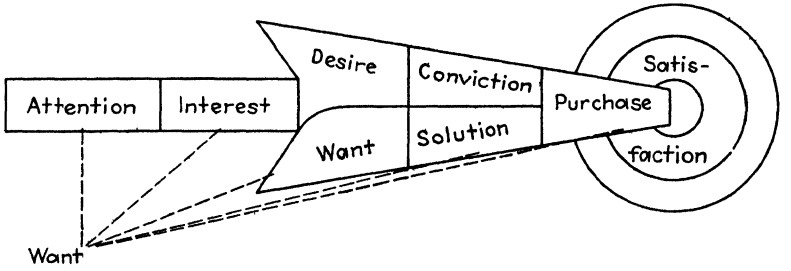



FIG. 33.—Synthesis of first and third theories of selling. (*After D. B. Lucas and C. E. Benson, "Psychology for Advertisers", p. 131. Harper & Bros., New York, 1930.*)

thereby. The mistaken emphasis is responsible for many a poor advertisement, (probably the explanation for the advertisements in Figs. 25 and 26, pages 61 and 62) and for many a poorly introduced sales presentation.

Figure 34 similarly points out the relationship between theories two and three. In the former, appeals are given to produce a desired

| Appeals | Response |
|---|---|
| 1. Incitements arousing wants of prospect | 1. Want ↓ |
| 2. Explanations and demonstrations that the commodity will adequately satisfy the wants | 2. Solution— *a.* Commodity *b.* Trade name ↓ |
| 3. Inducements to buy now | 3. Purchase ↓ |
| 4. Guarantees that the solution will be satisfactory for a reasonable length of time | 4. Satisfaction |

Fig. 34. Synthesis of second and third theories of selling.

response. In the latter, four different responses are indicated, each of which must take place and primarily in the order given. The second theory puts the emphasis upon appeals—they are the things which

[1] There is, of course, the problem of getting the message before the prospect, but this is purely a problem of manipulating objects in space, not of manipulating the mind of the prospect. Under the former comes the problem of which media to use, preferred space in media, etc., also getting past the secretary to the prospect, etc.

provide the motive power—while the third theory maintains that all motive power comes from within the prospect because of aroused want mechanisms. In the former the seller believes he must hit the buyer as hard as he can; in the latter the seller pulls a trigger and the gun goes off. The third theory emphasizes that the seller must understand the buyer's wants, else he will never pull the right trigger. The second theory tends to put emphasis upon abstract appeals, the third theory upon specific statements arousing definite wants and explaining a definite solution to those wants.

### FOUR FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY APPEALS

Appeals perform four different functions, as outlined in Fig. 34, namely:

1. To intensify the prospect's wants.
2. To demonstrate that the solution is adequate.
3. To facilitate action.
4. To guarantee that the solution will be satisfactory for a reasonable length of time.

The third and fourth functions are well recognized—the former under the heading of "closing the sale" and the latter in the typical guarantee of goods. But there is not even today general recognition of the first two functions. There has been, however, during the last 25 years recognition by many writers that there were two different kinds of advertising copy, but with varying explanations as to how these two differ from each other. The following quotations from this literature clearly indicate that these writers have had in mind two functions which approximated the first two functions listed above.

**Two Kinds of Advertising Copy.**—One of the early writers in this field was Hollingworth,[1] who stated in 1913:

> Obviously there are two cases to be considered here. First, the case in which the appeal is addressed to the life of feeling, impulse, and instinct—what we have called the *short-circuit appeal*—and, second, the case in which deliberation, comparison and argument are invited—the "reason why" appeal by means of the *long-circuit*. In the first case there is no conflict or rivalry stirred up in the reader's consciousness; there is simply the attempt to present the article in such a way as to provoke some firmly grounded act of appropriation, to stir up some strong impulse or keen desire and so to lead to favorable action. In the second type conflict is, on the contrary, even encouraged. Selling points, superiorities, advantages, etc., are advanced, and the claims of rival commodities deliberately challenged.

In the joint work of Hollingworth and three others, two years later, the terms *human-interest* and *reason-why* copy are employed. They wrote:

[1] HOLLINGWORTH, *op. cit.*, pp. 216–217.

Human-interest, or "Short-circuit copy" as psychologists call it, makes its chief appeal to the senses or emotions of the reader, with the object of arousing desire for the article advertised. Response to it is usually instinctive rather than reasoned, and consequently depends largely upon suggestion—very little upon deliberation.[1]

The type of copy called reason-why makes its main appeal to the reason, rather than to the senses or emotions. It lays its chief stress upon creating confidence, or convincing; and such desire as it arouses is largely intellectual. It corresponds to the forms of literary composition called exposition and argument; whereas human-interest copy corresponds more nearly to description and narration.[2]

Starch[3] distinguished between *suggestive* and *argumentative* copy. Copeland[4] differentiated between *emotional* and *rational* buying motives. He says,

Emotional buying motives include emulation, satisfaction of the appetite, pride of personal appearance, cleanliness, pleasure of recreation, securing home comfort, and analogous motives. These motives have their origin in human instincts and emotions and represent impulsive or unreasoning promptings to action. Purchases are stimulated through these motives, not by an appeal to reason, but by arousing the desires of consumers to satisfy their instincts and emotions.

Rational buying motives are those which are aroused by appeals to reason. This group includes such motives as dependability in use, durability, and economy in purchase. When these appeals are used, it is expected that consumers will make their purchases only after reflection and the use of their powers of reason. When influenced by a rational motive, a consumer carefully weighs the advantages and disadvantages of the purchase before acting.

Hotchkiss[5] in 1933 favors the terms short-circuit and long-circuit but he also uses human-interest and reason-why synonymously for them.

From the standpoint of this text there are two types of copy because there are two different functions to be performed in "selling" another person. The first function is to lead the prospect to *feel* the dissatisfaction of his present situation and to *feel* the satisfaction of reaching his goal; the second function is to lead the prospect to *understand* the means to employ by which he will reach the goal. The type of copy that performs the first function is a short-circuit appeal,

[1] TIPPER, H., H. L. HOLLINGWORTH, G. B. HOTCHKISS, and F. A. PARSONS, "Advertising, Its Principles and Practices," p. 204, New York, Ronald Press Company, 1915.

[2] TIPPER, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[3] STARCH, D., "Principles of Advertising," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1923.

[4] COPELAND, M. T., "Principles of Merchandising," pp. 162–163, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1924.

[5] HOTCHKISS, G. B., "An Outline of Advertising," p. 161, The MacMillan Company, 1933.

is suggestive and emotional and has human interest. The only trouble with these latter terms is that they are too indefinite. If, for example, you are instructed to write short-circuit, suggestive, emotional, human-interest copy about asbestos shingles, what would you do? But if you are asked to make the prospect realize his wants as related to these shingles, your mind is naturally directed toward making him aware of his worn-out wooden shingles, of the likelihood of rain's coming through and ruining the plaster and wall paper in the hallway, of the relief from escaping all such troubles when his roof is repaired. In the second case, instead of writing long-circuit, argumentative, rational, reason-why copy, you will describe just how asbestos shingles can be laid over the old wooden shingles with a minimum of trouble, etc. Here again you have a definite objective of making the prospect understand the means to his end and convincing him that it is adequate.

Goode[1] has very forcefully emphasized the distinction between the two types of copy. Reason-why copy tells how good the article is, or how well it is made. Sell-the-effect copy plays up the enjoyment to be secured by using the product. Instead of talking about pianos, the seller pictures home life and music and pleasant evenings; instead of talking about clothing, the seller discusses personal appearance and attractiveness. Goode points out that more recently there has been a trend toward selling-the-effect-of-the-effect. Here you sell the health, success, pleasure from good sleep resulting from use of a Simmons bed; you sell the prosperity that comes to a well-shaven man who has enjoyed a good shave with Blank razor blades.

## FINDING THE APPEALS

There are four well-recognized methods of finding the appeals to be used in selling a commodity, *i.e.:* (1) analysis of article itself; (2) use of a standard list of appeals; (3) indirect analysis of consumers, *i.e.*, use of what sellers think are the appeals which influence consumers; and (4) direct analysis of consumers.

**Appeals Obtained from an Analysis of the Commodity.**—Such analysis is essential, of course. One cannot sell without knowing what it is one is selling. And one cannot cope with competition without knowing what competitors have to sell.

**Appeals Obtained from Standard Lists.**—Many authorities have endeavored to short cut the labors of analyzing the product and the consumer by presenting a standard list of appeals. The theory back

[1] GOODE, K. M., "How to Turn People into Gold," Harper & Brothers, 1929.

of such a list is that all the seller needs to do is to go through the list and select those appeals which apply to his particular case.

Watson[1] wrote in 1913:

> Back of every mental decision a man or a woman makes lies a motive, lies one of these five particular motives:
>
> *a.* Gain of money.
> *b.* Gain of satisfaction.
> *c.* Satisfaction of pride.
> *d.* Satisfaction of caution.
> *e.* Yielding to weakness.
>
> After you have correctly picked the strongest motive to arouse, ways of arousing it come naturally. And often the very best part of a canvass will be quickly worked out the instant you hit on the right motive.

This very simple list has been quoted extensively.

Tipper, Hollingworth, Hotchkiss, and Parsons[2] give a list of "the chief instincts operative in connection with business transactions." Other psychologists, writing on this subject, have often given similar lists. In recent years many others[3] have come to see the fundamental relationship of man's instincts, or fundamental wants, to selling. Herrold,[4] for example, points out that "the characteristics more or less common to all people to which appeals in advertisements may be directed are: (1) the instincts; (2) the senses; and (3) the interests." Twenty-four appeals are given by him. As an aid to the seller in using these appeals, he lists the verbs and adjectives which can be appropriately used in connection with them.

Herrold illustrates the use of such a standard list of appeals in the case of the product Filmette, assumed to be a kind of dress goods. From among his total list he finds thirteen appeals that are appropriate. The first five are reproduced:

> Comfort: cool, comfortable. A dress of this material will make you feel cool and comfortable on hot summer afternoons. Will give you the satisfaction of knowing that you are well-dressed wherever you may happen to be.
>
> Curiosity: Surprising fabric of silk and cotton, unusually firm yet sheer.
>
> Imitation: Heartily endorsed by Paris. Authoritative material for the South and California. Favorite for Palm Beach.
>
> Play: At a lake or summer resort it will give you the satisfaction of being comfortable and charmingly gowned.

[1] WATSON, H., "Knack of Selling," Book I, p. 5, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1913.

[2] TIPPER, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

[3] For example, see COPELAND, *op. cit.*, Chaps. VI and VII.

[4] HERROLD, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

Ornamentation: Lovely novelty material in charming bright colors. Can be made into very becoming dresses. Can also be made into blouses and dainty, bewitching accessories; such as, negligees, boudoir caps, etc.

It is obvious that Herrold has done far more than merely select from his complete list of appeals those that apply to Filmette. In fact, he has used the list primarily to call appeals to mind. Each such appeal has then recalled many details based on his knowledge of the product and of his customers.

**Appeals Obtained from Indirect Analysis of Consumers.**—Very valuable information can be obtained from manufacturers concerning appropriate appeals for their goods, from manufacturers' salesmen, from dealers, and from dealers' retail buyers and salesmen.

**Appeals Obtained from Direct Analysis of Consumers.**—The man who desires to obtain appeals for a given commodity can obtain them by personally using the commodity and noting his own reactions. He can also obtain them by talking with bona fide customers and with his personal friends, who often will pass on to him information that is hardly ever obtained in the office. The more formal procedure with the used of questionnaires is discussed at length in Chap. XXIII.

This whole problem of finding appeals is an important aspect of Consumer Research, already discussed in Chap. XI.

### SELECTING THE BEST APPEALS

A variety of methods are employed in determining the relative strength of appeals.

**Determination of the Relative Strength of Appeals by "Hunches."** The advertising manager of a company spending a large amount of money annually in advertising was asked in 1919 regarding the use of certain farm papers. One paragraph of his answering letter illustrates the fact that "intuition" is used to determine the solution of many advertising problems.

Owing to the fact that we do not key our advertising in any way, it is practically impossible for us to determine, except in a very general way, whether a farm paper is producing satisfactory results. Therefore, we have to depend to a considerable extent on "intuition." That may not be considered a very scientific method of determining the value of an advertising medium, but it seems the only feasible method under our present merchandising and advertising policy.

In a similar way the president of a company often accepts or rejects the layout of his advertising agency because it does or does not appeal to him, or to his wife, or to some friend. And sometimes the experts have nothing more to go on than similar information. Many execu-

tives fail to appreciate that they are not necessarily good judges of the effectiveness of appeals in connection with their own goods. They are not typical prospects and their minds cannot react as do those of prospective buyers. This is particularly true in connection with the problem of how much copy to run. Many executives are high-strung men who find it very difficult to read for many minutes on any serious subject. They do not realize that those who know little or nothing about their product will read a good deal of copy when they are interested.

**Determination of the Strength of Appeals by the Number of Times They Are Quoted by Customers, Salesmen, and Dealers in an Investigation.**—As typical of the results obtained by questioning people as to why they bought a certain article, consider these two results published years ago by Scott.[1]

In one case the motives were

1. Reliability of the goods or the firm.
2. The goods supply a present need.
3. Money consideration, *e.g.*, cheapness, investment, chance to win.
4. Labor-saving, convenient, or useful.
5. Healthful.
6. Stylish.
7. An attractive and frequently repeated advertisement.

In another case the reasons given for advertisements' proving interesting were, in order of their frequency:

1. Reliability (607 replies).
2. Financial considerations (508 replies).
3. Construction of the advertisement (418 replies).
4. Present need of the reader (408 replies).

Data from questionnaires and investigations often appear in this form and frequently are relied upon implicitly. Many times such results are very valuable but at other times it is questionable if they are complete explanations of the situation. For example, take Scott's second list of reasons for buying. Surely "reliability" does not explain why a person bought the article at all, though it may explain why it was bought from Company A instead of Company B. "Construction of the advertisement" can hardly be a motive for buying, though it might be the reason the advertisement was read. Yet 418 persons explained their purchase in terms of it.

[1] SCOTT, W. D., "Psychology of Advertising," pp. 122, 155, Boston, Small, Maynard and Co., 1912.

**Determination of the Strength of Appeals in General Regardless of the Particular Article for Sale.**—Hollingworth,[1] Adams,[2] and Starch[3] have held that it is possible to measure the strength of appeals in general without regard to any specific commodity, and that when such a sequence has been determined it can be used as a guide in selecting appeals for any selling campaign.

Hollingworth's procedure was this. Each appeal was typed on a separate slip of paper. Men and women were then requested to "read all the advertisements and arrange them in five consecutive piles, in an order of merit—according to their persuasiveness, *i.e.*, according to the degree in which they make you *desire* the article or *convince* you of its merit."[4] A final rank order was obtained by averaging all the ranks assigned to each advertisement. He used such appeals as the following:

$1K_6$—*Scientific.*—Our $1K_6$ article is manufactured by approved scientific methods and scientifically tested processes, by technically trained men, working under the constant supervision of experts.

$2U_3$—*Personality.*—Everyone desires to be attractive to the opposite sex. $2U_3$ will give you distinctive presence and engaging personality which is irresistible in its appeal.

Hollingworth found the first one of these two the strongest of his fifty appeals and the second one the weakest of all.

He explains the use of his list of fifty appeals, as follows:

Taking the table as it stands, the various instincts and interests there represented stand in their order of strength in so far as they may serve as the basis of appeal in business transactions, regardless of the commodity concerned. But it is obvious that not all of these appeals can be used in the case of any single commodity. Thus "Appetizing Qualities" cannot apply to the sale of diamonds or shoes, nor could "Durability" be applied to the merchandising of food products. The table, nevertheless, affords an approximate statement of the relative strength of available appeals for any given commodity. It is only necessary to begin at the top of the list and select the first appeal which could be applied to the description of the commodity in question. This will then constitute the strongest appeal which can be made in the interest of the commodity. The next in the list which would apply appropriately would be the next strongest, etc.

Adams, writing somewhat later, explains that:

These appeals can be applied only to those commodities for which there is a felt need on the part of the reader. The average man does not care whether a

[1] HOLLINGWORTH, *op. cit.*, Chaps. XIII–XIV. Also in TIPPER, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

[2] ADAMS, H. F., "Advertising and Its Mental Laws," Chap. IX, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916.

[3] STARCH, *op. cit.*, Chap. XII.

[4] HOLLINGWORTH, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

wireless telephone will transmit messages for 1 mile or 1,000 miles, for the wireless telephone is not one of his present needs [written in 1916!]. Therefore, an appeal to its durability, its scientific manufacture, its quality, would be a waste of time. Such information gives the reader an interesting bit of scientific gossip, but would not sell the article before a need was felt for it. The arousing of consciousness of the need for a given commodity is a very different psychological process, in which the selfish or the social motives must be appealed to.

It is interesting to note that, although Starch presents a table, he makes no use of it; his entire interest is directed to investigations in terms of measuring the strength of appeals in the case of each particular commodity.

One serious criticism of such a table, and a criticism that applies to all methods for determining motives, is that certain appeals are often rated too low. This is true of those cases where people are interested but have inhibitions, or a sense of shame or privacy, regarding them, as, for example, with respect to toilet tissue, deoderants, etc. This is true also of certain other emotion-arousing appeals. Everyone is aware of the fact that admiration, beauty, and personality are powerful motives in everyday life. But when they are thought of intellectually they are devoid of the emotional aspect which actuates behavior and so they are rated low. Appeals such as imported, royalty, style, and nobby influence nearly everyone, but to admit it is distasteful. They also are rated too low in all statements of the case. The writer doubts the possibility of getting a fair rating of such appeals except when they are presented so that the individual actually comes to *feel* them, not think about the feeling; and has in addition an opportunity to explain his rating in terms of some rational appeal that is complimentary to him. For example, if an advertisement contains an appeal expressive of desire for social approval and at the same time another appeal such as economy or health, the advertisement may be rated high because of the former appeal. The individual is free to rate it as he feels because he can easily cover up his feeling by explaining his action in terms of the economy or health appeal.

**Determination of the Strength of Appeals of the Particular Article for Sale.**—Using the order of merit method Strong, Hollingworth, Adams, Starch, Franken, and Poffenberger early published the rank orders of appeals as they pertained to specific products such as vacuum cleaners, pianos, breakfast foods, soap, etc. In general these rank orders agree fairly well with those obtained when no specific commodity was mentioned, but the disagreements between the two methods warrant consideration. This procedure, however, is subject to the criticisms mentioned in the preceding section.

**Determination of the Strength of Appeals by Amount of Sales, by Inquiries, and by Preliminary Tryouts.**—These methods are considered at length in Chap. XXII.

**Influence of the Three Theories of Selling upon the Problem of "Which Is the Best Appeal."**—Those authorities who have enthusiastically espoused the slogan of *attention, interest, desire, action, satisfaction,* have seldom given space to the problem of what to say. This is well exemplified in the writings of Kitson[1] and Hawkins,[2] who do not even have a subheading devoted to the subject or list the term "appeal" in their index. This is quite natural since their emphasis is upon establishing certain states of mind in the prospect. Hall[3] and Ramsay[4] are typical of other authorities who subscribe to this point of view but give little space to the formula in their works. They give instruction as to what to do in connection with many advertising problems, but they give very little attention to the methods of finding and selecting the proper appeals.

On the other hand, those authorities who have expressed their theory of selling in terms of *appeals-response* have devoted a great deal of attention to what to say, and how to determine not only what are the various appeals but which ones are best. In many cases these authorities have given the impression that there are definite motives, such as ambition, taste, cleanliness, efficiency, and the like; that these motives have varying strengths as regards moving people to action; and that part of the science of advertising lies in evaluating these motives and then utilizing the information.

Charters,[5] writing wholeheartedly from the point of view of the third theory of selling, makes no attempt to evaluate appeals and gives only a few pages directly to the subject. He devotes most of his space to the problem of how to size up customers in order to discover what they want. Charters introduces his second chapter, on The Sizing-up Process, with these words:

> Salespeople size up customers for the purpose of discovering facts which will assist them in giving efficient service.
>
> It is stated in the first chapter that the salesman's chief usefulness lies in his ability to help the customer make the proper decision concerning the goods that

[1] KITSON, H. D., "The Mind of the Buyer," New York, The Macmillan Company, 1921.

[2] HAWKINS, *op. cit.*

[3] HALL, S. R., "The Advertising Handbook," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1921.

[4] RAMSAY, R. E., "Effective Direct Advertising," New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1921.

[5] CHARTERS, *op. cit.*

are to be bought. This would be a very easy matter if the customer were always able to state exactly what he wanted, and had at the same time enough knowledge about the merchandise to make up his mind as soon as he saw it. But it is not so simple a task as this because, as we have seen, he is often not quite sure of what he wants, nor does he himself have all the information that he needs. So a very important part of the salesperson's work is the discovery of all the facts that will help him to assist the customer.

The writer believes that, as this third view comes to be understood and utilized, there will be less attention given to abstract appeals and more emphasis upon presenting typical concrete experiences which arouse the prospect's desires, coupled with suggestions as to how the seller's goods will satisfy those desires.

**Best Appeal in Advertising Is the One That Influences the Largest Number of Prospective Buyers.**—After interviewing several hundred women regarding the purchase, for example, of electric refrigerators, one realizes that they can be divided into types—one group has recently bought an electric refrigerator, another group is entirely satisfied with the use of ice, a third group hasn't the money for such a purchase, and a fourth group has no genuine need for refrigeration; all these are definitely out of the market. The remainder can be similarly grouped according as they have no refrigeration facilities, use ice, or possess an unsatisfactory electric refrigerator; each of these three groups can be subgrouped according to whether they can buy without depriving themselves of any essential or must sacrifice other wants. The six subgroups who are in the market can be further subdivided according to the uses that the women have for refrigeration; and so on. Eventually there results from such a consumer research several fairly large but at the same time quite specific groups of prospective customers. These groups may now be arranged in order of merit according to the total number of sales that may be expected to result from an aggressive sales campaign.

If in such an analysis there results a single group whose sales potentialities are large, the advertising campaign may be aimed directly at those women, all others being largely ignored; but if there result several groups all of about the same size as far as sales potentialities are concerned, the advertising campaign must be directed at each group in turn. In other words, the best advertising appeals will be such as apply to specific women who are representative of enough women to warrant the advertising expense. Such advertisements should be based upon the sales strategy outlined in Chap. XII, designed to fit an individual woman with certain very definite wants.

The salesman has the advantage over the advertiser in that he can adapt his presentation to the needs of each prospect in turn. Many

salesmen throw away this advantage when they attempt to use only one sales presentation upon all prospects; for here they can win only when they happen to meet a prospect whose needs fit those discussed. Many advertisers, obsessed by the idea that each advertisement must reach 100 per cent of the readers, load their advertisements with appeals that fit many different types of prospects. The result is that their advertisements contain something for everyone but not enough to influence particularly anyone. The advertiser, like the salesman, must design a complete sales presentation for a particular individual; but the advertiser, unlike the salesman, must restrict his appeals to only those individuals who are representative of enough people so that their combined purchases will pay for the advertising.

**Best Appeal Pertains to a Specific Use.**—One of the greatest defects in the procedure to obtain a standard list of appeals for a commodity is that every commodity is used for a variety of purposes. As far as consumers are concerned each different use is distinct. Consequently, an appeal to buy a certain commodity may be appropriate in the case of one use but not of another.

## SUMMARY

According to the third view of selling, appeals should not be abstract reasons, but explanations of how the prospect may satisfy his wants. Appeals should involve four steps: first, those bringing the prospect's wants to mind so that he feels them; second, explanations and demonstrations that the seller's commodity will adequately satisfy those wants; third, inducements to buy now; and fourth, guarantees that the solution will be satisfactory for a reasonable length of time.

## CHAPTER XIV

## MOTIVATION

What to present in influencing another is one thing; how to present it is quite another matter. The general outline of what to present has been considered under the heading of Sales Strategy. The more detailed outline of what to say is included under the heading of Sales Presentation, which includes three subheads, namely:

1. What to say in order to make the prospect feel his wants.
2. What to say in order to make the prospect understand the obstacle to his wants.
3. What to say in order to convince the prospect that the proposed solution will satisfy his wants.

The first of these three subheads will be considered in this chapter, and the second and third subheads in Chap. XV. Certain phases of all three subheads will be further considered in Chap. XVI with special reference to propaganda.

The writer knows from his experience in training salesmen that some can analyze a sales problem and prepare a fine outline of the sales strategy, but fail miserably when they attempt to write out what they would actually say to a prospect in carrying out their sales presentation. This is particularly true as regards what they will say in order to make the prospect feel his wants. There are two good reasons for this latter inability; first, although the seller may often have aroused a friend to want to do something, he has never given the process any particular thought, so that when he deliberately endeavors to do so he does not know how to begin. Second, the seller does not realize that there are two different objectives in trying to influence another and, correspondingly, two different ways of expressing oneself to accomplish these objectives. Nearly all the training in school in writing and speaking has been directed toward presenting a proposition clearly and logically and very little emphasis has been put upon arousing a person's feelings and emotions in order to make him do something. It is this latter performance we are concerned with in this chapter.

### THREE DEGREES OF MOTIVATION

The writer can make you, the reader, think of various things without even mentioning them. Thus $6 \times 7$ makes you think 42;

the year 1492 makes you think of Columbus discovering America. Here we have a simple case of suggesting certain ideas by mentioning other ideas which are associated with them in your mind.

In the second, more complicated, form of suggestion, or motivation, the prospect is led to perform some action when certain ideas are expressed. Thus, if when your companion is at all thirsty you say, "Let's get a drink," he is very apt to do so. Again when a really good husband sees a car card on which is displayed a spray of red roses with the question "How long since you sent her some?" and the name of the florist, he is apt to make the proper reaction. His wish to please his wife is aroused and an appropriate way of doing so is called to mind. Here a dormant want is stimulated and directed into action. It is as though a mine had been prepared with a fuse attached and the "seller" merely has to apply the match.

The following sales appeal is typical of this kind of suggestion.

There's a breakdown in the shop—permanent or emergency repairs must be made at once.

A rush call for holes—time and money will be saved by drilling right on the spot.

A Van Dorn Portable Electric Drill will do the work and make it unnecessary to take the job to a stationary drill.

No plant is too small to find a Van Dorn Electric Drill a profitable investment for the repair and maintainance department.

For over twenty years, in thousands of plants, Van Dorn Electric Tools have been more than paying their way. Will you cash in on this experience? A Van Dorn man will show you how—send for him.

The want to drill holes in an emergency and the solution, a Van Dorn drill, are emphasized. When the next emergency of this sort occurs Van Dorn drills are apt to be thought of.

But conditions are not always so simple and easy. As the writer's wife said, "Only the really ideal husband who read the car card described above went straight off and ordered flowers for his wife. Most men are tougher stuff and need more stirring up." This stirring-up process is necessary in order, first, to arouse a dormant want and, second, to stimulate it so that it will in turn arouse other wants with which it is normally associated. Thus, in thinking about giving flowers to one's wife, one may be reminded of how a neighbor was praised at one's expense for doing a similar thing for his wife and may wish to get even with him, etc. It is this third degree of motivation with which we are primarily concerned in this chapter.

**Motivation Develops Sentiments.**—The Grinnell Company advertisement (Fig. 35) arouses the emotions of fear, curiosity, and parental

love. And because these emotions are aroused, the reader feels a want to do something and tends to endorse the use of automatic




## *All that was humanly possible*

AFTER the fire in the Ninth Ward school was anybody tarred and feathered? After the heroism of teachers and firemen—after the impressive funeral of the little victims who perished—after the debris ceased to smoke and other visible reminders of the tragedy were gone—after the official investigation and the report—what reforms were recommended?

Did the report exonerate officials and attempt to clear the city of the disgrace?

Did it say, "Fire escapes and everything that was humanly possible had been done to safeguard the school against fire"?

If so, the fathers and mothers of the victims would like to cry out in protest and reproach, "Everything was NOT done that was humanly possible." The simplest, sanest, surest thing of all was not done.

If the fire had started in a business building owned by a private individual instead of a public building owned by a lot of taxpayers, it would have been put out quickly by automatic sprinklers. Mere merchandise gets the protection of the finest fire-fighting device ever devised because the insurance expense is thereby cut from one-half to nine-tenths. But human beings in schools and hospitals must trust to their own cool-headedness under panic conditions or to the lucky chance of some heroic rescue.

When human life and not mere merchandise is at stake, nothing else should be considered but this system—the highest type of fire-fighting device ever devised—the Grinnell Automatic Sprinkler System. It is automatic! The heat of the fire works it. It is always on guard. Always ready. No human aid is required. When the fire starts the water starts!

Read—"*Fire Tragedies and Their Remedy*"

Write today for "*Fire Tragedies and Their Remedy*" and learn from the records the necessity for protection that protects. Pass this book along to your friends, and have it read aloud in your lodge, your Rotary or Kiwanis Club, your Chamber of Commerce, your school and hospital boards. Address Grinnell Company, Inc., 274 West Exchange Street, Providence, R. I.

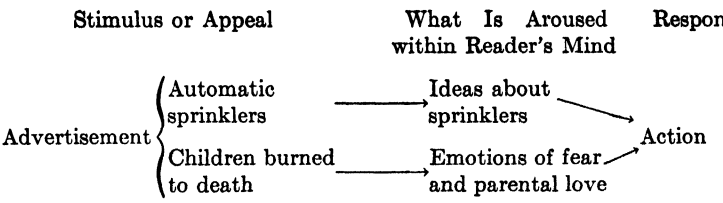
**GRINNELL COMPANY**

Automatic Sprinkler Systems | Steam & Hot Water Heating Equipment | Humidifying and Drying Equipment | Fittings, Hangers and Valves | Pipe Bending, Welding, etc. | Power and Process Piping

*When the fire starts, the water starts*

FIG. 35.—Good use of motivation.

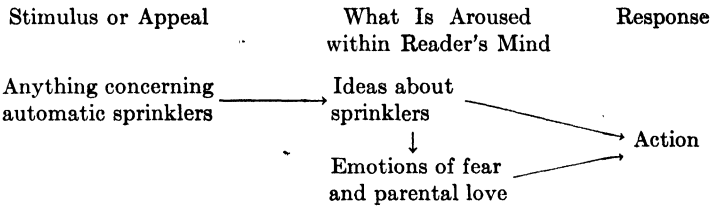
sprinklers because that action is suggested. The appeal may be shown diagrammatically as follows:




The aroused emotions tend to cause *some* action, the idea of sprinklers tends to make the action *specific.*

But the next day in the case of the average man these emotions will have died down and the thought of sprinklers will not tend to cause action, because of the lack of any drive. So far, an illustration of the weakness of motivation has been given, namely, if the proposed action does not take place at once it is not likely to occur later on.

But if the reader sees advertisement after advertisement along the same line, possibly reads the booklet mailed out by the Grinnell people, hears of a fire put out with sprinklers, etc., after a time the *idea of sprinklers tends of itself to arouse emotions.* Diagrammatically we have·




When the association between "ideas about sprinklers" and "emotions of fear and parental love" has been formed, then a sentiment has been established, and whenever sprinklers are thought of the associated emotions will be more or less aroused.

To repeat, a person may be led to act immediately through motivation. But action through motivation after a lapse of time requires the intermediary step of sentiment.

### INTENSIFYING THE WANT INVOLVES TWO ASPECTS

A man acts only when the existing situation in which he finds himself appears to be less favorable than some other situation he has in mind. Thus, on a hot day a loafer will move from time to time to get out of the hot sun into the shade, or on a cold day he will move from the shade into the sun. If the present situation is uncomfortable enough, he will move away from it whether or not he has in mind a better place to go. If he has in mind no better place, he will wander

around until he finds such a place; if he has in mind a better place, then he will go directly to it.

Intensifying the want of a prospect involves, first, making him realize how unpleasant his present situation is, and, second, making him anticipate as much as possible the enjoyment he will have when he reaches the desired goal. Lazy as our loafer is, we can make him move by talking about how hot it is in the sun until he feels considerably worse than before (negative aspect of the want), or we can talk about the cool shade in another part of the park and the drinking fountain with nice cold water (positive aspect of the want). If neither of these alone will move him, the contrast between the two of them will surely do the trick.

In all such cases there is a good deal of inertia to be overcome. Thus, the loafer will continue lying in the sun for an appreciable time after he realizes he is uncomfortable. Consequently, the objective must be to make the difference between the prospect's present uncomfortable feelings and his imaginings of how nice it will be in the other place sufficiently great to overcome his normal tendency to inaction.

Lucas and Benson[1] report no difference in number of inquiries received from positive and negative appeals, based upon 233 advertisements of both types. They suggest that "positive appeals were advantageous for certain goods while negative appeals worked better for others." They add, "It seems likely that the way each appeal was used affected the results more than the type to which it belonged." On the basis of recall tests, they "assume that positive appeals impress children more efficiently than do negative appeals," whereas the two types impress adults about equally. From their analysis of advertisements from 1912 to 1927 it appears there is an increase in the use of negative appeals in advertising, particularly from 1922 to 1927. These results cannot be gainsaid at present but the writer is far from convinced that negative appeals are as effective as positive in everyday behavior. Certainly they are not so useful when it comes to orienting a person for worth-while purposes in life.

**Stressing the Unpleasantness of the Present Situation.**—The usual reactions to pain, fear, disgust, and dread of disapproval are to get away, to cringe, to spit out and turn away, to feel uncomfortable. These are not very useful reactions upon which to build desired responses. As a general rule, then, the unpleasant alone is best avoided in influencing others. Usually a better way can be found by appealing to the pleasant alone or by appealing to both so as to make

[1] LUCAS, D. B., and C. E. BENSON, "Psychology for Advertisers," Chap. VII, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1930.

the difference between the present situation and the desired goal seem greater.

There are, however, some occasions where use of the unpleasant is desirable. Obedience is developed to some extent through fear. Similarly, caution and prudence appear because one has suffered and is afraid of doing so again.

Enforcement of pure-food laws and sanitary regulations are sometimes carried out through arousal of fear and disgust. So, a restaurant proprietor may clean up when he thinks his patrons may hear how dirty his kitchen is. If that is his only reason for cleanliness, he will do only what he thinks is necessary, and will tend to relapse as soon as the scare wears off.

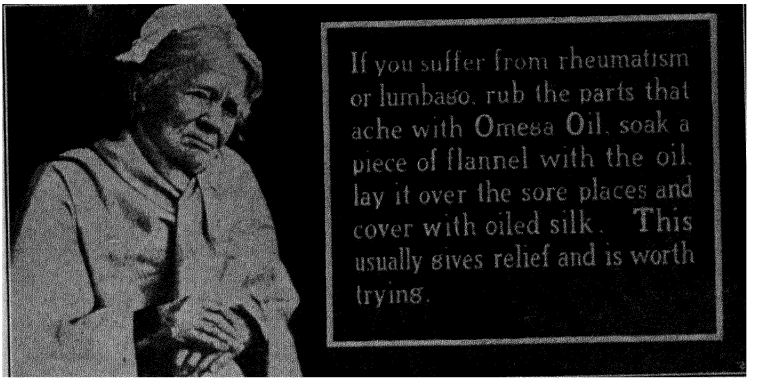



FIG. 36.—Good use of the unpleasant—depicting an unpleasant situation some readers are in and outlining a way of escape.

Several principles can be stated regarding the use of the unpleasant in influencing another. First, there is nothing to be gained by harrowing a person all up about his misfortunes unless a way of escape is shown him, for without the latter there is no way of knowing where he will go and what he will do.

Second, if the unpleasant is used, it should be for the single purpose of making the prospect realize his present situation. This is the purpose of so many unpleasant patent medicine advertisements. They make the reader realize, or imagine, his ailments and then present a way of escape through use of the medicine. Those who do not have the symptoms feel repugnance, just as would be expected. But it matters relatively little in this case because they would not buy anyway. An old car card of Omega Oil (Fig. 36) is a good illustration. It would have been better if the artist had depicted dawning relief on the woman's face coupled with, "Oh! How good that feels!"

The advertisement in Fig. 35 (page 224) quite properly arouses horror and anguish. The Grinnell Company in attempting to sell the installation of automatic sprinklers in public buildings is confronted with the problem of making the public realize the need for such equipment. Realization of this kind comes usually too late, so in order to arouse it *before* the tragedy, motivation must be employed.

The picture in the advertisement arouses fear and curiosity. The copy set into the cut immediately arouses the parental instinct—concern for the children of these people, also sympathy for them. The heading, "All that was humanly possible," and the copy emphasize that the usual excuse for such a fire is not adequate—that there is a means of avoiding terrible catastrophes like that.

As picture and copy are studied, the reader thinks of his own children, of the school buildings they attend, and of their inadequate protection against fire. Thus the emotion aroused in connection with someone else is intensified.

The advertisement closes with very direct suggestions as to what one can do to protect his children. He can secure more information from the booklet, he can pass the booklet on to others, he can interest the club to which he belongs in the matter. He is made to realize that he, a solitary citizen, can arouse public opinion and accomplish results. City officials, furthermore, are aroused to an appreciation of what they can do, and are made more susceptible to suggestions on the subject because the excuses they can give if a tragedy occurs have been undermined.

Another example of arousing the negative aspect of the want is found in an American Laundry Machinery Company advertisement. The cut shows a woman seated by a table upon which is a large kerosene lamp and in her lap is a basket full of things to be mended. Her expression depicts thought, coupled with dejection. The copy follows:

"I know Helen is slipping away from me," she said, "we seem almost to live in different worlds. I know she disapproves of my furniture, and that my wall paper grieves her soul. Even in the kitchen she pities her poor, old-fashioned mother who cannot tell a vitamin from a calorie.

"I'm not up to the welfare work she's so interested in and when they're discussing county politics around the dinner table I don't know enough to venture an opinion. And the last shreds of my influence vanished when I had to admit one day that I could not even name our Congressman. My influence!—she'd as soon take advice from Rajah, the cat.

"I suppose it's mostly my fault. Maybe I am getting out of date. But all day I'm busy with housework, and evenings I'm tired. I'd like to catch up—but I never seem able to find the time.

"I guess she's what you call the 'New Woman' and I'm sure I'm what she'd call an 'Old Woman'—though I'm not so old in years. I don't care for the books

she reads or the plays she goes to. Even the phonograph only seems to show how far apart we are—I'm fond of 'Carry Me Back to Old Virginny' and 'Old Black Joe' and she plays them to humor me; but when she really wants to enjoy herself she puts on something with French words, written by a Russian composer and sung by an Italian tenor. I'm even afraid to refer to them for fear I'll mispronounce their names. And then if I . . . "

At this point the copy is covered up by what appears to be a slip of paper resting on the main part of the advertisement. The "slip" is entitled, "Hours for Sale—and you can have them." The copy that follows is:

How often have you seen women who lost themselves in the routine of housework until they were complete strangers to the thoughts of those about them? The world has passed them by; their families have grown up only to grow away.

They need time—time to remain the companion of the husband and the "pal" of the children. And time is exactly what the laundry offers. It does more than the mere washing of clothes—it brings new hours, new days, new leisure in which really to live.

The laundry is not only a time-saver—it saves fatigue and worry, too. And more than 2,000,000 women testify to its reliability and the high quality of its work. To every home is offered a service suited to its needs and its income; for every woman wash-day hours can be largely or entirely eliminated. And these hours saved from housekeeping can be more wisely invested in home-making.

The laundry has "Hours for Sale"—and you can have them.

At the right of this copy and still appearing to be on the "slip of paper" are set forth the six types of service rendered by a laundry.

Here the copy makes any woman whose children are slipping away from her realize the situation most acutely. Once this is done, the advertisement goes on to point a way of escape. The effectiveness of the first part lies in its portrayal of simple, familiar events common to the life of an overworked mother. Each one tends to bring up sad memories of similar events in the reader's own experience. Naturally the reader, especially if she is a mother, is gripped because these memories are surcharged with emotion.

Third, if the unpleasant must be stressed, it is well to connect it up with parental love whenever possible. A characteristic of parental love is that when danger or apprehension of harm is experienced it is faced, not run from, in order to protect the offspring. All female animals will fight desperately for their young. Human fathers and mothers naturally do the same. And the reaction can be extended into sympathy for anything weak. Focus unpleasantness, then, upon a defenseless person and arouse the reader to protect him. Such an appeal is used in charitable organizations, relief work, and the like. The effect is closely related to what is called righteous indignation

So, the harmful element is attacked because of sympathy for the harmed. The Pyrene advertisement in Fig. 37 is an excellent illustration (see also Fig. 35).

In a collection letter that brought results in all but 12 out of 260 cases this principle has been very clearly used. The writer makes the reader indignant at himself and sympathetically interested in helping the writer. The letter reads as follows:

FRANKLY SPEAKING, what would *you* do?

If you and your organization were trying to make the best artificial pearls you knew how to make?

If you and your organization were trying to give your customers the best possible prices based on a minimum mark-up, only sufficient to justify paying decent livable salaries?

If you and your organization were trying to serve your customers' wants, keeping *their* interests ever uppermost?

If you had paid cash for the raw materials used in making your pearls, months and months ago, LAST YEAR?

If you had paid cash for gold clasps, gift cases, salaries of factory and office men and women, railroad fares, hotel expenses, etc., LAST YEAR?

*And then, on April* 4, you looked at your last year's ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE and found so many names you *thought* were your FRIENDS, that it was necessary to multigraph this letter—

WHO (*including* YOU) *still owe for* 1921 *merchandise.*

TELL ME, please, what *would* you do?

H. D. HENSHEL.

Self-addressed stamped envelope enclosed for *check.*
AMOUNT OVERDUE on 1921 account.....
Registered mail.[1]

Fourth, wherever possible the unpleasant should be presented by playing up the ideal and letting the reader himself make the contrast between the ideal and his own situation. Kitchen cabinets, linoleum, iceboxes, and the like are depicted in beautiful kitchens with all modern improvements, although relatively few ideal kitchens exist. Many advertisers have tried to depict their products in average kitchens, spending considerable money to get actual photographs. Their testimony is that the realistic does not sell like the ideal. When the ideal kitchen is shown, the woman sees what she wants and the difference between it and what she has is considerable. She feels dissatisfaction, but the unpleasantness is focused upon her own kitchen outfit and can hardly be associated with the advertised product. In Fig. 7 (page 41) both the ideal and the unpleasant are portrayed.

The same principle applies to personal selling. Stories of other men's successes are nearly always more effective than describing to a

[1] Letter sent out by the Henshel Company, see *Printers' Ink*, May, 4, 1922, 56.

man the poor points in his present equipment. He enjoys the former, it starts him striving for something better; he does not like the latter procedure, it makes him feel his failures and he does not like the salesman who tells him of them.

Fifth, care should be taken that the unpleasant will be definitely associated with the prospect's present situation and not with the product itself. Because of the law of fusion (see page 142) the unpleasant is easily associated with any or all elements in an advertisement. Some time ago the back cover of *The Saturday Evening Post* was decorated with a beautiful apple cut in two showing worms crawling around inside. The advertiser used it to illustrate how beautiful teeth could be rotten inside. It is doubtful if the advertisement had any other effect than to cut down the sale of apples. Another advertiser of dental powder displayed, years ago, a Negro minstrel and his endorsement of the powder. To this day tooth powder recalls that dirty-looking Negro to the writer's mind and he cannot imagine himself using it.




FIG. 37.—Good use of fear in connection with parental love.

**Stressing the Anticipated Enjoyment of the Goal.**—In most cases stressing the anticipated enjoyment to be secured when the goal is reached is more effective than making the prospect feel how uncomfortable his present situation is. In the old days it was quite customary for a life insurance agent to lead the prospect to think of his death and funeral and then of all the awful things that could happen to

his destitute family. This "backing of the hearse up to the door" procedure seldom sold policies over $2,000, nor were those that were sold continued in force for very long. Today, the able salesman leads the prospect to outline all the good things he has daydreamed for his family and himself and then to lay out a plan by which as much of all this as his finances permit can be accomplished. Very large insurance policies result, because there is almost no limit to one's plans for the future.

A tire chain is used to prevent skidding, accident, injury. Seemingly, the normal motive for its use is fear. The writer is not in a position to know the relative merits of appeals stressing fear in this connection and such appeals as appear in Fig. 7 (page 41); but he himself would distinctly favor the latter and other appeals stressing protection of loved ones through the use of tire chains. Probably all will agree that they never heard anyone speak delightedly and enthusiastically of their tire chains, although people talk in this way about other automobile accessories. A man may have been forced to use tire chains, but he does not like them and does not put them on except when he has to. Such an antagonistic attitude is naturally connected with what he is forced to do through fear and otherwise would not do. He feels toward tire chains as he does toward castor oil.

The significance of stressing the enjoyment to be secured by attaining one's goal is well brought out in the following extracts from *Studio Light*, published by the Eastman Kodak Company.

Ask the question, "What do you sell?" of a hundred photographers and ninety-nine of them will answer "Photographs."

This is the answer given by the hundredth man:

"I sell sentiment," he stated. "I sell an idea, a hope, a vision, a comfort; I sell beauty, longing, love and friendship; I sell tenderness and sympathy and human relations." . . .

"So I do not sell pictures. Of course, pictures are what I deliver, and money what I take in exchange for them, but my effort is not to sell the *thing*, but that for which the thing stands, that which comes from the possession of it . . .

"Mothers can be sold things for their children that they won't buy for themselves. 'Keep your babies always with you, even while they grow up' is a far more potent sales argument for baby pictures than mere pride in baby's pulchritude. Selling a mother a group of herself and her children to send to Grandma and Grandpa for the old home is forty times easier than selling her a photograph of a group to have around the house.

" 'Keep her with you in the graduation dress—keep him with you in his cadet uniform' is a more powerful appeal to a father than advertising 'good photographs of your girl and boy, so and so many dollars per dozen.' Father isn't interested in *photographs*. He is interested in his young hopeful. Sell the sentiment, not the thing; it's easier and far more profitable."

The advertisement of this firm in the July 6, 1933, *Saturday Evening Post* is in harmony with the above. A photograph is shown of a father, with two children and a dog, fishing in a lake. The heading is entitled "Just suppose I hadn't snapped this—" and the copy reads

Snapshots are such intimate, personal possessions. Bits of family history. Fragments of the lives most important to you. That's why they grow in preciousness as time goes on . . . Don't take chances with these pictures that mean so much—your camera is better when loaded with Kodak Verichrome Film. Your snaps turn out clear and lifelike. Always use Verichrome and be sure. Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, N. Y. The snapshots you'll want Tomorrow you must take Today.

## HOW TO PRESENT THE APPEALS

The first step in selecting the proper appeals to make is to determine specifically just what the prospect is to do—what action is desired. The next step is to determine what ideas and feelings the prospect must have before he will act as desired (see Chap. XII).

There is no formula that can be applied here. The seller must know the kind of wants and attitudes people have and how they function, in order to conceive the proper combination necessary to bring about the desired action. Both Hitler and Mussolini had many years of experience in a great variety of activities dealing with common people before they became dictators. They clearly understand the thinking and feeling of their subjects, even though they do not seem to comprehend very well the mental processes of other nationalities.

Undoubtedly one of the best ways to discover what appeals to use is to put yourself in the place of the prospect and figure out what would make you yourself act as desired.

After determining what to do, the next step is to determine how it is to be done. Several principles may be mentioned in this connection.

**Appeal to Well-established Wants or Attitudes.**—Doob[1] cautions the reader to appeal to dominant attitudes, *i.e.*, those attitudes which are influencing the individual; also to appeal preferably to central attitudes instead of segmental ones. Central attitudes are those which are playing an important role in everyday life while segmental attitudes are influential in only some portion of general behavior. Communists continually emphasize the idea of oppression by the upper classes, realizing that an attitude of hatred toward the wealthy can be made dominant and central in the lives of the very poor, and that such an attitude will motivate most of the activities desired by

[1] Doob, L. W., "Propaganda," New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1935.

communists. Appeals to segmental attitudes can, however, be made very successfully when the action desired is not a particularly important one. In advertising, the prospect is solicited to buy something which he could get along without. So appealing to the fact "it will not break" is a sufficiently satisfactory motive for buying a Stanley vacuum bottle instead of some other make (see Fig. 19 page 54).

The wants listed in Chaps. V and VI, will be found to be dominant and central in most cases. There are, however, some important additions to those listed there. Many people are so intensely motivated by their religious and political convictions that these are for them very dominant attitudes and more or less central. Because they are seldom useful in selling, it has long been axiomatic not to permit discussion of these topics during a sales interview. They play an important role in propaganda concerning many social and political questions.

The theory of influencing people presented here can be expressed in terms of "emotional conditioning," such as the writer used many years ago.

> Theoretically any emotional element can be associated with any specific line of action. Practically, certain combinations are difficult to accomplish, but theoretically they are possible. Thus, the correspondence school arouses the boy's love for his mother and challenges him to make her proud of him, and "funnels" the aroused emotional desire into taking a correspondence course. The same appeal could be utilized to get young men to go to church, to quit gambling, to work harder for their employer, to enlist when war is declared, to do anything the boy could be made to believe his mother would approve of.[1]

It is well to recognize that "certain combinations are difficult to accomplish," and some are too difficult to be of any practical use. Thus, the writer would not want to undertake the motivation of boys to gamble or drink on the basis of their love for their mother. It is important to emphasize, as Doob[2] has, that the wants or attitudes employed in motivation must be related in the minds of the prospects with the desired action. Mere contiguity, *i.e.*, putting two things together in space or time, does not insure that they will be associated together by another. They must belong together, must be related, before they will be integrated into a functional whole.

**Employ Familiar Incidents, Not Abstract Terms.**—An analysis of the copy that intensifies one's wants shows that simple, familiar incidents are dramatically told. These incidents recall to the reader's

[1] STRONG, E. K., JR., "Control of Propaganda as a Psychological Problem," *Scientific Monthly*, 1922, **14**, 238–239.

[2] DOOB, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

mind similar experiences of his own. Such memories effectively arouse emotion because they were originally so associated. Consequently, the more nearly the incident told coincides with a past experience of the prospect, the more useful it is in this connection.

Unfamiliar, abstract words have little place here; common, concrete expressions should be used, for the average man is concrete-minded. He thinks in terms of one experience after another. He is little interested in general principles underlying many experiences. When you feel your love for mother, father, wife, or child your mind flits from one little incident to another concerning them. It was the dirty fingerprints on the bathroom door that made a mother break down, following the funeral of the little son, and made the father realize they couldn't stay in that house any longer.

Abstract words have their use and can be employed in selling when the prospect is easily influenced. Instead of going into detail as to just how raisins, for example, are conducive to health, the seller may simply state that they are healthful. Because the buyer has had satisfactory experiences with eatables that are healthful, the raisins are made more "wantable" as he thinks of them as healthful. So a customer pays $5 more for one chair than another because the salesman says it is of better quality; or an employer hires a young man when a friend attaches to him the terms, "honest," "courteous," and "hardworking."

Abstract words, such as, useful, stylish, convenient, reliable, durable, exclusive, comfortable, and the like, represent a short cut in thinking. So when the salesman says, "This chair is durable and very comfortable," we comprehend what he means and that's about all. If, however, the salesman demonstrates the features that constitute durability and makes us sit down and feel the comfortableness of the chair, we comprehend in a very much fuller sense the advantages of the chair.

Consequently, when there is real competition or when the person is hard to influence, abstract terms should be forgotten and the concrete pictures for which the abstract terms stand utilized. All understand the concrete and familiar, though they may not the abstract and certainly not the unfamiliar.

**Arouse General Submissiveness.**—It is a well-established fact that submissive people are most responsive to suggestion. Consequently, if prospects can be made submissive they will respond to motivation so much the more readily. Doob and Robinson tell us that

> . . . submissiveness seems to be largely a product of the awe that clings to objects and people with prestige. . . . A flag, a quotation from the Bible, an authority,

a sentimental reference to the glorious past—these are some of the typical values which help propaganda.[1]

The "awe" in this connection can be most simply explained. It is merely the resultant of past experience, of learning. School children are taught to reverence the flag at school and the Bible at church and in the home. Consequently, they continue the attitude. Servants take orders from their masters all day long and so they are submissive to them. Women admire the actresses on the screen and so what Hollywood says about face powder is very potent.

We are all particularly submissive to those we recognize as leaders and to the groups to which we belong. Accordingly, it is of particular value that the motivation shall appear to come from those whom the prospect has learned to respect and to follow. If it is desired to elect a certain man for office, "build him up" by publicity to appear to possess those virtues that people admire. Present such motivation as appears to come from a leader in a spirit of frankness, openness, and confidence. This is the attitude of the leader. Unless it is apparent, the person who is being influenced, does not tend to take the submissive attitude. Also, unless a spirit of frankness is shown, the person being influenced tends to become suspicious and to guard his actions.

People are submissive not only to leaders but also to the crowd as a whole. Many who speak their minds most freely when with a few friends, never dare to speak out in a gathering and silently agree to whatever action is taken. Consequently if the impression is given that many are following the proposed course of action, most prospects submissively follow along. In a number of lines of business it is extremely difficult to launch a new venture, but once it is started, everyone wants to join. Book canvassers frequently sell a few copies at greatly reduced prices to the clergymen and doctors of the towns to get their names on the subscription list (prestige from leaders). Once they are gained, it is very much easier to interest others and when a considerable number have been secured (prestige from group), the remainder of the population is still easier to influence.

*Direct versus Indirect Appeals.*—There are distinct limitations to this procedure of arousing general submissiveness in order to facilitate specific appeals. When improperly done—when the motivation comes from a leader or a group to whom the individual owes no allegiance—the result is apt to be the reverse of what is desired; the prospect resents the implication and fights back. An elderly salesman can very frequently assume a fatherly attitude, as is said, toward younger men.

[1] Doob, L. W., and E. S. Robinson, "Psychology and Propaganda," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1935, **179**, 89.

When he does so he tells them directly what to do just as though he was talking to his own son. And the young prospect, if it is properly done, likes the older man's attitude. But the elderly salesman cannot employ such tactics toward men of his own age nor toward young men who occupy a more important position in business or society.

A printed letter from *The _____ Monthly* began as follows:

My dear Sir:

Have you made the very wisest possible arrangement for that most precious of all possessions—your leisure hours?

The rush of life today has reached such a pitch that if one doesn't definitely plan to extract the greatest benefit, pleasure, and relaxation from them one wakes up at the end of another year, just so much the loser.

Because we believe that you agree with us that intelligent discussion provides a great deal of the true zest of life, we should be particularly happy to have you follow *The __ __ Monthly* for the coming year.

Here is an attempt at motivation. But several college professors, who received the letter were antagonized by the first sentence. Apparently they did not feel that *The _____ Monthly* should question the use of their time. The desired effect might have been obtained by a more indirect appeal such as, "Have you ever stopped to think that the most precious of all your possessions is your leisure time?"

The one place where direct appeal can be made with confidence is where the appeal is made for a charity and it is apparent that those requesting funds are acting unselfishly and from the highest motives. One such half-page advertisement appeared in the *New York Times* for the American Relief Committee for sufferers in Austria. The illustration was that of a healthy, happy baby. The copy was introduced by, "Your Baby Smiles," and read as follows:

Happy, well-fed, and comfortable—an American baby.

In Austria, no baby smiles. They are starving—babies and little children—cold, miserable, dying.

"When a baby is put on a diet of cabbage as soon as it is weaned, it generally dies," says Mrs. Jerome Stoneborough—just from Vienna.

A second heading in the middle of the advertisement, "Will America save these little Ones?" introduces the remaining copy:

All true Americans will give now to help these Austrian children.

Every cent goes to the aid of the destitute—none of it for expenses, etc.

In one such charitable campaign two circulars were employed, one listing the prominent citizens who sponsored the matter and the other telling of the need and asking for funds. Very satisfactory results were obtained, except from one group of a thousand of whom not a

single person replied. Upon inquiry it was discovered that in this case the clerk who sent out the letters failed to enclose the first circular. Here the direct appeal failed because it was not made perfectly clear that the person who signed it was a disinterested party, and merely acting in behalf of a group of prominent men and women.

In influencing others it is important to recognize the relationship that will be taken instinctively by the buyer to the seller. If the buyer will naturally look up to the seller, direct appeals are in order; if he views the seller as equal or inferior, direct appeals will, in all probability, arouse antagonism.

In the eagerness to render service, which is a very worthy ideal, many overlook the fact that when service is openly offered it always implies superiority of the seller over the buyer. Only when the buyer is instinctively submissive to the seller, or recognizes that the seller is an expert and so knows more along his particular line, should the seller use the phrase, "Let me help you."

**Restrict the Appeal to Only What Is Necessary.**—The more that is said about a proposition, the more likely it is that the prospect will disagree with some detail. As soon as he objects to one detail he tends to query other details. Consequently, the best motivation is the simplest, the one involving the fewest details. Remember that when a man is absolutely sure of something he doesn't give reasons at all; he merely states the fact. When many proofs are given it nearly always means that the speaker is himself somewhat doubtful or is sure the prospect is. Consequently, too much proof is usually a sign of weakness.

The most objectionable kind of unnecessary details are those which cause the prospect to compare the proposal with competing ones. To suggest two lines of action is to cause hesitation, doubt. The success of motivation lies in causing only one line of action to come to mind.

**Point Out the Action to Be Taken.**—In what is called "concealed propaganda" the action is not disclosed until after many appeals have been made (see Chap. XVI for discussion). In all other forms of influencing, the solution to the motivation must be pointed out, else there can be no guarantee that that action will be followed. Thus, appeal to a boy's love for his mother would be very unlikely to lead to his taking a correspondence course unless that particular action was suggested. The complete appeal involves always two elements—the motivation and the solution.

The solution should be outlined as clearly as possible and it should be presented so that it can be most easily carried out immediately. The slogan "Eventually, why not now?" is weak in comparison with,

"Don't envy a good complexion, buy Pompeian and have one," for the latter clearly states what to do.

Expect the action to follow. A leader expects a follower to come along. He does not beg or entreat. He strides ahead and the crowd follows.

In addition, supply the prospect with a definite "reason" for his action. "He kept us out of war" was a wonderful slogan supplying an excellent reason for voting for Wilson in 1916. Such "reasons" should be stated so that they can be repeated without the need of transforming the language.

**Use Humor Guardedly.**—In one advertising agency only the president can authorize the use of a humorous appeal. This rule is in force because it is realized that to handle humor successfully is extremely difficult, and that humor when not used successfully is very likely to do positive harm.

The chief cause for this is that the ridiculous can attach itself to any element that is present. The prospect, consequently, can very easily come to laugh at the commodity, the salesman, or some selling argument as well as at the comical element itself.

There is undoubtedly much greater opportunity to use humor in selling then in advertising. A prospect can often be amused for a few minutes by one or more well-told jokes and then very successfully led to a consideration of the proposition. When his attention has been lost, a good story is very useful in bringing him back. Here the comic drops out of mind very soon and so does not distract the prospect from what is said later on. But in advertising, the eye flits about the page and the humorous item is constantly before the reader even when he is considering the more serious part of the copy.

Possibly the most valuable use of humor is in connection with appeals to undermine a competitor. Thus, in the case of toilet soap the aim of several advertisers has been to establish a pleasant sentiment, as in the case of Palmolive soap. A few years ago the advertising of Ivory soap, which has usually emphasized the uses of the soap, was clearly aimed to undermine such sentiments through the use of ridicule. The main part of these advertisements was devoted to positive statements about Ivory soap, but on the side of the page appeared two or three small cuts of a humorous sort and copy in small type explaining them. The main copy in one such advertisement follows:

Yes—Soap *can* help you to have a good complexion!

Can soap help toward the achievement of that desire of all women—a beautiful complexion?

Yes.

By cleansing gently and safely, for cleanliness is a prerequisite of skin beauty.

For many years we have made more soap than any other soap manufacturer in the country. We believe we are well acquainted with all the ingredients which go to make soap. We have never yet found any material—medicine, coloring matter, perfume, essence or distillations—which would add a single iota of beautifying power to a toilet soap as pure and gentle as Ivory for the complexion.

If any soap can legitimately be called a "beauty soap," then Ivory is a beauty soap of the very finest type.

But, much as you may like and respect Ivory soap, you would scarcely expect it to do more than cleanse thoroughly, gently, and safely, and intelligent women are fast learning that thorough, safe cleansing is after all the only safe and sure road to wholesome skin beauty.

And the humorous copy in small type under one of the three cuts reads:

"Will you answer me this, Miss Tippit," says Julia, paragon of maids, "what does Mr. Jollyco mean when he talks about comic 'opera soap?'"

"Ha, ha!" laughs Nurse Tippit, "look here!" And she holds up a cake of Sally Jollyco's "magic" beauty soap. "That's what he means, Miss Julia. I don't see how she stands such soap when there's Ivory in the house. I'd rather not wash, *I* would."

"Now, Miss Tippit," say we, "be charitable. Sally is *very* young, but she's not permanently incorrigible."

The theory here is correct. When a competitor succeeds in associating pleasant feeling with his commodity, it is difficult to destroy that sentiment through the use of intellectual appeals. The proper procedure is to destroy the sentiment by associating the competitor's goods with an unpleasant feeling and at the same time to build up a pleasant sentiment around one's own goods. About the only way this can be done is to cause the prospect to laugh at the competitor's goods. Fear, disgust, and the other unpleasant emotions can hardly be employed since their use would be deemed unethical today.

The comic strip is another technique recently developed for utilizing humor in advertising. Scrutiny of such advertising will convince anyone, however, that it is far easier to be stupid than humorous. Characters in strip advertising "should be either plainly facetious or sincerely, believably real." As in the "funnies" so in this form of advertising there must be "action, a brief story, told tersely." "There must be a beginning and an end. There must be suspense until the last square is reached. But above all—action." "There must be entertainment comparable to that found on the funny pages."[1] When well done, the comic-strip advertisement tells its message by

[1] HOWE, A. M., "Comic Strip Technique," *Printers' Ink*, 1935, **172**, 45.

combining in a new way perfectly familiar activities so that the reader either sympathizes with the hero or is amused at the stupidity of the "stooge" or both.

**Appeal to the Psychical Not the Physical Side of the Sex Instinct.**—When should a pretty girl be used in an advertisement? The pros and cons of this question have been discussed for years. The answer is: A pretty girl is an asset in an advertisement when she is so depicted that she makes a man think of his sweetheart, or wife, or mother, or sister, and particularly of doing something for them. But when the pretty girl only arouses a man's interest in her physical charms she distracts him from consideration of the commodity for sale.

Contrast the pretty woman in Fig. 8 (page 42) with the one in Fig. 22, (page 58). A comparison of advertising twenty years ago and today will show that there has been a decided drift from the use of the latter type of girl to that of the former; this is particularly noticeable in the advertising in women's magazines. But there are still far too many pretty girls that only distract.

## GOOD MOTIVATION WILL ALWAYS SELL COMPETITOR'S GOODS TO SOME EXTENT

After reading the Grinnell automatic sprinkler advertisement (Fig. 35, page 224), some parents will send their children to a different school, some will insist upon a fire drill, or the building of fire escapes, or the building of another school, or the installation of sprinklers from a competing company. But some will be induced to stir up public opinion for the installation of Grinnell automatic sprinklers. The maximum returns are obtained in proportion to the strength of the desire that is aroused and the extent to which the suggested solution is made to seem adequate.

Many an advertising campaign is made practically useless because the advertiser is unwilling that his competitors should profit from his advertising. Instead of running advertisements that will stir people up and cause them to do many things including buying from him, he contents himself with weak motivation which he hopes to control completely, or he refuses to advertise when he realizes how weak are the advertisements especially designed not to help competitors at all. An article signed by the editor of *Printers' Ink* has this to say on the subject:

> Most manufacturers are satisfied to know that advertising helps their business and that it is a profitable investment for them. Discontinuing a paying investment simply because someone else may get a little profit out of it also would be like cutting off the nose to spite the face. Of course, most broad-minded advertisers

would like to see their competitors advertise. They realize that the more advertising teamwork there is in the industry, the better it will be for everybody concerned. In many lines there is so much educational promotion to be done that the more hands joined in the work the quicker the job will be done. Markets expand more rapidly when several companies are developing them. That is why we find advertisers in several fields doing all they possibly can, both through persuasion and by example, to get their competitors to join them in developing the industry. We know of one line in particular where until recently it was necessary for the advertisers in it to devote 75 per cent of their advertising to broad consumer education, which helped all companies having a similar product to sell. Only 25 per cent of the efforts of these advertisers was left for the promotion of their own particular brands. But they were glad to back this unselfish program. The educational work had to be done, or the demand for the industry's product would have suffered grievously. Recently a better coöperative spirit took possession of the business and there are now dozens of advertisers in it instead of the five or six that stood the educational burden for years.

That is what usually happens. One or two indomitable advertisers do the pioneering work, and then after the trails are blazed the less daring souls join in. By that time, though, the pioneers are so far in the lead that their permanent leadership in the industry is assured.[1]

## DEVELOPMENT OF MORAL CONDUCT

The above principles apply not only to advertising and selling but to every form of influencing others.

A study of the great speeches of history which have caused action will show that their success is due to this principle of motivation. All religions are based on the arousing of certain emotions the energy of which is directed into specific channels. Christianity is frankly based on love, not on reason. In the Parable of the Good Samaritan, parental love is directed toward caring for anyone in sickness or distress as one naturally does for one's own child.

We are slowly coming to realize that direct moral instruction is not particularly effective—that conduct whether moral or immoral springs from the desires of the heart and not from ideas and reasoned judgment. The good, the beautiful, the true are appreciated as youth sees them exemplified in the lives of men and women whom he can admire. So he realizes that they are necessary means to his own goals.

[1] "When Manufacturers 'Horn in' on the Efforts of Their Advertising Competitor," *Printers' Ink*, Oct. 13, 1921.

## CHAPTER XV

## ESTABLISHING THE ADEQUACY OF THE SOLUTION

There is always some obstacle to the satisfaction of a man's wants—otherwise they never reach the stage of wants—and the solution is always a means of surmounting the obstacle. Consequently, in discovering an adequate solution one needs more or less simultaneously to identify the obstacle and to discover a means of overcoming it. How an individual accomplishes this in order to satisfy his wants is considered in Chap. VII.

In influencing another the seller presents a solution to the buyer and endeavors to convince the buyer that it will satisfy his wants. How such a solution may be established in the mind of the buyer as adequate is the chief consideration of this chapter.

In selling goods there are always two decisions for the buyer to make—which one of several competing commodities to purchase and which one of several brands or retailers to buy from. Thus, if a man is planning to build a terrace he must decide whether he will use brick, concrete, or tile, and having made this decision, he must further decide from which dealer to purchase. The seller must, accordingly, establish that his commodity is more adequate than other commodities and that his brand of that commodity is more adequate than those furnished by other dealers.

### WHAT IS AN ADEQUATE SOLUTION?

A solution is deemed adequate if it meets the pragmatic test that it works. Ordinarily when a solution satisfies one's wants, he ceases to look for a better solution, for by that time he is confronted with a new complex of wants crying for satisfaction.

In all learning one quickly substitutes what is believed to be a better solution for a poorer one. Consequently, the solution which is employed is nearly always believed to be the best one. Whether it is actually best or not is another matter. What is significant is that at the time the solution is employed it is so considered. "Best" pertains to that solution which best satisfies all the wants present at the time: it does not necessarily pertain, for example, to the quality of a commodity that is bought. Thus, a person may wish he could buy the

best quality but may buy a cheap grade because he needs the difference in cost to purchase a second article. The cheap goods is best as he sees it in terms of his wants.

When the buyer is conscious of his requirements in the future as well as of his present wants the solution is adequate only when it provides for these future needs as well as his immediate wants (see Chap. X). The more experience one has had, the more likely he will be to scrutinize the solution as to its value for future service. It is surprising, however, how often adults disregard future consequences and eagerly accept a solution as best when it satisfies them only temporarily.

To repeat, a solution is adequate: first, when it works; second, when it is believed to be the best available; and third, when it will be useful in the future as well as in the present. The third consideration, however, is not always taken into account. The saleman who is interested in rendering service and securing repeat orders should see to it that the buyer is reminded of this. The primary function of parents in bringing up their children and of all guides and counselors is to bring this third consideration to the attention of those they are influencing.

The use of scientific proof to establish which solution is best is foreign to the thinking of most people. This is a function which must be relegated in large degree to experts in their own respective fields. This is true because it is seldom that an inexperienced person can think through the necessary steps in establishing proof or to comprehend proof as such. The results of scientific investigation are passed on by experts to the public very largely by telling the public what is the thing to do. The public seldom asks for reasons, being willing to accept conclusions from those in whom it has faith. (The topic is considered further, see pages 249 to 255.)

## HOW THE SELLER MAY ESTABLISH THE ADEQUACY OF HIS PROPOSITION

There are four methods of convincing the prospect of the adequacy of the proposition.

**Demonstration.**—The very best way to establish in a prospect's mind that a commodity is adequate, that it will serve the purpose for which he wants it, is to demonstrate the matter. The writer remembers very distinctly how a friend of his who was selling high-grade steel furniture, answered his query as to whether the mahogony finish would stand hard usage. He simply handed the writer a piece of metal nicely enameled, and told him to bend it. The bending was done, but rather gingerly. The salesman asked to have it bent severa

times. Then he said, "That's no test." He took the metal from the writer, and banged it around with a wooden mallet for some time. Finally straightening it he asked, "Are there any flaws?" All the explanations about finishing methods in the world would never convince a man as did that demonstration.

In some cases a prospect is rightfully not satisfied with seeing the salesman demonstrate the article; the prospect senses that he might not be able to do as well himself, or that there are complicating circumstances in his home, farm, office, or shop which might interfere with the successful operation of the article. In such cases the salesman should see to it that the prospect uses the contrivance and so satisfies himself that it will work. There are a great many products that people would continue to use if they had ever done so once, but they are afraid to try the first time and so never buy at all. The sale of food products has been aided greatly by demonstrations in stores and by giving recipes for the preparation of materials. Too often such recipes, however, are of little value because those for whom they are prepared haven't the money to spend on elaborate and costly dishes.

**Explanation.**—In many cases a demonstration is not possible; this is true in advertising and in many situations in personal selling. Then the salesman must manage to create the same effect by describing his commodity and how it is to be used. Turn to the Bagley-Barnes interviews in Chap. III and the Appendix for examples of how a salesman describes and explains his proposition. Illustrations from advertisements are to be found in Figs. 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 16–19, 24 and 27, pages 36 to 63.

The most common fault of salesmen is to give too much, rather than too little, explanation. The objective is not to tell all one knows about the commodity but to explain to the prospect how his own particular wants are to be satisfied. This may involve discussion of only one use of the product but if this is the only use the prospect needs, that is enough. The time to talk about the other uses is after the contract is signed. There are two good reasons why too much explanation is bad. First, the more involved the proposition, the more likely the prospect is to become confused, lose confidence, and so refuse to buy. The other reason is the tendency to doubt the one who "doth protest too much."

**Recommendations.**—The testimony of satisfied users may well be used in place of personal demonstration. What his own friends say is of most weight to a prospect, then come the recommendations of experts—especially disinterested experts—then those of acquaintances, and finally of strangers. All this is illustrated in the selection of a

dentist. The experience of a man's wife counts far more than that of his physician. But if nothing is known about any dentist, the recommendation of a stranger will be followed in preference to the selection of an absolutely unknown man. (See Figs. 3, 7, 8, and 18 for examples of advertisements stressing recommendations.)

*Guarantees* and promises of "money back" are valuable substitutes for an actual demonstration, for they make it possible for the purchaser to try out the article and then decide, instead of having to make a decision without knowledge. Note how the guarantee in the advertisement in Fig. 5, page 38 strengthens the whole proposition.

By means of demonstrations and guarantees the buyer is able to satisfy himself that the solution will really work; by means of explanations and recommendations he is assured that the solution will work on the basis of imaginatively trying it out or of accepting another's experience. The salesman naturally assures the buyer that his solution is best. Whether the buyer believes this or not depends very largely upon his general reaction to the personality and statements of the seller. (Consider here how you, the reader, decide whether a physician is efficient or not.) All four of these methods of establishing the adequacy of the solution are helpful in determining whether the solution will be useful or not in the future.

In addition to the above four methods of establishing the adequacy of a commodity or service there are two other supplementary methods which do not actually establish adequacy but add very much to the total impression.

**Overcoming Caution.**—From experience man learns that wants are not always safe guides to action. As a result he develops habits of caution, of going slowly, of scrutinizing his proposed actions, of trying to figure out the consequences of the proposed solution to his wants. In other words, he comes more and more as he grows older to demand that the solution shall satisfy not only what he wants but what he needs.

It is this tendency to be cautious that is one of the causes of the resistance which every salesman experiences in trying to sell. It makes no difference what the proposition is, the mere fact that the salesman desires the prospect to do something, puts him immediately on the defensive.

Shopping round is in many respects simply and solely to overcome caution. Many times, of course, it is in order to see what is for sale. But frequently a person looks at competing propositions when he feels 99 per cent sure he will buy a certain one. He is fortifying himself so that later on if the purchase does not measure up to his expecta-

tions he can say, "Well I looked round pretty thoroughly and it was the best there was." Much of this shopping round is eliminated when confidence is established in the salesman, or in the trade-marked article. Because the quality of a fabric or other goods is difficult to determine, the customer does the best she can to convince herself that the quality is satisfactory and then accepts the statements of the salesman if she has confidence in him.

Confidence or belief arises out of satisfaction from past experiences. It also arises naturally when what is read or heard fits into, is in harmony with, what is present in the mind. If there is lack of harmony, then doubt or disbelief arises. Because of the necessity of harmony between new reasons and old-established ways of thinking, it is very important that reasons which are given in selling shall be familiar ones. Absolute facts which are unfamiliar are not so effective as analogies and all sorts of specious arguments which are familiar.

A fine illustration of how what does not harmonize with a man's own views causes doubt and disbelief was reported by Philip Gibbs in his story of why he came to disbelieve Dr. Cook's claim of discovering the North Pole.

In response to my request for his "story," Cook evaded a direct reply, until, later in the morning, the Danes and I pressed him to give us an hour in his salon.

It was in the salon, however, that he delivered himself, unwillingly, I thought, into our hands. As the two or three young Danes knew but little English, the interview became mainly a dialogue between Dr. Cook and myself. I had no suspicion of him, no faint shadow of a thought that all was not straightforward. Being vastly ignorant of Arctic exploration, I asked a number of simple questions to extract his narrative; and to save myself trouble and get good "copy," I asked very soon whether he would allow me to see his diary.

To my surprise, he replied with a strange, defensive look that he had no diary. His papers had been put on a yacht belonging to a man named Whitney, who would take them to New York.

"When will he get there?" I asked.

"Next year," said Dr. Cook.

"But surely," I said, still without suspicion, "you have brought your journal with you? The essential papers?"

"I have no papers," he said, and his mouth hardened.

"Perhaps I could see your astronomical observations?" I said, and was rather pleased with that suggestion.

"Haven't I told you that I have brought no papers?" he said.

He spoke with a sudden violence of anger which startled me. Then he said something which made suspicion leap into my brain.

"You believed Nansen," he said, "and Amundsen, and Sverdrup. They had only their story to tell. Why don't you believe me?"

I had believed him. But at that strange, excited protest and some uneasy, almost guilty look about the man, I thought, "Hullo! What's wrong? This man protests too much!"

From that moment I had grave doubts of him. I pressed him several times about his papers. Surely he was not coming to Europe, to claim the greatest prize of exploration, without a scrap of his notes, or any of his observations? He became more and more angry with me, until, for the sake of getting some narrative from him, I abandoned that interrogation, and asked him for his personal adventures, the manner of his journey, the weights of his sledges, the number of his dogs, and so on. As I scribbled down his answers, the story appeared to me more and more fantastic. And he contradicted himself several times, and hesitated over many of his answers, like a man building up a delicate case of self-defense. By intuition, rather than evidence, by some quick instinct of facial expression, by some sensibility to mental and moral dishonesty, I was convinced, absolutely, at the end of an hour that this man had not been to the North Pole, but was attempting to bluff the world.[1]

This story illustrates how doubt and caution arise, and emphasizes the very great need of presenting one's whole proposition in such a way that it fits into the mental processes of the prospect.

**Eliminating Effort in Acting.**—This topic is discussed in detail in Chap. XX.

**Supplying the Buyer with "Reasons."**—Because a man very often does not wish to reveal his real motives he covers them up by giving excuses, alibis, or explanations that are plausible and at the same time make him appear to be a worthy character. Just because this is so, it is often necessary to supply a prospect with rationalizations in order that he may justify or conceal his selfish wants. The campaign to market raisins in five-cent packages is a good illustration. No stenographer or office employee could afford to be caught eating during working houses. But after the public had been taught that raisins supplied iron and increased efficiency, it was possible to eat them openly before the boss. Only a few puny people trying desperately to build up strength ate raisins simply because of iron or efficiency, but thousands seized on these "reasons" and used them to rationalize their desire to eat.

In order to demonstrate that a commodity is adequate, it is accordingly not sufficient in many cases to show that the commodity will satisfy the primary want for it, the seller must also make clear that the commodity will satisfy other secondary wants which the prospect has. The one secondary want that nearly always has to be taken into account is desire for approval from others. For example, suppose a woman found a set of red plush furniture that would match her rug and draperies and the more she looked at the set the more she wanted it. The chances are that she would not buy it because she would realize that everyone would ridicule her selection as out of style, but

[1] GIBBS, P., "Adventures of an International Reporter," *World's Work*, March, 1923, 482 *ff*.

if the salesman could convince her that the furniture was a genuine antique formerly owned by Marie Antoinette she would be glad to purchase because possession of such an antique is socially approved of. Her real motive for buying would be her want for it, but the explanation she would give would be in terms of antiques.

### PROOF THAT ONE COMMODITY IS BETTER THAN ANOTHER

There is a great tendency today to assume that there is a one best way of establishing superiority. The engineer tends to express value (superiority) in terms of distance, time, effort. Technocracy was an example of this. The economist, similarly, tends to express value in terms of price. In some places and to some extent their views are sound, but not in all situations. Thus, the prices of bread and automobiles are affected by the prices of wheat and pig-iron respectively, but the price of women's millinery is very little influenced by the cost of the component parts of the hat. The exact position of the feather or the color of the ribbon is far more important than the cost of all the raw materials. There are a great many different kinds of people in this world; they want many different things; moreover, they want different things today from what they wanted yesterday or will want tomorrow. It is impossible to say that a certain commodity is best; it may be best under certain conditions, which means that it satisfies certain people best of all, but under certain other conditions, it may be far from the best.

**Requirements for Proof.**—Proof that one commodity is better than another can be established only, first, when there is a common basis for comparison and, second, when both commodities are tested in exactly the same way in terms of the accepted standard. A perusal of advertisements or sales talks will show that scientific proof is not often presented. One such example is the following, taken from an advertisement of Valentine's Valspar.

"House Furnishing and Care" is one of the courses of the Home Economics Department at George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. In connection with this course, the Department decided to conduct a scientific and absolutely impartial test as to the relative durability of floor finishes.

Test Number One: a long, narrow walkway was constructed and marked off into twenty-two test sections. One-third of the walk way was finished with different brands of varnish; one-third with oil preparations; the remainder with paints.

A railing paralleled the walkway, thus compelling the several hundred students who entered the building daily to traverse the entire length of the walk. The amount of wear received was undoubtedly equivalent to many years' use in any ordinary home.

At the end of the testing period—approximately six months—the comparative durability of the different finishes was judged by faculty members and graduate students—seventy-three in all. Of the twenty-two test sections, number 5, finished with Valentine's Valspar, showed the least wear *and won the test!*

In this case the competing commodities have been tested on the same basis and are found to be superior in that respect. The following is another example,

In small, sample-sized packages, blank on the outside, were packed the four most popular brands of home-cooked wheat breakfast cereal on the Pacific coast.

Four hundred and twenty-five packages were filled with Germea. Another 425 packages were packed with our chief competitive brand, a popular seller. In a third 425 packages was packed our second chief competitive brand, and in the last 425 packages the brand of our third competitor.

As mentioned above, aside from the recipe, the packages were left absolutely blank, the brand being designated only by the code letters, "A," "B," "C," "D."

Four hundred and twenty-five housewives from Bellingham, Washington, to San Diego, California, were then given the samples to test, each housewife receiving four samples—one sample of each brand. On a card which she was given she recorded her first choice, her second choice, her third choice, and her fourth choice, and then mailed the card to us.

When all the votes were in and counted Sperry Germea had won.

Thus, in an absolutely "blind" test, where none of the women knew the brands they were testing—basing their preference on deliciousness alone—Germea was voted the most popular home-cooked wheat breakfast cereal.

Figure 38, taken from a leaflet of the Customer Research Staff of General Motors, was presumably prepared to offset the objection which might be raised to steel turret tops, that they made the automobile hotter inside than do ordinary tops. The demonstration looks like proof but as it is based upon an analagous situation and not upon steel turret tops themselves, it may not actually apply. This is the sort of psuedo-proof that is effective in convincing people because the whole procedure is entirely understandable. Figure 39 is taken from a recent newspaper advertisement and invites the public to compare the cost of General Motors Acceptance Corporation and any other method of financing payment of automobiles. Relatively few will follow out the proposed procedure, but many will be convinced the G.M.A.C. program is cheaper or else the corporation would not invite such a comparison.

**Specifications for Purchase.**—The efficient business organization draws up detailed specifications of each item to be purchased, secures bids on this basis, and places the order, considering price, delivery, and ability to carry out the order. If the goods do not meet the specifications, they are rejected.

In a situation of this sort it is quite proper to talk about one company's product being superior to another, because its product

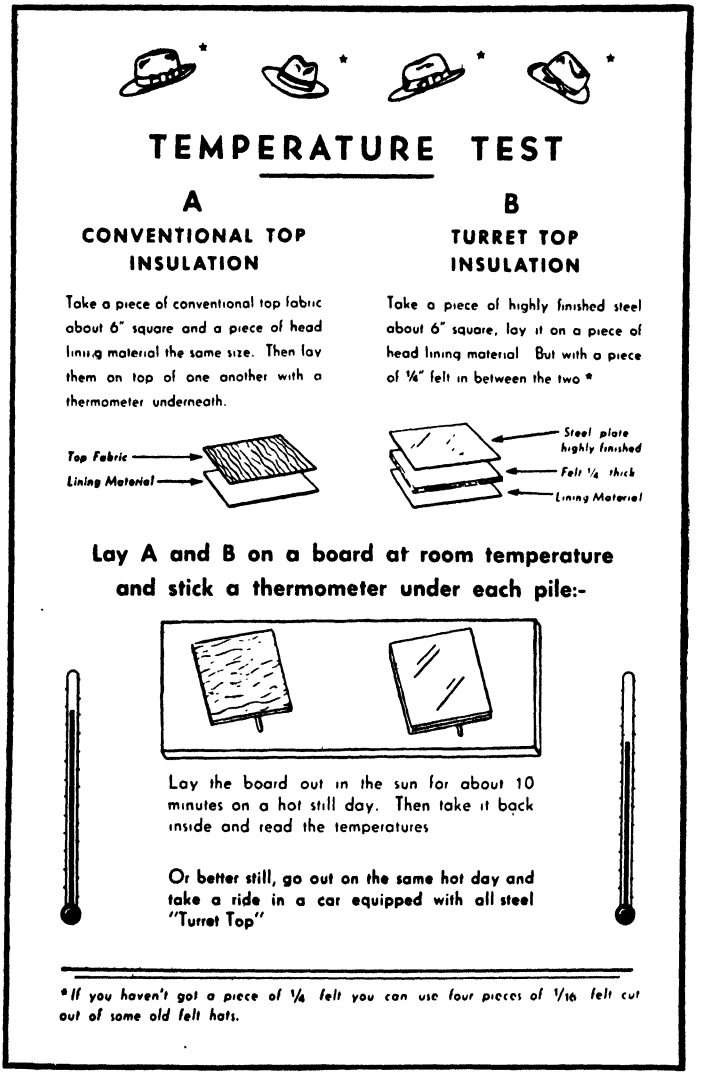



FIG. 38.—Demonstration that a turret steel top is cooler than an ordinary automobile top.

adheres more closely to the specifications, or possibly, is actually superior in some respect.

**Difficulties of Using Proof in Selling.**—There are a number of reasons why proof that one product is superior to another is not so

advantageous in selling and buying as it would appear to be at first thought. It is quite possible, as we have seen, to prove that one commodity is superior to others, when judged on the basis of a single consideration. And it is quite possible to set up definite specifications when supplies are ordered in large quantity. But it is quite another

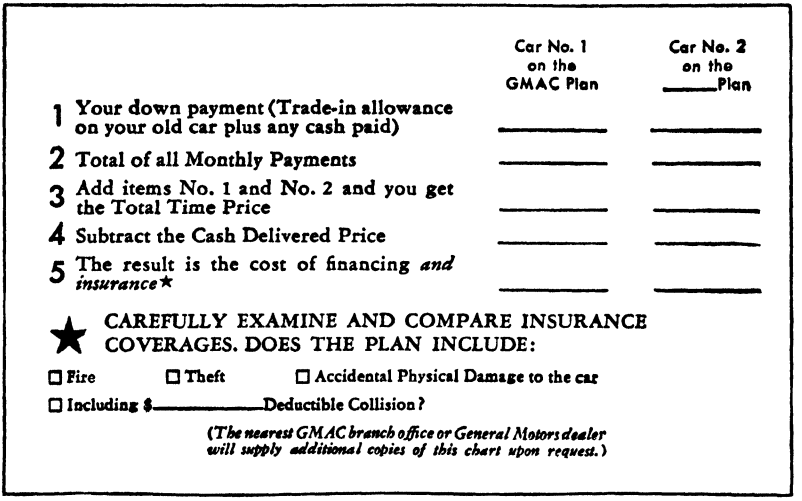



FIG. 39.—Part of a General Motors Acceptance Corporation advertisement inviting comparison with any other financing program.

matter to accomplish this in a great many cases for an ultimate consumer, just because different consumers have in mind different uses for that commodity, and so there can be no common basis for comparison.

Suppose, for example, the following information about five brands of gasoline to be quite accurate, which brand would you, the reader, buy?

| Rank order | Most miles per gallon | Least cost per gallon | Best acceleration | Quickest starting | Least bad effect on motor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A | D | E | C | B |
| 2 | B | E | A | D | C |
| 3 | C | A | B | E | D |
| 4 | D | B | C | A | E |
| 5 | E | C | D | B | A |

Suppose the difference between best and poorest to be 10 per cent in each case, how would you arrive at a conclusion as to which to

buy? Your answer would depend upon many considerations as to what you want most—low cost of operation, speed, ease of starting in winter time, etc. Clearly, no one of these brands is best for all.[1]

A second difficulty of using proof in selling is that it is viewed as more or less unethical among businessmen and publishers to print definite comparisons between two competing brands.[2] Many advertising media will not accept such advertising. There are no such limitations upon personal selling, but experience has shown that usually such comparisons are not helpful and that often they are detrimental, as is pointed out below.

The Valspar advertisement (page 249) has gone as far as it is permissible to go in proving superiority over competing lines. The omission of the names of competitors does not injure its own claims and does not give to competitors any publicity.

It is, however, entirely permissible to give proof that a dealer's trade-marked goods are superior to some staple like sugar or flour. In a Pet Milk advertisement a woman is depicted looking at a milk bill amounting to 80 cents. The 80 cents has been crossed out and "50 cents" written at one side. The heading is "Economy without Sacrifice," and the first paragraph reads: "To reduce the cost of the family food without sacrifice either of quantity or quality is the fundamental problem of household economy. Pet Milk solves this problem on your milk bill." Here the contrast is between Pet Milk and ordinary milk, but not with any other named brand of milk.

A third difficulty in using proof in selling arises from the fact that differences between commodities are usually too small to impress a buyer as significant. It would be interesting to know how many people have been influenced by the advertising of the Shell Company to "save up to a cupful every hour."

[1] Another explanation why such data are not so useful as at first appears is that as soon as such information is published the sellers of these brands will change their gasoline, so that the data would be out of date. This is exactly what we expect in a competitive system. Thus, if the sale of brand A dropped because of its bad effect upon the motor, it would be improved in this respect, but this might be at the expense of its high rating for miles per gallon.

Publications of such data every month would certainly keep the gasoline companies striving to be best, and that would be a fine thing. It would tend also to the production of the same kind of gasoline by all, or else specialization in different gasolines to meet special needs. All this would be an improvement over the present methods of appealing to the public. Although possibly applicable in the case of milk and gasoline, it is questionable whether such a procedure can be used in the case of style goods.

[2] It would be an interesting study to ascertain how this ethical standard came to be set up and what would be the consequences if it were discarded.

A fourth objection arises from the fact that selling is for the purpose of getting action and that discussion of the relative merits of competing solutions is a great obstacle to action. If the buyer insists on comparative data, it must be given; but to supply such information when it is not required violates two principles laid down in Chap. XIV, namely, to point out the action to be taken and to restrict the sales appeal to only what is necessary.

**Economic Value of Proof in Selling.**—The results of careful scientific investigation as to the relative merits of one's own and competing goods is useful, first of all, in aiding the producer to improve the quality of his goods. If he doesn't keep up with his competitors, he will surely fail. In other words, in a competitive system the consumer gains through the struggle of each producer to keep ahead. The more scientific investigations are utilized, the sooner comparative conditions are known and remedies taken to meet them.

Knowledge of the facts makes it possible for the seller to present his case more intelligently, providing he is selling good goods. If the goods are inferior, it is probably an advantage for the salesman not to know too much about his own and his competitor's goods.

Knowledge of the facts similarly makes it possible for the buyer to select goods more wisely. The professional purchasing agent saves his company many thousands of dollars because he makes a business of ascertaining the facts about the goods he must purchase.

The question naturally arises as to how the ultimate consumer may secure a like benefit. Clearly the ordinary citizen cannot afford the time necessary to familiarize himself with all the competing goods which he must purchase in very small lots. One proposal that is being advocated today is that the government shall require a detailed statement of the contents to be printed on the label of canned and packaged goods. This would save the customer many dollars, for there are all sorts of goods that sell for fancy prices which contain very simple ingredients costing only a few cents. Years ago such a law would have worked a hardship upon producers, in that it would have disclosed their trade secrets to their competitors, but today a good chemist can analyze any such product and determine most accurately its components. The recognition of allergies is focusing special attention upon such legislation in the case of food products. A person may be particularly susceptible, for example, to cotton-seed oil, which is an ingredient in some salad dressings. He should not be required to suffer the consequences of eating this oil through ignorance of its presence in salad dressing.

A second proposal would be the introduction of courses of instruction in high school and college on purchasing. Why courses on selling should be provided for those who plan to sell and little attention be given to a function which all must perform is somewhat of a mystery, particularly in this era when there is so much talk of fitting the curriculum to current social problems.

Another proposal is that of Consumer's Research, to supply its members with detailed facts about various commodities. A serious objection to such a service is that in order to cover all the commodities people must buy there would be need for a very extensive loose-leaf library which would have to be kept up to date by the addition of many new pages each year. The cost of such service, the nuisance of keeping the loose leaves properly filed, and the trouble of looking up and remembering a lot of facts before buying would keep many from using such a service, except when making a purchase involving considerable money. Another difficulty lies in the cost of testing all these commodities upon an adequate basis, truly a Herculean task if done properly.

### EMPHASIZING THE OBSTACLE

The obstacle is that which prevents a man from getting what he wants. Regardless of what the want is, the prospect must do something to satisfy it. What is done is for the purpose of eliminating or getting around the obstacle. If the obstacle is thoroughly understood, it is ordinarily easy to find a means to surmount it; but when the obstacle is unknown or only dimly understood, then the discovery of a means to the goal is apt to be fraught with difficulty. Much of one's "fuzzy" thinking, of one's trial-and-error learning, is occasioned by lack of understanding of what one is up against. In other words, the more clearly the environmental obstacle is comprehended, the easier it is to select an adequate means of surmounting it.

**Distinction between Obstacle and Objection.**—Because obstacle and objection are frequently confused, it is well to contrast these two before considering how to emphasize the obstacle.[1]

Objections are excuses, alibis, rationalizations, trumped-up explanations why one will not buy. Or they are reasons why the salesman's product is not as desirable as somebody else's. Seldom does a prospect worry about an objection. They are concocted to worry the salesman and get rid of him. Nearly always they are a polite way of saying, "I am not interested. I don't want your commodity."

[1] See p. 119 for previous discussion of obstacle.

An obstacle, on the other hand, does worry the prospect, if he is aware of it; for it is because of the obstacle that he is unhappy, dissatisfied, uncomfortable. If the prospect is not aware of the obstacle, he is just as unhappy, but he has not yet "put his finger" upon the cause.

The man with a want to satisfy senses, at least dimly, what the obstacle is. He has, moreover, no tendency to confuse the obstacle with the objections he may raise against some possible solution.

The seller, on the other hand, is prone to confuse the two whenever he is viewing the selling from his own point of view. The reason he confuses them is because the objections the buyer raises are obstacles that the seller must surmount. The objections of the buyer are obstacles for the seller, but they are seldom the obstacle of the buyer.

When the buyer wants to buy the seller's product, then the objections to buying may be expressive of the buyer's obstacle. Thus, if he wants an automobile but hasn't the money to buy it, the obstacle is lack of money and he may raise the objection, "I haven't the cash." In such cases, ways and means are being sought by the prospect to eliminate the obstacle, and if the seller can help, he will most likely secure the sale. A rather unusual case of this sort occurred some time ago when houses were very scarce. An automobile salesman had about completed a sale when the prospect was notified that the house he was renting had been sold and he would have to move. This meant that unless he could rent another, his family would have to live with his wife's people in another city until autumn and he would have little use for an automobile. The salesman appreciated the situation and helped him find a house. In doing so, he eliminated the obstacle which was also an objection to buying, and secured the order.

But when the prospect is not anxious to buy the seller's product, the obstacle is not identical with any of the objections.

**Value of Emphasizing the Obstacle.**—There are three good reasons why the obstacle should be emphasized. In the first place, emphasizing the obstacle focuses attention upon the prospect's problem. Judson's prospect (page 612) was indifferent to the salesman's proposition when he said "I am loaded up with insurance and couldn't carry any more if I wanted to." But Judson gets his interest by replying, "Did it ever occur to you that your life insurance might prove to be no protection at all for your family?" Judson gets that interest by implying that all those things the prospect wanted for his family, for which he had already bought insurance, might not yet be secured. His wants are again blocked. Judson goes on then to show how lump insurance is frequently inadequate.

Similarly, the gasoline pump salesman (page 606) recalled to the hardware dealer that a hitch rack in front of the store had been in earlier days a great asset in getting business and convinced him that the present lack of such a device was responsible for his poor trade. It was easy then to sell him a gasoline pump as the modern substitute for a hitch rack.

In both of these cases, the key to the sale was the obstacle.

The advertisement in Fig. 40 illustrates emphasis upon the obstacle to the prospect's wants, namely, "uneven temperature in the home," and especially, "cold when we get up." The small cut to the left illustrates motivation, appeal to the man's love for his wife. He can eliminate cold in the morning and hard work for his wife by buying a Heat Regulator.

In the second place, emphasizing the obstacle is often useful when motivation is not. Judson's prospect was uninterested because he felt he had provided for his family through life insurance. To appeal to his love for his wife and family would have been of little avail in selling him more insurance, because he believed they were protected, *i.e.*, his wants were satisfied. But forcing the new obstacle upon him—the contingency that his wife might lose the insurance money—immediately made him aware of an unsolved problem. No longer could he complacently say to himself, "I have provided for my family."

In the third place, emphasizing the obstacle is very apt to arouse determination to overcome it. A standard method of closing in selling life insurance is to call attention to the possibility that the prospect may not pass the physical examination. It is surprising how frequently a prospect who has shown no interest up to that point will put himself out to take an examination. The challenge that maybe he cannot pass makes him want to pass. It is the same thing that makes a child cry when a person picks up some object near him and refuses to give it to him. The child had no use for it until someone showed interest in it. The principle is even better illustrated in the game of seizing a small child's hand. He immediately strives to get away. As he struggles, success from time to time gives him great glee. The obstacle automatically causes the release of a great deal of energy; and as the obstacle is overcome, a great deal of elation.

Many a hard thing in life is performed for the sheer fun of doing it. There must be some excuse for the performance, but many a time it would not be done if it were not considered a feat. Many a man raised a million in the liberty loan campaigns who would not have done anything if his quota had been ten thousand.




FIG. 40.—Emphasizing the obstacle. Motivation also employed in the small cut.

This use of an obstacle to secure determination, fight, is seldom seen in advertising and occurs too seldom in selling. All of the attention is given to making the thing easy. But there are times when making the action hard is the better tactics. Nearly all sales managers use this appeal in handling salesmen. They drive their men fearfully by setting up seemingly impossible tasks that tantalize them into overcoming the difficulties.

**How the Obstacle Should Be Presented.**—The Dairymen's League advertisement (Fig. 41) plays up an obstacle extremely well.

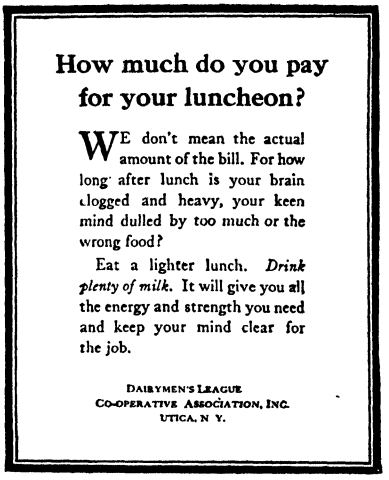



FIG. 41.—Emphasizing an obstacle to success.

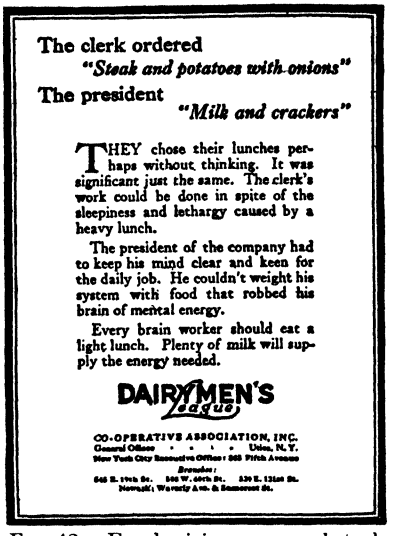



FIG. 42.—Emphasizing an obstacle, with motivation.

A heavy lunch causes a dull mind for most of the afternoon and lowers efficiency. Eliminate the obstacle by eating a light lunch, by drinking milk, is its message. The second advertisement (Fig. 42) not only plays up the obstacle, but also motivates the reader. Milk and crackers are associated with successful executives; a heavy lunch with clerks. The second advertisement is stronger because of this double appeal.

Following is the copy of an advertisement of the Columbia Trust Company which appeared in *The New York Times* some time ago. There is presented very clearly an obstacle that may arise which will prevent a man's plans for his family from being carried out as he desires. The advertisement was headed—"No Money to pay the bills—Why this well-to-do family's income was suddenly cut off." The copy follows:

A New York family had been receiving steady income under a Trust Fund administered by an exceptionally fine type of business man as Trustee. In the course of time, the Trustee died.

Then, as there was no one legally empowered to continue paying out income from the Trust Fund, the payments ceased.

What happened?

First, a long wait occured while the *Executors* of the Trustee's *own* estate made a formal accounting to the court.

Next, all the persons interested were obliged to petition the court, through legal counsel, for the appointment of a Substitute Trustee. Weeks and months dragged by. Meanwhile the family funds ran low. Money had to be borrowed under hard conditions at frequent intervals.

Lastly, the court, when it had examined the accounts of the deceased Trustee, at length approved them. A Substitute Trustee was then appointed.

We know this case intimately, because the Columbia Trust Company was the Substitute Trustee appointed.

The actual distress suffered by the above family—more serious than the mere stated facts indicate—would have been avoided had we been appointed Trustee in the first instance years ago.

Over and over again we must say this:

Individual Executors and Trustees die. It is regrettable but inevitable.

The Columbia Trust Company is a corporation whose work goes on continuously. There can be and is no interruption—no halting—no uncertainty.

If you have a mind that *thinks through* to final conclusions, we suggest that you let us explain in detail how this Company would unswervingly carry out your wishes when you are no longer here.

Figure 43 presents a different obstacle to a man's plans for his family in the event of his death, namely, that his wife will be unable to withstand the importunities of the children. The advertisements in Figs. 6 and 10 (pages 40 and 44) illustrate further how to present the obstacle.

The writer once listened to a salesman's futile attempt to sell wrenches and similar tools to a garage man. Later on, that afternoon, when the garage man had vainly sought for a small wrench through drawer after drawer of tools, the salesman said to him, "Here's what you want," and unrolled on the bench a leather container with a full set of small wrenches. The garage man took one look at it, picked out the wrench he wanted, rolled up the container and put it in his pocket. This salesman reported that he sold four to five of these sets a day merely by waiting until the mechanic could not find one of his little tools. That whole sales strategy was in terms of waiting for a real obstacle—inability to find the tool—and then utilizing it. A better salesman might create the same obstacle imaginatively in the mind of the mechanic and so sell with less loss of time.

**How to Determine What the Prospect's Obstacle Is.**—Occasionally the determination of the prospect's obstacle is a research job. Some




## *practically every fellow has a car!*

EIGHTEEN is so desperately in earnest. What mother can resist its youthful logic? Difficult indeed to keep her sense of proportion when her sympathy argues on the side of indulgence.

Too often, life insurance left in cash is quickly spent while children are at the expensive age. Soon the mother finds herself dependent upon the young people for support—at the very period of their lives when such an added burden may make all the difference between success and failure!

If your life insurance is to give your family lasting protection, you must provide *now* for the wise management and conservation of the principal.

CARRYING ON THE FAMILY INCOME

*is an interesting booklet describing the Life Insurance Trust. It shows how the bank, as trustee of your life insurance, furnishes your dependents with safe, worry-free income. It tells how your wife and children are protected against their own inexperience and the mistaken advice of friends. It gives the small cost of trust service, and tells how a trust is arranged. Send for your copy today.*

TRUST DEPARTMENT

**Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Co.**

Market at Montgomery Market at Grant Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO

FIG. 43.—Emphasizing an obstacle to the leaving of cash to one's widow.

time ago, mileage books were reintroduced by the railroads. Before this was done, the Interstate Commerce Commission announced certain regulations governing the accounting to be done by the railroads in issuing and checking up mileage books. At some time before the new system went into effect, a company selling bookkeeping machines completed its study of what a railroad would have to do to meet the Interstate Commerce Commission regulations, and put upon the market certain bookkeeping machines to do the work. The company's research staff located all the obstacles the railroad officials would meet, and found a solution through the use of their equipment. After the salesmen were trained with respect to their product and also with respect to the new requirements, they were sent out to sell the railroads. Here the salesmen utilized the results of their research staff.

Whether locating the obstacle is delegated to a research staff or is left to the individual salesman, its discovery depends upon someone in the seller's organization "getting close" to the prospect. An organized attempt to do this is frequently spoken of as consumer research (see Chap. XI for details).

In all such attempts to obtain the consumer's views, the writer would emphasize the value of obtaining concrete incidents rather than answers to more or less abstract questions. What a person does is more significant and reliable than what he says. Townsend[1] relates an experience of this sort reported by a consumer.

The following letter was received by the New York branch of an automatic heat-control device, attachable to furnaces. It was from a man living in a suburban town:

"Gentlemen: I can't resist the temptation of sending you the data herewith. Without acquaintance with the methods of advertising it would seem to me that this story could be woven into a remarkably impressive document for your newspaper work. Four of us were playing whist the other morning, in the smoker, en route to New York. It was the first really cold day of the year, and our conversation turned to our respective furnaces. One of the gentlemen last year installed your automatic control, and he was eager to tell us about it. The game stopped. He went on to say that he wondered why the rest of us permitted our wives to be drudges and furnace-slaves all day long. Surely, it was not necessary for the womenfolk to stoke the furnaces and keep a sharp watch out over them. When they became too warm, it was necessary to go down into the cellar and regulate the furnaces, and when there was a chill in the air, the same thing was necessary all over again.

"The truth of his statements impressed us. I know I felt a little ashamed of myself, for our furnace requires as much attention as a crying baby. Why not

[1] TOWNSEND, A. L., "Making the Consumer a Member of the Advertising Staff," *Printers' Ink*, Nov. 24, 1921.

show four men in a smoking car, on a wintry morning, discussing furnaces and the heat question, and permit the copy to be written just about as we talked it that morning? I think it would prove a fine advertising document."

The suggestion was immediately adopted (see Fig. 40, page 258).

### SEQUENCE OF PRESENTATION

The conclusion to be established may be stated first and followed by supporting evidence, or the evidence may be presented first and the concluding statement given last. These two methods have been called, "Forcing favorable classification," and the "Toboggan method."

**Conclusion Stated First, Evidence Second.**—If the prospect accepts the conclusion as soon as it is stated, all is well. If he disbelieves it, the salesman must marshal his evidence so as to force the prospect to classify the statement with some statement which he does believe. For example, an advertisement of *The American Weekly* in *The New York Times* of Nov. 9, 1922, states in its heading that it is "the most *exclusive* publication." The advertisement then proceeds to show that this is so by adding:

1. No other *one* medium reaches 3,500,000 families in America.
2. No other *one* medium reaches 22 per cent of all the people in America that can be reached by the printed English word.
3. No other *one* medium concentrates its circulation in the twelve most populous sections of America.
4. No other *one* medium offers advertisers the opportunity of using a full-size newspaper page in *color* (three colors and black)—in a magazine eagerly read weekly in more than one out of every five homes in the country. Etc.

Stating the conclusion first has the advantage of being the most natural way for the salesman to present his proposition. It also has the advantage of making perfectly *clear* what is to be proved. This method should be employed whenever the primary object is to make a point clear and whenever the prospect will probably believe the conclusion, or at least consider the matter before coming to a conclusion. But whenever the prospect will disbelieve the conclusion and particularly when he wants to disbelieve it, this method is not so good as the "toboggan method."

**Evidence Stated First, Conclusion Second.**—In the case of the "toboggan method" the conclusion is not stated until the supporting evidence has been presented. A good illustration of this method is the typical resolution drawn up by a society. Each "whereas" presents one reason for the final conclusion. When the reader has had an opportunity to be impressed by all the evidence he comes finally to the action he is asked to support. As he does not know what this

action is when reading each "whereas" he has no impulse to object but stays passively in suspense. One of my students dubbed this method of presentation the "toboggan method" for he pictured the reader saying "Yes, Yes, Yes," to each point as it was made, getting so much momentum in affirmation that when he reached the conclusion he could hardly refrain from another agreement, just as a toboggan having gone faster and faster down the hill can hardly be stopped short as it reaches the bottom.

Suppose a life insurance salesman wishes to sell an income policy in which the wife will receive not a lump sum but a check each month. To state this at the beginning may furnish the prospect an opportunity to focus all his disinclination to buy insurance upon the disadvantages of his wife's not receiving a lump sum. To prevent this the salesman may start off by saying:

> Mr. Prospect, you are familiar with the custom of many a business man of maintaining a personal checking account in one bank and another checking account for his wife in a second bank. And you know that such a man gives his wife a monthly check which she deposits in her bank. If he goes off on a trip, he arranges that this monthly check will go to his wife just the same. Now the proposition I have in mind for you accomplishes exactly what such a man does for his wife in that if you die your wife will get a check regularly every month as long as she lives.

If the prospect gives his wife a check each month he naturally agrees with the preliminary remarks and can hardly escape from the conclusion, namely, the desirability of his wife's receiving a check each month even after he is gone.

Another illustration of this method is given in the letter on page 230. The method of *reductio ad absurdum* used in geometry and sometimes called the "predicament method" in advertising circles is a phase of the toboggan method. Here one says, "You don't believe my proposition. All right. Let's assume the opposite is true." Then step by step is logically taken, at each step agreement being secured from the opponent, until finally a conclusion is reached which is clearly not true. The opponent is in this way led to see that this point of view is wrong and is forced to consider the original statement. This method of convincing another, first by demolishing his counter point of view, is probably the most effective way through logical presentation of convincing a man who does not want to be convinced.

Both methods sell goods or they would not be employed, but the toboggan method wins the prospect more easily just because it leads the prospect through the steps in thinking he would employ himself if he were trying to solve the problem.

## CHAPTER XVI

## PROPAGANDA

Propaganda is not a new phenomenon. History has many examples of how groups and even nations have been influenced by deliberately manipulated gossip, rumors, and appeals. Napoleon subsidized a London newspaper. Henry Ward Beecher and many other prominent Americans were sent to England during the Civil War to influence the English favorably toward the North.

But it was not until the World War that people generally became aware of propaganda. During those years vast sums of money were raised for liberty and victory loans, for the Red Cross and for many other agencies. Citizens of the United States consented to universal conscription, cut down their daily use of sugar, closed down their factories on certain days, and went without gasoline for their automobiles voluntarily and enthusiastically. To an extraordinary degree men and women in nearly all the countries of the world cooperated in carrying out programs necessitating radical changes in their everyday life; and they did so not because they were ordered to do so, and therefore were forced to it, but because they freely responded to suggestions presented in skillfully conducted propaganda. Because of the surprising success of all this propaganda, the innumerable times it was employed, and the ease with which it was carried out, people generally have become conscious of propaganda as a great tool or method for influencing others.[1]

There are four reasons which explain in part at least the recent very extensive use of propaganda. First, it is now physically possible to reach almost simultaneously millions of people, owing to the development of communication facilities. There are, for example, 1,929 newspapers in the United States having a combined circulation of 36,709,000 copies. Somewhere near 600 broadcasting stations can reach all the radio sets of the country. Approximately 100,000,000 attend the motion pictures each week. By any one of these media a majority of the citizens of the country can be reached.

Second, education has been extended down to the masses so that nearly all can read and write. The percentage of illiteracy in England

[1] Portions of this chapter are taken from the author's "Control of Propaganda as a Psychological Problem," *Scientific Monthly*, 1922, **14**, 235–251.

had decreased from 34 per cent for men and 50 per cent for women in 1839 to 5 and 6 per cent, respectively, in 1893. In 1930 the illiteracy in the United States was 1.5 per cent for the native whites and 4.3 per cent for the population as a whole (foreign-born whites 9.9 per cent and Negroes, 16.3 per cent). In 1910 the percentage of illiteracy in Japan was 4.3 while in 1928 it was but 0.6.[1] In the words of Poole, "the result can be dramatically but still accurately described by saying that increasing millions of people are raised from the condition of dumb cattle to that of human beings."[2] Without education the illiterate peasant could know nothing of life except what he directly experienced; with education he is provided with the means of ascertaining what life might be under other conditions.

Third, political democracy has been established in most so-called civilized countries. Political control is consequently dependent upon the manipulation of public opinion so that the necessary votes will be forthcoming. The public must be informed—which is good—and influenced—which is questionable, if not bad. Propaganda is the easiest way to accomplish the latter. One might say, propaganda is one price we pay for democracy.

Because the masses are striving to better their condition and because they have not learned the best ways to accomplish this, the world is confronted with a welter of problems of every type. The people are looking for solutions and eagerly grasp at every suggestion; hence, they are peculiarly susceptible to influences of any sort. This condition is a fourth reason why propaganda is so extensively employed today. Because of these conflicting interests the citizenry have become organized into all manner of groups, recently spoken of as "pressure groups"—the World Almanac lists over 700 organizations which are endeavoring to improve society. Every group is advocating certain measures and many are engaging in very extensive campaigns to win converts.

## DEFINITION OF PROPAGANDA

How may advertising, selling, general publicity, propaganda, and education be differentiated? First of all, selling may be distinguished from the others on the ground that the influencing is directed toward one or only a very few individuals at the same time, whereas in the case of the other four the influencing is directed at many persons simul-

[1] The data for Japan are based upon the percentage of males called for military service who cannot read or cipher and not upon a census of the entire population.

[2] POOLE, D. C., "Public Opinion," Alumni Lectures, Princeton University, 1936.

taneously. Psychologically speaking, however, the same processes are employed in selling as in the other four.

Publicity is "any form of nonpersonal presentation of goods, services, or ideas to a group. Such presentation may or may not be sponsored openly by the one responsible for it and may or may not be paid for."[1] On this basis publicity includes (1) general news; (2) mere announcements of information, which are of general interest as well as useful to the party giving out the information, as for example, the first flight of an airplane to Manila; (3) advertising; and (4) propaganda.

"Advertising is any paid form of nonpersonal presentation of goods, services, or ideas to a group—such presentation being openly sponsored by the advertiser."[2] Advertising has always been the subject of criticism, much of which is warranted. Nevertheless, it must be less objectionable than propaganda for it always appears in print or on the radio over the name of the party responsible for it, whereas a great deal of propaganda is not so sponsored and is deliberately presented in such a way as to give the impression that it is something else than what it really is.

The everyday distinction between education and propaganda is well-expressed by Lasswell, writing in the "Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences."

> . . . the processes by which such techniques as those of spelling, letter forming, piano playing, lathe handling and dialectics are transmitted may be called education, while those by which value dispositions (hatred or respect toward a person, group or policy) are organized may be called propaganda. The inculcation of traditional value attitudes is generally called education, while the term propaganda is reserved for the spreading of the subversive, debatable or merely novel attitudes.[3]

Psychologists define education as "the development of abilities, attitudes, or forms of behavior, and the acquisition of knowledge, as a result of teaching or training."[4] Evidently both education and propaganda have at least one common objective, namely, the development of attitudes. When one takes into account that part of education is for the purpose of inculcating in youth the attitudes of the majority of adults, one must realize that education and propaganda overlap considerably. In this sense education is propaganda and in behalf of the

[1] Committee on Definitions, National Association of Marketing Teachers, *National Marketing Review*, 1935, **1**, 160.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[3] Lasswell, H. D., "Propaganda," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, **12**, 522, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934.

[4] Warren, H. C., "Dictionary of Psychology," Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934.

*status quo*, while propaganda is for the new and especially for what is contrary to the *status quo*.

But education has two other objectives, namely, the development of abilities and the acquisition of knowledge, which are only minor considerations in propaganda. Although some educators are genuine crusaders and make every effort to win converts to their views, just as do propagandists, the bulk of teaching has to do with the inculcation of knowledge—of what is accepted by experts in the field of truth—and the instructor is satisfied if the majority of the class pass the final examination.

Propaganda employs all media—rumor, newspaper, radio; it uses every form of influencing people—publicity, advertising, and even face-to-face selling when some outstanding leader is to be convinced; and it utilizes all the psychological principles which are involved in the influencing of others. It is a synonym for influencing. Ordinarily, however, propaganda is thought of as a procedure to influence many people simultaneously by appealing to their wants or attitudes and so controlling their actions in the desired direction. Furthermore, when a person refers to a campaign as propaganda he has in mind a campaign opposed to his interests; his own influencing is never thought of by himself as propaganda.[1]

## TYPES OF PROPAGANDA

Because propaganda is carried on in a great variety of ways it is helpful in understanding the subject to note the different forms or types. Two contrasting types of propaganda will be considered together in each of the following four sections.

**Suppression and Indoctrination.**—A person may be influenced by being kept in ignorance of certain pertinent information or, on the other hand, by being supplied with information, which may be truthful or not.

All governments suppress certain information which, if known, would arouse the public against those in power. This censorship is employed most extensively today in Russia, Germany, and Italy. It was admittedly used in the United States during the World War; in England all reference to Mrs. Simpson and King Edward's interest in her was suppressed for many weeks. The principle of suppression is common to all influencing, in that certain facts are not revealed—this is true to some extent even in teaching and counseling; in fact, the art of selling is to fill the mind so completely with favorable information that

[1] Chapter XXV considers the possibilities of measuring attitudes which are basic to propaganda.

there is no room left for anything that is unfavorable. In this sense propaganda employs suppression but propaganda is ordinarily thought of as the opposite of censorship, in that it influences by supplying "information."

Propaganda supplies factual material to some degree, but it is primarily concerned with the establishment of an attitude (acquired want) which is favorable to the action that is desired. This process is frequently referred to as indoctrination. The necessary attitudes may already be in existence, or they may have to be developed. In the first of these two cases all that is necessary is to bring the attitude forcibly into mind, and the action results. Thus, a schoolboy at recess says, "Let's get a drink." The other boys might not have got a drink if they had not been reminded of the action, but as soon as it is called to mind, they feel the desire and act. So, also, a nation like Germany, all primed for war, as in 1914—the reference here is not to her military preparations, but to the state of mind of her citizens—was ready to act immediately when her leaders said, "Let's fight." It was the absence of just such a mental state in the United States that kept us out of war. Later on, the attitude was developed and we were eager to act when the word was given.

When the attitude has been established, all that is necessary is to suggest the procedure; when the desired attitude has not been established, it must be built up by motivation. Here a new integration of ideas and feelings is established and, eventually, in terms of it the person acts as he would not have before. For example, in a former presidential campaign the love of a mother for her son was appealed to by both sides. A Democratic editorial read as follows:

> Mother of America! Mother of Pennsylvania! Mother of Pittsburgh! Do you want your boy to go to war? Is the roll of the battle drums sweeter in your ears than the song of his voice in the home? Would you rather have his hands in fierce grip on gun in battle's rack than have his arms in love about your neck? That is the question you must answer to your God and your fellow-man when you go into the voting booth on November 2. Do not let demagogs confuse you. The issue is plain: A vote for the league is a vote for peace; a vote against the league is a vote for war. . . . Mother of an American boy! The munition makers of the world are arrayed against American participation in the League of Nations. They are snatching at your vote, because with it they may claim the body of your first-born. Mother of a Pittsburgh boy! The question comes home to you! Your boy was not born to be food for guns.

A Republican advertisement stated in part:

> Women! For your own good vote the Republican ticket. . . . The American woman asks of her country: That it be a secure place for her home and for her

children and that it be security with honor. That it give her children opportunity to lead their lives even better than she and her husband led theirs. That it be just in its relations with other nations, and merit the pride which the best of its citizens have in it, in its history and its ideals. A policy which has these purposes will have the support of American womanhood and American motherhood. That is the Republican policy and has been Republican policy from the days of Abraham Lincoln. The Republican policy is to protect the security of the United States by preserving its right to make decisions regarding its actions in the future as events in the future demand. The Republican party is unwilling to pledge now that it will protect European boundary lines and to deprive Congress of the power to say in each case what the action of the United States will be. . . .

Here we have the same emotional element aroused and then associated with two diametrically opposite lines of action. Both of these articles are intended to arouse a mother's love for her boy and consequent horror of war, and then show that her desire could be best obtained by voting the Democratic ticket in one case and the Republican ticket in the other.

**Revealed and Concealed Propaganda.**—Both of the above appeals are examples of revealed propaganda, for they make clear what action is recommended. But very often the propagandist does not wish to reveal his proposed action until after he has built up a following who are favorably disposed toward his appeals. In such cases we have concealed propaganda. For example, the Typographical Union in Pittsburgh lost a strike because public opinion did not support it. Later, several advertisements were run in the newspapers of that city in order to cause the public to adopt a friendly attitude toward the union and its purposes. When this union calls another strike, one or more announcements of their purpose so worded as to recall to mind the impressions made by the general newspaper advertisements will enable the union to "cash in" on the favorable attitude developed by the advertising campaign. And the result will tend to be a sentiment in favor of the union because of the advertisements, without much regard to the merits of the strike.

Advertising must by law be marked as such and is in consequence practically always revealed propaganda. Occasionally there are examples of "teaser" advertising in which the purport of the campaign is withheld for some little time. This might be viewed as halfway between revealed and concealed propaganda, though it is usually just an attention-arousing device. Similarly, selling is usually revealed propaganda, although in some cases the real purport is withheld until the close of the interview.

The difficulties of controlling concealed propaganda are considered below (page 276).

**Intentional and Unintentional Propaganda.**—Because Doob[1] recognizes that a great deal of influencing which has all the psychological characteristics of propaganda is carried on unwittingly, he makes the distinction between intentional and unintentional propaganda. Those, for example, who support the *status quo* are continually influencing people in that direction, although they may not be deliberately trying to. Unquestionably the most potent influencing of children in the home, or at school or church, or elsewhere is done when the adult has no thought of influencing at all: there are no doubts in his mind and the sincerity of his manner carries conviction. It is because of this situation, Doob feels, there can be no clean-cut differentiation between propaganda and education.

An excellent illustration of unintentional propaganda is given by Flynn.

> Some years ago Mrs. Irene Castle, the dancer, then very much the reigning darling, took a fancy to cut her hair short. She looked very lovely. No propagandist persuaded her to do this, yet see what happened. Women stormed the barber shops. The makers of hair nets were reduced to panic. Hairpin manufacturers laid off their workers. Hats had to be remodeled. The hair comb industry was in confusion. Barbers, almost exterminated by Gillette, were suddenly resuscitated by Mrs. Castle. Beauty parlors sprang up everywhere. The thing affected the very conduct of women. A kind of emancipation agitated them and they began slicing great gobs off their skirts. The cloth makers joined the panic. Hundreds of thousands were thrown out of work. Other thousands got new jobs. Would this have been better or worse if a propagandist had induced Mrs. Castle to cut her hair?[2]

Deliberate, intentional propaganda is prepared by all manner of people; but just as in the case of advertising, so with propaganda, the best examples come from relatively few men, who specialize in the work. These are known as publicity agents or public relations counsels. The media most extensively used are the newspaper, magazine, and radio. The motion picture has a profound effect but much of it is unintentional, since the primary purpose is to amuse, and influencing cannot be too obvious. In many foreign countries opposition has arisen, nevertheless, to the Hollywood pictures because they present a way of living foreign to what is desired abroad. Opposition has similarly arisen in various groups in this country for the same reason: witness the recent threat by the Catholic Church to boycott motion pictures if the moral tone was not raised. The propaganda of the

[1] Doob, L. W., "Propaganda," p. 89, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1935.
[2] Flynn, J. T., "Edward L. Bernays," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1932, **149**, 567–568.

movies, although largely unintentional, nevertheless, does influence all patrons to conform to the style of dress, manners, and morals of the movie actors and their directors.

Occasionally the motion picture industry resorts to intentional propaganda: during the war Liberty bonds were sold intensively at the motion picture theaters; a few years ago the daylight saving measure was fiercely ridiculed in California, to prevent people from enjoying their leisure outdoors instead of at the picture theaters. Meyer Levin, writing in the November, 1935, *Esquire*, attacks the picture, "Annapolis Farewell," as "poison in saccharine," in that it plays up the idea that "war is inevitable" and life in the navy, particularly at Annapolis, is "gay, clean, and zippy." Maybe this play is presented by the management as just one more picture, without thought of its consequences. But maybe, as Levin suggests, the army and navy are laying the foundation for that necessary attitude which will make war easy.

The most pernicious medium is that of rumor, gossip. Testimony before the Senate Lobby Committee in 1935 disclosed the plan for a whispering campaign that President Roosevelt was insane. There is nothing new in this proposition, except that it was to have been carried out more systematically and extensively than before, as rumor was about the only medium that was available in earlier days. In "Rabble at Arms," Kenneth Roberts shows most clearly how English propaganda initiated one story after another to destroy public confidence in Arnold and Schuyler, the best generals fighting Burgoyne, with the ultimate result that they were relieved of command by Congress. Gossip of this sort is effective because most people enjoy tremendously pulling down to their level those who are superior to them in any respect.

**Direct and Counterpropaganda.**—A straightforward campaign to build up a sentiment favorable to one's proposed action is direct propaganda, but often individuals have already acquiesced to propaganda directly opposed to one's own and are not willing to listen to the opposite point of view. Counterpropaganda may then be employed. In this case the existing inimical sentiment is attacked directly. Ridicule and aspersions are particularly useful in this connection. Thus, several favorable things may be said about a rival candidate, followed by the statement, "It's too bad he is getting so feeble!" Counterpropaganda is, however, rather dangerous, since those possessing the hostile point of view are likely to identify themselves with that view and resent any criticism or ridicule of it, as directed at themselves personally.

In general, it is best to conduct a campaign with little or no reference to other hostile campaigns. They must, however, be taken into account in planning the propaganda, for the proper strategy is to dodge the existing hostile appeals and employ new appeals which lead to one's desired end. When these are well established, the hostile point of view can be criticized in terms of well-established beliefs. The process here is similar to that of conversion, where there is a refocalization of the individual's attitudes around a new attitude, which now becomes central, the whole personality being involved.

An example of this type of propaganda is given by Doob,[1] based upon an article in *Printer's Ink*,[2] in which it is claimed "that advertisements helped to induce American women to smoke cigarettes."

> In 1919, one manufacturer presented pictures of oriental women who were smoking. A year later, there were "hosiery advertisements which showed a woman displaying the merchandise and also smoking;" then there appeared "the Blow Some My Way" advertising done by Chesterfield when the young woman was shown smoking in a decidedly second-hand way."

Here, new attitudes were built up but slowly enough to prevent those holding counter attitudes from taking offense.

There are distinct limits to what can be accomplished by counter-propaganda. Doob points out that the basis for belief in communism is a class consciousness that working people are continually being oppressed by the upper classes. The European worker,

> . . . as a result of actual experience and a result of *mores* growing out of these stratifications, has possessed the related attitudes which predispose him to admit the principal Communist contentions. . . . [The dominant American ideology contemplates] the opportunity to rise in the economic and social scale. The examples of America's self-made men, even though they are in the statistical minority, nevertheless have served, psychologically at least, to inspire all American workers. . . . Under such conditions and with such attitudes, it is extremely difficult for an American to become convinced of the reality of the class-struggle or the thesis of oppression. The country itself has produced a stereotype which does not and perhaps cannot embrace that struggle.[3]

Any specific example of propaganda may be assigned to one or the other of the above four contrasting types. Thus there may be unintentional appeal to existing wants in a direct, revealed manner or there may be intentional motivation to develop a new attitude as counterpropaganda to established views with the objective concealed at the beginning of the campaign.

[1] Doob, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
[2] *Printers' Ink*, 1932, **159**, 20.
[3] Doob, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.

## APPEAL TO LEADERS

One of the most effective ways of influencing society is to attach to one's program a long list of prominent leaders drawn from a variety of walks in life. Most people are easily led to accept a new proposition if they know that the leaders whom they are accustomed to follow endorse the proposition.

The general public is organized into all manner of groups, most individuals belonging to several. Thus, a merchant may belong to the Retail Merchants' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, the American Legion, a Masonic order, the alumni association of his college, the country club, etc., and also be influenced, more than he is aware of, by his wife, who belongs to several other entirely different groups. As regards any particular issue, it is likely that one or more groups will be favorably disposed, whereas the remainder are more or less indifferent to the matter. Members of the group or groups favorably disposed have close personal contact with members and leaders of other groups and through these contacts are able to win adherents to the cause or, at least, to cause their friends to refrain from hostile activities. Much of the spread of new ideas is to be attributed to these very natural contacts between friends and acquaintances.

When a regular campaign is inaugurated it is natural to take advantage of the above situation by appealing to those groups most closely connected with the interested parties. To facilitate the whole movement, the leaders of each group are approached in the most appropriate manner because once they are won over, they tend not only to carry their own group with them but to influence leaders in other groups with whom they come in contact.

Conversely, when one wishes to attack some program, one of the effective means is to discredit its leader. Edward F. Adams, former president and one of the founders of the Commonwealth Club of California, says in this connection:

> Nobody seems willing to believe good of another if evil can possibly be imputed. Nobody can propose any change for the better without antagonizing those who profit by abuses. These proceed promptly to lie about the reformer, and contemptible as they are known to be, they are usually believed. Discussion promptly shifts from the merits of the proposed measure to the demerits of its unfortunate projector. Before the exact degree of his depravity is ascertained the reform is forgotten.[1]

## EVALUATION OF PROPAGANDA

Obviously, some propaganda is inimical to the best interest of society. The question naturally arises as to how such propaganda

[1] *The Commonwealth*, 1936, **12**, 150. Commonwealth Club of California.

can be prevented. This leads to the broader question of what is good and what is bad propaganda, or what are the criteria by which goodness may be established in this connection. The subject can be best considered in terms of: (1) the truth or falsity of the propaganda, (2) the action which is proposed, (3) the attitudes to be established in the minds of those influenced and (4) the objectives, which are frequently concealed at the beginning of the campaign.

A snowshoe is good or bad depending upon how well it supports a man walking in the snow. It should not be labeled good if it carries a physician to his patient and bad if it is used by a murderer to reach his victim. Similarly, propaganda is good or bad only insofar as it succeeds or fails to carry out the purpose for which it is used, that is, whether it is effective or not. Thus, the better (more efficient) Russian propaganda is, the worse it is from the standpoint of those opposed to it. When people talk about good and bad propaganda and how the latter should be controlled they do not really refer to the device of propaganda itself but rather to the purpose for which it is used. Their own efforts to influence people are always good; it is the other fellow's propaganda that needs to be controlled.

**Truthfulness of Propaganda.**—Society has long dealt with false statements and already has postal regulations and laws against slander, libel, and the like. To protect politicians the English law provides a fine not to exceed £100 if the name and address of the printer and publisher are omitted from a poster relating to the candidature of any person for Parliament and other offices. Propaganda publicly making dishonest statements can be controlled.[1]

But unfortunately much undesirable propaganda will not fall under the class of propaganda publicly making dishonest statements. One very undesirable sort is spread by word of mouth. No one knows whence it comes and exactly what is back of it. We had many stories thus circulated against the Germans during the World War, and we have the same sort of thing carried on against prominent men almost all the time. Stories of Theodore Roosevelt's excessive drinking were thus circulated, and it was not until they were publicly expressed that he had an opportunity of disposing of them through law suit. Such word-of-mouth propaganda is fostered in times of emotional stress and particularly wherever people believe that they are not being told all the facts. The best possible cure for it is publicity of the sort that makes people *believe* they are getting all sides to the question.

In addition to this sneaking, underhand propaganda there are all sorts of campaigns which are very undesirable, but which adhere

[1] See p. 155.

technically to the truth. They cannot, accordingly, be prosecuted for dishonesty. Some of them give false impressions just the same.

Then there are other kinds of propaganda which deal with this subject in so general a way that no one can challenge their statements. One of the packing companies ran an advertisement some time ago which came no nearer to stating facts than this:

> Possibly, we are partially to blame for the lack of understanding which exists in regard to our business. In the past, knowing that attacks upon us have been based on tissues of half-truths, adroitly handled innuendo and misinformation, we may have forgotten that the public were not in full possession of the facts.

The statement is a very clever one, undermining criticism without giving a single fact in reply except the company's own belief that all attacks have been based on half-truths.

To require that propaganda contain truths and not falsehood is a desirable regulation, but it will not stop undesirable campaigns.

**Proposed Action.**—If the proposed action is that of buying, it is not difficult to evaluate the propaganda or advertising as it would usually be in this case, upon the grounds that the individual did or did not get value received. But if the proposed action is that of giving money for some cause or charity, justification upon such grounds is far more difficult. If a woman, very fond of cats, wants to endow a hospital for them, run by thoroughly incompetent people whom she likes, isn't that sufficient to justify her action and the propaganda, as far as she is concerned? It is hard to attack such action in terms of the rights of individuals, but it is being more and more attacked upon the grounds of social welfare. Businessmen through their chambers of commerce in sheer defense are increasingly investigating such propositions and in many places list the charities that they will countenance. Out of the war has come the Community Chest movement, whereby all social agencies in a district make up their budgets in advance; then, after they have been gone over by both disinterested and interested parties, a single united effort is made to raise the total amount in one campaign for the year. Such plans help the worthy cause and interfere with the unworthy one. But they do not eliminate the unworthy campaigns.

The establishment of bureaus whose business it is to investigate all organizations asking for funds renders it easier to determine whether the program of an organization is desirable or not. Can society go further here? Can society not only positively help the worthy cause, but put the unworthy, inefficient, or unnecessarily duplicating agency out of business? There is no question but that many individuals are being fooled every year and much money squandered through such

non-worth-while causes. But at the same time, we must remember that most new uplift movements have encountered great opposition at the start, and to increase this opposition still more through the establishment of legal regulations may do society in the long run more harm than good.

In addition to campaigns to sell a commodity or service or to obtain gifts, there are other campaigns devoted to accomplishing specific actions of a sort much more difficult to estimate fairly. Political campaigns aim to secure votes for certain men; propaganda appears from time to time to influence citizens to vote for or against certain measures; propaganda appeared in many forms some time ago, appealing to citizens of the United States to intervene in Mexico; lobbies are familiar accompaniments to our legislatures, each one aiming to accomplish a specific program; unions appeal to public opinion to aid them in winning a strike and companies appeal to the same public to help them prevent or break the strike, etc. We are so accustomed to our political machinery that we do not often stop and ask ourselves whether it is geared up so as to serve society in the best way. Only when some enthusiastic social uplifter boasts that she and four others alone put a measure through a state legislature by the use of skillful lobbying, or a secretary of a businessmen's organization calmly announces months in advance that Congress will do away with a bureau because his organization is demanding such action, and his prophecy comes true, does one wonder whether some sort of control of propaganda would not be worth while even here. And one waxes quite indignant, as did a former Secretary of War, when he comes to realize that much of the propaganda for bringing back the bodies of our dead soldiers was instigated by the journal of the undertakers and casket makers.

To control propaganda in terms of the proposed program facts are essential. These may be ascertained in some cases, but not all. And in many of the cases where facts can be obtained it is necessary for them to be reviewed by a body of experts, since the average man is not competent to pass judgment upon many technical matters. In the case of struggles between capital and labor, we are steadily advancing toward the insistence that both sides shall present the facts as they see them and also toward the establishment of tribunals which shall weigh all the facts and decide the issue. The impartial chairmanship program maintained by the clothing industry in Chicago and other cities has worked very satisfactorily. The great merit of such a program lies in the fact that complaints are studied and evaluated very shortly after they arise, thus eliminating the getting under

headway of extensive propaganda with all the arousal of emotions that propaganda assures.

A political campaign is supposed to be a trial as to the merits of the two sides before all the citizens who through their votes decide the issue. This is the theory of democracy. It works pretty well in many cases, surprisingly well in some. But in most campaigns the issue is not clean-cut and in nearly all campaigns the political strategist endeavors to confuse the issue, so that many a time a citizen votes against what he really wants.

But there are many issues today, strongly supported by a minority, regarding which it is difficult to obtain facts. As long as one side is insistent and the other side largely indifferent, society cannot expect that the minority will present facts regarding their claims; for it is not facts that will sell the program, but emotion and the emotion which is aroused needs not to be logically connected with the issue.

**Attitudes Established by Propaganda.**—The ultimate objectives of concealed propaganda will be achieved only when certain favorable attitudes have been established in the minds of the followers. Is it possible to control propaganda by inquiring into the attitudes which it aims to set up?

We have seen that theoretically any emotion may be aroused as the basis for stirring one to act and that there needs be little or no rational connection between the two. The detailed suffering of a little girl and her kitten can motivate our hatred against the Germans; arouse our sympathy for the Chinese, or any other nationality; make us enthusiastic for the Red Cross; or lead us to give money for support of a home for cats. The story may be true or concocted for the purpose; the inferences against the Germans or for the home for cats may also be true or false; the organization carrying on the propaganda may be efficiently administered or not—all these considerations little concern us. We feel the emotion, we want to do something because by acting we shall feel better, and away we go, regardless of mere intellectual considerations.

When a sentiment has been established the individual may do almost anything that he feels will advance the cause in which he is interested. Can a propagandist be held responsible for the actions of his followers because he stirred them up originally? A newspaper publisher's propaganda against McKinley may have caused that president's assassination, as some have felt. But is the publisher responsible for an act he did not specifically advocate, even though, for the sake of argument here let us say, he did stir the assassin emotionally and against the President? To maintain that the publicise

is responsible for what his followers do seems very unfair: to hold that he is entirely unaccountable opens the way for most subtle and dangerous attacks on society.

Here is the real psychological problem concerning propaganda. Take away the emotional element, and society need have no fear of propaganda; for man is always very slow to act in terms of ideas alone. Witness his indifference when he really knows the political organization in control of his municipality is flagrantly dishonest. He does nothing until his emotions are aroused by a whirlwind speaker or by personal injury. So long as a radical writes or speaks in a philosophical manner, society can rightly be indifferent. But when he discards the intellectual aspects of his views, seizes upon some slogan and fills his writings or speeches with concrete tales of human suffering and the arrogance of the rich, society rightly becomes alarmed; for now the radical is setting fire to dynamite and neither he nor anyone else can tell what may result.

**Objectives of the Leaders.**—In revealed propaganda the action proposed coincides rather closely with the objectives of the leaders instituting the propaganda, but in concealed propaganda the proposed actions may be for the purpose of solidifying the group and only after that has been accomplished is the real objective revealed. Here the ultimate objectives of the leaders may differ greatly from the actions proposed at the beginning. Can objectives, or motives, be determined and if so, can men be held responsible for motives when they have not yet acted in terms of them?

What is aimed at in concealed propaganda is the development of a broad sentiment with the perfectly clear understanding that when this sentiment is established the individual will do something to forward the cause. To evaluate the propaganda in such cases, the entire program must be considered. And as individual members of a big movement emphasize different aspects, it is very difficult to determine just what the movement stands for. For example, legal action was instigated some time ago against a union because in its constitution, if the writer remembers correctly, it stood for a soviet type of government. But no progress could be made because no specific action had been taken by the union, openly against the laws of the United States. Now, possibly the constitution as far as this point was concerned was, and had always been, a dead letter. But possibly the point was the very heart and center of the union's life. Still, how can its propaganda be limited until it has resulted in definite action? But if it cannot be controlled until antilegal action commences, then there can be no control of such situations until most of the harm (or good) has been

accomplished. For if the propaganda has accomplished the establishment of a certain sentiment without interference and then specific action has been suddenly advocated, no legal machinery in existence can stop the action. The existence of a sentiment in Great Britain, that treaties to which they were a party must be observed, was one of the factors that forced that nation into war with Germany when the latter violated the neutrality of Belgium. As Sir Edward Grey said, "My God, what else could we do?"

## CONTROL OF PROPAGANDA

It has been suggested that propaganda could be regulated by national control of all publicity. Would such regulated and censored publicity help here?

The two extremes of publicity are no freedom of speech and complete freedom to say whatever one wants to. The Anglo-Saxons have decided that freedom is better than no freedom. Where there is centralized control of all publicity the tendency is for the public to lose interest in the news, knowing it is so one-sided. Knowledge that there is censorship also leads to all manner of mouth-to-mouth whisperings—the most insidious and undermining of all propaganda.

Regulation of publicity by the government must inevitably drift into government monopoly of propaganda and censorship. These strike at the basic concepts of popular government. Such a "cure" must be worse than the ailment itself.

Another means of controlling propaganda lies in educating the public to an understanding of the methods employed in propaganda. It is thought that man likes to feel he is being appealed to on logical grounds: that he resents being "soft-soaped"; and that he does not want to be "worked," or to have something "put over on him." Possibly, it is contended, articles such as have appeared recently in our magazines recounting the methods by which propagandists have fooled men and women may educate the public to see through a publicity campaign. Undoubtedly much can be accomplished in this way; nevertheless, man's desires determine to so large a degree what he believes that it is futile to expect that he will ever rationally work out many of his ideas. Clever appeals to the emotions will nearly always win when pitted against intellectually held convictions.

**Facts, a Basis for Control.**—The only basic control of propaganda is knowledge of the facts. In the words of the Bible, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free." This is the only escape for individuals or society: otherwise we are slaves to the spoken word.

The test as to whether propaganda is truthful or not rests upon what are the facts. Similarly, the test as to whether the program of a propagandist organization is desirable or not is information regarding the feasibility of the program and the capability of the propagandists to carry out the program.

If propaganda is to be evaluated in terms of the attitudes which are formulated in the minds of the public, it will be necessary to determine the effect of such attitudes, not only upon the individuals concerned, but also upon society in general. Thus, a propaganda based upon attitudes of envy, jealousy, and hatred toward the rich is in itself undesirable as compared with one which arouses feelings of pleasantness and the desire to cooperate with and serve others.

The practical difficulty of controlling propaganda through the use of facts is that in many cases it is difficult and expensive to ascertain the facts. And furthermore in some cases, at least, a minority which has everything to gain and little to lose by its program senses that appeals to emotion are far more likely to win than are appeals to reason, and so it is scarcely interested in digging up the facts. In such cases the onus of ascertaining the facts must be borne by the majority, who until seriously threatened see no need for spending effort in order to continue the *status quo*. The result is that programs such as the Townsend old age pension plan can secure tremendous headway before facts are really brought to bear on the subject.

The use of facts to combat propaganda necessitates research, publicity, and a tribunal which decides the issue.

The ascertainment of facts must be done by experts who are trained in research methods in the particular branch of knowledge involved. Very often the necessary facts are known only to experts who are not interested in the issue before the public; and many times each expert knows only a few of the necessary facts, so that no one person really knows what facts are available. Research then is needed to ascertain the facts and to assemble them so that they will apply to a particular issue.

**Publicity.**—Once the facts are available, they must be presented to the public. Here there are two problems—translation from the language of the experts into the language of the common citizen and dissemination of the information. The latter calls for intelligent independent newspaper, magazine, and radio leadership, representative of many different points of view. Unfortunately, the drift in the newspaper business is toward the consolidation of opposition newspapers in small towns and the grouping of many newspapers scattered over the country under one management. If this trend

keeps up, all newspaper publicity will be in the hands of a very few men. "In Great Britain it is estimated that three ownership groups, that of Lord Rothermere, that of Lord Beaverbrook, and that of Berry Brothers, now supply 80 per cent of the reading public with their daily quota of news."[1]

The radio did not insist upon freedom of speech, as did the newspapers, at the time of formulating codes under the N.R.A. As a result they,

> . . . already under license, went under a code which contained no provision guaranteeing the right of speech or equal opportunity of discussion over the air. And in August, 1933, one of the members of the Federal Radio Commission issued a formal statement in which he informed broadcasters that any remarks made over their stations derogatory to or in criticism of the administration's program and policies would subject the offending station to a possible revocation of license.[2]

The radio is faced with a different situation from that confronting newspaper publicity. Because programs must be limited by the number of hours in a day, editorial selection for the radio must be more severe than in newspapers, for the latter can print additional pages. The directors of broadcasting companies have, therefore, great power as regards what will be given out over their stations. Those thus omitted from the air program have some justification for calling such selection censorship. As far as the writer knows, there has been no serious complaint of the action of the broadcasting companies in this respect or of any unwarranted interference by the Federal Radio Commission, but as long as both have censorship power it may be exercised.

Even if there were far more "independent" newspapers and broadcasting stations than there are, it would be most desirable to separate their editorial policies more distinctly from the interests of the advertisers who actually supply their profits. If this were accomplished, it would still be necessary for society to work out some more satisfactory method than now exists of providing the groups of poor people with adequate publicity to offset the enormous advantage that groups composed of wealthy people have in commanding the printed page. Too few newspapers print today, and too few can ever afford to print, the detailed testimony in a labor controversy, yet unless the laboring man feels that his side is presented, he will have supplied to him and will read wild denunciations of capital instead of the sworn testimony

[1] CATLIN, W. B., "The Labor Problem," pp. 308–309, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

[2] HANSON, E., "Official Propaganda and the New Deal," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1935, **179**, 177.

of his leaders as given before a board of arbitration. Even under the ideal conditions of unbiased[1] publicity media, if both sides resort to emotional appeals without much reference to the facts of the case, really constructive solutions will not necessarily emerge.

**Tribunal Before Which Facts Are Presented.**—The most practicable program for control of propaganda is not censorship nor regulation by those in power but provision that both sides to a controversy present their views, with emphasis upon the facts as both see them rather than upon appeals to emotion. When society is more accustomed to arbitration, it may be possible to set up tribunals to review both sides of different controversies. There is a distinct advantage in having two kinds of tribunal—one which gives a decision and the other which does not. There are some controversies between two minorities which concern the majority very little. Here a decision by a tribunal would be of distinct aid to the majority by saving it the trouble of investigating the case. Many cases tried before the courts today are essentially of this nature. But most questions about which there is extensive propaganda must be decided in a democracy by the people. Here a decision by a tribunal will have some influence but will not be accepted as final. Since this is the case, there would often be a decided advantage in having the tribunal not render a decision but merely require a thoroughgoing presentation of both sides of the case; for what society needs is some good way of forcing the antagonists to face the facts and to have those facts presented to the public.

The Commonwealth Club of California and the Institute of Pacific Relations are admirable examples of privately controlled tribunals before which both sides present their cases. The membership of the former frequently vote on the issues which have been presented; the membership of the latter are content to provide all sides with an opportunity to have their say and let the facts so presented speak for themselves. There is no question but that the former organization influences the voting in California very considerably. All universities are to a considerable degree tribunals where questions are discussed by men who can be, and usually are, unbiased because they are not personally concerned in the matter.

How far the government can go in this regard is still a question. Government represents the majority as opposed to the minority. The advantages of the majority in power are so great that it is doubtful if society will gain by giving that majority the right to set up tribunals

[1] It is, indeed, a question whether "unbiased" media are desirable. Should not a newspaper, for example, have views of its own and express them? In many a paper the editorials are one of the best features.

to settle debated questions and to control propaganda in terms of such decisions. But any tribunal which forces both sides to present their cases, leaving the final decision to the general public, would be a genuine gain.

## PROPAGANDA FOR WAR AND PEACE

Modern warfare is a conflict between two or more nations in which not only the armed forces but all the civilians are involved. To win, morale both of the troops and of the people at home must be maintained. Propaganda has been found very useful in this respect; also, as an offensive measure to undermine the morale of the enemy. Every nation, consequently, gives great publicity to favorable news and suppresses as far as possible what is unfavorable. Thus during the World War,

> . . . the first instructions to the official Petrograd Telegraph Agency and all Russian newspapers were: "All our military and naval successes must be published, our losses and unsuccessful operations must not be mentioned or talked about, the number of prisoners taken by us must always be exaggerated, raids of enemy air forces must never be published."[1]

The principal topics of German propaganda in enemy countries, according to Lutz, were: proclamation of the certainty of German victory, proclamation of disaffection between the Entente Powers resulting from their divergent war aims, encouragement of nationalist and revolutionary movements within the British and Russian empires, attempts to inflame antipatriotic or defeatist opinion in all Entente states, and encouragement of pacifism in enemy and neutral countries.[2]

British propaganda brought the European conflict to the attention of the American people and aroused the sympathies of millions for the Allied Cause. P. C. Mitchell

> . . . divides the subject matter of this propaganda into five parts. First, the militarist ideal in German life with its contempt for arbitration and its malice aforethought toward neutral Belgium. Second, the war policies of imperial Germany and a comparison of these "damnable practices" (atrocities, deportation of workers, submarine warfare, etc.) with Allied methods. Third, a comparison of British colonial methods with German methods. Fourth, the idealistic war aims of the Allies in contrast with the German motives for opposing the new world-order. Fifth, Great Britain's friendship for the United States described in the phrase "hands across the sea."[3]

[1] LUTZ, R. H., "Studies of World War Propaganda," *The Journal of Modern History*, 1933, **5**, 507–508.

[2] LUTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

[3] LUTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 511.

This pro-Ally propaganda, repeated day after day in thousands of communications, unquestionably had a real effect, although various authorities believe that it was not the determining factor in bringing the United States into the war.

Prevention of war can never be accomplished by merely wishing for peace; nor can peace societies achieve their ends by merely getting people to declare that they will not fight. Man is so easily aroused to anger by interference with his "rights" and when angry is so ready to do something to "get even," that skillful propaganda based upon a few well-chosen events will always inflame a nation for war. If war is to be eliminated, at least three things must be effected. First, attitudes favorable to peace must be developed. These must be strengthened in every possible way. These attitudes cannot be passive but must be positively militant in nature. Unless a man is willing to sacrifice for his belief in the value of peace, it will avail little in time of crisis. Second, the factors that tempt a people to indulge in war must be eliminated as far as possible. So long as some men make money by manufacturing and selling munitions and other implements of war they will always be eager for war, since then they can make a fortune. This principle applies not only to munitions but to almost every commodity, since in time of war the civilians need food and clothing just as much as the army needs gunpowder. To remove the temptation of gaining increased prices through war is not easy, for nearly every citizen has a vested interest in the continuance of a war market. Embargoes on commodities and credit are useful but they do not meet the whole situation. In this competitive world, conflict is the normal condition; when the interests of many businessmen in one country are jeopardized by those in another country, then war is quite likely to follow. There must be then, third, such a desire for peace throughout the world that economic competition can be restricted by proper regulations and arbitration. So long as one powerful nation refuses to cooperate and insists upon extending its influence over others, as the Japanese are doing in China, other nations must accept the situation and lose valuable trade or else fight. Force, after all, is still the final arbiter of what may be done.

### ULTIMATE POSSIBILITIES OF USE OF PROPAGANDA

There are definite limits to the use of propaganda. As we have seen, it is dependent upon the existence of a state of mind which, when properly influenced, will lead to the desired behavior. Unless such a state of mind is already in existence or can be developed at reasonable expense, the desired action cannot be obtained through propaganda.

Doob's conclusion[1] that the American workman possesses a set of attitudes which are so opposed to those upon which communism is based that there is little likelihood of this doctrine's being accepted here, is a good illustration of the principle. Despite the enormous expenditure of money by the British to influence Americans to join the Allies, it is doubtful if this propaganda would have succeeded all alone.

It is safe to say, for example, that the sinking of the Lusitania by a German submarine assisted British propaganda in America more effectively than all the distinguished English citizens and royalty who flocked here to spread their Empire's cause in informal contacts.[2]

It is too early to estimate the part played by World War propaganda in victory and defeat. That it was a powerful instrumentality has been clearly proved by the numbers of post-war studies which have steadily developed our knowledge of this complex subject. "A defeated country naturally exaggerates the influence of propaganda." It must always be remembered however that the Allied propaganda efforts on the western front were only successful after their armies took the offensive. Then the veteran German troops realized that the aerial propaganda accounts were fairly accurate, and became demoralized. "But when all allowances have been made, and all extravagant estimates pared to the bone," Lasswell concludes, "the fact remains that propaganda is one of the most powerful instrumentalities in the modern world."[3]

[1] See p. 273.
[2] DOBB, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
[3] LUTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

# PART IV

## TACTICS OF SELLING

The subject matter of selling may be considered in terms of the psychology of the prospect, as in Parts I and II, or of the principles involved in influencing another, as in Part III, or of the precise procedure to be followed by the salesman, as in Part IV.

The question of what a salesman should do is best considered under two main heads. The first deals with his preparation before meeting the prospect. This is frequently spoken of as the "preapproach," although the writer prefers the term "strategy of selling" (see Chap. XII). The second deals with the salesman's procedure when face to face with his prospect, and is discussed under the term "tactics of selling."

The tactics of selling include:

1. Starting the interview (Chap. XVIII).
2. Presenting the proposition (Chap. XIX).
3. Closing the sale (Chap. XX).

A special phase of consumer research (see Chap. XI) is that of locating prospects in connection with personal selling. Chapter XVII discusses this topic which belongs properly under the general heading of acquisition of necessary knowledge, preparatory to determination of sales strategy.

# CHAPTER XVII

## PROSPECTING

The first step in planning a sale is to determine who the prospect is and what his wants and needs are. Without this information the sales manager cannot properly direct his sales force, the advertising manager cannot properly select the media for his advertising nor the appeals to be presented in the advertisements, and the salesman cannot present his proposition from the buyer's point of view. Prospecting from the standpoint of sales manager and advertising manager has already been discussed in Chap. XI on Consumer Research; prospecting by the individual salesman is considered in this chapter.

### METHODS OF LOCATING PROSPECTS

Potential prospects are all those who have some need which can be satisfied by the salesman's goods, and are also financially able to buy. Actual prospects are only those potential prospects whom the salesman has definitely located.

The salesman in a retail store waits upon the prospects who come to him. The specialty salesman must go out and find those to whom he would sell. In between these two extremes fall the remaining salesmen who have more or less prospecting to do.

Eight methods of prospecting may be mentioned.

**1. Prospects Furnished by Sales Manager to Salesman.**—In an established business a new salesman starts in where his predecessor left off. He is supplied with information regarding regular customers and also concerning those prospects his predecessor has failed to sell. Such information is never complete or accurate. New prospects are constantly appearing; old ones die, go into bankruptcy, sell out, or change their business.

The information that is supplied to a new salesman is based very largely upon reports which his predecessor has turned in. Some companies accumulate an amazing amount of data. Other companies do not require reports. In such cases every new salesman has to start at the beginning and build up his territory. Some companies, particularly the larger ones, are continuously carrying on research regarding prospective customers and supply their salesmen with lists of prospects and information about them.

**2. Service Reports.**—There are today many agencies engaged in gathering information about prospective buyers of goods and passing it on to their clients. Thus, a firm selling commodities to be used in the construction of buildings can obtain information covering every building to be erected within a certain territory. Many technical magazines contain items relative to those who are in the market for certain classes of goods.

**3. Cold Canvass.**—The salesman systematically calls upon every man or woman in a certain locality, or upon everyone belonging to a certain group, as every hardware dealer or every physician. In such a procedure there is no opportunity to prepare the sales presentation to meet the *individual* needs of the prospect. In selling brushes this is no great hardship, as every householder may be assumed to need them, but in selling many complex articles it is a real difficulty. The method is frequently wasteful of much time. On the other hand, it leads the salesmen to prospects overlooked by other methods.

One company manufacturing washing machines reports that 95 per cent of its business is directly traceable to its canvassers, who among other things make a business of walking up and down alleys and so coming in contact with women as they hang out their clothes to dry.

Three options are open to the salesman who finds his prospects through cold canvass. He may attempt to sell at the first interview, with no intention of coming back if he fails. This is the usual method of the house-to-house canvasser. Or second, he may make no effort to sell during the first interview, but use the few minutes that are available in getting acquainted. Some salesmen aim to do no more than this, while others, although making no effort to close, endeavor to acquaint the prospect with their firm and their goods. Salesmen selling to dealers, to purchasing agents, and to businessmen with the hope of establishing a permanent connection usually have to cultivate the buyer for some time before obtaining an order. The objective in such calls is to "get close" to the buyer—to establish a friendly personal relationship, so that when a need arises for the salesman's goods he will be thought of and given an opportunity to quote his prices. This objective can be facilitated through appropriate direct-by-mail matter sent from the salesman's home office.

The third option is that advocated for life insurance agents, namely, to spend only a few minutes with the new prospect during the first interview and during that time secure a "picture" of the prospect. In order to determine whether he really is a prospect it is necessary to know his date of birth, his family circumstances, the insurance he now has, and his approximate income; also, how much money he can

save and whether he can start in saving right away. With this information the salesman can return at a subsequent date and present an insurance proposition specifically fitted to the prospect's needs.

**4. Endless Chain.**—At the end of each interview, whether successful or not, the salesman, if tactful, can often secure the names of several who the prospect believes might be interested. The salesman may also obtain a good deal of very valuable information about these people so as to make it possible to plan his presentation in accordance with their needs and wants. Usually in such cases it is difficult to obtain permission to use the prospect's name as an introduction to his friends, but it can often be obtained as a reference. Because many men resent the use of their names unless permission is given, care should be exercised in this regard.

**5. Centers of Influence.**—A modification of the "endless chain" method is called the "centers of influence" method. The salesman interests prominent persons, as well as his own friends, in his proposition without attempting to sell them and after they have shown an interest obtains from them lists of persons who might be interested. It is really surprising how much trouble many individuals will put themselves to in this way. This is a favorite method of the book agent and the salesman of aluminum ware.

**6. Use of Lists.**—In addition to service reports it is possible to obtain lists of names grouped in every imaginable way, as members of an athletic club, of a church, of a profession or trade or occupation, of alumni of a college, etc. Frequently those in such a list have a more or less common interest and so can be interested in a given commodity in much the same way. Classified lists in the telephone directory, as well as lists giving marriage licenses, deaths, births, mortgages, accidents, etc., are valuable. One company which manufactures tile has built up its business almost entirely by direct-by-mail advertising sent to those reported as having taken out a building license, closing the business by the call of a salesman. A representative of a calculating machine studies business conditions and calls upon men in a line of business that at the time is prospering. For example, if there is unusual activity in building construction he restricts his cold canvassing to contractors, to supply houses, and the like. He secures their names from the classified telephone directory.

**7. Direct-by-mail Advertising.**—Extensive lists can often be cut down to those who are really interested by circularizing all by letter and calling upon only those who reply. Usually, this method is utilized by the sales manager in order to obtain names for his salesman

to call upon, but frequently the salesman can do it very profitably himself.

**8. Personal Observation.**—A printing salesman noticed that the garage in which he kept his car was not very prosperous, and he suggested that he could get the owner more business. This he did, to the advantage of the garage man and to his own concern, through increased printing of circulars. This example is typical of thousands of opportunities that only need to be noticed to be taken advantage of. The salesman who forms the habit of asking himself, "How can I serve this man?" will soon have no trouble in keeping well supplied with prospects. He will not have to pay a consultation fee, as did the salesman for a chimney-cleaning device who got for his money the advice, "Look for tall chimneys. Underneath every one is a prospect."

The successful salesman employs, more or less, all these methods. The important thing is to establish some definite procedure which will be consistently followed so as adequately to cover the territory. From time to time a "drive" organized on some new line is of value because it is almost certain to lead to new prospects and it eliminates the monotony of continuing in the same old rut.

**Common Errors in Prospecting.**—The salesman who assumes that everyone is a prospect for his goods wastes a great deal of time talking to those who are not interested and to those who cannot afford to buy. At the other extreme are salesmen who spend so much time in securing really valuable information about their prospects that they have little time left in which to sell. Then there is the salesman who spends a good deal of time looking for "hot tips." This type of salesman does not cover his territory in a systematic manner and he also wastes valuable time waiting for information he should actively seek.

The only rule that can be laid down here is the very general one that the cost of the salesman's time and the profit per interview must both be taken into account, and the salesman must adjust his methods of prospecting accordingly.

Many salesmen who are able to sell to men and women from many walks in life frequently overlook the value of restricting their efforts to a more unified group which would make it possible in talking to new prospects to use the names of customers who are personally known to the new prospect. It is in order to secure this advantage that the calculating-machine salesman restricts himself for several months to selling only contractors and supply dealers of building supplies. During that period he becomes well acquainted with many of these men and their problems, and this information is of aid in approaching other men in that line.

### THE "PICTURE" OF THE PROSPECT

Information about a prospect is spoken of as the "picture" of the prospect. The more nearly complete the picture, the more the salesman can enter into the prospect's desires and plans, and so learn to present his proposition from the buyer's point of view.

A typical "picture" is given in Chap. III, page 24. Here is another of Mr. Acre, as supplied by a salesman of an automatic electric generator.

Charles B. Acre farms about 150 acres in New Jersey and sells his produce in the wholesale produce market in New York City.

He is about forty years old.

Is very much interested in agriculture and agricultural subjects, especially in the cooperation of farmers for the more effective marketing of produce.

Member of the executive council of the Agricultural Board of his county.

Is recognized by the rest of the farmers as the best corn grower in his county, and frequently addresses farmers at farm granges on the subject of corn growing.

He is a clever salesman, being noted for his ability to get always the "top price" in the produce market.

He is a married man with one son who is in business with him.

Is extremely devoted to his wife.

His house, although substantial and well built, was erected 150 years ago, and has no modern conveniences.

He has the reputation of being progressive, and is always the first of the farmers to install modern agricultural implements and methods.

Is not influenced by the action of his neighbors, but proceeds in everything he does upon his own initiative.

The best time to see him is 2 p.m.

Best chance to get his order is to make strong appeal in terms of his love for his wife.

Both of these pictures are much more nearly complete than the average picture that a salesman has. An investigation in one company showed that the salesmen frequently knew nothing about their prospects before calling, seldom possessed as many as six items, and on the average knew less than two facts. To avoid such a condition another company urges its salesmen to secure as far as possible the answers to the following questions before calling:

1. Has the prospect ever used our line in any form?
2. Are any of our customers his friends?
3. Has the prospect ever thought of giving an order to us or to any firm handling our line?
4. Is the prospect aware of the need of our line?
5. Can the prospect really afford it?
6. Has the prospect any friends or acquaintances handling our line or our competitor's line?

7. Is he open to conviction by the right arguments or is he stubborn and resisting?
8. What type of argument would be most effective with him?
9. Has he ever been interviewed by our man or our competitor's man before?
10. When and where is the best time and place to see him?

The items that should be included in the "picture" of a prospect will depend upon many factors—the commodity to be sold, the profit per unit of sale, etc. Generally speaking there are seven different topics to be covered.

**1. Financial Ability to Pay.**—If the price of one's goods is a considerable amount, it is important to know whether the prospect has the necessary money to spend. Salesmen of some highpriced automobiles will not bother with inquiries unless the person has a certain financial rating. They lose some business but they figure they save enough time to warrant it. Ability to pay is important; but the prospect's financial habits and general reputation for carrying out his plans should also be considered.

**2. Physical, Moral, and Occupational Hazard.**—These points are of value to the insurance agent who can easily waste much time in interviewing men only to have the policy turned down by the company because the prospect is physically, morally, or by occupation a poor risk. In many lines the salesman must take such factors into account in connection with his credit department.

**3. Wants of Prospect That Can Be Satisfied by Salesman's Goods.**—This is the key to the sale and should be ascertained as fully as possible before calling. When working up the "picture" of a prospect it is unwise to neglect any want or need the prospect has, just because it seems unrelated to the salesman's product. It is truly amazing to what an extent a salesman with imagination can see a relationship between a seemingly unrelated need and his goods. Even if various needs cannot be related to the goods, it is desirable to know what they are, as frequently they are the cause of objections to the purchase. An automobile salesman may, for example, discover that his prospect, a building contractor, must have an operation. The cost will be given as a reason for not buying an automobile. But a good salesman, who sees that the contractor will be in a weakened condition for some time after he leaves the hospital and at the same time will need to get about, can proceed to sell him a car in terms of these facts.

Hawkins[1] emphasizes an important phase of this point when he writes:

The salesman should have in mind always the ultimate consumer of his goods, when he prospects. If you are selling to a wholesaler or to a retailer, do not pros-

[1] HAWKINS, N., "The Selling Process," Salesmanship, Inc., 1918, p. 128 *ff.*

pect their needs, but the needs of their customers, first of all. Then you will know just what the dealer needs. Very likely the first of his needs will be for some actual knowledge of the conditions in his own local field. He probably won't realize the possibilities of his market. Educate yourself in needs by your prospecting; then pass on what you learn to the buyer. Thus you do him a genuine service at the outset of your relation. Always keep before you the object of true prospecting, which is *service*—the central purpose of all the steps of salesmanship.

**4. Obstacles.**—There is always some obstacle that prevents a want from being satisfied. To know what it is aids materially in selling, as has been pointed out repeatedly before and particularly in Chap. XV.

**5. Objections.**[1]—If a prospect wants to buy the salesman's commodity he will have few or no objections, because he himself will find answers to his objections as they come to mind. But if he does not want to buy, he will present objections, many of which are imagined while he talks. Most of these excuses are merely polite substitutes for saying, "I don't want it." The salesman must learn to handle these excuses, mainly by pretending to answer them but actually by ignoring them.

When the prospect feels a want but does not see how the salesman's commodity will satisfy it adequately, he will desire to be shown, he will raise valid objections and give reasons why the proposition is not adequate. The salesman must be prepared to answer such objections, since they arise because he has not made his proposition clear or has not offered sufficient proof (see Chap. XIX for methods of handling objections).

**6. Interests, Hobbies.**—At the beginning of a sales interview it is frequently advisable to discuss some topic not necessarily related to the proposition to be submitted. This transition period makes it easier for the prospect to forget what he was engaged upon and to provide an opportunity for salesman and prospect to size each other up and get acquainted. Knowledge of the prospect's interests and particularly his hobbies is very helpful in determining what to say in this transition period.

Again and again in the literature on selling one finds references to the fact that a man can be sold through his hobby when all other methods have failed. A hobby is, of course, some subject in which a man is very much interested. Naturally, if it is brought up in a proper manner, the prospect finds pleasure in talking about it. Tumulty[2] has

[1] The distinction between "obstacle" and "objection" is pointed out on p. 255.

[2] TUMULTY, J. P., "In the White House Looking Glass," *The New York Times*, Dec. 13, 1921.

related how Champ Clark was won over through an appeal to his great personal interest in Thomas H. Benton, the great Missouri Senator.

I remember my first meeting him (Champ Clark) in the early part of the Wilson Administration. It was some time in 1913. The administration, naturally, wanted to be on friendly terms with Mr. Clark. He was a great Democrat, and we certainly wanted to be as friendly as possible with all of them. I was deputed to call upon him and let him understand how the Administration felt—in short, to clear away as far as possible any bitterness that might have been left over from the Baltimore convention, in which the nomination had been taken from him by a narrow margin in the eleventh hour. Before going to see him, I was told by one of his friends that the best way to get on a companionable basis with him was to talk about Thomas H. Benton, the great Missouri Senator. So I looked up Benton's book on thirty years in the United States Senate. By the time I went to keep my appointment with the Missourian, I had read the volume— which, by the way, was quite interesting enough to make me forget why I had started it.

Mr. Clark greeted me in a manner of distinct chilliness. He was courteous, as always, but his bow and his handshake had in them a distant dignity by no means reassuring. I sat down, determined to bring Benton into the conversation at the first possible minute. And I didn't have to wait long. My host evidently was not intending to bestow upon me any superfluous words. He provided the needed silence at the very beginning.

"Mr. Speaker," I said, "one of the most fascinating books in the world was written by a great man from your state."

He looked at me interrogatively.

"Yes," I resumed, "Thomas H. Benton's autobiography."

Rather a bald way of introducing my topic, perhaps. But he did not appear to notice anything abrupt about it. His eyes lighted up. He positively smiled.

All went smoothly after that. He talked about the book, quoted from it at length, and told various stories about Benton that were not in the autobiography. Our mutual friend had been right. Benton was an idol of Champ Clark. The ice was broken, and the visit ended satisfactorily.

**7. Personal Characteristics.**—There are many widely advertised systems for sizing up the prospect, through the use of some method of judging his character in terms of his features, color of hair, eyes, length of fingers, style of handwriting, etc. At the present time there is no system that will accomplish what is claimed for it, as has been proved by many careful investigations.[1] Even if such systems

[1] The following present various scientifically conducted investigations in this field:

ADAMS, H. F., "The Mythology and Science of Character Analysis and Psychology Goldbricks," *Scribners*, 1921, **69**, 569–575, and **70**, 94–101.

HOLLINGWORTH, H. L., "Vocational Psychology and Character Analysis," New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1929.

KORNHAUSER, A. W., and F. A. KINGSBURY, "Psychological Tests in Industry," Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1924.

PATERSON, D. G., and K. E. LUDGATE, "Blond and Brunette Traits," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 1922, **1**, 122–127.

were capable of determining how tactful, or industrious, or quick-tempered a person is, which they are not, it would be the rare salesman who could adjust his sales talk so as to appeal in just the correct way to a tactful man and then to a tactless man.

Such information as can be used, under the heading of personal characteristics, can be obtained in a personal interview or from the prospect's associates. His daily habits are useful to know. They determine the best time to see him. Whether he is really as gruff as he seems is worth-while information to have when one is rebuffed, for some men with the biggest of hearts have a most frightening manner toward strangers.

But after all is said on the subject of personal characteristics the main thing to remember is that the key to the person's interest is what he wants. If that is properly called to his mind he will provide time for the interview.

## MANY SALESMEN MUST BE TRAINED TO GET "PICTURES" OF PROSPECTS

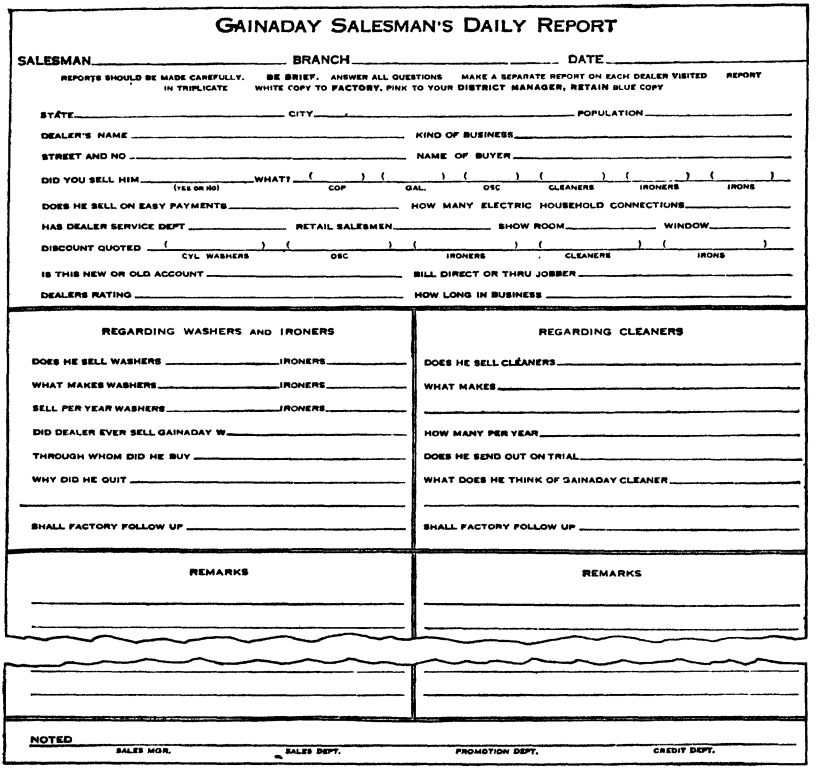
A recent writer, in discussing the importance of prospecting in the insurance business, states "that practically everyone who speaks or writes on the subject says that good prospecting is 60 or 75 or 90 per cent of the job in making money as a soliciting agent."[1] The writer has personally handled a number of salesmen who seem to be utterly unable to go out and secure the "pictures" of half a dozen prospects, yet in the course of several weeks will pick up this information without knowing how they do it. These salesmen were all better than average salesmen but they were apparently unable to approach their prospects until they knew a good deal about them. This situation has been known for twenty years and yet little has been accomplished. A survey of 200 general agents (agency managers) reveals that they spend "perhaps 2 or 3 per cent of their time on improving the prospecting ability or technique of their agency force."[1]

Apparently, getting information about strangers is an ability lacking in many otherwise successful salesmen. Whether they can be trained to do this is a question. It has always seemed to the writer that this function should be assigned to a specialist who would supply the salesmen with the necessary information. Unless this is done the agency manager should see to it that his salesman know what information should be obtained and are systematically drilled in getting it.

[1] WOOD, J. H., "Problems and Opportunities in Prospecting," *Manager's Magazine*, May–June, 1936, 2.

**Prospect Cards.**—Many salesmen find prospect cards a great aid to systematic development of "pictures" of prospects. The blank spaces remind the salesman that he lacks certain information, and help him to keep it in mind so that when he meets those who know the prospect he asks the necessary questions.

**Salesman's Daily Reports.**—The daily reports required of salesmen by many companies accomplish the same aim as that of prospect cards.



GAINADAY SALESMAN'S DAILY REPORT

SALESMAN_____ BRANCH_____ DATE_____

REPORTS SHOULD BE MADE CAREFULLY. IN TRIPLICATE — BE BRIEF. ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS — MAKE A SEPARATE REPORT ON EACH DEALER VISITED — REPORT WHITE COPY TO FACTORY. PINK TO YOUR DISTRICT MANAGER. RETAIN BLUE COPY

STATE_____ CITY_____ POPULATION_____

DEALER'S NAME_____ KIND OF BUSINESS_____

STREET AND NO._____ NAME OF BUYER_____

DID YOU SELL HIM_____ (YES OR NO) WHAT? ( ) COP ( ) GAL. ( ) OSC ( ) CLEANERS ( ) IRONERS ( ) IRONS

DOES HE SELL ON EASY PAYMENTS_____ HOW MANY ELECTRIC HOUSEHOLD CONNECTIONS_____

HAS DEALER SERVICE DEPT_____ RETAIL SALESMEN_____ SHOW ROOM_____ WINDOW_____

DISCOUNT QUOTED ( ) CYL. WASHERS ( ) OSC ( ) IRONERS ( ) CLEANERS ( ) IRONS

IS THIS NEW OR OLD ACCOUNT_____ BILL DIRECT OR THRU JOBBER_____

DEALERS RATING_____ HOW LONG IN BUSINESS_____

REGARDING WASHERS AND IRONERS

DOES HE SELL WASHERS_____ IRONERS_____

WHAT MAKES WASHERS_____ IRONERS_____

SELL PER YEAR WASHERS_____ IRONERS_____

DID DEALER EVER SELL GAINADAY W_____

THROUGH WHOM DID HE BUY_____

WHY DID HE QUIT_____

SHALL FACTORY FOLLOW UP_____

REGARDING CLEANERS

DOES HE SELL CLEANERS_____

WHAT MAKES_____

HOW MANY PER YEAR_____

DOES HE SEND OUT ON TRIAL_____

WHAT DOES HE THINK OF GAINADAY CLEANER_____

SHALL FACTORY FOLLOW UP_____

REMARKS

REMARKS

NOTED

SALES MGR. SALES DEPT. PROMOTION DEPT. CREDIT DEPT.

FIG. 44.—Example of a salesman's daily report blank.

A salesman who has to fill out a report such as the one required by the Gainaday Company (see Fig. 44) must of necessity come to know a great deal about his prospects which will aid him in selling. And such knowledge engenders confidence. Without confidence a salesman is beaten before he opens the door of the prospect's office.

## HOW TO SECURE THE NECESSARY INFORMATION ABOUT A PROSPECT

In cold-canvass selling the picture is obtained as the sale progresses—the salesman notes what he can, adding some items to the total impres-

sion through asking questions. When the profit per sale is considerable, or when it is desired to develop the prospect into a regular customer, much more time can be spent in securing this "picture" of the prospect.

But many a cold-canvass salesman secures a good deal of information about the people next door before leaving a house. Before one salesman, selling to contractors, started work he strolled round town visiting the various houses and buildings under construction and chatting for a few minutes with workmen, foremen, and the contractors themselves. It was amazing the mass of detailed information he picked up in this way. He met, moreover, many of the men with whom he wished to deal.

A salesman discovered that one member of a board of directors was opposing his proposition—in fact, he was reported to be very antagonistic because of a personal row with his predecessor. The salesman instructed his office boy to spend the afternoon getting acquainted with the prospect's office boy and to find out all he could about the man. Then he arranged for a luncheon, and utilizing the information he had secured, kept the prospect talking about his high school and college days, plans for educating his boy and girl, and so on. Before the luncheon was over the two developed the basis for a friendship that has lasted for years. Just as they parted, the salesman said, "You know I am going to appear before your board tomorrow. I am sure that if I can make my proposition clear you will all want it. It's going to be a great help to me to know one of you personally. It was for that I asked you to luncheon."

King[1] has reported how he gets information regarding merchants' scales before he attempts to sell them his line. Upon entering a store he explains to the proprietor that is representing the Toledo Scale Company and that he is testing, free of charge, all scales regardless of makes. He then shows him his audit form and explains that although a scale may cut the line on zero it may not register correctly at other points.

King then writes on his blank the name of the town and the merchant's name, and then asks for the serial number of the scale. This request forces the merchant to come over to the scale in order to read it off.

After adjusting the scale at zero, if it is not already so adjusted, King shows his government certificate that his test weights are absolutely correct. He describes the remainder of his procedure as follows:

> I then put on a weight. If the scale is slow I record the fact and then tell the merchant that I would like to show him how much he is really losing on the first pound. The scale is generally near the stock of sugar, cookies, etc., so I

[1] KING, H. L., "Reading the Merchants' Scales," *The Toledo System;* reprinted in *Printers' Ink*, June 8, 1922.

weight out a pound of merchandise on his scale (he is right beside me and watches this operation). I then take the pound from his scale and put it on my 405, and as there is such a difference between the ounce graduations on the one and on the other, the amount over as shown on the 405 generally starts things going.

I use small cookies wherever available and I lay to one side those he loses on each weighing on his scale, and before I get to 10 pounds there are generally quite a few cookies in the pile to represent what he would have lost. This merchandise (representing loss), which he can plainly see, makes it so much easier to fill out the bottom portion of the audit slip. He thoroughly realizes that he has lost that much merchandise in ten or twenty drafts and it is highly reasonable to him that if he makes fifty or one hundred drafts a day, his loss will be multiplied in comparison.

After I have filled out the lower part of the audit slip and have shown him how much it costs him to operate this scale each year, he must agree with me, because I have shown him how much he would have lost had the merchandise been weighed out to customers on his scale.

I then take the merchandise he has lost and weigh it on my 405 and ask him how much it is per pound. It is usually very easy to show him that his old scale is costing him money . . .

I really cannot cite you one instance, where I have had the opportunity to give the audit form a real workout, that it has been difficult to close a sale.

The sales manager of a well-known product used in interior finish of buildings starts out to study his prospects in this manner. Upon hearing, for example, that the First National Bank is to be remodeled and so may possibly be in the market for his product, he looks in the *Directory of Directors* to find out who are the officers and directors of this bank. Next, he looks up each of these men to ascertain their other business connections. In the case of this particular bank the sales manager finds that among the twelve directors there are three who are already very familiar with his company and its product. Mr. Lough, for one, is vice-president of a large corporation that has bought his product at various times during the last ten years. Mr. Bell is auditor of a large steel company, and Mr. Park is president of another steel company; and it is from these two companies that the sales manager's company buys most of the steel it uses. With this information the sales manager's representative approaches these three directors, feeling assured that they will be interested. After interviewing them, he finds it relatively easy to approach the remaining officials.

Thousands of illustrations of this sort can be obtained from magazines on selling and the personal experiences of salesmen. They illustrate the multiplicity of ways in which information can be obtained. They illustrate also that the wide-awake salesman with imagination has little trouble in finding ways to fill out his "picture" of a prospect.

**In a Retail Store.**—The salesman in a retail store does not have to locate his prospects. Instead they come to him, and in doing so they

usually indicate an interest in his goods. The customer may have definitely in mind just what he wants to buy; or he may have a general idea of what is wanted without having decided concerning the details; or he may have in mind something that he will need before long and merely drop in to see what is for sale; or he may come into the store, or into the salesman's department, with no intention of buying anything at all.

To handle the customer properly it is necessary to size him up and ascertain what he wants and how best to appeal to him. Offhand, this seems difficult. It is surprising, however, how much a good salesman can ascertain by the time he has asked a question or two.

From the way a customer walks in, one can tell fairly well whether he is "decided" or not, also whether self-confident or not, and also whether nervous, shy, and timid or not. In a similar way the salesman can tell to some extent from his general manner whether the customer wants to buy or merely to look around; also, whether he is familiar with the goods or not. Speaking of women customers one writer states:

> If her lip curls or if she frowns or shrugs her shoulders, she is probably dissatisfied. When she is pleased or satisfied her whole face lights up, her eyes have a different gleam, and the muscles of her face relax. If she draws the goods toward her or keeps her hands on it while she looks at something else, something about it has evidently caught her fancy. If she looks at the goods closely or goes back to it repeatedly she is undoubtedly interested in it. You can judge somewhat the points she is most interested in by noticing whether she looks at the price tag, or examines the seams or stitching carefully, or rubs the material between her fingers, or holds the article up to her to see how it looks on her. "If they are interested," states an expert salesman, "they examine closely and attentively what is shown them, their eyes light up, they look up at you frankly, keeping their gaze on either the goods or your face, and they nod their heads. On the other hand, lack of interest or intelligence is shown when their expression remains blank and their eyes dull. They look all around 'as if their minds were miles off,' and they let the article lie where you put it."

The tone of voice and the language used indicate fairly well whether the customer is refined and well-bred or not, whether pleasant or disagreeable, and whether an American or a foreigner. From the customer's clothes, particularly in the case of women, the salesman can obtain clues as to what she will want as regarding quality, taste, and style, for a customer is likely to buy articles in harmony with what she has already bought. On the other hand, price cannot be determined so well, for many well-dressed persons buy cheap articles and poorly dressed men and women buy some expensive articles. What is appropriate in the way of clothing is determined by the customer's

general appearance. But if the prospect does not like the salesman's selection such estimates have to be discarded.

In addition to sizing up the customer it is necessary for the salesman to ascertain just what the customer wants. There are four general ways of doing this: by asking questions; by displaying goods before asking questions; by listening to the customer's questions and comments; and by watching her expressions and actions as she looks at merchandise. It is advisable to ask questions in order: (1) to start a sale; (2) to narrow down the possibilities of the goods to be shown; (3) to coax an opinion from a customer who talks little; and (4) to obtain information which may enable the salesman to help the customer make up her mind about the goods. There is a danger, however, in asking too many questions, for, as a result, the article may be so definitely described that there will be nothing in stock to meet the requirements.

The salesman can often discover, in the second place, what the customer wants by displaying goods before asking questions. He can do this when the customer has picked up an article and is looking at it closely, by showing other articles of about the same kind and saying, "We have that in a dark blue, too. Did you see it?" In the more usual case, the customer immediately announces what she wants. Then it is important that the salesman pay attention to what is said and show what is asked for and not almost everything at hand, as though the customer had not expressed any preference.

# CHAPTER XVIII

## STARTING THE INTERVIEW

Before considering the main topic of the chapter it is well to digress a moment in order to consider what are the duties of a salesman.

### DUTIES OF A SALESMAN

The duties of salesmen differ very considerably depending upon the product or service sold, the type of prospect, the geographical area, and to some degree the type of personality of the salesman himself. A complete description of any particular salesman's duties would occupy several pages. For our purpose the following outline is sufficient. It "will fit no particular salesman's job, perhaps, but it should serve as a guide in determining the items of any job. It indicates clearly the possibility of breaking up the salesman's job into distinct elements for close observation and study."

1. Making the sale. (*a*) Gets acquainted with the prospect and gathers information concerning him. (*b*) Plans the interview. (*c*) Analyzes the prospect's needs. (*d*) Demonstrates. (*e*) Presents facts and reasons; answers objections. (*f*) Appeals to buying motives during the interview. (*g*) Fights competition. (*h*) Writes sales letters and written propositions to be submitted. (*i*) Creates good will toward himself by talking on topics not related to the sale of his product. (*j*) Solicits signed orders. (*k*) Makes collections; determines prospect's credit rating. (*l*) Helps other salesmen.

2. Routine duties. (*a*) Follows instructions. (*b*) Makes reports. (*c*) Keeps records. (*d*) Takes proper care of his equipment and stock. (*e*) Keeps himself informed concerning latest prices, changes in product, etc.

3. Service. (*a*) Installs his product. (*b*) Trains operators. (*c*) Trains dealers to resell. (*d*) Helps dealers resell.

4. Executive duties. (*a*) Plans the day's work. (*b*) Plans ahead. (*c*) Supervises the work of his assistant salesman. (*d*) Develops self-initiative by taking care of his health, by associating with successful salesmen, by studying, and by reading inspirational literature, etc. (*e*) Observes facts in his territory that have a bearing on the sale of his product. (*f*) Gathers local sales arguments. (*g*) Works out new ideas and makes suggestions to superiors.

5. Creating of good will toward himself and his company. (*a*) Renders good will services that are not related to the sale of his product. (*b*) Adjusts complaints and grievances. (*c*) Participates in social affairs of community. (*d*) Boosts his company.[1]

[1] KENAGY, H. G., and C. S. YOAKUM, "*The Selection and Training of Salesmen*," pp. 79–80, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1925.

This and the following three chapters are concerned with items (*a*) to (*j*) under "1. Making the sale." The remaining items are important but as they are only indirectly related to influencing are disregarded here.

## THE STRATEGY OF THE PROSPECT

It is a mistaken notion that the salesman does all the work in selling. Selling is a good deal like checkers. A man wins if he can carry out his own plan and block his opponent's schemes.

The prospect divides those who call upon him into three classes—clients, personal friends, and others. Clients and personal friends are always welcome, even though they come at an inopportune time. They are welcome because they represent more business, or more pleasure.

No such welcome is ready for those in the third class. The prospect would gladly exclude all those who are not clients from his office, for, in the main, they come there to get something from him. But for a variety of reasons he never dares to exclude them all.

Every businessman receives callers who come from his home town, or are friends of his friends, or belong to the same club or business association. To exclude them would be to hurt the feelings of some friend. He also receives strangers who promise to impart valuable information of one sort or another. From experience, he has learned also that some prospective clients are close-mouthed and will not reveal the object of their visit until they have had a chance to size him up and find him to their liking. To exclude such men means a loss of business. It is better to take a chance on wasting time in seeing people than to turn away a possible opportunity.

The chief desire of any prospect is, accordingly, to size up the stranger and his proposition as quickly as possible. If the proposition is uninteresting the whole strategy of the prospect is to get rid of the caller; but, because few men wish to be known as discourteous, his aim is not only to dismiss the visitor but to do it pleasantly.

Businessmen who are sure of themselves and are able to dismiss others quickly and easily are usually easy to reach. But those who cannot get rid of callers readily are most likely to set up barriers in the form of secretaries. They really have to do this or they would have little or no time to devote to their own affairs.

The significance of this to the salesman is: The secret of success in securing an interview is to behave like a man whom a prospect would not want to exclude.

## SECURING THE INTERVIEW

In any treatise on this subject all phases of securing an interview must be considered. Those cases where great difficulty is experienced naturally require more space than those where no difficulty is experienced. Because of this a false impression is given. The beginner thinks that securing an interview is a difficult and complicated procedure. But this is not a correct conception. In the majority of cases all there is for a man to do is to walk in, ask for the man he wants to see, then go up to him and start talking. Even when the interview must be secured through the auspices of an office boy or telephone operator, all that is necessary is to give the name of the prospect and then one's own name. Only in a relatively small percentage of cases is anything more required.

The remainder of this section considers what to do when a straightforward request is not sufficient.

**Confidence.**—The most important asset a man can have in securing an interview is confidence in himself. The next most important asset is the ability to act like a man of importance. As has been seen in the preceding section, it is the man of importance who is confident of his right to see the prospect and whom the prospect and his subordinates do not dare to exclude.

All this is easy to say. But how can a man obtain confidence and how can he acquire a manner of consequence?

The salesman must dress the part. It is surprising to note that many men who ought to know better overlook this important detail. Proper dress includes good clothes, well-pressed and brushed, shined shoes, a clean hat and collar, and a good necktie. It also includes clean hands and face, a recent haircut, and a daily shave. It excludes the flashy, for anything that attracts attention to itself distracts the prospect from what is to be said. Observation of successful and prominent men will aid one in acquiring the proper manner.

However, though dress and manner help materially, they do not make the man. They must be vitalized by self-confidence. How shall a man become so confident?

First of all not merely by hoping but by knowing that he can be of service to the prospect. Knowledge rests on facts. As has been repeatedly pointed out already, the salesman must know what the needs of his prospect are. And knowing them he must understand how his goods will supply those needs (see Chap. X for further details).

Second, the salesman must not be afraid of the prospect. Every man dreads to meet strangers, at least until he has learned how to

overcome this very natural tendency. Some men never get over this fear of others; they suffer throughout life. But those who are successful learn to conceal their emotion, to down it, and go ahead regardless of it. It is related of John Hay, one of our greatest Secretaries of State, that:

> Speech-making, even when he had his manuscript before him, was always an ordeal. In composing, he alternated between buoyancy and depression; first, the hot fit, when ideas flamed into his mind; then, the cold fit, when he read over what he had written and the words seemed gray and black and cold. He suffered by anticipation the misery of stage-fright. But once on the platform, although nervous to the end, he rarely failed to win the audience. This success came always as a surprise to him, and he used to chronicle it in his notes to his friends, not out of conceit, but as a bit of unexpected news which might surprise them too. "Luckly," he once said, "the shakes go to my knees and not to my voice."[1]

John Hay is typical of the many who always suffer when contemplating speaking before a crowd or meeting a stranger, but who, nevertheless, learn to control themselves so well that others never suspect their dread. Former President Theodore Roosevelt is typical of those others who gain control of their emotions and cease to fear a stranger. There is no royal road to success in this respect. Each one must learn from one experience after another this form of self-control.

The writer is reminded of one of his former students in life insurance salesmanship. For three years after taking the course this young man sold so little insurance that he was rated a failure, and his lack of success was on several occasions referred to as proof that training a salesman was useless. But the young man persevered, and he developed in personality very markedly until his record was built-up into one of considerable promise. There is little doubt that he will soon stand near the top in his profession. His success is due largely to hard work. As he came to know his subject he developed confidence. Because of his confidence he became able to meet men of affairs and to impress them.

This feeling of salesmen, of loathing to enter an office or call at the next house, is not fear such as is felt toward a bear or a desperado, but timidity at the thought of meeting an unknown man and having to contend for mastery. It is natural for each one to dominate certain persons as he meets them, and to be submissive to others (see Chap. VI). But the salesman must dominate more or less in order to sell. This means that he must strive to dominate many men toward whom he would naturally be submissive. This is unnatural—causes emotional

[1] THAYER, W. R., "Life and Letters of John Hay," Vol. I, p. 431 *ff*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916.

strain. Because failure often results, dread is experienced when the next encounter is planned.

The man who is naturally shy and retiring has probably no business attempting the work of a salesman. Even if he learns to sell he will suffer too much ever to enjoy his work. The man who is naturally dominating enjoys meeting people and mastering them. If there is a class who are born salesmen, they are of this type. The average man can learn how to handle himself if he keeps at it long enough, and he can come to enjoy his work. There is no question of this.

To a considerable extent the dominating man is one who feels physically strong and active and whose bearing suggests all this to those he meets. Daily exercise and freedom from drugs and liquor are aids in this respect. But intellectual ability and mental vigor are also factors. Alexander the Great, Napoleon, and Nelson were all small men, yet they were great leaders. Wherever a man may turn in daily life he meets men who dominate because they have thought out what they are going to do and allow no obstacle to stand in their way.

Every man loses his confidence at times; goes stale, it is said. A rest or a change in occupation frequently is all that is necessary to make him again "rarin' to go." Sometimes his slump is due to the fact that business conditions are bad and he has met an unusual amount of discouragement. Confidence, remember, grows with success, and when there has been little success it is natural to lose confidence. Often the reading of a stimulating novel or biography of some great man is a real help; so also is associating with friends who bring out the best in one. And frequently a salesman can regain renewed zeal by calling upon his satisfied customers. Their enthusiasm is a real tonic.

**Handling Subordinates.**—Every subordinate who stands between the salesman and the prospect has been instructed by the prospect to exclude certain people, to admit others, and to bring information about the remainder to him for final decision as to whether they shall be admitted or not. Each of these subordinates must be won just as the prospect must be won when he is finally reached. If the office boy, for example, is impressed by the salesman, his manner and his remarks will express his favorable impression to the prospect; if he takes a dislike to the salesman, he can announce him as, "Mr. Blank to see you. Looks kind' a like a book agent." Recognizing the responsibility each subordinate has and showing full respect for their work helps to win their favor for the salesman. The remark to a telephone girl, "You have a lot of responsibility, deciding who ought to see the boss," nearly always brings a smile for it is an indirect compliment. Similar

comments to office boys and women employees help to make them feel friendly so that they take a personal interest in the matter. After two or three failures to see a prospect, a direct appeal for the help of the subordinate sometimes works wonders. The asking of a favor is always a diplomatic way of recognizing importance.

Secretaries are instructed to learn the business of callers. That does not warrant them, however, in assuming the right to transact business in their employer's stead. The secretary is careful not to exceed his authority usually. When he asks questions of a salesman, the salesman should remember why the queries are put. They should not be resented. Such as are proper, which are asked to protect the big man from impositions, should be answered frankly and freely. It is a mistake to dodge, for that will excite the suspicion of the secretary. If a question is asked which relates to matters the salesman feels he should take up only directly with the buyer himself, the salesman should say courteously that he wishes to speak with the big man himself on that matter.

A private secretary deals with many callers of big-man size. He will respect any salesman who presents himself with evidence that he is of the same caliber as the people the buyer is accustomed to seeing.[1]

**Use of a Business Card.**—Opinions differ greatly with respect to the use of a card in securing an interview. Some feel that the prestige of their company is a real asset and so have the name upon their cards. Others use plain cards with only their own names upon them. But many feel that when engaged in business a man should not use a card such as is used in social affairs. Then there are some who never present a card but, if necessary, write a note on a piece of paper. These men, however, usually have regular business cards to leave with the prospect at the close of the interview.

The disadvantage of the business card is that it often supplies the prospect with sufficient information to justify him in deciding whether he will see the salesman or not. Consequently, when the salesman has reason to believe that the prospect will refuse to see him if he guesses the nature of his business, it is best to send in a note instead of the card.

When the salesman employs the practice of sending in a note, he should devote real thought to the matter. This note should arouse a want but should not indicate the solution. If it does, the prospect can decide then and there whether he desires to consider the matter. The message, "Advertising Prospect's Technical Apparatus to every scientist in the country," secured interviews wonderfully well for a representative of a technical journal. Dr. Barnes, in Chap. III, would have received, in all probability, the insurance agent, Mr.

[1] HAWKINS, N., "The Selling Process," Salesmanship, Inc., 1918, Chap. VI.

Bagley, if the latter had sent in word he wanted to talk about "a Wesleyan program."

**Personal Introductions.**—When the profit per unit of sale is large, the salesman can afford to spend the necessary time to meet the prospect first of all in a social way. Many men value connection with a country club, fraternal order, or business association because it affords them this opportunity. One assistant sales manager is scheduled to play golf three afternoons a week for this very purpose. Others make a regular business of getting a mutual friend to introduce them to a prospect or take them to lunch together. In South American countries this is the approved procedure. There is no doubt that there is a growing tendency in some lines in this country to carry on business in this way.

A salesman upon coming to a large city went to the Builder's Exchange, explained his business to the secretary, and obtained from him the names of the members. Then he went to the president and other officers and attempted to sell them. Thereafter, when he called upon a contractor he introduced himself and said, "I have just been talking with Mr. Secretary, Mr. President, Mr. Vice-president and Mr. Treasurer. May I have a few minutes of your time?" He had no difficulty in securing his interviews. This method of using names will work in almost any line providing the prospect knows the men who are named and particularly when they are in the same business as he is. The prospect can hardly afford to turn down an unknown proposition which his competitors know about.

A letter of introduction, even from the salesman's own sales manager, or an introduction on the back of a card will usually secure an interview. But, of course, this device cannot be used upon any subsequent call.

The salesman of aluminum utensils calls first of all upon some prominent woman or the president of a ladies' aid society of a church and interests her in having a demonstration given to her friends. There he meets all those who attend and later calls upon them in their homes. Similarly, the book agent calls first upon the leading men in town and then secures his further interviews through use of their names.

In calling upon a prospect, knowledge of his name materially increases the chances of meeting him, and knowledge of the names of several of his acquaintances increases the chances still more. Merely asking for the buyer acknowledges lack of knowledge of the company. If the salesman does not know the name of the man he wishes to see, he can often find out his name by telling the clerk he wishes to see Mr.

_____ "Oh I can't recall his name. He is the buyer of office furniture." And the clerk will say, "Mr. Black." The salesman replies, "Yes, please tell him Mr. Salesman is here."

**Use of the Telephone.**—Some buyers estimate that 75 per cent of their business is done over the telephone today. The introduction of a new commodity is usually made in person, but once confidence is established, the telephone is employed by both buyer and seller in a great many cases. And much of the business now secured by "order takers" could be done over the telephone just as well and with a great saving of time.

One corporation has been able to increase the actual time spent by salesmen in contact with prospects from half an hour to two and a half hours, and the number of interviews from four interviews to thirteen. This has been accomplished by putting in a system whereby the salesman must lay out each day's activities through making appointments by telephone or otherwise. This is the established custom in England.

The telephone conversation of a successful salesmen runs somewhat like this:

"Mr. Jones, my name is Smith. I am planning to be in your office at exactly 10:15 tomorrow morning, and am wondering if I could see you for five minutes."

"What for?"

"To tell you about a new kind of insurance—to explain a service that has to do with the safeguarding of your records."

At this point Mr. Jones usually asks Smith whom he is with. Smith tells him and then adds:

"The chances are I can tell you something you would be glad to know. We have got onto some new wrinkles in the way of keeping records that I know you want to hear about. Of course so far as buying is concerned, that is a matter we can talk about later or not at all, just as you prefer."

A salesman in an entirely different line, after introducing himself, explains his request for an interview in about these words:

"I would like to drop in and talk over for a few minutes a matter that Mr. Edwards (a friend of the prospect) believes you will be interested in, or at any rate be mighty glad to hear about. Which will be more convenient for you—10:30 or 3 this afternoon?" (Here he tries to force a decision on which time, not on whether he may have the interview or not.)

**Handling a Prospect Who Refuses to See the Salesman.**—When a prospect sends out word that he is "busy" the salesman should endeavor to get an appointment at another hour, suggesting two or three specific times. When the salesman will not be back for some time it is proper to be more insistent. He should then suggest another hour that same day; or explain the situation to the subordinate and

appeal to him to arrange the interview. If the salesman has a really good talking point, it is better still to send in a note in which he communicates this point to the prospect, thus: "Sugar is going up 20 cents tomorrow morning," or "I wanted to give you first choice on our agency. But I have been instructed to close with you or Jones & Larkin today." When a man says he is "busy" he means nothing more or less than that he wants to continue doing what he is doing rather than to talk to the visitor. If the visitor arouses some want sufficiently the prospect will find time to see him.

**Handling a Prospect Who Has a Visitor.**—If the proposition is of a personal nature, there is no option but to say, "I see you are busy now. As I wished to see you about a personal matter, may I return at three o'clock this afternoon?" This is a hint for the visitor to leave, or for the prospect to go with the salesman into another room, or else to see him later.

If the proposition can be discussed before a stranger, the salesman can go ahead. But he is handicapped. The stranger, not being particularly interested, will not pay good attention and at an inopportune moment is likely to raise some issue which may upset the sales talk.

**When to Take a Second Salesman with You.**—Every salesman has occasionally to face partners, or father and son, or even a committee of the board of directors. It is bad enough to have one prospect raising objections but it is well-nigh impossible to cope with two or more opponents who, when they are not talking, are concocting trouble. It often pays in such a case for two salesmen to call. When this is done one of the two should be in charge and do the major part of the talking. The second can relieve him from time to time, particularly in the matter of handling objections.

As a general rule two men can secure an interview when one would fail. This is particularly the case when one can announce himself as a sales manager. Visits of sales managers are out of the ordinary and suggest an important deal.

## STARTING THE INTERVIEW

The usual discussion of this topic starts with the problems of "getting attention" and "securing interest." As has been seen, these mental states are mere by-products of a good interview. The real problem is: "What can I say in two or three sentences which will arouse one of Mr. Prospect's wants?" Whenever a man experiences a want he is automatically attentive and interested and desirous of hearing more.

The salesman is, of course, actuated by desire for the commission from the sale. The more he can forget this and have in mind what the prospect will get out of the sale, the more likely he is to have confidence in himself, and to arrest the attention of the prospect. Once the latter is conscious of the possibility of gain, he is ready to listen.

**The Introduction.**—The most usual introduction is: "Mr. Prospect, I am Mr. Salesman of Smith & Jones Motor Company." Another introduction is: "Mr. Prospect, I am calling on you at the suggestion of our mutual friend, Mr. White. My name is Mr. Salesman." It is often of advantage at this point to hand the prospect a card so that he may get the exact names of the speaker and his company.

The salesman should let the prospect take the initiative about shaking hands. But if allowed an opportunity, the salesman should give a good, hearty shake. A manly handshake and a hearty smile help very much in forming a friendship. All find it hard to turn down a man who smiles and makes one smile in return.

An actor can learn to give a hearty handshake and smile and look the part, but most people will not impress a stranger unless they really like the prospect. Liking people can be cultivated. Anyone who looks for desirable qualities in people will like almost everyone, for all have some really good qualities.

**Preliminary Remarks.**—During the few seconds the salesman is laying his hat and top coat on a chair and is seating himself, if a chair has been indicated, there is opportunity to make a few casual remarks. These should be in a cheerful key and of a sort which the prospect is likely to agree to. The prospect should be allowed to continue the subject if he will, because three or four minutes spent in a social way help each to size up the other and become more at ease.

When a salesman takes a prospect to lunch this social part of the interview is extended well into the middle of the meal. In fact, in many cases the real business to be transacted is not broached until the cigars are lighted.

*Entering Wedge* —Many salesmen do not make an abrupt transition from social conversation to the business at hand, but employ what is called an "entering wedge" between the two. If the salesman is selling to the retail trade, he may tell about some unusual window display he has recently seen that might be of interest to the merchant, or he may show him some advertisements of a competitor.

A good entering wedge is some topic that will immediately grip the prospect, that can be discussed for a few minutes at most and then be dropped, and that preferably leads up to the main subject to be presented. For example, a life insurance salesman can say, "I see

our old friend Green wasn't as smart a lawyer as he thought. The court has set aside his will, I notice in the morning paper." When this topic has been finished, the salesman can start the real interview by saying, "Have you ever heard, Mr. Prospect, of a will which the heirs could not attack, much less break?"

In a retail store the usual approach is after this fashion: "Can I show you something?" "Anything?" "Been waited on?" A real entering wedge would be, "These are some of the new gowns which we have just received. Aren't they trimmed beautifully?" As this is said, the saleswoman picks up a gown and places it before the customer. When the writer was waiting for a friend the other day in a department store, a real salesman called across, "Let me show you something that is worth looking at." He then explained more about sweaters than the writer had imagined was known by anyone. But it was his enthusiasm for his goods that was the best part of the conversation.

The "opening remarks" of the salesman selling a set of reference books for school children (page 603) is an exceilent example of an opening wedge. The first idea, "school work more effective" is almost certain to interest the mother who has children in school and to disarm suspicion. Comparison between former school methods and those in vogue today leads most naturally to the proposition to be submitted. The gasoline pump salesman opens his remarks with an entering wedge when he inquires about the sale of tires displayed in the window (page 606). And the disclosure that sales are not satisfactory leads to a discussion of how to reach the farmers who come to town.

The salesman of one large electrical equipment concern walks into a plant and starts talking to the foreman. As the salesman talks he takes a very small screw driver out of his pocket and toys with it apparently unconcernedly. When he sees that the foreman is interested in the tool, he shows it to him, asking his opinions about its usefulness. Invariably the foreman is taken with it; and when told that he can have it, becomes very friendly. The salesman then gets the freedom of the shop and can find out the needs of the company for electrical equipment. He uses this knowledge to obtain an interview with the buyer. Novelties and souvenirs are often used in similar ways as entering wedges.

**The First Point to Be Made.**—Remember the commodity or service to be sold will be bought by the prospect only as he sees it as a means to some end, only as he sees in it a way to the satisfying of one or more wants. If the prospect feels the want, then the commodity can be played up as a solution at the start. But usually the

prospect is not warmed up and something should be said very early in the sales talk to arouse the necessary wants.

Garver, of Strasburg, Ohio, does a business of nearly a million dollars in a town of 850 population. People go by train or motor for long distances to trade with him. One of the secrets of his success is that he employs high school boys and girls to visit every farm house in his territory. And they report the condition of the carpets, whether there is a vacuum cleaner, a washing machine, etc. All this is noted on index cards. When a customer comes in to buy a hat or some bolts the clerk looks up his card and then, knowing that his carpet is in bad condition, gets him into the carpet department. But if his carpet is new, there are no foolish questions as to whether he wants a carpet. Garver's salespeople know what the prospect needs and so they can intelligently interest him in appropriate articles.

When the salesman does not know what the prospect needs or wants he must flounder around. While doing so he must touch on one likely want after another until he sees by the prospect's attitude that he has struck home. Then this point can be enlarged upon. The secret of such an approach is to cover a good deal of ground very rapidly. During this period objections should be brushed aside, because the essential thing is to find the key to the prospect's wants. When the prospect relaxes, or asks serious questions about the matter, the salesman has reached the point where he can present the proposition in a thoroughgoing manner. How to do that is the theme of the next chapter.

A reviewer criticized the Bagley-Barnes interview in Chap. III, when it was first published, because Bagley did not introduce himself as a life insurance salesman and did not start talking about what he had to sell, namely, life insurance. A good many life insurance men feel the same way. And the same view is held by many salesmen in other lines. These people do not realize what the prospect, Barnes, bought. He did not buy a life insurance policy; he bought a guarantee that his boy would go to college. When this point is appreciated, one must see that the salesman started right off talking about what the prospect was going to buy. If a salesman will keep this distinction in mind, he will have a very good guide as to what his first point must be.

**Examples of Good Approaches.**—Here are three examples gleaned from the sales manual of the Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

My company has been investigating why such a large percentage of retailers, according to Dun and Bradstreet's, are not making money. Their books tell us that fully 90 per cent of all retail businesses eventually prove failures. You have probably wondered yourself why you did not make more money with the volume

of business you were doing. We have seen banks make money on one side of the street at 6 per cent, while retailers went broke on the other side of the street making 25 per cent on some goods.

I would like to talk to the gentleman who stays here nights worrying with that trial balance and checking back errors in proving figures. I want to show him how he can go home nights and save all that time lost in checking and doing unnecessary work.

I would like to show you a little mechanical device to set on your counter, which you and each of your clerks could use, which requires no experience to operate, and which will render much better service to your customers, save you a great deal of time, enable you to wait on a great many more people in a day, and which costs so little that the money it will save you will pay for it in a very short time.

Note the number of wants that are touched upon very briefly in this last approach. If any one of them appeals to the prospect he will hesitate and the salesman will secure his opportunity to demonstrate his device. While doing so he will discuss at length each of these points.

### AIDS TO SELLING

A new catalogue which the prospect has not yet seen is often a useful device to exhibit, since the buyer is nearly always anxious to keep informed about new things. In addition, there are a multitude of aids which the sales promotion department sends out that serve as very good entering wedges, such as, proofs of advertising, statistics showing the trend in business, photographs of new lines, samples—in fact, any news that helps the buyer better plan his business. A salesman of a service which takes about an hour to describe properly, carries a small machine which he places upon the prospect's desk and attaches to a nearby electric light socket. Then he displays one picture after another, telling something about each. The combined visual and oral presentation is more effective than either alone. The point to be noted here about this device is that practically every prospect is so curious to see what the box is for that the salesman has little difficulty in starting his sales talk.

The greater variety of selling aids a salesman receives from his sales manager, the better; for salesmen differ greatly and what can be used by one salesman is valueless to the next one. Among a great variety of aids each salesman will find several he can use effectively. Among the most effective of all such aids is information that is not yet known to the trade.

### HANDLING REBUFFS

Some businessmen will continue to work at their desks after signifying to the salesman to proceed. The salesman has two options in

such a situation. He may say, "I am perfectly willing to wait until you are at leisure," and then sit down, thereby emphasizing his remark. Usually this has the desired effect. Or he may accept the challenge and hurl one statement after another at the prospect, each of which is designed to force him to forget his work.

Occasionally a prospect feels that he has not been treated properly by the salesman or his company and so declines to have any further dealings with them. When the prospect's behavior suggests that this is the case, the best procedure is to find out what is the trouble. Sometimes this can be ascertained from an employee by tactful questioning. At other times the salesman must find some way to reach the prospect and learn from him what his grievance is. When the cause is known, the salesman can frequently find some way of making matters straight. Usually an order cannot be secured at the time. But on the next call, if the salesman has been tactful and also has shown sincere interest, he is likely to be successful. The causes for a grievance are often rather ridiculous. One furniture dealer in Spokane hated a rival, and because his goods were shipped in the same car with his rival's, refused to see the representative of the Chicago wholesaler. The fact that he had secured a considerable saving in freight made no difference to him. After a number of calls the salesman finally satisfied him by arranging to ship his goods in a separate car, and then got him to order enough to fill the car so as to save on the freight!

**Handling Interruptions during the Interview.**—Whenever the interview is interrupted for more than a few seconds the salesman must renew the presentation in much the same way that he started it originally. During the interruption the prospect has been thinking about something else, and the salesman must lead him back to the proposition. While the prospect is attending to the interruption the salesman should plan out some particularly striking point or some good illustration with which he can start off. Then, when he has again the undivided attention of his prospect, he can return to the main discussion.

One of the hardest types of interruption to deal with is that occasioned by the prospect's getting off the subject and talking at length about some experience of his own. There is real advantage in letting him talk this way if he does not continue too long. But when he keeps on there is little chance of selling him. One way to stop him is to cease replying to his remarks. A second way is to use "conversation stoppers," as Fred Kelly calls them. For example, a customer says to the sales clerk, while looking at a golf suit:

"I got into an unusual game out at our club yesterday."

That was a signal for the clerk to say:

"Indeed. What was that?"—whereupon the customer would talk for possibly twenty minutes.

But this clerk merely replied with disarming politeness:

"I can't understand what people tell me about golf yet. But I'm crazy to learn the game. I'm taking my first lesson next Saturday."

There, in only a second or two, he had given the customer the idea that it was no use to tell him anything about a golf game, as he couldn't understand it. And yet he didn't offend the golf enthusiast, because he admitted that he would like to know about it and intended to take lessons. The customer doubtless went away satisfied that the clerk was a good fellow.

A third way to head off a prospect who talks too much is to break in at some opportune moment and say, "That's very interesting. But I really must not take any more of your time. There is just one more point I want to make clear regarding our proposition."

### OPENING THE INTERVIEW WITH AN ESTABLISHED CUSTOMER

Once a salesman has become known to a customer and particularly after he has sold the customer several times, nearly all the troubles incident to starting the interview are eliminated. Because of established acquaintanceship or friendship, the buyer can hardly refuse to see the salesman, even if he does greet him with the words, "Nothing doing today."

The more thoroughly the salesman understands the needs of his customer, the more likely he is to sell even with such a salutation. For example, many retail dealers do not have time to "scale-up" their stock and consequently do not know what sizes they need. Quite frequently, too, they haven't time to give personal attention to salesmen, and so refer them to a clerk who looks casually over the shelves and states that he does not need anything. If, however, the salesman asks permission to scale the dealer's stock, telling him that he will give an accurate record, he often obtains the privilege. An accurate check will usually show the stock is short. This means an order and more attention from the manager when he glances over the scale sheet.

The "scale-up" accomplishes the following: (1) it puts the salesman in closer contact with the manager; (2) it secures an order when possibly the salesman might have been informed that "nothing was needed"; (3) it gives real service which the manager appreciates; and (4) it creates confidence in the salesman and his firm in the mind of the dealer.

## CHAPTER XIX

## PRESENTING THE PROPOSITION

To say something which will make the prospect want to hear more is the primary object of the few minutes spent in starting the interview. When this has been done, the salesman can proceed to a more systematic presentation of his proposition.

In many interviews it is possible to note a change in the prospect which denotes his willingness to listen further. Often he says at this point, "Well, what's the proposition?" or he ceases from any active opposition to the interview; or he relaxes, leaning back in his chair; or he suggests that the salesman sit down. Such a change may not always be apparent, especially in the case of some astute businessmen and purchasing agents who have learned not to give any particular indication of interest.

When this point has been reached the salesman should present what he has planned to say. His main topics, as has been seen in Chap. XII, are:

1. What will make the prospect feel his wants?
2. What will make the prospect clearly understand the obstacle to satisfying these wants?
3. What will convince the prospect that the salesman's proposition is an adequate solution—also the best solution, if competitors are mentioned?

Chapters XIV and XV should be reviewed at this point, as they outline how these three objectives are to be accomplished, whether one is engaged in advertising or selling. Certain additional material follows which is peculiarly appropriate to selling.

### THE SALESMAN SHOULD HAVE THE SAME FEELINGS HE IS ENDEAVORING TO CONVEY TO THE PROSPECTIVE BUYER

Step into a jewelry store and ask to be shown an expensive diamond ring. Note how carefully it is handled by the salesman. Note how every movement denotes an appreciation of value. If a $1,000 ring were tossed out on the glass counter as though it were a package of chewing gum, would you believe that it was worth very much? Would you not react far more to the salesman's behavior than to his remarks?

The same situation holds in all selling. The prospective buyer, consciously or unconsciously, reacts to the salesman's gestures, tone of voice, behavior in general; and very largely on that basis he judges that what the salesman says is true or not. He also comes to feel in much the same way that the salesman feels. To a large degree emotions are contagious. If the salesman smiles, it is difficult for the prospect to refrain from smiling—in fact, he is most likely to relax, to smile, to like the salesman. If the salesman is in deadly earnest, the prospect is most apt to become so also. *A man must feel if he would make others feel.*

The fact that wants are dormant, unconscious, a great deal of the time, cannot be stressed too much. A man who loves his wife very much may not have her in mind when an insurance agent calls, and so may be absolutely uninterested in providing for her comfort in case of his death. And this is true, even though he grant that the need exists. But once he is really feeling his love for her, the proposition is far harder to dismiss, if he can dismiss it at all; for the dormant want has now been changed into a dynamic motive. In the same way a man might have a headache and yet not be thinking of it as he turned over the pages of a magazine while waiting for his wife. But if his eye fell on the Sanatogen advertisement (Fig. 3) he would become conscious of the headache and soon feel it worse than usual. Regardless of what a man is known to want and to be striving to get, it is poor policy to assume he will be aware of that want when a salesman calls or an advertisement is seen. The first function is to make sure that the want is felt, and in doing this it is a very great help for the salesman to put himself in the place of the prospect to such a degree that he really feels the same concern that the prospect must have before he will buy.

The science of selling is to know what wants to arouse; the art of selling is to feel those wants personally and to get the prospect to feel them. On the stage and in novels the villain makes a beautiful proposal to the heroine. But everyone knows, just as she does, that he is false because he does not act the part and cannot act the part because he does not feel real love. The hero stumbles around and stammers and thunders. But his meaning is accepted, even if he does not actually express his desires in words, because his actions are interpreted. So in selling. The salesman who genuinely feels in the way he desires the prospect to feel will succeed, though he expresses himself in a stumbling manner, whereas he will fail if he does not feel that which he may say most beautifully. Of course the ideal here is both to feel sincerely and to express the feeling adroitly.

The two reasons why a salesman is not likely to have the feelings he should have are: First, he really does not care anything about the prospect—all he wants is his commission. And second, his sale presentation becomes such an old, old story that he loses interest in it.

The salesman must continually force himself to approach each prospect with real enthusiasm. He must realize that although he has told his story hundreds of times the prospect has never heard it from him before. He must make sure that the prospect becomes enthusiastic, that he feels certain wants very keenly, that he clearly sees how the salesman's proposition will render him a service and satisfy his wants.

Many actors, if not all, work themselves up to the appropriate emotional state before going out on the stage. Salesmen can and should do the same. If, for example, a retail salesman is approached in an automobile accessory department by a prospect who asks about bumpers, the salesman can deliberately think of some new automobile that was all banged up because of the lack of a bumper or can recall an accident where serious injury might have been eliminated by a bumper. Thinking about these incidents will cause him to feel serious concern and his tone of voice and manner will convey concern to the prospect. Such incidents are first-class material for the sales talk. But whether they are uttered or not, if the salesman feels their effect, the prospect will also be influenced.

## DEMONSTRATION OF THE SOLUTION

It was pointed out in Chap. VII that the most thoroughly satisfying method of settling a difficulty is by trying out the solution as soon as it comes to mind and so seeing whether it works or not. Reasons are employed in everyday life only when the solution cannot be immediately tried out or when there is too much at stake. Consequently, reasons for buying should always be viewed as substitutes for an actual tryout, and demonstration should be resorted to whenever possible. (See page 244.)

A model can be demonstrated by the salesman or he may allow the prospect to handle it. If its proper manipulation is easy, the latter is preferable; but if some skill is required, the prospect will fail to manipulate the device properly and lose interest in it. Under these circumstances it is best for the salesman to operate the mechanism. After its efficiency has been demonstrated the model may be left with the buyer for him to give it a thorough tryout. Yesterday a salesman said to the writer, "I'll loan you this electric shaving outfit if you'll promise to shave with it for two weeks. I'll guarantee you will buy it then."

Many objects offered for sale cannot be carried into the buyer's office. Definite arrangements must be made either to set the mechanism up in the shop or office or have the buyer come to the seller's office. In order to secure such an arrangement it is often necessary to give the buyer a good idea of what it is all about. This can be done by the use of photographs and diagrams. Small moving picture machines are now available which can be placed upon a desk so as to throw pictures upon the office wall. Very often the best procedure is for the salesman to sketch the operation of the mechanism as he describes it. The combination of visual and auditory presentation is very effective.

The demonstration is, of course, to show the prospect that he is losing money or some other advantage by using his present setup and that he will gain by utilizing the new procedure. Consider several examples.

**Selling the Agency for Magazines.**—The salesman is talking here to a retailer who does not sell magazines. After a few introductory remarks the salesman proceeds to demonstrate the profit to be obtained. As he talks he jots down on paper before the prospect the salient facts.

"Let us suppose," he says, "that you start with twenty-five copies of *Cosmopolitan* or *Good Housekeeping* to retail at 25 cents a copy.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cost of twenty-five copies to retailer @ 19¢ | $4.75 |
| Selling price of twenty-five copies to reader @ 25¢ | 6.25 |
| Total profit at the end of the month | $1.50 |

But this happens 12 months each year.

Hence, total profit in 12 months will be 12 × $1.50, or $18.00

"Have you any other $4.75 invested in your business that brings you $18 profit a year?

"Let us look at the profitableness of these magazines from the standpoint of the space they take up.

"Suppose you handle twenty-five copies of any of these magazines, say *Cosmopolitan*. That calls for an investment of $4.75 and brings in a profit of $18 a year, as we saw above. But this pile of magazines takes up less than one square foot of counter or stand display space.

"Have you any other square foot of space in your store that brings in for you $18 profit in a year's time?

"The cost of selling International Magazine Company magazines is exceedingly low. If properly displayed they sell themselves. When you add IMC magazines to your lines you add

No extra overhead.
No extra clerk hire.
No extra expenses for supplies, etc.

"Add IMC magazines and you add almost a clear profit of the entire margin you get on selling them.

"IMC magazines are well known. A market is assured. There are customers all ready to buy in your town.

"The beautiful covers on IMC magazines will attract attention to your store. The complete monthly change of covers will keep your store a center of constantly renewed interest. These magazine covers are works of art. Many thousands are sold by the publishers every month for use as pictures for the home. People are interested in them. They want them.

"IMC magazines will attract customers to your store. When they come they will see your other goods displayed and you will sell other goods as well.

"The agency for the IMC group of magazines is a valuable franchise. These magazines are now sold by the first establishments in the country."[1]

The calculation of profit is presented in the form that the retailer himself would use. Note the appeals to other wants beside that of the profit of $18; also the statements calculated to head off objections to handling the magazines.

**Selling Aluminum Utensils.**—As an example, take these two paragraphs from the *Instructions to Wear-ever Salesmen* with regard to the selling of an omelet pan.

"By the way, how do you make an omelet, Mrs. Blank?" In reply to her remarks, "Yes, my mother (or some other person) had about the same experience. Now, in using this pan you place an equal amount of the mixture in each side, then place the pan on the stove in this way. Some women prefer doubling the omelet before it is quite done; others like to have brown on the top before doubling, that is simply a matter of taste, but see how nicely and how quickly you can double an omelet." (Here close the pan and open again.) "Now you have the double omelet on this side and by placing the serving dish in this way you can toss the omelet out onto the plate (enthusiastically) thoroughly baked, in perfect shape, steaming hot —most appetizing.

"The omelet pan may be used for baking layer cake also. Open the pan, place the proper amount of batter in each side and set in oven. You may have two half-round cakes which may be iced and placed one on top of the other."

The salesman goes on in this way to show how to fry eggs, to cook hashed brown potatoes, to fry potatoes, to cook apples, to pop corn, etc. His sales presentation is almost entirely restricted to *showing* and *telling* how his goods can be used.

**Selling Tool Steel.**—One company sends its salesmen to a technical institution where they acquire sufficient skill in the machine shop and in the heat treatment of steel to make tools. The whole sales strategy of the salesman reduces itself to these ends—to get permission to work in the prospect's machine shop, to make a tool there out of his own steel, and finally to demonstrate its superiority in actual use.

**Selling an "Intangible."**—In the selling of personal service and of many commodities a demonstration is impracticable, if not impossible.

[1] Cosmopolitan Distributing Corporation, *Sales Manual*, 1920, Chap. IV.

This condition is nowhere better illustrated than in the case of life insurance. Here a demonstration of the value of the policy necessitates the death or old age of the prospect—a manifest impossibility. The substitute for the demonstration in such cases is to be found in narration of actual experiences in the lives of others—preferably of those known to the prospect, and in the outlining step by step of just what may happen in the future. Note in the sales talk (page 613) how the salesman outlines the way he has solved his own problems by buying life insurance. After securing from the prospect certain details about his private affairs, the salesman shows him how his problems can all be taken care of.

The general tendency today is to require a salesman to memorize one good demonstration presentation. Then he is left free to use it or not as circumstances permit. It is believed that he will use a good deal of what he has memorized, since the words, phrases, and sentences will come into mind without any effort. Such carefully prepared sentences are thought to be more effective than what the salesman is likely to utter on the spur of the moment.

### SPEAK THE PROSPECT'S LANGUAGE

Many salesmen are more inefficient than they need be because they feel it is necessary in selling to prove their assertions as one expert would prove the matter to another. Many a life insurance salesman bores his prospects by detailed discussion of "reserve" and "tables of mortality" and methods of calculating a premium. In this connection the writer recalls the experiences of the chief chemist of a large corporation whose president did not even know what $H_2O$ was. For years he had difficulty in getting badly needed equipment, but finally he ceased to discuss chemical problems and simply expressed the results to be obtained in terms of dollars and cents. Such matters the president thoroughly understood.

Years ago the writer had a job in a surveying crew. After three days of the hardest kind of work running a line through dense underbrush without discovering a single corner stake, the head surveyor announced that he would try different tactics. The next day he started the crew out with a compass and a chain and left the heavy transit in camp. During the day the men merely walked through the woods in the desired direction as indicated by the compass, and there was no cutting of underbrush. Whenever especially hard walking was encountered, it was side-stepped, record being kept, of course, of how great a deviation was made to right or left. The surprising thing was that the stakes were found with little difficulty. The original

government surveyors had been paid to run accurate lines with transits. But they did not do that. They merely walked through the woods and located mile and half-mile corners approximately where they belonged. And to find those stakes years afterward, it was necessary to do what the original surveyors had done.

The same thing holds true in salesmanship. If the salesman would lead a prospect to solve some one of his difficulties, he must present the matter in *about the way the prospect would think it out himself* if given time and information enough. The failure in many instances of efficiency engineering has been due to this, that the engineer clothed his ideas in terms of engineering principles utterly unknown to workmen and executives. The result was that they were not "sold" and so the organization reverted back, whenever they could, to what they did understand.

Many selling organizations handling technical products recognize this principle. For example, if a purchasing agent calls in his engineers to test the salesman's product, the salesman arranges to have his company's engineers meet the prospect's engineers. When the purchasing agent has received back a report from his own engineers, then the salesman reopens his sales activities. The salesman is frequently quite able to answer all the questions the engineers might ask but he cannot express them in just the language and from the point of view of the engineers. A better impression can be made by his own engineers. But he can answer the purchasing agent's questions in better fashion than could his technicians.

It is the business of the salesman to learn as much as he can about his own and competing products and it is his business to study his prospects' needs and to determine what proposition should be submitted in terms of those needs—in other words, the salesman should use in every way the results of experimentation and conclusive thinking. But it is seldom his duty to present all this to his prospect. Instead, he should and usually must present these results in a form that the prospect can understand and be interested in.

## OVERCOMING THE PROSPECT'S RESISTANCE

In *The New York Times* of Jan. 20, 1913, appeared this news item:

> As the result of a wager, and to test the skepticism of the British public, a man disguised as a peddler appeared in the West End Streets of London on Saturday and offered genuine £5 notes for a penny each.
>
> Although he offered his extraordinary bargains for an hour, flourishing the notes in his hands and crying, "Five-pound notes a penny each," and even permitting people to examine them, the peddler sold only two.

Evidently, there is something in human beings that makes them resist a salesman's entreaties even when a profit of 119,900 per cent can be immediately secured.

**Causes of Resistance.**—There are four primary causes of resistance.

*Resistance Because of Interference.*—The first one is due to man's instinctive resistance to intereference of any sort (see page 84). The salesman always interrupts a prospect. Even when the prospect is doing absolutely nothing, the entrance of the salesman forces the prospect to cease doing nothing; and always when one is caused to shift from one thing to another there is some annoyance felt. *Every* salesman has to meet this resistance in every call, except when the prospect is himself seeking the interview. The amount of annoyance depends upon the prospect, upon how busy he is, and upon his initial reaction to the salesman. A pleasing appearance and manner help the salesman here, but they can never offset entirely annoyance caused by interruption.

*Resistance Because of Caution.*—The second cause of resistance is to be found in man's habits of caution (see page 246). Because of many unpleasant consequences resulting from impulsive action, man learns to go slowly, to scrutinize a proposed action, to look ahead and see what the aftermath will be. There is no need of such caution when an old, familiar act is to be repeated because the consequences have already been experienced and are known. But when the proposed action is new and unfamiliar then caution is aroused. Consequently, it may be concluded that the more unfamiliar elements there are in the salesman's whole presentation, the more caution will be aroused and the greater will be the resistance to be overcome. If the salesman, his company, and his product are all new to the prospect, there will be many more objections to buying than if all three are familiar.

Here, again, is another reason why it is so important to express the whole proposition in terms of the prospect's interests, to use language familiar to him, to tell stories about people he knows, to explain points in terms of his experiences. In other words, resistance because of unfamiliarity is overcome by making the proposition perfectly clear, detail by detail.

Occasionally, a salesman has a remarkable proposition. Frequently, there is difficulty in selling it just because it sounds too good. And when "it sounds too good," it arouses caution. The proper procedure in such cases is to tone down the reasons advanced. For example, the salesman of a new machine only claimed he could turn out in four hours the same amount of work which took eight hours when performed by the old process. Cutting the time in half was credible

and so the salesman was able to secure permission to demonstrate his machine. Actually, his machine completed the work in thirty minutes but if he promised this at the start he aroused such suspicion that he seldom obtained a chance to demonstrate the fact.

Overcoming caution is very largely establishing confidence in oneself. Straightforward presentation of one's proposition, insistence on both sides' playing fair, evident loyalty to one's own business, manifest interest in and knowledge of the prospect's problems, all help to make the buyer respect the seller. But this attitude cannot be built up in a few minutes. Often a salesman must call regularly on a purchasing agent for several months before being offered an opportunity to bid on some small proposition. The repeated calls are necessary to establish a feeling of confidence in the salesman and his line.

*Resistance Because of Resentment.*—Sometimes the buyer is resentful toward the seller or his company for some cause or other. In such cases the buyer is most likely to refuse to see the salesman; if the latter does get in to see him, the buyer may tell the salesman what he thinks of him, or, what is much worse, refuse to talk to him. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the seller must find out in some way or other what is wrong and do his best to straighten things out.

*Resistance Because of Lack of Desire.*—A fourth cause of resistance is lack of desire for the commodity or service, (discussed in the next section).

It is perfectly natural for a prospect to resist. It is his defense against being talked into buying what he does not want, or what he does not understand, or what he is not sure will bring him satisfaction. And, furthermore, it is his natural reaction to being interrupted. All successful salesmen learn to take this resistance as an incident in their work and discover many ways of meeting it.

**Types of Objections.**[1]—Resistance is shown by a prospect, first of all, in his attempt not to see the salesman or to get rid of him when he does see him; and second, in making antagonistic remarks throughout the sales interview.

Antagonistic remarks are usually classified as either *excuses* or genuine *objections*. Excuses are remarks of an uninterested prospect which are uttered in order to get rid of the salesman. Objections, on the other hand, are expressive of some interest but at the same time set forth a reason for not buying.

Frankly it is not always possible for the salesman to tell whether a remark is a mere excuse or an objection, but many times it is possible

[1] The distinction between "objection" and "obstacle" is given on page 255.

to determine which is which. As the two should be handled quite differently, it is well worth while to make such determination.

The proper way to handle an excuse is to ignore it or to agree to it as far as possible and then go on with the sales talk. Excuses are like smoke rising from a fire. As it does no good to pour water on the smoke, so it does no good to answer the excuses. As soon as one is answered another excuse will be given by the prospect. What must be done is to eliminate the resistance that is causing the excuses. And this can be done only by arousing a want.

A genuine objection, on the other hand, must be answered. It is really an indication of interest. The prospect may not be convinced that the salesman's proposition is adequate, or that it is as good as some other solution, or that the price is right or that the terms and conditions of sale are satisfactory. His objection indicates what feature is troubling him and invites the seller to explain in more detail. Sometimes objections are raised when the buyer is favorably disposed but is not convinced he should be so. Here the salesman must supply him with reasons which will justify the purchase to himself and to his associates. (See page 248.)

There are only two objections that are genuine hindrances to a sale, namely, "no money" and "no need." Very often these expressions are used as mere excuses to get rid of the salesman. Consequently, the salesman cannot take these replies as final until he is sure that they express actual facts. Even when they are facts, their existence does not always prevent a sale. For example, a prospect can tell a book salesman, "I have no need for the book. I have a copy." That objection prevents a sale to the prospect of the book for his own use, but he may be induced to buy a copy as a gift for someone else. Or a prospect may say to a real estate agent, "I have no money to buy such a house." An answer of this kind prevents a cash sale but in many parts of the country it might lead to a sale on the installment plan. And so the salesman replies, "You can buy this house by paying only $20 a month more than you are now paying for rent."

**Methods of Handling Objections.**—There are six generally accepted methods of handling an objection.

1. *"Passing-up," or "I'm Coming to That," Method.*—The salesman here simply ignores the prospect's remark. As already pointed out, this method can be used when the remark is only an excuse but not when it is a valid objection. At the beginning of an interview it is usually advisable not to spend time answering even valid objections. In such cases, the salesman can say, "I'll take that point up in a minute," and then go on with his endeavor to arouse some want.

2. *"Head-on," or "Direct Denial," Method.*—Here the salesman emphatically denies the prospect's point and shows him he is wrong. Nine times out of ten, this precipitates an argument. That is injurious because sales are obtained through agreement, not argument.

The salesman should always keep in mind that he doesn't gain by winning the argument and losing the sale. But sometimes the salesman has no other alternative than to deny the statement. Objections which imply the necessity of cutting the price, of altering discount rates, of changing established company policies must be answered by a definite refusal. The salesman can ease the situation if he refuses with a smile on his face and a courteous explanation.

3. *"Yes-but," or "Admission-but," Method.*—The salesman first agrees with the prospect and then goes on to refute the objection. In this way the seller avoids antagonizing the prospect, because he recognizes the merit of the objection before attempting to show some weakness in it. Thus if a prospect says he cannot afford a bumper for his automobile, the salesman may reply, "Yes, a great many people are inclined, at first, to feel that they can't afford this bumper. But when they really appreciate that it may pay for itself before they get home, or that it may make the difference between a very serious accident and a trivial one, they say they can't afford to be without one."

If the prospect says, "I'm not interested," the salesman can reply, "I know you are not interested, Mr. Prospect. That's why I called. You have never used our machine and I don't believe you have ever had it called to your attention." This is the simplest and easiest method to handle objections.

4. *"Boomerang," or "That's the Very Reason Why," Method.*—In this method the objection is turned into a reason for buying. If the prospect says that he cannot afford a delivery truck, the boomerang answer is, "That's just the reason, Mr. Prospect, you need this truck. You can't afford to be without one." And then the salesman continues the presentation showing how it saves money. Or if the salesman is selling office equipment, he can reply to the objection, "I can't afford it," by, "You can't afford to be without it if it gives you more time to make money, saves you money in stopping errors, and gives you information about your business which you ought not to be without."

5. *"Why Not?" Method.*—When the salesman does not understand just what is implied by the buyer's objection or when the salesman doesn't have a good reply to make, he may throw the objection right back at the prospect by saying "Why Not?" This rather forces the

prospect to give his views in more detail, which is sometimes a great advantage to the seller in sizing up the prospect's general attitude.

6. *Analysis of Situation.*—In reply to the objection, "I don't need the _____," the salesman replies, "Well, let's see just what is your situation," and then asks appropriate questions to determine it. This is an ideal way of ascertaining the wants and needs of the prospect, provided the prospect has the interest and patience to cooperate.

**General Rules Relating to Handling Objections.**—In general, the methods of handling objections may be summed up in the following rules:

1. As far as possible ignore excuses; answer trivial objections as quickly as possible; take pains to make the answer to a sincere objection perfectly clear.

2. Never argue.

3. Avoid discussion of competing goods. Consideration of them is apt to lead to argument; and in any case it focuses attention upon them.

4. Don't interrupt unless the prospect has wandered far afield and is wasting valuable time. What the prospect says frequently reveals his attitude and provides a fine basis for further remarks.

5. Anticipate objections that the prospect is likely to raise and answer them in a few words. Once an objection is stated by a prospect, it is difficult for him to give it up—no one likes to be beaten in an argument.

After a little experience in selling, a salesman should know fairly well what objections are raised by prospects; also, what objections are likely to be raised at different points in the sales presentation. When a prospect shows that he is not agreeing with what is said, but does not say anything, the inference can be made that this or that objection is in his mind. The objection should then be stated and answered. In this way a good salesman learns to read a prospect's mind surprisingly well.

The hardest man to sell, as far as most salesmen are concerned, is the one who will not say a word. Many men have learned not to show interest in order to prevent the salesman from "carrying them off their feet." Others are timid naturally, or do not understand, but are not going to admit it. But whatever the cause, the salesman must continue with his presentation, taking care to make each point clear and to throw himself into the presentation with more enthusiasm than usual. Because such prospects do not talk, it is all the more important that the salesman strive to anticipate all objections. One of the best fortifications against prospects who will not talk is the salesman's knowledge that he can talk for an hour, if necessary, with-

out stopping and during that time continue to present the proposition in an interesting manner.

**Prepare Definite Answers to Objections.**—After every interview the salesman should recall to mind any objection the prospect raised that he did not handle in good shape, and should work out one or more good answers to it.

A very good practice is to list in a notebook every objection offered and opposite each to make a few notes as to how to answer it. Working up such notes helps the salesman master this whole phase of selling. An occasional review keeps all the answers in mind. Otherwise, the telling story or well-worded expression is likely to be forgotten.

Just such a list of objections and answers is given in every sales manual in the section on Answers to Objections. Of course, such answers apply particularly to the selling of that company's goods. A salesman can profit from a study of this topic as set forth in several other companies' manuals and particularly from a study of manuals of competing companies, if he can secure copies.

It will pay a salesman to read over such questions and answers again and again, even if he does not memorize them. The more familiar they are, the more likely it is that the answer will be given when the objection is encountered. In the case of many a salesman a better result may be obtained by his developing his own answers. These he is much more likely to express with the proper feeling and to fit into his sales presentation in an appropriate manner.

## THE SALESMAN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO REORGANIZE HIS SALES STRATEGY

A salesman may know his prospect very well and he may have planned his sales presentation so that it is a real solution of what he thinks the prospect wants and needs. Yet, because some one essential bit of information has been overlooked, or some item incorrectly interpreted, his whole sales strategy may be actually weak or totally wrong. Because of this, a salesman should always be seeking more information about his prospect, during the interview. This is one reason why it is advisable to get the prospect to talk. Then, when the salesman discovers something new, he must be prepared to utilize it. This may mean immediate change of the whole plan or only of some detail.

Some salesmen are versatile enough to be able to change their whole sales strategy as soon as they see the necessity of doing so. Other salesmen cannot do this. Rather than flounder around they should frankly say, "Well, that alters the whole situation. As I am

desirous of solving your problem, I want time to think it over. May I come in tomorrow at ten o'clock and submit a proposition to fit your needs?"

### SELLING TO A COMMITTEE

When the decision for a purchase is made by a committee the salesman should always interview one or more members before presenting his proposition formally to the group as a whole. For example, if the City Council is to decide upon the purchase of a new fire engine, the salesman should interview the chairman of the committee on public safety and endeavor to sell him personally. In some cases it is necessary to interview the other members of the committee and even the mayor, or any other real leader on the council. A committee will nearly always decide as its own leader decides, and if his support can be obtained beforehand he will usually aid the salesman. If it is apparent upon interviewing the leader that he is not favorably inclined and cannot be sold, the salesman has the difficult task of selling the other members personally before the committee meeting and keeping them sold against the opposition of the one they are accustomed to follow.

Occasionally, a purchase is decided on in open meeting of a club or association. The same procedure is even more necessary here. The salesman must present his proposition before the whole assembly, but almost always the decision depends upon what is said by those members who speak immediately after him. Consequently, the salesman should make sure that the appropriate leaders of the group are sold beforehand and are primed to make the proper motions. As in all selling, the salesman should be careful that the group understands just what it is to do. Many a proposition is lost or tabled after futile discussion because a clean-cut motion was not presented which could be decided by "Yes" or "No."

## CHAPTER XX

## CLOSING THE SALE

Closing the sale means getting the prospect's favorable decision and his signature to the order.

Because closing is so intimately connected with securing the order, many overemphasize its importance. Of course, there will be no order without closing, but neither will there be an order without an opening, or a presentation. Many failures in selling are attributed to poor closing when the real weakness was the poor presentation. The truth of the matter is that if there were a perfect presentation to a prospect who needed the goods, he would buy and there would be no need for a close.

In actual selling, a perfect presentation may be aimed at as an ideal; but seldom will it be achieved. In those cases of imperfect presentation it is nearly always necessary for the salesman to force the issue at the close. This is true even when the prospect is 90 to 99 per cent sold. He may have admitted that the goods are something he needs, that the benefits will justify the expenditure of the necessary money; that he has the money; that the details are satisfactory; and so on; but he may hesitate just the same, and insist on putting the matter off. It is in such cases that the art of closing plays an important rôle, for thereby a great deal of time and effort is saved to both prospect and salesman.

If the prospect does not want the goods, no closing procedure will secure the order. It is only when there is *implied consent* that closing can be resorted to. A prospect is then in a position analogous to that of an automobile headed down a gentle slope. If the brakes are released the car does not move, but a slight jar will start it, and once started, it rolls on down the hill. The prospect in such a position has released the brakes of caution, he has accepted the solution as satisfactory, but he does not start because of inertia, because he has been standing still deliberating for so long a time. The coveted signature is obtained after the prospect has been jogged.

### PRELIMINARY TACTICS

**Concentrate on Getting the Order from the Very Start.**—Because closing is always discussed as a separate part of selling, many develop the idea that it is actually a separate stage and that nothing should be

done toward closing until the time has come to close. This is a very erroneous view. Closing is the culmination of the entire presentation, and everything in the presentation should lead to it.

**Secure Agreement, Step by Step.**—When a point has been made, the salesman may ask, "Isn't that so, Mr. Prospect?" or "You agree with me, don't you?" or "You know that is true?" In this way the prospect is led to make a number of minor decisions. This is very helpful, for once the prospect has openly admitted a point, he is not likely to go back on it later. It is also helpful in that the salesman can discover in this way whether the prospect is coming along or not; and if he does not openly agree at a certain point, the salesman can spend more time in making the point clear. But the chief value of securing agreement step by step is that it helps materially to ease the prospect out of his attitude of resistance to the salesman. And this resisting attitude is what makes it so hard for the prospect to give in finally and openly say, "All right."

Review the sales interview between Bagley and Barnes (Chap. III) and note how the prospect was led to agree to one point after another. "Yes, he had a son." "The son was going to college." "He believed in a college education." "A college education increased one's ability to earn a living." "There was nothing he would rather have for his boy than a college education," etc.

**Have at Least One Good Laugh.**—There is nothing that makes people like each other so much as a good laugh together. It breaks down the barriers between strangers; it develops a common bond of interest; it breaks up the resisting attitude of the prospect.

**Get All Troublesome Details Out of the Way before Attempting to Close.**—A stock salesman was required by the California law to show a certain legal document and to secure the prospect's signature to it indicating he had read it. Again and again a sale was lost because the prospect cooled down while reading the long document. Introducing this document into the early part of the sales presentation as proof that the sale of this stock had been passed upon by the state authorities eliminated this difficulty, and also strengthened the prospect's confidence in the whole matter. A man and his wife were considering buying a home. They had specified four bedrooms. The real estate agent showed them a fine place and then attempted to close. The wife showed no interest and finally was led to state her objection, namely, "There are only three bedrooms." Then the salesman showed how a fourth room could be added at a relatively low figure. But he failed to secure the sale. He should have secured agreement on the possibility of adding a fourth bedroom and then attempted to close.

### HOW AND WHEN TO MAKE THE PRICE EASY TO HEAR

The cost of the goods must be made clear before the close is attempted. But when the price is a determining factor it should be held back until the proposition has been explained.

Frequently, the prospect attempts to force the issue, to decide before he knows sufficiently about the proposition. He is quite likely in such cases to ask how much it will cost. Such a question always indicates some interest. But frequently the sale will be lost if the price is announced before the value of the goods is clear to the prospect. If the salesman feels that this is the case, he can say: "I was just coming to that"; or "I was just about to mention the price and will explain it in a moment"; or, "That depends upon the features you want. Take this wide carriage, for example. It is used, etc."; or "There is just one more point I want to bring to your attention and then you will be better able to understand and appreciate the whole proposition"; or "We can let you have those goods so that you will be able to make 35 per cent."

**Soften the Shock of a High Price.**—A printing salesman replies to the question, "How much is this going to set me back?" by "We can get these 5,000 booklets out for you in the very attractive way you desire at 14 cents a piece." Somehow such an announcement is not such a shock as the curt statement, "$700."

A tailor on being asked how much a suit would cost replied: "If this suit gives you as much satisfaction as similar suits have given Mr. Brown and Mr. Hener then the price of $90 will be secondary. If it won't give you that amount of satisfaction then you ought not to take it. That's fair, isn't it?" The tailor then went on to explain how and why his suits would render such good service.

Many salesmen state the cost in terms of so much a month, or week, or day, instead of the lump sum. Others calculate the contemplated saving to the customer for ten, fifteen, or twenty years and then express the cost divided by such a number of years, thus—"This will save you $130 a year or $2,600 in twenty years and the yearly cost to you is only $25." The prospect will calculate quickly enough that he must pay out $500. But while doing so his mind is full of the thought of saving the $2,600.

Frequently, it is an advantage to name an amount that is larger than the price you intend to quote; the latter will then seem smaller in comparison. Thus:

Many concerns are paying over a thousand dollars for a machine to get these results, and it is worth it. We realize that the methods that have made the large business successful will help the small merchant, too, so Burroughs has designed

this machine to sell for only two hundred and five, which amounts to less than three and a half a month for you to own it. The cash keeping features alone are worth more than that. Considering all the other uses that you have agreed are desirable, it ought to pay for itself in a short while.

There are four objects accomplished here. First, the prospect was prepared for the price by being shown that the results are worth a large amount. Second, the amounts named diminished in size to make the actual cost seem small. Third, the price quotation is immediately supported by the savings to prevent objections. Fourth, he is reminded that he has already endorsed the proposition, so nothing more remains to be said.[1]

## WHEN TO CLOSE

A story often told by C. J. Rockwell in this connection illustrates how "overselling" can be prevented and also how a salesman can tell when to close.

Perhaps, as a boy, you have waited hungrily around the kitchen stove until the cakes were baked on a Saturday morning. You may remember seeing your mother draw the pans carefully from the oven to see if the cakes were ready to take out. She stuck a straw in first the one, then the other. If the straw came out dry, the cakes were taken from the oven and your chances of getting a piece in the near future were pretty fair. But if the straw was sticky, the cakes were shoved back into the oven and your wait was somewhat prolonged.

A *tryout close* is just that kind of test. If your "feeler" comes out with "half-baked" doubts or objections sticking to it, the prospect is not "ready to be taken out." Put him back in the oven of the sales talk where the heat of further explanation and motivation can work on him a little longer.

A good salesman makes repeated efforts to close before finally succeeding. After each effort the prospect states certain objections which provide the salesman with a new starting point for going on with his presentation.

The bugaboo of a "psychological moment" should be forgotten. There is no one precious moment when the buyer will say "Yes," though he would say "No" both before and afterwards. The salesman should substitute for this concept the far more valuable one of a "tryout close."

This is a good place to remind the salesman that if both he and his company are in business permanently it is folly to sell something a prospect does not need, for by so doing the difficulties of selling a second time are greatly increased. The time to close is, accordingly, not only when the prospect is about ready to agree but also only after the salesman is convinced that the prospect needs the goods. A few

[1] "Principles of Burroughs Salesmanship," p. 32, Burroughs Adding Machine Company, 1929.

companies, at least, have instructed their salesmen to sell only when they are convinced that their goods are adequate for the prospect's needs. Incidentally, there is hardly anything a seller can do that will establish confidence in himself so thoroughly as for him to say, "So-and-so is quoting that item for less than we are right now. You had better buy there."

## TACTICS OF CLOSING

The four factors unfavorable to action are:

1. Competing wants, forcing a decision.
2. Competing solutions, forcing a decision.
3. Unfamiliarity of the solution, arousing caution and consideration of consequences.
4. Effort necessary to act, forcing decision as to when to act.

If a person stops and thinks long enough he can call to mind a multitude of things he would like to spend his money for. Such thinking leads to day-dreaming, not action. The latter occurs when one want becomes uppermost. Consequently, in selling it is necessary to cause the prospect to concentrate on the proposition to such a degree that other considerations are ignored. What has been said applies to keeping out of mind not only competing wants but also competing solutions. The latter may have to be considered, but the less said the better, for only when they have dropped out of mind will the prospect be ready to accept the seller's solution.

Eliminating caution was considered in the preceding chapter (page 324).

The above are negative aspects of securing action—interfering elements that must be disposed of. The positive aspects are summarizing the motivation and making the decision as easy as possible. If there are still some objections which cannot be eliminated, *i.e.*, if the solution does not appear perfectly adequate, the salesman must in addition take these into account and attempt to minimize them as much as possible.

**Summarize the Motivation.**—If a seller fails to secure an order after having given a complete demonstration of how his product will satisfy the prospective buyer, the proper procedure is not to give further demonstration, or longer explanation, or more detailed proof. The thing to do is to intensify the want, or to arouse a number of additional wants, all of which can be satisfied by the commodity for sale.

One way of doing this is to list all the wants of the prospect in one, two, three, four order and then to show very briefly how each of them

will be adequately satisfied by the product for sale. During the demonstration the objective is to make the prospect clearly *understand* how the product for sale will serve him; during the close the objective is to make the prospect *feel* the satisfaction from its contemplated use. Consequently, it is at this point that the salesman should be most enthusiastic, as his emotional excitement will help to arouse similar feelings in the prospect.

Ordinarily, a close should be attempted at this point. If it does not succeed, then the salesman should take away the anticipated pleasure from owning the product for sale. He should then picture the prospect driving his old car or not securing the prestige of the new line. The aim here is to play up in as sharp contrast as possible the satisfaction to be obtained from the purchase and the dissatisfaction of the present condition. Finally, the salesman should again refer to the advantages to be secured by the purchase and ask for the prospect's decision.

One rather unemotional life insurance salesman has an unusual way of closing. After having been turned down he starts to go, sometimes walking as far as the door and then coming back to the prospect's desk, where he scribbles on a piece of paper, "Mr. Salesman is not to blame for my not carrying life insurance." Then he says, "Years ago I failed to insure my best friend and his widow lost $10,000. I don't want your case on my conscience. Will you please sign this statement?" A considerable percentage of prospects will take the insurance rather than sign the paper. A good deal of the success of this close is due to the very apparent earnestness of the salesman who has suffered greatly because of this neglect of his boyhood chum.

**Weigh the Pros and Cons.**—If the prospect still holds to one or more of his objections to buying, despite efforts to eliminate them, it is frequently best to take the troublesome objections into account in closing. It is best because, if this is not done openly, the prospect is most likely to stress them all the more, feeling that the salesman is trying to dodge these important points.

Thus, if the salesman is attempting to sell a house which does not face in the direction the prospect desires, he can call attention to several points which are favorable, then admit the undesirable feature, and finally add still other favorable features. Frequently, such a weighing of the pros and cons can be introduced by saying, "You have lived long enough to realize that it is seldom that anyone can get just exactly what he wants. Really one is most fortunate if he can get something that pleases him in ten ways and displeases in only one or two ways. Now this house does not suit you in the one particular of

facing the wrong way but it does suit you in having two bathrooms, three bedrooms, a separate room for the maid, etc. I know of no house that is available which has all the features you desire." The salesman should continue talking for a few minutes to let the prospect think this over and then should summarize the pleasure of living in this new home instead of in his old place.

A favorite device of some salesmen is to summarize all the objections a prospect may have as just one objection, instead of five or six separate objections. Then this one objection is put over against a number of favorable points. In this way the pros are made to appear more numerous than the cons.

It is extremely important, whenever this method of weighing the pros and cons is employed, that the salesman shall impress the prospect with his perfect fairness. An unfavorable point should be well stated, overstated always rather than understated; whereas the favorable points should be understated rather than overstated. Seemingly this is just what should not be done. It must be realized, however, that the process of weighing is in order to convince the prospect that he has carefully considered all the unfavorable as well as the favorable aspects of the matter, and that the favorable aspects outweigh the unfavorable ones. The real close is then made in terms of motivation.

**Present Alternatives, Each of Which Is Favorable to You.**—Instead of asking outright if the prospect will buy, the salesman asks the prospect to decide between two things, either of which presupposes that he will buy. Thus, the book agent asks which binding is preferred, or the adding machine salesman asks whether an electric drive is desired or not, and so on. Having obtained a decision on the minor detail, the salesman goes ahead with his close, assuming that he has the prospect's agreement to buy.

Another somewhat similar procedure is for the salesman to present two alternatives and then urge the one he knows the prospect does not want. Finally, he agrees that the prospect is right in his contentions and proceeds to fill out the order blank on the assumption that of course the other is to be bought.

The experienced retail salesman often uses this method to force a decision. He shows, for example, one suit after another and quickly learns what is not wanted and what is wanted. After removing from sight all but the suit he judges the customer most desires and another that is not wanted, he attempts to sell the latter. The prospect quickly decides he does not want it. Having thus eliminated seemingly all but one, he agrees to take it.

Another phase of this method is that employed by many salesmen where they attempt to close on a model which is priced higher than they think the prospect will buy. By comparison the next model seems cheaper.

**Give Him a "Push."**—From the beginning of the interview the prospect has been on his guard, has been holding himself in check, and so it is hard for him to let go, to sign, or to do anything which suggests giving in. It is necessary in many cases for the salesman to start some action.

A sales manager and his assistant called upon a business man relative to an important deal. They had been told that the man felt aggrieved over a supposed affront and so were not surprised to find him very antagonistic. His unfriendliness was shown by his not uttering a word, even of salutation. He sat and listened. Finally, the sales manager stopped talking for lack of further ideas. After a painful pause, in desperation he pulled out some cigars and said, "Let's have a smoke while we consider this matter further." Finding that he did not have a match he appealed to his prospect for one. The latter had none either, although there were ash trays on his desk, and he had to go into the next room. When he returned, he picked up the cigar which he had up to that time ignored and after lighting it started talking. The request for a match was the "push" that caused the sale, for unless the prospect had been stirred out of his state of immobility he would not have said a word.

Sometimes the desired action can be secured merely by saying, "You want this, don't you?" and then by requesting him to sign his name. At other times it seems more appropriate to suggest the action than to command it. In such cases the salesman can take out the order blank, fill out part of it, and then hand the pen and blank to the prospect, merely pointing to the place for him to sign.

One salesman carries an extra pen that is always dry. When he starts to fill out the blank he "discovers" that his pen is dry and so requests the loan of the prospect's pen. His theory is that the prospect will sign with his own pen more readily than with a stranger's. Innumerable stories similar to these are told of how to get the prospect to sign. The value of such stunts lies in the fact that they precipitate action. But unless the prospect is already really sold, such devices are worthless.

### ACTUAL CLOSINGS

Nearly all sales manuals devote a number of pages to closing remarks. A new salesman, particularly, can obtain a good deal of

benefit from studying such closings and will find it of value to memorize several of them. What has been memorized is apt to be said when needed, and a carefully prepared close is usually better than one uttered without thought of the words to be used.

**Closing Talk on a "Set" of Aluminum Utensils.**—From experience it has been found that women will buy more if they are sold a set than if they are allowed to select the utensils they want. And there are women who will buy a set who will not buy one utensil. Possibly such women have strongly developed habits of economizing on small things but not with regard to $20 to $50 purchases.

During the presentation various utensils have been shown and the salesman has obtained a fairly good idea of what aluminum utensils the woman already has. At the beginning of the close the salesman brings together all the utensils the woman does not have (not counting enamel utensils). As he calls attention to each in turn he notes if she has any decided opposition to it and if so lays it aside.

Then the salesman calls attention to how the pans work together in a set. "The pudding pan can be put in a steamer dish for steaming a pudding or fruit cake. The dish can be put down into the fry pan as a basket for frying potato chips and doughnuts," etc.

The whole set is then summarized. "The outfit will supply your needs in every way, Mrs. Smith. It provides an excellent set of pots and pans. Here is an 8-quart kettle and a 4-quart pan," etc. "They give you just the variety in size and shape that you need, and every one will be necessary in cooking a large dinner.

"The set also provides a complete baking outfit. The cover of the roaster is good for baking jelly cake and can be used with the cookie pan for cookies." (All the remaining baking dishes are similarly discussed.)

"You have a complete baking outfit and in addition a frying set consisting of two fry pans and a griddle, etc. Every piece in the set is planned to save you time and labor. Every piece is built to last."

At this point the salesman picks up an old aluminum pan and says, "These utensils are of the same material and same thickness as this pan, a pan that has been used 10 years and has not worn halfway through. Do you think this utensil will wear for 20 years, Mrs. Smith?

"Yesterday I called on Mrs. Allbright who is completing her set. I asked her how much she formerly spent each year for enamelware and her estimate was between $2 and $3. An enamel preserving kettle and some pans one year, a teakettle and pie pans the next, an enamel roaster and pot-roast kettle the next, and a double boiler and some more pans the next year—even if her enamel lasted four years she could spend from $2 to $3; but some of her kettles did not last 6 months.

"Two dollars worth of enamel a year for 20 years equals $40 worth of enamel." The salesman writes these figures on a piece of paper.

"Do you burn food once a month, Mrs. Smith?" (If she seldom burns food this item is omitted.)

"If you burn up one panful, worth 20 cents each month, this totals $2.40 a year and $48 in 20 years. Mrs. Brown has not lost any food from burning since she began using our goods.

(Salesman writes down $2.40 × 20 = $48.)

"Mrs. Johnson agreed that Triplicate Sauce Pans would save 2 hours of fuel-burning a day, or $7.30 worth of gas in a year. Watch these figures: $7.30 × 20 = $146."

"Mrs. Smith, is there anything wrong with these figures? (If she thinks that the figures are too large, cut them down.)

"Now we will add the column.

"Total saving in 20 years, $234.

"I have said nothing about the fuel saved by cooking two foods over one burner in the double fry pan, three things in the handy kettle steamer, two things in the teakettle and inset, and the fuel saved by all utensils because they will cook with a low flame.

"Mrs. Smith, you spend in 20 years $234 for enamel utensils, burned food, and wasted fuel. Now the cost of this complete set of utensils without the fry pan (pushes it to one side) is only $____, making a net saving in twenty years of $____.This saving represents actual cash that you can put into other things in your home, things you may now feel that you cannot afford.

"I have kept out the fry pan which is one of the most popular utensils. Nearly all the women want it because it is so clean and is made of such thick metal. Owing to the extra amount of aluminum in it the price of the fry pan is $____. This utensil is so popular that we selected it as a premium, and the company allows me to give it to you free with this set."

The salesman next gives the names of customers who have bought more than the set in question.

The salesman then asks test questions to see if she is ready to order. Questions like: "Now the steamer kettle comes in a large size as I said. What size are the preserving kettles that you ordinarily use?" and "This coffee pot is large enough, isn't it?"

If the prospect is not ready to order, a reserve talk is given along the same lines but aimed to make the price seem small. Attention is called to what her farmer husband will pay for a binder for his use, or to what a complete outfit would cost in contrast to what she is buying. If the prospect still hesitates to close, a second reserve talk is given telling of further experiences of other women. If still unable to close, the salesman eliminates several of the utensils that the prospect is least interested in and tries to close for the smaller set.

The tactics here are to keep talking as long as the customer is undecided; and the salesman is instructed to judge in terms of the woman's actions and not in terms of what she says. Often a woman says "No" when she wants the utensils very much.

**Closing Talk in Selling Soap to a Retail Grocer.**—Two typical closes are reported on pages 607 to 611. They well illustrate the points already mentioned.

**Closing Talk in Selling Books in House-to-house Canvass** (page 603).—Comparison of the items in this close with those given above in the case of aluminum ware will show that practically identical devices are used in both but that they are expressed, of course, in quite different language.

### PROCEDURE WHEN FIRST ATTEMPT TO CLOSE HAS FAILED

Many salesmen use "reserve talks" in case they fail to close the first time. These are often very effective. They should contain, of course, new illustrations and the arguments should be worded in a different way from what has been said before.

Whether a reserve talk is employed or not, the salesman should try to find out why the prospect will not buy. The chances are that if the causes are known, the salesman can handle the matter satisfactorily. Consequently, whatever is said should be aimed at overcoming the probable causes of indecision and procrastination.

Sometimes the salesman can ask at this point one question after another, each designed to analyze the cause of the prospect's unwillingness to buy. It is best to frame these questions so as to secure affirmative answers, thus: "You've got to sell laundry soap, haven't you? And the last I sold you is all gone, isn't it? You've got customers, then, who buy our brand, haven't you?"

**"Why Won't You Buy?"**—Sometimes it is good tactics to ask the prospect why he will not buy. Frequently, his answer reveals an objection that can be easily handled. One effective way of handling such an objection, once it is stated, is to say, "As I understand it, Mr. Prospect, this is the only reason that prevents us from getting together on this proposition, isn't it?" When the objection is eliminated, the prospect feels the force of this admission; for if he again refuses he realizes he will appear as a quitter, as one who does not abide by his word.

**Compromises.**—Compromises ordinarily should not be offered until after one or two attempts to close have failed. Compromises are of many sorts. They may involve the giving of a premium, or of a special discount because of some slight change in the proposal, or of an actual cut in the price (a practice still followed in some lines), or of giving terms instead of a cash payment, or of switching from one model to a less expensive one.

Many compromises are effective because they give the impression that something is being gotten for nothing. They make it possible for the prospect to feel that he has won in one particular and so makes it

easier for him to let the salesman win as far as getting the order is concerned.

**Getting a Decision Now.**—One of the most common excuses offered by prospects is, "I won't buy now," or "I must talk it over with my partner or wife," or "I won't do anything today." Often these remarks indicate lack of interest, but at times they are uttered by one who is really sold but just cannot admit it or act immediately.

The hardest part of a sale is to close the deal right now. Almost every prospect will agree to buy some time, but a great many hesitate and want to think the matter over before doing it now. All such must be impressed with the fact that right now all the details are fresh in their mind, that the salesman is there to explain any detail that is not clear, and that it is a saving of time to decide rather than to go over the proposition at some later time.

The salesman should develop as many reasons as possible which emphasize the value of buying and keep them in reserve for this, the last struggle in so many sales. The real estate agent, for example, always reminds you at this stage that another party is considering the property and will probably decide in a day or two, as soon as a wife or a husband returns. Many house-to-house canvasses play up the fact that the article cannot be bought anywhere else and that it may be a year before there is another chance. The filing cabinet man and many another call attention to the fact that the commodity is really needed right now and that annoyance at least, if not actual financial loss, will be increased through procrastination. Even newsboys tell you that they have only one paper left.

Questions like the following are often helpful in forcing an immediate decision: "When do you want to use this car?" "When does your lease expire?" "When do you take off your trial balance? I will try to get this machine for you in time to use on that work."

**"Call-back."**—When a salesman returns to renew his sales interview he should never ask for a decision, even when one has been promised. During his absence the prospect has had a chance to cool down on the proposition and to think of new objections. The salesman should open the interview with some interesting remark and then refresh the prospect with reasons why he should buy. In other words, the prospect should be made to feel the wants which are to be satisfied by the purchase. This presentation should be expressed differently from the earlier talk and should be relatively short.

One of the most unpleasant situations a salesman has to meet is that where a prospect has changed his mind. This ordinarily happens because the prospect comes to believe, after further consideration,

that he does not need the goods. During the interview, the salesman may have made him want the goods, but he did not impress him with sufficient reasons why they would be of value. Because of the lack of these reasons the prospect could not later on explain his decision to himself, to his partner, to his wife, or some acquaintance (page 248). When the salesman calls back, he should ascertain the objections which are now in the prospect's mind. These must be overcome. In addition, the salesman must establish a clear conception of just why the goods are of real value. Because the prospect has gone back on his word he will ordinarily be particularly anxious to please the salesman and so will usually give him an opportunity to present his case.

Sometimes the prospect changes his mind because he feels the salesman has tricked him into buying. In such cases his attitude is very hostile, instead of conciliatory. Such a situation calls for entirely different sales tactics from that outlined above. In this case the salesman must sell himself, must show he is sincere, honest, and truly desirous of rendering real service.

On analyzing the procedure of salesmen who report an unusual number of prospects who change their mind, it is clear that in many cases they do not leave a clear idea in the mind of the prospect of why he bought. Several have improved their practice by saying to the prospect after the order is signed and they have picked up their hats to go, "Remember, you have bought because"—and then stating in one two, three order, very briefly, the chief reasons for buying. The prospect may or may not have bought because of these reasons. But they are very apt to be remembered by him and used in defending his action later on.

**"Never Say Die."**—A salesman should always strive to close the deal and not give up until it is clear that the prospect will not buy. "Never say die" does not mean, however, that the salesman should stay with a prospect until one or the other "passes out." When a prospect has said, "No" and it is clear that he really means it, then the time to go has come. This "No" does not signify that the prospect will not say "Yes" to the same salesman selling the same article at another time.

It must be recognized that in a great many lines, the prospect does not ordinarily buy until he has become well acquainted with the salesman, his company, and its line of goods, and until he is in the market for the goods. It is not uncommon for a new salesman to call every month for a year before receiving any attention and then to be given a chance to bid on some small order. A tire dealer related the other day how a salesman dropped in his place almost every day on his way

home and asked if there was an order for him. "He did it in such a companionable sort of way that I never got tired of seeing him. In fact, after a time, I rather looked forward to his coming in. And finally, one day I decided to give him an order. So the next evening when he came in I called out, 'Get your order book. Here goes for a $1,000 order.'"

Granting everything that is said today about the value of good salesmanship, yet it must be admitted that the majority of sales result from friendship. The prospect is converted from a stranger into a friend, and then because of the friendship he gives the salesman business he will not give to another, although the latter may be a better salesman. He continues to do so as long as the quality of the goods, the price, and the service are approximately equal to what is obtainable elsewhere.

### THE WRITTEN PROPOSITION

In some lines of selling the written proposition plays a very important part. The building contractor submits a bid and the prospect buys from him or not, very largely on the basis of what is in the bid. In many lines a written proposal is necessary, because the prospect whom the salesman sees must consult with others in his business and the salesman can, through the written statement, make certain that these "higher-ups" will obtain the information they need. The written proposal is of value also when the service to be rendered is rather complicated, as in the installation of bookkeeping machinery necessitating changes in the prospect's bookkeeping system. The written program affords the prospect an opportunity to study the details and to make sure that they are satisfactory.

The salesman should deliver the written proposal in person and review it with the prospect in his office to make sure he understands it. It should always be appreciated that the written proposal is not the sales presentation. It may be an important part of the presentation, but it can never take the place of the salesman's personal presentation. The wants to be satisfied must be aroused orally, even if the solution can be written out.

One of the greatest difficulties with a written proposal is that it fosters procrastination. The salesmen in one life insurance agency tried out this method in a thoroughgoing manner. They found that most prospects insisted on showing the proposal to someone else, and several used it to get bids from other companies. Finally, they hit upon the scheme of jotting down in pencil the salient features as they went along, writing on the back of letters taken from their own

pockets. Obviously, the prospect could not ask to keep the paper. This change in procedure decreased the per cent of "call backs" very materially.

Written proposals are used quite extensively in selling advertising or other service. It is a mistake in most cases to outline any more details than are absolutely necessary, because once a consultant has started work, he may find the situation such as to force radical changes in his plans. Consequently, his proposal should state only the general program, with the understanding that details will be decided upon from time to time as occasion demands.

A written proposal should be gotten up in a neat and attractive manner. In the absence of the salesman, the prospect and his associates unwittingly estimate the personal and moral characteristics of the salesman by what he has prepared.

## "FOLLOWING THROUGH"

The objective of all selling is to make a customer, not to secure a single sale. Regardless of whether the salesman has secured an order or not, regardless of whether he has succeeded in presenting his proposition or not, regardless of whether he has been treated courteously or abominably, it is his duty to leave as pleasant an impression as possible. This applies to the impression made on the prospect and all his subordinates. Employees are on the inside, it must be remembered, and often influence the big man decidedly.

One way to make a good impression is for the salesman to show that he values his own time and that of the prospect. Accordingly, when the order is secured he should get up and go. He should not stand around and tell stories or swap experiences. Many a sale has been lost in this way.

Another way to make a good impression is for the salesman to show appreciation of the order. It is not that he has received a favor. Rather he has done the prospect a service and helped him in his business. A genuine man-to-man "Thank you!" with a hearty hand shake and a sincere smile are all that is necessary. If the salesman has not received an order, he can show real friendliness and, with a smile, say something to suggest that at another time the prospect will want to buy.

**"High-pressure" Salesmanship.**—The exact opposite to what has been discussed throughout these four chapters is known as "high-pressure" salesmanship. Tosdal defines it as follows:

> The meaning of the term is not particularly clear but usually it is taken to mean that the salesman dominates the buyer and compels him "willy-nilly" to sign on

the dotted line. Such tactics, often used in selling specialties when the salesman is not aiming to build up a repeat business, include resorting to subterfuges and tricks to get access to the prospective buyer, rushing of decisions, and forcing of purchases by the sheer force of talk and personality. The salesman is usually working under a strain; he depends more upon talk and impulses aroused to bring orders than he does upon any attempt to ascertain and satisfy the wants of the particular buyer.[1]

Such selling has no place in any organization which hopes to secure a repeat order in the future. It is not economical in those cases where a buyer can cancel the sale at a subsequent date. This is particularly the case in life insurance where the buyer does not need to continue paying the premiums. A life insurance salesman reported, for example, that he had lost, on the average, $25,000 of business every year after he had received checks for the policies. He had lost this business because his prospects had changed their minds and refused to be examined or frankly demanded the check back. Analysis of this salesman's methods showed that he gave the prospect no reasons for buying. He relied entirely upon arousing emotion. Had he made it perfectly clear to his prospects just what benefits would accrue to their families and to themselves from the policy, he would not have lost most of these cases.

**Subsequent Follow-up.**—Practices differ greatly among sales organizations as to the duties of salesmen relative to following up the order and seeing whether complete service has been rendered. Even if the sales organization has delegated to others these responsibilities, it is of value to the salesman to keep track of what is going on and to "jump in" when necessary and straighten out any mistake or misunderstanding. The success of many salesmen is due very largely to the fact that they actually provide the service that is promised.

More and more, the emphasis is being put upon actually serving the customer, upon permanent satisfaction. This means that the salesman must come to understand his customer's business. Much of the responsibility for this must rest upon the sales manager, who is in a position to make thoroughgoing studies and to instruct his salesmen. But the salesman (selling to dealers, for example) who studies his prospects' difficulties and devises methods of helping them is the salesman who is actually serving them and is the one who most naturally gets their business.

[1] TOSDAL, H. R., "Principles of Personal Selling," p. 242, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1925.

# PART V

## RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

Certain techniques which have frequently been employed in studying the psychological aspects of business are considered here, such as

Psychological tests for measuring the effectiveness of advertisements (Chaps. XXI and XXII).

Questionnaires (Chap. XXIII).

Rating scales (Chap. XXIV).

Measurement of attitudes of employees, customers, and the general public (Chap. XXV).

Job analysis (Chap. XXVI).

Safety work (Chap. XXVII). This topic is considered particularly because it emphasizes the exceedingly important role of the human element in accidents and the necessity for psychological techniques if the real causes of accidents are to be ascertained.

The last four chapters call attention to certain aspects of the employer-employee relationship, which will be discussed at some length in Part VI.

## CHAPTER XXI

## ROLE OF MEMORY IN ADVERTISING

The chances that a given advertisement will be seen and remembered are seemingly slight. The prospect sees it along with other advertisements, and in the course of the day he sees many thousands of other objects. After an interval of time he is in a position to buy the advertised commodity. Will he buy the advertiser's brand? In selling, the prospect buys while the salesman is still with him; but in advertising, the advertised appeal drops out of consciousness and only after it has been revived at a later date does buying occur.

Memory is then an important factor in advertising. Since very much of what is seen is obviously forgotten, it is important to ascertain what is most likely to be remembered, how it is retained and later on recalled to mind. It is even more important to know what a prospect should remember in order that advertising may have maximum effect.

### FIXATION, RETENTION, RECALL

Three processes are involved in the remembrance of a previous experience. First, there is the fixation of the experience in the mind at the time it occurs; second, there is its retention during the intervening period between fixation and recall; and third, there is its recall at the appropriate time.

Fixation of the impression in advertising is the same process as in teaching. The instructor must know, first of all, just what it is that the learner is to acquire. Second, the instructor must so influence the learner that he will want to acquire the information. Third, the instructor must present the information so that it is understood, which means that it is presented clearly and in relationship to the learner's interests. The advertiser is here faced with a more difficult task than the teacher, for the latter can more or less force the pupil to acquire the information, whereas the former must rely entirely upon voluntary perusal of the advertisement by the reader. The advertiser must consequently always sugar-coat his lesson by making clear at a glance what the reader is going to gain by reading the advertisement, or else it will not be read at all.

Retention is dependent very largely upon the extent to which the impression was originally fixated and the interval of time since that

occurred. The rate of forgetting is illustrated in Fig. 45.[1] The solid line represents the percentage of material that can be recalled at varying intervals of time after it has been learned sufficiently to insure correct repetition from memory. The dotted line indicates the percentage of words from among 20 which can be recognized at varying intervals of time after the list has been read through only once. The two graphs make clear that there is no essential difference in the form of the curves for recall and recognition memory. Both emphasize that forgetting takes place very quickly after the impression is received, that only about one fourth is retained after two days,[2] and that this

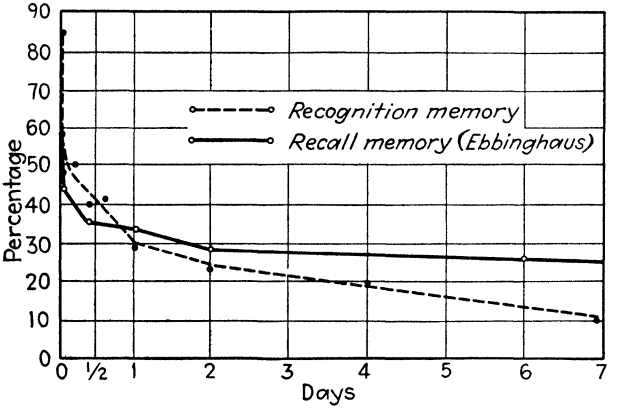



FIG. 45.—Amount forgotten with various intervals of time. (*After Strong.*)

one fourth tends to be retained fairly well for some considerable period of time.

If more than the above is to be remembered, it is necessary to fixate the impression more emphatically. It is here that repetition plays an important role for, in general, the larger the number of repetitions, the higher the percentage of material that is retained for any given interval of time. Experimentation has shown that repetitions which occur, say a day apart, are more effective in increasing the amount retained than the same number of repetitions occurring all on one day.

Recall of what has been experienced is thus dependent upon the strength of the fixation and the interval of time that has elapsed since

[1] STRONG, JR., E. K., "The Effect of Time-interval upon Recognition Memory," *Psychological Review*, 1913, **20**, 339–372.

[2] In these two investigations about one fourth was retained after two days. Just how much will be retained after two days depends upon several factors, among which can be mentioned the amount to be learned, the number of repetitions, and the kind of material.

that fixation was made. But recall will not occur, regardless of the degree of fixation, unless the item to be recalled is associated with some other item already in mind or brought into mind by an external stimulus. Thus, one may know very well indeed that 1492 is the year Columbus discovered America; but 1492 will not be recalled unless one is already thinking about Columbus, America's discovery, or some other associated idea. One never has a series of utterly unrelated ideas coming to mind; each idea follows a preceding idea, or an external stimulus with which it is associated.

To insure that object B will be recalled when object A is experienced, it is essential that the learner actively endeavor to associate B with A when it is seen the first time. Merely presenting A and B together does not guarantee that a proper association will be formed. See page 116 for further discussion of this point.

Learning is, then, to be viewed as the process of forming associations between two or more ideas (or muscular movements); retention has reference to the maintenance of such associations; and recall is the process by which the second idea comes to mind when the first idea is experienced. Fixation of associations takes place only when the learner senses that the two items belong together; it is facilitated greatly by a learner's deliberately making an effort to impress the association on his mind.

*Recall and Recognition.*—When an object or an individual is seen a second time, there may or may not be recognition. If it is recognized, there is experienced "a feeling of familiarity or the knowledge that the object is familiar or has been perceived at an earlier time." It is to be noted that the same object is encountered both times. In the case of recall, objects A and B are seen the first time, but only object A on the second occasion; then, if object B comes to mind we have recall. The likelihood of object B's being recalled depends upon the strength of the association between A and B and the length of time since the association was formed.

Recall and recognition are not closely related activities. Achilles[1] reports an average correlation of .23 based upon tests using syllables, words, forms, and proverbs. Brandt[2] reports the following, based upon 32 advertisements:

| | |
|---|---|
| Between Aided Recall and Recognition | .06 |
| Between Unaided Recall and Recognition | .06 |
| Between Aided Recall and Unaided Recall | .53 |

[1] ACHILLES, E. M., "Experimental Studies in Recall and Recognition," *Archives of Psychology*, 1920, No. 44, p. 37.

[2] BRANDT, E. R., "The Memory Value of Advertisements," *Archives of Psychology*, 1925, No. 79, p. 65.

### WHAT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED IN AN ADVERTISEMENT?

The first essential in insuring efficient remembrance in advertising is the determination of what it is that the advertiser desires to be remembered. Various answers have been given to this question. Some apparently believe that the whole advertisement should be remembered. In testing the effectiveness of advertisements (to be discussed in the next chapter), Starch[1] employed six tests, one of which was a test of the memory value of the entire advertisement. In this case, individuals were asked "to state which of the advertisements they remembered and what they remembered about these advertisements" three days after they had seen them. The results of this test, as given in his Table 66, correlate .78 with a test of the memory value of the illustration but only between .21 and −.10 with the four other tests purporting to measure the extent to which the advertisements had interested and influenced the reader. Unpublished studies of the writer agree with the above and indicate that advertisements which are well remembered are not necessarily effective advertisements. In fact, many an advertisement which is well remembered is remembered because it has something bizarre or very unusual about it, and it is this often nonrelevant element which sticks in the prospect's mind. Actually, there is no more reason for wishing the buyer to remember an advertisement than to remember a sales talk, as such. Many advertisers go so far as to insist that only after a reader has forgotten that his information was derived from an advertisement is the full effect of the advertisement experienced. It is the effect produced by the advertisement upon the prospect's way of thinking which the seller wishes retained.

What, then, is the reader to remember after reading an advertisement? The simplest answer to this question is that he is to remember the trade name. This is not a satisfactory answer: first, because there is no great advantage of the trade name's being recalled from time to time, except when the individual is planning to buy that product, and if the name were recalled too often it would exasperate the individual so that he would refuse to buy under any circumstance. Second, as we have just seen above, an idea or term does not come spontaneously into mind; it so appears when a preceding item with which it is associated calls it into mind. Our simple answer must be modified to read that the reader of an advertisement should form an association between commodity and trade name so that whenever the former is thought of

[1] STARCH, D., "Principles of Advertising," Chaps. XIV, XV, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1923.

the latter also will be recalled. As the commodity will be thought of whenever the individual is in the market to buy it, the association between commodity and trade name will insure that the latter is thought of at the time a purchase is likely to be made.

Such explanation is still, however, only a partially complete answer to the question. Each commodity is a generic term covering many uses. A chair, for example, is something to be sat on under many different conditions. If a person has associated XYZ brand with living-room chairs, he may possibly think of that brand when considering the purchase of dining-room chairs, but he will not do so if he is buying a chair for the kitchen, his office, or a schoolroom. If a manufacturer is selling all these kinds of chairs, he must associate each kind with his name. That is, he must associate each different kind of occasion for using chairs with his trade name.

Each purchase occurs only because the buyer has some want which can be best satisfied in that way. If the seller is to obtain the business, he must convince the buyer that his product will best meet the requirements of that occasion. It is this presentation that should be remembered—the wants of the reader in their specific setting associated with the advertiser's solution.

In addition, the prospect must be able to recall appropriate reasons why he should buy the trade-named commodity. Unless he can think of such reasons, he will hesitate and be easily influenced to buy something else.

The problem of getting a prospect to remember is exactly the same problem that has been discussed throughout the preceding chapters. Each occasion in everyday life where the commodity can be used must be associated with the trade name. If this is done and sufficiently drilled upon, the individual will remember the trade name when the occasion is encountered. This is the key to efficient memory.

### FAMILIARITY OF TRADE NAMES

The association test is frequently employed to measure the strength of the association between commodity and trade name. Here a list of commodities is presented and the individuals to be tested are asked to write down the first trade name that comes to mind.[1] For example,

[1] A variation of the test is to request that not only the first but also all the trade names which can be recalled shall be written down. The association test is similar to the aided recall test (see page 391) except that in the latter the testing occurs at a known interval of time after the advertisements were seen, whereas here there is no control over the seeing of the advertisements nor the interval of time intervening. The association test presumably measures the total effect of all past experiences with the commodity and its trade name.

Hotchkiss and Franken[1] asked 1,024 college men and women to write down the first trade name that occurred to them as they looked at 100 different commodity names. Typical of the results are the following with respect to the commodity baked beans:

| Trade name | Males | Females | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Heinz | 234 | 265 | 499 |
| Van Camp | 94 | 84 | 178 |
| Campbell | 92 | 81 | 173 |
| Libby | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 | 13 | 23 |
| Names not brands | 41 | 38 | 79 |
| Blanks | 39 | 25 | 64 |
| | 512 | 512 | 1,024 |

Clearly, Heinz had an advantage over his competitors in 1921, because his brand name flashed into the minds of 50 per cent of college people when the product was named.

It is interesting to note that in the case of some commodities practically all the students gave some trade name. For example:

| Commodity | Males, per cent | Females, per cent | Total, per cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chewing gums | 98 | 94 | 96 |
| Automobiles | 96 | 95 | 95 |
| Soaps | 95 | 96 | 95 |
| Baked beans | 92 | 95 | 94 |
| Watches | 93 | 92 | 93 |

It is equally interesting to note that in the case of some commodities very few students were able to give any brand. For example:

| Commodity | Males, per cent | Females, per cent | Total, per cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lace curtains | 5 | 13 | 7 |
| Ribbons | 5 | 14 | 7 |
| Umbrellas | 14 | 13 | 12 |
| Rice | 25 | 21 | 21 |
| Laces | 11 | 36 | 22 |

[1] HOTCHKISS, G. B., and R. B. FRANKEN, "The Leadership of Advertised Brands," Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1923.

Hotchkiss and Franken comment as follows:

Practically every man names a manufacturer or brand of collars. Men could usually name brands of hats, garters, shoes, men's clothing, and underwear. Over 20 per cent could not name a brand of hosiery; a greater percentage could not name a brand of shirts, and gloves and handkerchiefs fared even worse. Still more of them were at a loss to name any brand or manufacturer of neckties. They could name rubber heels but not rubbers. They knew shaving soaps better than toilet soaps. They knew fountain pens better than pencils or ink and far better than brands of paper. All but 6 per cent could name some brand of phonograph, but nearly 25 per cent could not name any kind of piano . . .

Familiarity with brands was most pronounced in the fields in which advertising has been most extensive. None of the commodities that are near the bottom of the list in the degree of brand familiarity has been characterized by any extensive or persistent advertising campaign. Most of the commodities in which a better-than-average brand familiarity was shown are well advertised.[1]

**Dominance and Leadership.**—Hotchkiss and Franken point out that certain brands have "dominance" in the sense that a majority of individuals mention it; certain brands have "leadership" when they are named by more than twice as many persons as the next brand in their field.

Below are listed a few examples of dominance in 1921:

| Commodity | Trade name | Males, per cent | Females, per cent | Total, per cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cameras | Eastman | 90 | 82 | 86 |
| Sewing machines | Singer | 80 | 71 | 75 |
| Soups | Campbell | 70 | 78 | 74 |
| Collars | Arrow | 82 | 64 | 73 |
| Fountain pens | Waterman | 81 | 65 | 73 |

The following brands had leadership in 1921:

| Commodity | Trade name | Males, per cent | Females, per cent | Total, per cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Soap | Ivory | 34 | 41 | 38 |
| Flour | Gold Medal | 38 | 34 | 36 |
| Soft drinks | Coca-Cola | 36 | 33 | 34 |
| Underwear | B V D | 48 | 20 | 34 |
| Hats | Stetson | 47 | 16 | 32 |

[1] HOTCHKISS and FRANKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

The general characteristics of the dominant leaders (Eastman, Singer, Campbell, etc.), as given by Hotchkiss and Franken, are:

1. All have been on the market a considerable length of time. Several are the pioneers in their respective fields.
2. Nearly every one of them has been advertised persistently and continuously for the past 10 years.
3. Each one is probably the largest seller (certainly among the largest sellers) in its field.
4. Nearly all are used frequently. In most instances the name or brand would be discernible whenever the article was used, or when supplies for it were bought.
5. All are products of standard quality and of good reputation.

Table III lists the ten leading soaps according to the association test in 1925, 1927, and 1929 and the percentage of the total number of mentions each received. Ivory and Palmolive are practically tied for

TABLE III.—RANK ORDER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MENTIONS OF SOAP TRADE NAMES[1]

| Brand name | National test 1925 | | Idaho test 1927 | | Georgia test 1929 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rank | Per cent | Rank | Per cent | Rank | Per cent |
| Ivory | 1 | 13.3 | 2 | 12.9 | 1 | 15.4 |
| Palmolive | 2 | 12.4 | 1 | 14.3 | 2 | 15.1 |
| Woodbury's | 3 | 8.2 | 6 | 5.7 | 5 | 7.2 |
| Fairy | 4 | 7.4 | 9 | 3.2 | 7 | 4.5 |
| Colgate's | 5 | 5.8 | 11 | 2.9 | 12 | 2.4 |
| Lifebuoy | 6 | 4.4 | 13 | 1.9 | 3 | 12.5 |
| Fels Naptha | 7 | 3.3 | 7 | 5.3 | 14 | 1.5 |
| Pears | 8 | 2.7 | .. | .0 | .. | .0 |
| Packer's Tar | 9 | 2.7 | 8 | 3.4 | 9 | 3.6 |
| Castile | 10 | 2.6 | 10 | 3.1 | 13 | 1.6 |
| Octagon | 11 | 2.2 | .. | .... | 4 | 11.4 |
| Procter & Gamble | 12 | 2.2 | 18 | 1.1 | 10 | 2.4 |
| Lux | 16 | 1.8 | 5 | 7.2 | 6 | 6.9 |
| Number of persons tested | 1,000 | | ? | | 182 | |
| Number of mentions | 7,055 | | 1,919 | | 1,080 | |

[1] National test from G. B. Hotchkiss, and R. B. Franken, "The Measurement of Advertising Effects," p. 128, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1927; Idaho and Georgia tests from P. M. Holmes, "Effect of Advertising on Brand Familiarity," *Idaho Economic Bulletin*, 1928, **6**, No. 5, and private publication, May, 1929. In these tests subjects were asked to mention all trade names, not merely the first one that came to mind.

first place. Several soaps have lost position and two, Lifebuoy and Lux, have very clearly gained. The results cannot be taken at face value, since the last two investigations cover two local areas only.

Holmes[1] supplies the following data which give some idea of the cost of advertising incident to establishing and maintaining brand consciousness and the sale of soap.

The total appropriation for national magazine advertising for all toilet and laundry soaps for the eight year period—1920 to 1927—was $38,854,698. The five soaps advertised most extensively account for 63 per cent of the total. The advertising of Ivory Soap and Flakes combined amounts to 15 per cent of the total, while Lux is a close second with 14 per cent. Palmolive and Woodbury's have 12 per cent each and Fels Naptha 10 per cent.

**Relation of Brand Familiarity to Purchases.**—The question naturally arises: What is the relationship between brand familiarity as measured by an association test and purchases?

Hotchkiss and Franken in a second investigation[2] found that only 34[3] per cent of the trade names which were first recalled when a commodity was mentioned were being bought at that time and only 55.5 per cent of the brands were being bought or had been bought previously. It should be added, however, that in the case of nearly every commodity a goodly majority of the subjects reported that they were using one or another of the four or five leading brands. Thus, 90 per cent of college students use one of the first eight brands of tooth-paste on the list, 85 per cent were using one of the first six brands of soap, 80 per cent were using one of the first five brands of fountain pens, 70 per cent were using one of the first five brands of watches.

Several explanations were advanced by Hotchkiss and Franken as to why people were using other than the trade name which was most strongly associated in their mind with the commodity. Many people cannot afford the more expensive brand, or they have rather recently ceased to buy a brand familiar to them in early life, or someone else has bought the commodity they use, or they have bought what was available instead of their really first choice, or they have bought on the basis of competent advice. An example of the last type is where one buys an unfamiliar tooth paste because one's dentist so advises. Also what came to mind was the trade name most frequently seen or which had been learned early in life. For example, if one usually eats Cream of Wheat at home and Shredded Wheat when traveling, the latter would be more likely to be remembered, for the box is seen while eating and the Cream of Wheat box is not seen except by the cook. Although the data secured by Hotchkiss and Franken were not adequate to

[1] See footnote to Table III.

[2] HOTCHKISS, G. B. and R. B. FRANKEN, "The Measurement of Advertising Effects," New York. Harper & Brothers, 1927, p. 47.

[3] If nonusers of the commodity and users who could not recall the trade name they were using are deducted, the 34 per cent is raised to 40 per cent.

prove conclusively that frequency of advertising was the chief cause of familiarity of trade names, yet these authorities believe that this is the primary explanation. They advance in this connection such additional proof as this. If a person was using a brand of hosiery, mentioned only a few times by a thousand individuals, he was five times more likely to forget to mention it when asked to give all the hosiery brands he knew than was a person using a well-known brand to fail to mention it. For all the brands studied the ratio was 2 to 1 rather than 5 to 1 as in the case of hosiery.[1]

Another possible explanation why a certain brand is used in preference to the one most strongly associated with the commodity is that the buyer is faced with a specific situation and buys what will best

TABLE IV.—PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS THOUGHT OF FIRST AND PERCENTAGE WHO USED THE PRODUCT TO RELIEVE SLEEPLESSNESS
(After Houghton[2])
$N$ = 1,775*

| Product | Percentage who thought of it first | Percentage who used it | Percentage of those using any product who used it |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ovaltine | 34.8 | 6.2 | 33.8 |
| No product thought of | 30.3 | .0 | .0 |
| Sanka coffee | 8.0 | 0.8 | 4.3 |
| Hot milk | 5.4 | 3.2 | 17.5 |
| Aspirin | 3.0 | 1.4 | 7.4 |
| Products mentioned by less than 1 per cent of the number interviewed | 18.5 | 6.8 | 36.9 |

* The data in the first two columns are an average of four sets of data supplied by Houghton; the data in the third column were computed by us.

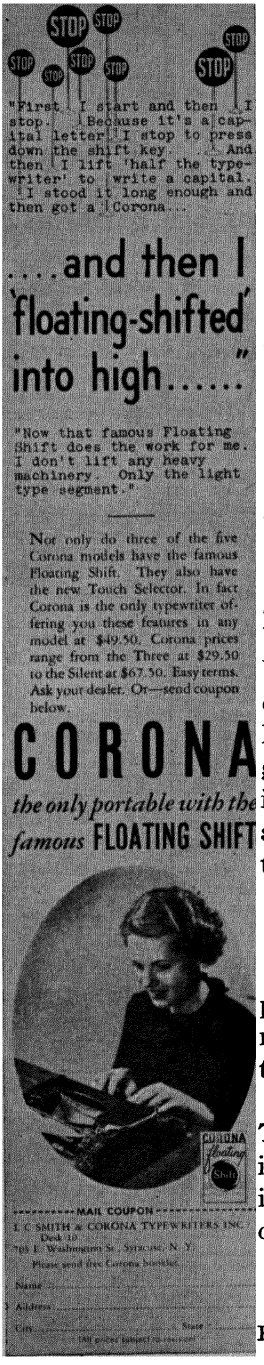
fulfill his desire. He may know the Beauty-rest mattress best of all by reputation but it may never occur to him when buying a mattress for the maid's room, for it is associated with luxury and not with long and inexpensive use. An investigation on this campus some time ago showed that the average male student bought his clothing from a surprisingly large number of retail stores. A suit of clothes was bought from Store A, a hat from Store B, shirts from Store C, and so on; yet all these stores sold all such items. Clearly, a variety of factors besides that of "biggest and best-known store" determine purchases.

[1] HOTCHKISS and FRANKEN, 1927, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63.

[2] HOUGHTON, D., "Method of Advertising Evaluation," *Printers' Ink Monthly*, 1936, **32**, 18–20.




FIG. 46.—Emphasizing occasion for buying and trade name.




The recent investigation of Houghton[1] shows that further research must be made before we shall arrive at a true understanding of the relationship between brand preference and use. He ascertained the product first thought of as a means of relieving a particular specified irritation, such as, headache, cough, indigestion, dandruff, head cold, sore throat, etc. He next ascertained whether the product thought of first was used and, if not, what product, if any, was used. A sample of his data is shown in Table IV.

The discrepancy between first mention and use is great. If we take into account only the 14 per cent who do something to relieve sleeplessness when they experience it, we find that Ovaltine, which is mentioned first by 35 per cent, is used by 34 per cent who use anything at all. There is about 4 per cent difference between first mention and use in the case of both Sanka coffee and Aspirin and a difference of 12 per cent in the case of hot milk. In this last case "first mentions" are clearly not a good indication of actual use. All in all there is some agreement between "first mentions" and "use" when "use" is confined to only those who use some product.

## FACILITATING RECALL OF A TRADE NAME

To facilitate the recall of a trade name the prospective customer must be influenced repeatedly to associate the trade name with the occasion for buying.

**Emphasize the Occasion for Buying and Then the Trade Name.**—The advertisement in Fig. 46 associates sleeplessness with drinking coffee and then points out that one can drink Kaffee-Hag coffee and sleep soundly.

[1] See footnote 2, p. 360.

FIG. 47.—Emphasizing occasion for buying and trade name.

The next time the reader cannot get to sleep, he is apt to blame it on the coffee he drank and plan to investigate the possibilities of Kaffee-Hag.

The advertiser of Corona typewriters (Fig. 47) is emphasizing the "floating touch" of that machine. It forces the reader to realize how many times the shift key is used on an ordinary typewriter and the extra labor of striking it. Thereafter, the typist is apt to blame her fatigue upon the unnecessary effort to lift "half the typewriter" and to wish she had a Corona.

The advertisement in Fig. 48 is justified if the seller is content with the business that will come from readers who already want leather belting but do not know where to buy. Otherwise, the seller should play up the various occasions for using his commodity and show that his product is serviceable in each case.




FIG. 48.—A display want-ad. No attempt to sell the goods.

Experiments by Laslett, Loveless, and the writer show that the trade name is better remembered by 11 per cent when it is associated with a want for the product than when all the space is devoted to describing the trade-named product. In these experiments two advertisements were prepared for each of 20 trade-named commodities (the names used were all fictitious). The first advertisement of each pair emphasized the want but gave some space to the solution; the second advertisement emphasized the solution but in doing so gave some space to the want. Examples of these two types of advertisements called "want" and "solution," are shown on page 365.

Various groups of men and women were tested in different ways as to what they remembered. In each case they were instructed to look through 20 advertisements and read only what interested them, as they would not be given sufficient time to read them all. Each individual handled either a want or a solution advertisement from each of the 20 pairs. The results shown in Table V indicate want advertisements cause an 11-per cent greater remembrance of the trade name than that from solution advertisements. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the former type of advertisement is far more likely to be read than the latter,[1] and that readers are more ready to

[1] One group of 126 subjects were shown (1) paragraphs and (2) sentences taken from the 20 advertisements plus paragraphs and sentences taken from other

remember a trade name which appears as a solution to one of their wants than as merely the name of a commodity.[1]

*Law of Forward Association.*—Regardless of how expert an individual is in tying his necktie, or signing his name, or reciting a poem, or any other activity, he cannot easily reverse the action. The average person will recite the alphabet forward in about five seconds, but will require about 46 seconds to say it backward. And he will recite it backward in terms of saying it forward, *i.e.*, he will think *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*,

TABLE V.—SUPERIORITY OF "WANT" ADVERTISEMENTS OVER "SOLUTION" ADVERTISEMENTS IN CAUSING THE TRADE NAME TO BE REMEMBERED
(Data expressed in ratios)[1]

| N | Method | "Want" ads | "Solution" ads |
|---|---|---|---|
| 147 | Recall of trade names | 116 | 100 |
| 261 | Recognition of trade names: correct only | 104 | 100 |
| 231 | Recognition of trade names: correct − incorrect | 110 | 100 |
| 261 | Aided recall of trade names | 115 | 100 |
| 126 | Paragraph presented, name recalled | 110 | 100 |
| | Summary | 111 | 100 |

[1] After Strong and Laslett.

before reciting *z*, *y*, *x*, *w*, etc. When "George" is mentioned, one may think "Washington" or some other surname, but when "Washington" is mentioned, one doesn't think backward to "George" but forward to "D.C.," or "first president," or the like.

In advertising, ideas should be presented in the order in which they are to function in the reader's daily life. The experiment just discussed demonstrates the superiority of presenting the want before the trade-name solution, which is the order in which a buyer's mental process would progress.

Years ago when Congoleum was first announced, the advertiser, judging from the advertisement in Fig. 49, started out to teach women that Congoleum was a floor covering (solution first, want second). The writer happened to notice this advertisement because in an experiment he was running, it was the poorest among about 100 full-

advertisements. The ratio of recognition of paragraphs was 126 to 100 in favor of advertisements emphasizing the want; the ratio of recognition of sentences was 152 to 100 in favor of want advertisements.

[1] STRONG, E. K., JR., and J. E. LOVELESS, "'Want' and 'Solution' Advertisements," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1926, **10**, 346–366; and STRONG, E. K., JR., and H. R. LASLETT, "Further Study of Want versus Commodity Advertisements," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, **11**, 8–24.

*Advertisement* 10-*W*; 14 *per cent superior to* 10-*S*; *Experimental efficiency* 49 *per cent*

THE BIG PARTY SHE MISSED

For months she had been looking forward to this affair—probably the most gala event of the winter season.

And more than that—the man who was to take her was looked upon as the one real "catch" in her set.

A week before the big night she felt a dry, rasping hitch in her throat. She neglected it and kept right on going.

A few days later her throat was so inflamed she could hardly swallow food. And then a rapidly rising temperature.

The doctor ordered her to bed—and kept her there three days. On the evening she wanted most to feel fit, she was confined to the house like a little old lady—and the others were dancing.

Don't let a sore throat throw you out of step with the pleasures you've planned.

Guard against this trouble by taking the simple precaution of using Dixol, the safe antiseptic. Have Dixol handy always in your bathroom. It is a valuable preventative for throat irritations and the more serious ills that so often follow.

DIXOL

*Advertisement* 10-*S*; *Experimental efficiency* 35 *per cent*

FOR SORE THROAT
A Safe Antiseptic

Extra strains mean a lowering of bodily resistance and demand a precaution against infections.

Sore throat is a result of infection in the mucous membranes in the throat. The only way to prevent it is to ward against the germs that cause it; and the best way is by gargling the throat with an efficient antiseptic.

Dixol is not only an efficient antiseptic but is thoroughly pleasant to use, and safe at all times. It is the result of intensive scientific study of the infectious sources of sore throat. Dixol is specially prepared to specifically combat bacterial onsets upon the delicate, sensitive membranes that line the throat.

Even a slight sore throat is an annoying inconvenience. And a bad one means a fever and confinement to bed. Guard against any such attack by always keeping a bottle of Dixol handy on the bathroom shelf. And don't wait for a dry, rasping hitch in the throat—gargle regularly with warm water and Dixol.

DIXOL

page advertisements appearing that month. Although it had been physically in front of the eyes of several hundred women, not a single one recognized it when it was shown a second time. Subsequently, the writer was informed that this advertisement was a flat failure as to bringing in business. Later on, the advertiser tried the second type

of presentation, illustrated in Fig. 50, where the advertiser is attempting to teach women that a new kind of floor covering is Congoleum (Want first, solution second). It must be judged as successful, for even though it is not so good as many later advertisements, yet it is typical of the advertising that established this product on the market.




FIG. 49.—Illustrating a violation of the law of forward association.

The first Congoleum advertisement was of little value in selling the product because readers will not look at nor read what is unknown and unfamiliar. They respond only to what interests them. It is, then, not only relatively inefficient to form an association from trade name to use, but it is difficult to do so because the reader is not interested. The second Congoleum advertisement displays a living room and staircase. Every woman who cares about an attractive home (this includes almost every woman) looks at the picture to see if there is any new idea expressed which she can utilize. She is in just the attitude to

accept suggestions. Afterward, when she is definitely considering floors, Congoleum tends to come into mind. Whether it does or not depends upon the strength of the association.

It must be recognized that sometimes a person works upward from the bottom to the top of an advertisement, and that in such




FIG. 50.—Associating occasion for buying with trade name.

cases an improperly arranged advertisement will leave a proper impression. It is true, also, that when a trade name is well known, it makes little or no difference where it appears on the page. Exceptions are inevitable. Nevertheless, in the long run, the most efficient order of presenting information is from Want to Commodity to Trade Name, because that is the association of most value to establish, and, because it is the easiest to establish.

*Many Specific Occasions.*—Because Heinz is well associated with baked beans does not mean that when soup or spaghetti or peanut

butter is to be bought Heinz will come to mind. The data in Table VI emphasize the fact that each specific occasion for buying must be associated with the trade name. It is a help, of course, to establish the association "soup-Heinz" after "baked beans—Heinz" is formed because the name Heinz is already familiar; nevertheless the new association must be specifically taught.

TABLE VI.—SPECIFICITY OF TRADE-NAME ASSOCIATIONS
(Data from Hotchkiss and Franken, 1923)

| Commodity | Percentage of replies | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heinz | Campbell | Van Camp | Beech-Nut |
| Baked beans | 49 | 17 | 18 | |
| Soup | 5 | 76 | 9 | |
| Spaghetti | 21 | 2 | 4 | |
| Peanut butter | 14 | .. | .. | 43 |

The advertiser, conscious of twenty uses for his commodity, wants to present them all in each advertisement. It cannot be done any more than a whole year of geography can be taught in one lesson. The mind will take in only so much at a time and lessons in school are accommodated to what the child can absorb. So, in advertising, one lesson at a time must be the rule. If each is presented properly, in time the prospect will know them all.

*Occasion Must Be Associated with Both Commodity and Trade Name.*—It is necessary to associate occasion with both commodity and trade name not only to make an effective impression upon the prospective buyer, but also in order to safeguard legal monopoly of the trade name itself.

So long as the manufacturer has a monopoly of the commodity he is safe, for no one can use the trade name without referring to his product. But as soon as others are able to manufacture the product, the question arises, "What are they to call it?"

Linoleum was manufactured for years free from competition. During that time the public was taught to call it linoleum. The term came to mean a kind of floor covering that looked like oilcloth but wasn't oilcloth. When the patents expired, others commenced to manufacture the product. If they called the product linoleum, it was seemingly unjust to the original company who had taught the public the use of the word in connection with their own product. On the other hand, they were manufacturing a product known to everyone as linoleum. To call it by another name would be deceiving the public into thinking the product was something else.

It is *use* that establishes meaning. If the public is permitted to use a trade name as the name of the commodity, then sooner or later it will be impossible to prevent competitors from using it in a similar manner. "As Edmund Burke observed, it is difficult to 'draw up an indictment against a whole people,' and it is quite impossible to give effect to an injunction against them."

The producer can control the use of his trade name to a very large degree through advertising. If he teaches the public that his trade name indicates *origin* and never style or quality or fit or pattern or anything else, that the trade name always points to the producer as maker, then he is in a position to defend its use. In order to do this it is imperative that when a new product is announced it shall be given two names, one its designation as a commodity, the other, its trade name. In time anyone will be free to use the former but the latter will always remain the exclusive property of its owner.

This condition will continue only if the advertiser continues to emphasize both names. Because the human mind is prone to short-circuit any process, customers are apt to drop out the commodity name and to think Kodak when they want to take a picture, to think Yale when they want to lock the garage. As they come to think this way, sooner or later the owner of the trade name is going to lose his rights to the exclusive word.

It is because of this situation that the writer has insisted that commodity and trade name must be kept distinct and that both elements must appear in the buying formula.

The ideal is, then, to lead customers to think the trade name whenever an occasion for buying arises, but at the same time never to let them forget that they are buying a particular commodity by that trade-marked name. So the Eastman Company tells us all the time, "If it isn't an Eastman, it isn't a Kodak."

**Cooperate with All Concerns That Help Associate Wants with Your Commodity.**—Although the average woman will not buy a refrigerator at the same time she purchases a kitchen cabinet, or washing machine, or linoleum for the kitchen floor, and in that sense all these are competing commodities, nevertheless, if the advertisers of each of these products always displayed in the background the other three, they would steadily raise the standard of what should be in a kitchen and so all would prosper. If a woman feels that all are found in the average kitchen and she has none of them, she will struggle much harder to get one of them than if she thinks that only one is usually present.

The recent advertising by the American Can Company of beer and ale sold in tin cans is another illustration of this principle. Their sales

of tin cans are increased by having people ask for beer or ale in tin cans.

*Cooperative Advertising.*—A business concern is in competition not only with those concerns selling the same commodity but also to some degree with every other business concern. This is true because the customer has only so much to spend and if he purchases an automobile he cannot buy new furniture or jewelry. Consequently, it is as important to make customers want one's own commodity instead of other commodities as it is to make them prefer one's own trade name to that of others. In fact, in many respects the former is more important, for if one's commodity is not to be bought there is no chance of interesting the prospect in one's trade name.

Because of this situation competitors frequently join together to advertise cooperatively their commodity. The function performed here is associating customer's wants with the commodity. Two examples of such advertising are shown in Figs. 11 (page 46), and 12 (page 47). Four types of cooperative advertising may be distinguished: first, small-scale producers, such as farmers raising oranges, raisins, and the like, can afford to advertise jointly but not separately. Second, new industries can introduce their products on a large scale through advertising, as, for example, davenport beds or plywood. Third, producers of a product which has experienced popular prejudice for one reason or another, as coffee or oleomargarine. And fourth, producers of a product which is experiencing severe competition from one or more other products, such as that of the copper industry.

The situation which led to cooperative advertising of copper by the Copper and Brass Association many years ago is typical.

In 1895, the production of copper was 380,000 pounds. At the close of the war it had risen to 2,500,000,000 pounds. This increased production and expansion of the industry was made possible, of course, not only by increase in demand but in mining methods; discovery of new deposits, better working of low-grade ores and many other causes. Through better methods of production and increased production, the price also got to a point where it was reasonable to suppose that demand at a cheap price could be greatly stimulated where a higher price would have made this impossible.

A complete investigation of markets showed that the condition was indeed one which demanded immediate advertising. Copper had been driven from the field in many lines by active, aggressive, advertising competition. One of its competitors was aluminum. Twelve years ago aluminum was used for only about one-fourth of 1 per cent of the kitchen utensils then in use. Under improved process a better grade of aluminum was produced, but at first it could not be sold. Progressive sales and advertising campaigns put aluminum in a place where it is used today for more than 50 per cent of the kitchen utensils in the country, and the demand for it is steadily being increased. It was just this sort of aggressive

work among many of the competitors of copper which led to the campaign now running.[1]

To cause people to buy copper it is necessary to make them want as many articles as possible that are made out of copper. So one advertisement in this series shows a house owner looking at a worn-out leader pipe, and the reader is made to feel the advantages of copper because it does not wear out.

The theory underlying existing laws is that competing companies must compete. Supreme Court decisions are directed at lack of genuine competition, at the activities of a central bureau that more or less sets prices, divides up the market, and the like. There should be no decision which would prevent a group of companies in the same business advertising together, because such advertising is a part of a most constructive type of competition in which consumers are given a choice, not between trade-named products which are usually quite similar but between different commodities which, because they differ considerably, open up new possibilities of use.

Another type of cooperative advertising that has developed to large proportions in recent years is that of community advertising, such as that of Californians, Inc., representing central and northern California. Here the effort is made to get tourists and newcomers to spent money and settle down in that area instead of somewhere else.

**Make Every Effort to Influence the Reader to Fixate the Association between Occasion and Trade Name.**—There is altogether too much reliance upon the advertising superstition that something which is "unconsciously seen" may be quite effective. Here is an example of such thinking:

> While thousands of people attain the mental act of noticing advertisements, *millions pass through the physical act of seeing, unconsciously,* perhaps. The effect of the advertising on people who merely see the advertisements is very important in achieving results.[2]

We have already pointed out the absurdity of such an assumption (page 116); unless the reader realizes that occasion and trade name belong together and desires to associate them together, there will be no association formed.

Getting readers to do something is one good way of fixating the impression. So filling out a coupon and reading the follow-up material are helps here; just as getting a prospect to calculate, himself, the

[1] DICKINSON, R., "Copper Starts to Advertise," *Printers' Ink,* May 11, 1922.

[2] MILLER, C. E., "How to Write Advertisements," p. 86, London, Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1930. Italics are ours.

profits to be obtained from the sale of the article helps to fixate the point in his mind.

Undoubtedly, the one most effective means of inducing readers to intend to remember is by arousing a want and showing how it can be satisfied by way of the trade-marked commodity. A man seldom forgets what he really wants to do.

**Drill the Prospect.**—The preceding sections have made clear what must be presented in the advertising in order to facilitate recall of the advertiser's trade name. The third consideration emphasizes the need for constant repetition of the message. Before any habit is acquired, it must be practiced; before any date in history is learned, it must be repeated several times. So in advertising.

But drill need never be monotonous. There are thousands of ways of telling any story, of associating an occasion with a trade name. Each time the presentation may be different, but the same point must be hammered home. And drill may be accomplished through efforts of salesmen, advertising, use of booklets, mail follow-up, and all sorts of devices.

One of the primary reasons why advertisers do not more consciously endeavor to drill the prospect on the lesson to be learned is that the advertiser himself gets tired of repetition. The advertiser lives with the copy and sees it for weeks; similarly, the salesman tells his story many times a day, but the prospect may not have heard it more than once.

Repetition is essential for three reasons. First, it is the only way to strengthen a habit or association. Second, as time goes on, the effect of learning dies down, as shown in the curve of forgetting in Fig. 45 (page 352). But with each added repetition in learning there results a decrease in total amount forgotten. Third, the efforts of competitors interfere with the effect produced by each association so that far more repetitions are needed to establish the association of soap-Ivory when soap-Lux and soap-Palmolive are being taught at the same time. This interfering effect is most pronounced when a new habit is being formed. This is one explanation why it is so expensive to launch a new product when several old competing ones are well established.

## FACILITATING THE RECOGNITION OF A TRADE NAME

Recognition is dependent primarily upon having present upon a second occasion the same combination of elements which were present the first time. Frequently men, at least, fail to recognize a woman

because she has on a different hat or dress from that they had previously seen. The new element gives a new combination.

Trade-marks and packages should accordingly be displayed in advertising as they will be seen in actual use. This means that no artistic decoration should be repeatedly used to set them off in advertising, for when the package is seen without the background the trade-mark may not be recognized. Similarly, color can be used to advantage in advertising, in order to present the trade-mark and package as they actually appear in use. But if colors are used, they should be the correct colors. Color is, however, not essential, although helpful.

The factors that affect recognition, arranged in order of importance, are: the objects, the spatial relations and forms of the objects, color, and size. A number of slight changes in the details can be made without particularly affecting recognition. But just as soon as the details are rearranged so that the total combination is altered, recognition is interfered with. When a trade-mark was exhibited recently, nearly everyone said, "It looks like the Beech-nut trade-mark." Yet when the two trade-marks were compared, there were no two elements alike. The two combinations were similar and so the one was confused with the other.[1]

It is quite obvious that an easily recognized trade-mark or package must be *distinctive*, that is, strikingly different from those of competitors. How to determine whether consumers can distinguish it from that of competitors is outlined below.

An easily recognized trade-mark is seldom complicated; it usually is *simple*. Changing many elements in a complicated design may affect recognition very little. Because this is true, competitors may adopt trade-marks that are different in many details from one's own complicated trade-mark, and yet the total effects will be sufficiently alike to cause much confusion among the buying public.

Designs that are quite complicated as far as number of lines are concerned may be, psychologically speaking, quite simple if they are well known and especially if they have a name. A house, boat, or railroad train is simpler than an unfamiliar design of a very few lines. The "simplest" objects are those which everyone learns to know early in life, as cat, dog, blackboard, doll, etc. The Keystone Lumber

[1] Paynter demonstrated many years ago that there was not a very high correlation between the judgments of courts and the judgments of prospective customers as to what are and what are not conflicting trade names. There should be further research along this line. See PAYNTER, R. H., JR., "A Psychological Study of Trade Mark Infringement," *Archives of Psychology*, 1920, No. 42, and BORDEN, N. H., "Determination of Confusion in Trade-mark Conflict Cases," Harvard Business School, 1936.

Company of Pittsburgh has a trade-mark, an elephant galloping down the road with a big beam held between his tusks and trunk. Once seen, the trade-mark is always recognized again. But the name of the company is not necessarily recalled because there is no natural association between an elephant and a keystone. If a mammoth were substituted for the elephant and the company name were the Mammoth Lumber Company, an ideal combination would exist.

The Log Cabin maple syrup can is an excellent example of how trade-mark and package can be presented in such a way as to *utilize* an *already existing association*. The can suggests the name and the name suggests the container.

Clearly, there is a limit to such combinations. Once customers become used to getting pickles in a glass bottle or tuna fish in flat cans, it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to sell them in an entirely new type of container, even though this may have distinctive features well associated with the name and the commodity.

Because man is always interested in man, it is often advantageous to present the trade-mark in connection with some personality, *i.e.*, to use a *mascot*. So there are the Gold Dust Twins, the Old Dutch Cleanser, Aunt Jemima, and many others.

*Expense* must usually be taken into account. A package may be distinctive, but if it is too expensive it may spell failure. Recently many manufacturers have reported considerable saving through slight changes in the shape of their containers. These changes have facilitated manufacture, filling, and shipping.

Trade-marks and packages must be *attractive* as well as easily recognized. If people do not like their looks, they tend not to buy. *Appropriateness* is an element here. A quite attractive trade-mark for feathers might and probably would be unattractive for machinery, just because it was not appropriate. The Beech-nut mark is very appropriate for foods. But it is not so appropriate for lingerie, cigarettes, or vacuum cleaners. When a design is inappropriate, it is most likely to be inartistic and, psychologically speaking, it is quite likely to be disliked.

After so much has been said about selecting a trade name that is *easy to pronounce*, it would seem unnecessary to add more. But every year new names appear which violate this principle. A name that the reader cannot pronounce is much harder for him to remember. Moreover, few like to attempt to use a name if they feel others will laugh at their pronunciation. In advertising Ghirardelli's chocolate on the Pacific coast, much of the space has to be devoted to instructing people how to pronounce the name—a real handicap. The owner of this

business is quoted as having declared the "h" in his name has cost him $1,000,000.

But a hard name to pronounce, if presented so that it is easy to say, may make a very easily remembered name, as in the case of Pro-phy-lac-tic Tooth Brush. W. H. Childs of the Bon Ami Company is quoted as saying that he would give a good deal of money if only the name could be changed without losing the time, money, and effort which has been spent in establishing it. The masses do not know French and so do not appreciate its meaning and hence its appropriateness, and many still do not know how to pronounce it.

A trade name, to be easily recalled and recognized, should then be associated, if possible, with the commodity, easily pronounced, and pleasing. This means usually that it will be simple, not complicated. Because of difficulties connected with registration, personal and geographical names should not be used. High-sounding words, such as "superior," "superb," "standard," "AI," "XXXX," and the like, should be avoided. Too much arrogance is distasteful, and these terms are already overused anyway.

# CHAPTER XXII

## MEASUREMENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS

The question as to how far advertising is socially justified is one for the economist to wrestle with. Another question is how far any advertising campaign, or any specific advertisement, is justified in terms of its cost and resulting sales. There are many theories and a few facts that bear on both questions. This, however, is not the place to consider them, important as they are. The question to which we must restrict ourselves in this chapter is how may advertisements be measured or tested in order to determine their efficiency in influencing the public and increasing sales. This is an important problem for, until the efficiency of individual advertisements can be measured, there is no good method of determining which advertisements are economically justifiable in terms of profit.

Advertising men realize that there are great differences in the effectiveness of advertisements. On several different occasions the writer has heard them state that 50 per cent of the money spent in advertising is wasted.[1] Various authorities have pointed out that certain advertisements are far more successful than others used in the same campaign. If poor advertisements could be eliminated, it would make a very appreciable difference!

### OBJECTIVES OF ADVERTISING

Before the efficiency of an advertisement can be determined it is necessary to know the standard in terms of which it is to be measured.

Generally speaking, the objective of advertising is to influence people so as to increase sales. Closer scrutiny of the matter reveals the fact that advertisements are designed to secure sales either immediately or some time in the future. In the former case there is the mail-order advertisement, whose efficiency can be measured quite accurately by the volume of sales that are secured directly after its appearance.

[1] The Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association at its annual meeting on April 24, 1935, estimated that a total of $349,055,000 was invested in national advertising in 1934. This figure is broken down as follows: Newspapers (national advertising), $163,000,000; magazines, $113,515,000; radio, $42,660,000; outdoor advertising, $26,880,000; and street-car advertising, $3,000,000. Local advertising would add considerably to the above.

There is also the special-sale advertisement of a retail store whose efficiency depends upon the volume of sales which result on the following day or days. But here it is not so easy to determine the amount of sales to be attributed to the advertisement, for the sale itself and hence the advertising of the sale is designed not merely to sell the goods offered in the sale but also to bring people into the store who will buy other goods than those advertised. The efficiency of such a retail advertisement is the increase in sales throughout the store over what would have been secured without advertising; unfortunately for our purposes, the latter item is not at all easy, perhaps not possible, to calculate.

The situation is far more complicated in the case of advertisements designed to secure sales at some time in the future. The purpose of most national advertising is to influence people to go to a retail outlet and buy. When the commodity costs very little and is used up very quickly, it may be expected that the effect of the advertising will show itself rather promptly but in stores scattered over a wide area; when the commodity, however, is a refrigerator, a piano, or an automobile, the results of the advertising may not appear immediately and will be spread over such a long period of time that there is no way of attributing increased sales to any particular advertisement. The same situation holds with retail advertising which is not offering a special sale, frequently referred to as institutional advertising.[1] Here the aim is to make people believe a particular store is a desirable place to trade.

For practical purposes, consequently, the objectives of advertising may be considered as twofold; first, immediate sales and, second, good will, prestige, or morale. Under the latter heading are included retail institutional advertising and much of national advertising of wholesalers and manufacturers. In this group can be distinguished some advertising designed to improve the morale of workmen, salesmen, and dealers;[2] some advertising designed to impress the public with the prestige of the company and dependability of its products. Certain other advertising can be explained only on the basis that it affords the proprietor an opportunity for self-expression. Possibly it is fairer to state that national advertising has both objectives—to increase sales immediately and to improve morale and good will so as to secure business in the future. A third minor objective is to be noted in

[1] For an example, see Fig. 32, p. 193.

[2] In a recent advertising campaign orders for the entire season's production were secured before the first advertisement appeared—the proofs of the advertisements so impressed the salesmen that they sold their dealers in record time.

some advertising—namely, to extend the knowledge of the product or to correct some false impression.

## CRITERIA OF ADVERTISEMENT

The efficiency of an advertisement should be an expression of how nearly it accomplishes the objective for which it is designed. Since an advertisement of a special sale in a retail store is usually designed to accomplish two things—sell the specially priced goods and bring customers into the store who will buy other goods on display—the efficiency of such an advertisement may be measured by its success in accomplishing these two objectives. In actual practice, we may know quite well what the objective is but be unable to measure it; in that case, we take the best available substitute for the objective which can be measured quantitatively. This substitute is usually referred to as the criterion.

If our advertisement of a special sale played up 79-cent hosiery, the measure of its efficiency in terms of the first of the two objectives would be the increase in sales of such hosiery on the day (or possibly the two days) following the announcement, in contrast to the sales which would have occurred otherwise. Since this difference cannot be measured directly, we must set up a criterion to be used in place of the objective itself. So, we may say our criterion will be the difference between the average daily sale of such hosiery on the two days following the advertisement and the average for the two days preceding the announcement. Offhand, such a criterion appears to be a close approximation to the objective itself until we realize, for example, that weather conditions affect sales considerably and that if rain occurred on any one of the four days our calculation of increase in sales is quite inaccurate. Then we realize that our quantitative calculation of increased sale is, after all, only an approximation to what was the actual increase; and furthermore, that we have no way of determining the error involved in substituting the criterion for the objective. This means that our expression of the efficiency of the advertisement in terms of our criterion involves an unknown error, because the criterion itself is not a true expression of the objective of the advertisement.

Today in most retail stores no record is kept of the sales day by day of each item, but only of the total sales in a department. Consequently, the advertising department in attempting to check up on the efficiency of its 79-cent-hosiery advertisement would be unable to obtain a record of how many of these stockings were sold before and after the announcement, but only the total sales of all hosiery in the

department—both cheap and expensive, including cotton, silk and wool. Under such circumstances the only available criterion would be one in terms of the total sales of all hosiery, which, of course, is still farther removed from the real objective than the criterion discussed in the preceding paragraph.

The situation here is far more complicated than would appear from what has gone before. There are many factors that affect the sales on the days preceding and following an advertisement besides that of the weather: there are such factors as the day of the week; the time of year; whether the merchandise was offered at the beginning, in the middle, or at the close of the season; whether the price was exceptional or not; whether goods returned later on are taken into account or not; and so on. All these must be considered before we shall have a really good criterion in terms of which to judge the efficiency of a special-sale advertisement.[1]

When we consider the second objective of our special-sale advertisement, *i.e.*, to bring people into the store who will buy goods on display in other departments, we realize that there is no feasible way of measuring this amount of business.

This whole discussion makes clear that one of the most serious problems facing anyone who attempts to measure the efficiency of an advertisement is to secure a criterion that approximates fairly closely to the objective of the advertising, if he cannot obtain a criterion that is equivalent to the objective itself. It will be apparent in reading the next section that the criteria which have been used, and are still being used, are quite inferior to those which ought to be established for this purpose. The writer is sufficiently confident in the ability of psychologists to devise methods of testing the efficiency of advertisements to hazard the statement that, when the advertising and accounting departments of a business can supply really good criteria of advertising success, the psychologist will develop good tests of advertisements. Undoubtedly, a great part of the conflicting results from using present test procedures is occasioned by the fact that the criteria themselves vary to an unknown degree from the objectives of the advertising.

**Six Extensively Used Criteria.**—The effectiveness of advertisements has usually been measured in terms of one or more of the following criteria.

[1] J. M. Willits has recently shown the possibilities of taking into account the factor of day of week in this connection. See "A Method for Measuring the Effectiveness of Department Store Advertising," Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University Library, 1936. The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Willits in the preparation of this chapter, through use of his very critical review of the testing of advertisements.

1. The number of people who perceived the advertisement. What is measured here is the number of people who retained something from seeing the advertisement, as distinct from those who had an opportunity to see it but passed on without retaining any impression of the contents. (Frequently referred to as the "attention-value" of the advertisement.)

2. The elements of the advertisement retained by the readers.

3. The extent to which the commodity was associated with the advertised trade name.

4. The extent to which the readers were influenced toward buying. (Frequently referred to as the "pulling power" of the advertisement.) As subheads under this criterion may be listed (*a*) the extent to which the reader believed the statements in the advertisement and (*b*)the extent to which the reader was influenced pleasantly or unpleasantly.

5. The number of inquiries received in response to the advertisement.

6. The extent to which the readers bought the goods.

A seventh criterion is very often listed with the above and very frequently confused with the first one. This seventh criterion is the number of people who could possibly see (come in contact with) the advertisement. This is not a criterion of the efficiency of an advertisement but of the medium used. It pertains primarily to the circulation of the medium: first, how many people subscribe to the newspaper or magazine, ride on the streetcars, or pass the billboards, or own radios; and second, of these people how many look at the page in the newspaper where the advertisement is displayed, actually look at the advertisements in the streetcar upon which they are riding, tune in on the radio at the time the advertisement is presented? The first phase is taken care of today by careful audits of circulation which are available to advertisers. The second phase pertains to the reading habits of the public and can be ascertained only by research. For example, the writer found many years ago that ability to look outside a streetcar and the elevated or subway train reduced the number of passengers looking at the advertisements; that lengthwise seats increased the tendency and crosswise seats decidedly decreased the tendency to look at the advertisements; so that 37 per cent of men and 53 per cent of women look at the advertisements while riding in the subway of New York City with lengthwise seats and only 1 per cent of men and 5 per cent of women do so while riding on streetcars with crosswise seats.[1]

[1] STRONG, E. K., JR., "The Habits of Passengers in Street-cars, Elevated and Subway Trains as Regards the Reading of Advertising Cards," *Association of National Advertising Managers, Report* No. 3, 1912.

**Influence of the Three Theories of Selling upon the Significance of "Attention-value."**—There is today more controversy over the value of the first criterion—number of people perceiving the advertisement—than over the other four; and there is less agreement as to how it may be measured than with regard to any of the others. In the opinion of the writer this confusion is caused by the different points of view represented in the three theories of selling (see page 204).

The first theory states that we must have attention before interest or desire; hence, the first consideration in advertising is to put something in the advertisement that will *make* people look at it. There is just enough truth in this to make it seem very plausible. The writer accepted this point of view, together with the other psychologists who were interested in the psychology of advertising at the beginning of the movement. We should have been warned, however, for the pioneer investigator, H. Gale,[1] had already differentiated between relevant and irrelevant attention and definitely suggested that the latter was of little value. Hollingworth,[2] who espoused the second theory of appeals—response, recognized "catching the attention" as the first task of advertising. In accomplishing this he listed two kinds of incentives: mechanical and interest. The former consisted of intensity, magnitude, motion, contrast, isolation, and position; all have significance. But according to the third theory of selling (want-solution), these are of little significance as compared with the interest incentives.

While testing many different sets of advertisements for attention value, the writer finally came to realize that he was really testing the subjects more than he was the advertisements. For example: one young woman failed to see any candy advertisement, although her classmates saw three on the average. Upon inquiry, we learned that she disliked candy. Several girls noticed cigarette advertisements. (In those days few girls smoked.) Upon inquiry these girls confessed that they smoked and none of the others admitted the practice. Evidently, we see what we want to see and not what is there to see. It is hard to realize this, just because we are conscious of only what we see and not of the millions of things about us that we do not see.

If, then, we believe desire comes after attention, particularly if we are trying to make everyone look at our advertisements, we are necessarily very much interested in the problem of getting attention. If, on the other hand, we believe people see what they want to see, then

[1] GALE, H., "On the Psychology of Advertising," in "Psychological Studies" (privately printed by author), 1900.

[2] HOLLINGWORTH, H. L., "Advertising and Selling: Principles of Appeal and Response," New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1913.

the problem becomes one of understanding what people want. Furthermore, if we realize that there is no use in trying to appeal to those who are not in the market to buy our goods, we restrict our efforts to the comprehension of what our own prospects want. According to this third view, the presentation of what people want will be seen and it will be seen with genuine interest and desire. Consequently, the first two stages in the first theory of selling—attention and interest—can be ignored, for if a want is presented, attention and interest are secured simultaneously; moreover they are relevant attention and interest and not possibly distraction elements in the advertisement.

The above must be borne in mind in the discussion that follows, as these conflicting theories still influence the attempts to ascertain what makes an appeal to readers and the methods to be employed in determining the relative efficiencies of different stimuli. The early view that an advertisement's success depends upon its attention value plus its pulling power dies hard. Sometime we may come to realize that an advertisement's efficiency depends solely upon its capacity to stimulate wants already possessed by readers and to show how they may be satisfied.

## METHODS EMPLOYED IN TESTING EFFECTIVENESS OF INDIVIDUAL ADVERTISEMENTS

Seven methods for testing the effectiveness of individual advertisements are considered here. Other methods, generally of less significance, are omitted for lack of space.[1] Some of these methods are applicable to the determination of the effectiveness of an advertising campaign as well as the effectiveness of single advertisements; similarly, some of the methods are used in measuring the effectiveness of parts of an advertisement (heading, illustration, copy) as well as the advertisement as a whole. Still other problems have been investigated by these procedures, such as relative value of position in a newspaper or magazine, or position on a page, or relative effectiveness of full-page, half-page, and quarter-page advertisements, and so on.

Several precautions must be observed in the testing of advertising. The procedure must be carefully standardized and followed implicitly throughout. The advertisements must be approximately the same as actually used, *i.e.*, if proofs are used, they must include the same illustration and layout, as well as the same copy that is to be used later on. The primary consideration in experimentation is to keep all

[1] No mention is made of the eye-fixation and tachistoscope methods of measuring attention, as these are methods requiring considerable apparatus and necessitate further development in the laboratory before being used in advertising research.

variables but one constant throughout the testing and to record the results as the one variable is changed. If changes in headline are under consideration, layout, copy, size, position, and publication can be held constant; but it is difficult to keep season of the year, previous advertisements, and competing advertisements constant. The split-run technique, for example, where one advertisement appears in the first half of all the magazines printed and the second advertisement in the remainder of the issue, meets the requirement here, providing the areas to which the two halves of the issue are mailed are comparable. Subjects must be bona fide prospects for the commodity advertised. A company's salesmen or office employees do not meet this requirement. Care must be taken that subjects are in the right mood to follow instructions and not to set themselves up as critics of advertising. The number of subjects to be tested depends upon the same considerations as discussed in Chap. XXIII, page 423. Starch presents data indicating that results from 100 subjects will agree closely enough with data from 1,200 subjects to warrant the basing of results in a recognition test upon only 100 cases.[1] This might be true if the 100 were a good sampling of the prospects for the commodity, but that is far from easy to establish.

**1. Sales Test.**—The effectiveness of mail-order advertisements can be measured by the number of sales received in response to each, provided such other factors as publication used, season of year, size, color, etc., are taken into account. The mail-order catalogue provides an even better opportunity for such determinations. Similarly, in a direct-by-mail campaign to 40,000 names, it is possible to send five letters to a thousand names each, and then in terms of the results mail the best letter to the remaining 35,000 names, with some assurance that it will bring in good returns. A chain store can determine the effectiveness of a window display by noting the sales before, during, and after the display. As a further check, their figures can be compared with corresponding data from stores without window display.[2] But in the case of most advertising there is no way by which the effectiveness of a single advertisement can be correlated with sales in stores all over the country. Advertising is, in such cases, only one of many factors contributing to sales; the salesmen of the manufacturer, or of

[1] STARCH, D., "Reliability of Methods for the Evaluation of Advertisements," 1935.

[2] The same procedure can be employed by a national advertiser who secures the cooperation of retail stores. But here it is far more difficult to control all other factors. See FREYD, M., "The Experimental Evaluation of a Merchandising Unit." *Harvard Business Review*, 1926, **4**, 196–202.

the wholesalers, or of the retailers, also the salesmen of competing concerns, have an influence upon the total sales which cannot be measured directly against that of the advertising.

To meet the latter situation, experimental sales campaigns have been used to some extent. In this way different advertisements may be tried out and the best selected for use in the general campaign. Each of the trial advertisements is run in one to three small cities and the results are compared. This sounds simple, but actually it is extremely difficult to select a number of different cities which are approximately equal. F. R. Coutant[1] states that there are as many as 150 variables that have been mentioned in this connection. Having selected the requisite cities, the next step is to check upon sales prior to and during the trial advertising campaign. This calls for three inventories of the advertised commodity in all retail outlets in the cities involved—one, two months before the campaign; the other two, just before and just after the advertising (or possibly a month after the advertising). These inventories together with a record of all goods delivered to the retailer provide a record of sales. In addition to the above, it is extremely valuable to determine sales in several additional cities where no advertising is run, these cities to be used as controls. The effectiveness of the several advertisements is then determined by comparing sales in the tested cities to the sales in the control cities. It should be obvious that if the test is to determine effectiveness of full-page versus half-page, the same copy and layout is to be used as far as possible in both, not entirely different material; and that, if two different appeals are to be used, all other factors are to be held constant. Such an experimental sales campaign will require about four months of time, aside from that required to select the cities, and will cost considerable money. If, however, advertisements are selected which are 10 to 25 per cent more efficient than would have been employed throughout the regular campaign, the cost of the test is well invested.

Firth, vice-president of McCann-Erickson, Inc., raises many queries as to the possibilities of testing advertising, among which is the question as to whether adequate results can be obtained in a two-month sales period. In one campaign of 15 months' duration, advertising was doubled in frequency in Virginia, discontinued in West Virginia, and doubled and changed to an entirely different type in Connecticut. In comparison with the sales during the preceding year, results were approximately a gain of 8 per cent in Virginia, a loss of

[1] COUTANT, F. R., "How to Select Trial Cities and Check Sales-test Results," *Printers' Ink*, 1932, **161**, 59–62.

10 per cent in West Virginia and a gain of 10 per cent in Connecticut. But the fluctuations in sales by months were so great, even when expressed as percentages of the total sales by months for the whole country, that several different conclusions could be deduced according to which two-month period was used.[1]

The experimental sales-area test seemingly gives the best measure of advertising effectiveness, but the expression of results in such cases in dollars of sales does not necessarily mean comparative results are valid unless great care has been taken that the effect of extraneous factors has been eliminated.

It is interesting to note that out of 154 members of the Association of National Advertisers replying to a questionnaire, 37 stated that they were testing their advertising in some manner before publishing them nationally. The sales-area method was being used by 26 advertisers, who constituted 70 per cent of those doing pretesting by any method, and 17 per cent of the total number replying.[2]

**2. Number of Inquiries.**—Some people write letters of inquiry in response to advertising. Many more do so when invited through the use of a coupon offer of a sample or book of recipes. In Starch's analysis of 3,000,000 inquiries from 2,339 magazine advertisements received by 98 business firms, 225 replies were received on the average from a black-and-white full-page advertisement per 100,000 circulation.[3] Adding a coupon increases the replies by a third, according to several experiences.

"Besides the general reasons that apply to any form of stimulating action there are four special reasons for using a coupon," according to Goode and Powell, namely:

1. To secure a direct order by mail.
2. To secure inquiries by mail to be converted into sales by some local dealer or agent.
3. To induce calls on a local dealer or agent for samples, information, or service.
4. To ascertain and compare the relative value of a variety of appeals or media.[4]

The exact relationship between inquiries and sales has not yet been established. Some maintain that there is a direct relationship:

[1] FIRTH, L. E., "Testing Advertisements," pp. 219–225, 256–257, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934.

[2] DYKE, K. R., "Test Copy-testing Methods, as A. N. A. Recommendation," *Printers' Ink*, 1933, **164**, 24–25.

[3] STARCH, D., "An Analysis of Over 3,000,000 Inquiries Received by 98 Firms from 2,339 Magazine Advertisements," p. 9, Privately Published, 1927.

[4] GOODE, K. M., and H. POWEL, JR., "What About Advertising?" p. 272, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1928.

It has been proved many times and by many advertisers that the advertisements which bring the most inquiries usually bring the most sales. Advertisers who employ salesmen to follow advertising leads have found this to be true.[1]

The analysis made by Starch supports this conclusion.[2] Goode and Powel quote several who claim about one third of those who inquire subsequently buy.[3] Willits[4] has combed the literature for evidence as to the relationship between inquiries and sales and finds very little that has been published and practically all of that pertains to direct-by-mail advertising. He reports three correlations of .77, .77, and .91 from data published by Shryer,[5] correlations of −.12, .65, and .83 from data published by Gross,[6] Adams,[7] and Starch,[8] respectively. More data than these are needed to establish this relationship. But even if there is a high correlation between inquiries and sales in direct-by-mail advertising—the one place where sales can best be used as a criterion for advertising efficiency and inquiries are hardly needed for the purpose—this does not mean that there is necessarily any such correlation in the case of national advertisers who sell through retail outlets.

On the other hand, Link says:

Now obviously, the selling power of an advertisement is not going to be 75 per cent lower just because it buries its request for an inquiry in the body of the copy instead of putting it in a coupon. Neither is its selling power going to be increased 53.2 per cent just because it offers a sample instead of a booklet. The obvious conclusion from such variations is that inquiries, as such, are about as unreliable a test of an advertisement's selling power as could possibly be imagined. The only way in which inquiries can be used as a test of selling power is in a group of advertisements which meet the following conditions:

1. They must be the advertisements of one company.
2. The article offered on request must be the same in every one of the advertisements.

[1] CAPLES, J., "Tested Advertising Methods," p. 10, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1933. On pp. 170–175 Caples outlines ten methods of increasing returns. Recognition of this situation emphasizes the necessity for keeping such factors constant if conclusions are to be properly established upon inquiries received.

[2] STARCH, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The data are not presented in such form as to permit the calculation of correlation between inquiries and sales. They suggest that the word "usually" used by Caples should be noted.

[3] GOODE and POWEL, *op. cit.*, Chap. XXV.

[4] WILLITS, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–249.

[5] SHRYER, W. A., "Analytical Advertising," Business Service Corporation, 1912, pp. 137–145.

[6] GROSS, L., "Are All Inquiries Created Equal?" *Printers' Ink Monthly*, 1930, **21**, 70.

[7] ADAMS, H. F., "The Adequacy of the Laboratory Test in Advertising," *Psychological Review*, 1915, **22**, 402–422.

[8] STARCH, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

3. The location and character of the coupon, or the manner in which the inquiry is invited must be the same in every advertisement.

4. The advertisements must all be run at the same time, and preferably by the split-run method. If run in different magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, the results might well be affected.[1]

From the analysis of keyed advertising of seven concerns over a period of six years Freyd[2] showed that the relative efficiencies of advertisements as based upon number of inquiries varied greatly with the product advertised, with the medium, with the size of the advertisement, and with the difference in appearance of advertisements, whether black and white or colored.

Possibly Firth sums up the situation as well as anyone:

> All in all, I am a little dismayed at the lack of evidence concerning the relation of inquiries to sales. . . . Personally, I want to go on record as believing in this relation, but "belief" is as far as I can get.[3]

*Split-run Coupon Technique.*—A few publications make it possible to run several advertisements at the same time, each reaching a certain portion of the total circulation. In this way the following factors are eliminated: seasonal influences, position on page, weather, place of advertisement in the series, competitive advertising, and market condition. The procedure makes possible the determination of relative efficiency in a relatively short time instead of having to wait until all the advertisements have been run one after the other. It is, however, extremely important that each advertisement shall reach the same number of people with equal buying power and so on.

*Analysis by Falk.*—As an illustration of careful analysis of inquiries, consider the investigation of Falk.[4] His data comprise the inquiries received from all advertisements over a period of 14 years from a mail order business. Falk found that five factors affected returns. These are: season of year, size of space, duration of time inquiries continued to be received, intensiveness of advertising (amount of space per month) and secular external factors. These five factors are so intertwined that it was necessary to solve for all five practically simultaneously. (Reference to his article must be made to see how he accomplished this.)

[1] LINK, H. C., "The New Psychology of Selling and Advertising," pp. 130–131, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1932.

[2] FREYD, MAX, "The Analysis of Keyed Returns," *Harvard Business Review*, 1926, 313–318.

[3] FIRTH, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[4] FALK, A. T., "Analyzing Advertising Results," *Harvard Business Review*. 1929, **7**, 185–194. 312–329.

The link-relative method was used in determining seasonal effect. For each pair of advertisements, of equal size and appearing in the same medium but a month apart, the number of inquiries of the second month is divided by the number of inquiries of the first month. The average of all such percentages for the second month gives the relationship between the first and second months. On this basis index numbers are finally established for all twelve months so that their average equals 100. This procedure is repeated for each medium. In Falk's case all media gave substantially the same results, so that they were averaged as follows: January 184, February 157, March 107, April 77, May 67, June 65, July 76, August 92, September 95, October 92, November 89, and December 99.[1] These figures make clear that the same advertisement will pull three times as many replies in January as in June for this particular company's commodity. Accordingly, in comparing returns, the month of issue must be taken into consideration or very misleading conclusions will be obtained.

TABLE VII.—RELATION OF SIZE OF ADVERTISEMENTS TO RESULTING COST PER INQUIRY
(After Falk)

| Actual size | Relative size | Relative cost per inquiry | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | State farm papers | National farm papers | General magazines |
| Two pages | 800 | 246 | | |
| One page | 400 | 154 | 208 | 233 |
| Half-page | 200 | 128 | 135 | 128 |
| Quarter-page | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Being then able to eliminate the factor of seasonality, Falk next determined the effect of size of advertisement by dividing the number of inquiries for each advertisement by the index number for that month, obtaining the number of inquiries received for an "average" month. The advertisements were grouped by size and by year. Allowance was made for general increase and decrease of business by years. His results appear in Table VII, indicating that "a given percentage of increase in the size of an advertisement results in a cer-

[1] Comparison of Falk's indices based on advertisements of a single commodity with indices of Starch based on many commodities emphasizes that such indices must be worked out for each advertising campaign. The indices of Starch are respectively: 107, 134, 124, 108, 91.5, 75.5, 68, 72, 96.5, 122.5, 120, 81. STARCH, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

tain percentage of decrease in inquiries produced per unit of space." (Falk's results should be compared with those in Table VIII, page 394). In a similar manner he worked out the effect of the other four factors.

**3. Unaided Recall Test.**—This test and the next two—aided recall and recognition—were developed to measure the extent to which the advertisement had been seen, or its attention-value. Psychologists realized that attention-value and memory-value were not equivalent, but in the absence of good devices for measuring attention-value alone they employed memory tests. They felt justified in doing this, in addition, on the ground that if there was no permanent effect mere attention-value could be of little value. The unaided recall and recognition tests have also been employed to determine "what elements of the advertisement were retained," while the aided recall test has been used particularly to ascertain "the extent to which the commodity and trade name were associated." The unaided recall test has been employed most extensively by Adams[1] and Starch.[2]

In the unaided recall test the subject is asked if he has handled a certain publication and, if so, what advertisements he can recall that were in that issue. A further question may be added: What features of this advertisement do you recall? When a subject is merely asked to state what he can recall, he reports the heading of one advertisement, the illustration of a second, the trade name of a third, etc. Brandt, for example, finds that "either the picture or the article appears to be about nine times as likely to be recalled as the trade name."[3] This procedure cannot be recommended for ordinary purposes because of the great difficulty of evaluating the results—there is no satisfactory way of crediting an advertisement whose illustration is remembered in terms of another advertisement whose trade name is recalled. In recent years the trend has been distinctly toward asking for recall of trade name alone.

The writer very early came to the conclusion that there is very little justification for using the unaided recall test in order to measure the effect of individual advertisements. Whether an advertisement is remembered or not is not significant from the standpoint of how it influences people, since advertisements are not published in order to be remembered and there is some reason for believing that it is only when a reader forgets that he has obtained his impression in an advertise-

[1] See, for example, ADAMS, H. F., "Advertising and Its Mental Laws," pp. 166–175, 226–240, 301–302, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920.

[2] STARCH, D., "Principles of Advertising," pp. 333, 545–546, 557–561, 693–699, 789–790, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1923.

[3] BRANDT, E. R., "The Memory Value of Advertisements," *Archives of Psychology*, 1925, No. 79, 59.

ment that it really affects his action.[1] The more serious objection to this test is that results are influenced very greatly by familiarity with previous advertising and by use of the product. The trade name of a new commodity is seldom recalled, even though advertisements of it are patently superior to those of old established concerns. From observation of reports it is apparent that many subjects, after listing a few cases, ask themselves such questions as "What soups were advertised?" "What automobiles were advertised?" etc., so that, to a considerable degree, they transform the unaided recall test into an aided recall test. But this is done in such a fashion that it is impossible to control the conditions as should be done in any standard test. As there is no satisfactory method of eliminating the factors of familiarity with preceding advertising and of use of the commodity, the unaided recall test should not be employed to test the comparative effectiveness of individual advertisements which have appeared in media. The test can be employed to test the memorability of elements or even whole advertisements when artificial advertisements are used with trade names especially created for the purpose.

One recent study may be mentioned, since it not only illustrates the use of the unaided recall test but also points out the value of art in advertising.[2] Eight car cards of Maxwell House Coffee were displayed in classrooms throughout the entire 50 minutes. At varying times thereafter, up to one year, different groups of students were asked to recall the advertisements. The best car card according to the art critics was remembered five times better than the two poorest. These results held fairly consistently for all intervals of time studied.

The unaided recall has apparently little relationship to the recognition test (Brandt[3] reports correlations of $-.06$ and .04 and Lucas[4] of $-.01$.); similarly, it has little relationship to order of merit test (Starch[5] reports a correlation of $-.03$, Heller[6] of .01); but it has some relation to the consumer-jury test according to Roloff,[7] who reports correlations

[1] See discussion on p. 354.

[2] AUST, F. A., and R. S. HARRISON, "The Values of Art in Advertising," Advertising Research Institute, University of Wisconsin, 1931.

[3] BRANDT, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[4] LUCAS, D. B., "The Optimum Length of Advertising Headline," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1934, **18**, 665–674. The correlations credited to Lucas, Starch, Heller, Roloff, and Strong and Loveless were not calculated by them but by J. M. Willits, (*op. cit.*).

[5] STARCH, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

[6] HELLER, W. S., "Analysis of Package Labels," *University of California Publication in Psychology*, 1919, **3**, 61–72.

[7] ROLOFF, H. P., "Experimentelle Untersuchung der Werbewirkung von Plakatentwürfen," *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie*, 1927, **28**, 1–44.

from .27 to .70; and to the aided recall test (Brandt reports correlations of .39 and .53, Lucas and Benson[1] of .68, and Strong and Loveless[2] of .52 and .49). There are no data known to the writer which show the validity of the unaided recall test with sales or even inquiries as criterion.

**4. Aided Recall Test.**—After the subject has seen the advertisements to be tested, he is supplied with a list of the commodities advertised and asked to record the trade names.[3] The advertisements may have been shown under controlled conditions in the laboratory or they may consist of those appearing in some medium which the subject has handled. The object is, of course, to determine the effectiveness of the advertising in associating commodity with trade names.[4]

Since results in this test are greatly affected by familiarity with previous advertising and use of the commodity, as in the unaided recall test, it is essential that this element be eliminated. Poffenberger[5] recommends in both cases the following procedure. Test the subject before seeing the advertisements and then afterwards and credit the difference in results to the influence of the advertisements.

At best, the aided recall test is a cumbersome procedure for measuring the effectiveness of individual advertisements except in the laboratory, where artificial advertisements are employed. But it can be used to real advantage in evaluating the extent to which the public has come to associate commodity and trade name as a result of all previous advertising and use of the commodity. When such tests are repeated from time to time the results show whether brand consciousness is increasing or decreasing for one's trade name in contrast with competing trade names. Where it is difficult or impossible to obtain data on the sales of one's competitors such data may be used as a possible substitute for sales data. It is also possible that such data may prove to be of genuine value, distinct from sales data, in that increasing or decreasing brand consciousness may reflect the effectiveness of the advertising campaign at an earlier date than sales. (The exact relationship between brand consciousness and sales needs to be established, see page 359.)

[1] LUCAS, D. B., and C. E. BENSON, "The Recall Value of Positive and Negative Advertising Appeals," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1930, **14**, 218–238.

[2] STRONG, E. K., JR., and J. E. LOVELESS, "'Want' and 'Solution' Advertisements," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1926, **10**, 346–366.

[3] In some cases the entire paragraph (with trade name deleted) is presented and the subject requested to give the trade name. See, for example, STRONG, E. K. JR., *Association of National Advertising Managers, Research Report* No. 9, 1914.

[4] The closely related association test is discussed on p. 355.

[5] POFFENBERGER, A. T., "Psychology in Advertising," p. 505, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932.

**5. Recognition.**—The procedure followed by the writer was to present the advertisements contained in a certain magazine in one of three ways and afterward to ask the individual to pick out of a pile of advertisements those he had seen previously in the magazine. This pile contained the advertisements he had seen together with an equal number of advertisements which he had not seen: only one advertisement was displayed on each sheet in the testing, although four quarter-pages would, of course, have appeared together when they were first seen. The three methods of presenting the advertisements were: first, to show each page of advertising at the rate of one per second; second, to hand the magazine to the subject and allow him to go through the pages as he pleased, reading some and practically ignoring others; third, to call upon people and after ascertaining that they had handled the publication to put them through the test. In the first two cases, the individuals knew that they were being subjected to some kind of test; in the third case, they read the publication in their normal fashion and only afterward were they asked to go through the testing.

An equal number of advertisements which had not been seen were mixed in with those which had been seen in order to determine which individuals were merely guessing and which were clearly remembering. A formula[1] was used for discounting the records of subjects who were inaccurate and uncertain in their recognitions. It is realized now that much of this so-called guessing is occasioned by previous experience, which means that the advertisements of a company which has been advertising for a long time are more likely to be recognized than the advertisements of a company just beginning to advertise. Apparently this sort of "guessing" cannot be eliminated from the results of a recognition test by any known procedure. This means that we do not

[1] See for example: STRONG, E. K., JR., "The Effect of Time-interval upon Recognition Memory," *Psychological Review*, 1913, **20**, 355. A simpler formula advocated by Woodworth is:

$$\text{Score} = \text{Total no. of ads.} - [\text{no. doubtful} + (2 \times \text{no. wrong})]$$

Thus if from among 20 advertisements originally seen a subject recognizes 12 from among the 20 and also 4 from among the 20 control advertisements and in addition selects 3 correct and 3 control advertisements as doubtful his score is

$$20 - [6 + (2 \times 4)]$$

or 6. This is 30 per cent. Such percentages were calculated for each subject by the writer and each advertisement correctly recognized credited with the weight equal to the subject's percentage. The final results are in this way influenced proportionately more by the data from those whose recognitions were correct than by those who gave many incorrect recognitions.

have today a satisfactory method of determining the extent to which individual advertisements were seen in a magazine, for both the unaided recall and recognition tests are influenced to an unknown degree by what the subject has previously seen.

More recently, several advertising men have employed a far simpler procedure in using the recognition test. Here the research man presents a number of magazines to the individual and ascertains which ones have been read. Thereupon, the subject is asked to go through the pages of the magazines he has read and point out the advertisements he remembers having seen in that issue. Upon recognition of an advertisement, the subject may be asked further questions as to whether he just looked at it or read it and, if the latter, how much; also whether he has bought the product previously or since seeing the advertisement. Another phase of this procedure is to cut out the trade names from the advertisements and, when the individual says he remembers the advertisement, he is asked to give the deleted trade name—this is spoken of as the identification test. It is obvious that these more recently used recognition-test procedures make no effort at all to safeguard the results against guessing.

In those investigations where familiarity with preceding advertising may be canceled out through the use of a sufficient number of advertisements, the recognition test is presumably of real value. Investigations of this sort have dealt with the relative value of size and frequency of insertion and number of advertisements seen at one time, position on page, value of white space, amount of copy read, and the like. But we still lack conclusive proof of the reliability and validity of the test.[1]

Several psychologists and advertising men have investigated the relative value of quarter-page, half-page, and full-page advertisements, ever since Hollingworth suggested that "the number of inquiries tends to increase as the square root of the amount of space used"[2] (if ¼-page = 100, the ½-page = 141 and full page = 200; instead of 100, 200, and 400, respectively). Ferguson[3] has summarized much of the published data on this subject and reports the results given in Table VIII, which agree fairly well with the square root hypothesis. It should be noted that the recognition-test results agree more closely with those based upon inquiries than do the recall-test data.

[1] From certain data published by Rudolph correlations of .81, .70, .36 and −.48 may be obtained between recognition test data and coupon returns in four different cases. See RUDOLPH, H. J., "Four Million Inquiries from Magazine Advertising," New York, Columbia University Press, 1936.

[2] HOLLINGWORTH, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[3] FERGUSON, L. W., "The Advertising Value of Space," unpublished, 1936.

TABLE VIII.—EFFECTIVENESS OF DIFFERENT SIZED ADVERTISEMENTS
(After Ferguson)

| Method | Ratios | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ¼-page | ½-page | 1-page |
| Recall, unaided | 100 | 210 | 334 |
| Inquiries | 100 | 145 | 215 |
| Recognition | 100 | 164 | 212 |
| All 3 methods | 100 | 165 | 235 |
| Size of area | 100 | 200 | 400 |
| Square root theory | 100 | 141 | 200 |

**6. Triple Associates.**—This is another form of aided recall, first used by Link, in which questions are asked such as these: What electric refrigerator is "Dual-automatic"? What electric refrigerator pledges a "long life of carefree service"? What coffee advertises, "Look for the Date on the Can"? The test purports to measure the strength of associations between both commodity and a given "theme" with trade name. The test is not applicable under ordinary conditions for measuring the effectiveness of single advertisements but presumably records the accumulated results of advertising to date. Typical results from use of this test are given in Table IX.

TABLE IX.—WHAT COFFEE ADVERTISES: "LOOK FOR THE DATE ON THE CAN"?
(After Link and Likert)[1]

| Answers | Per cent | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | March, 1932 | October, 1932 | February, 1933 | January, 1934 |
| Chase and Sanborn (correct) | 69.1 | 71.0 | 74.1 | 78.5 |
| Maxwell House | 5.1 | 4.1 | 5.1 | 3.5 |
| Miscellaneous | 4.7 | 4.1 | 3.7 | 2.0 |
| Don't know | 21.1 | 20.8 | 17.2 | 15.7 |
| Total No. of interviews | 1,578 | 1,445 | 710 | 3,076 |
| Total No. of cities | 14 | 47 | 39 | 44 |

[1] LINK, H. C., and R. LIKERT, "Recent Scientific Techniques in Measuring Distribution and Factors Affecting Distribution," *International Congress for Scientific Management*, London, 1935.

Link has demonstrated that some copy themes, or slogans, are far more quickly associated with the trade name than some other themes. For example, 93 per cent report Lifebuoy in response to "What soap

advertises 'Good for B.O., or body odor'?" 56 per cent report Texaco in response to "What brand of gasoline is advertised as Fire Chief?" 20 per cent report Sanka in response to "If there's sleeplessness in your coffee cup"; and 11 per cent report Squibbs' in response to "Finished your dinner? Now its acid's turn to dine."

A second function is performed by the test, when the same question is repeated at intervals of time; it acts as a barometer, recording increase or decrease in number of people possessing the desired associations. Thus in Table IX there is shown an increase from 69 to 79 per cent of women who know that the date is shown on the can of Chase and Sanborn coffee. Link reports also that there was a corresponding increase from 11.6 to 15.6 per cent in sales. He gives similar results in some other cases.

The exact relationship between such associations and actual sales still remains to be established. There are at least two factors which must be considered. It is, first of all, one thing to know a fact and quite another thing to desire to use the fact. It is quite conceivable that a concern might teach all women that there is a date on their cans but few sales might result because people didn't like the product. Here the advertising, so far as it went, was eminently successful but not the product. Sales in such a case would not be a good criterion of the advertising used, or of any advertising for that matter, because the product was faulty. Second, the advertising might teach nonprospects the facts but for some reason teach relatively few prospects the facts. In such a case the triple association test would show increasing percentages with very slow increase in sales. This factor would be most likely to affect the results when bizarre advertisements are used in which irrelevant elements have been introduced for the sake of getting attention. Where advertising is playing up the prospect's wants this factor should not complicate the results, particularly as the advertisements should appeal to prospects more than to nonprospects.

The psychologist, mindful of the fact that every experience tends to leave some impression in the brain, believes that such experiences can be measured by some sort of test. If what is desired is a measure of the extent to which commodity and trade name have been associated, the aided recall test is seemingly the best method so far developed; if what is desired is a measure of the extent to which some particular theme or appeal has been associated with the trade name, the triple associate test is the method to use. The writer grants the desirability of ascertaining such information but he believes it is far more important to determine the extent to which people want to buy the commodity as a result of this or that appeal. The next test to be discussed differs

from all the above in that it aims to determine the extent to which people want to buy.

**7. Order-of-Merit, Group-order, and Consumer-jury Methods.**—The chief characteristics of the order-of-merit test, is that subjects are asked to rank a number of advertisements in order of merit on the basis of some subjectively held factor. When only a few advertisements are to be tested, the rank order is requested (order-of-merit procedure); when a considerable number of advertisements are to be considered, the usual practice is to have them sorted into several piles (group-order procedure). The two procedures give comparable results provided enough subjects are employed. A third procedure (consumer-jury method) consists in having each subject select only the "best" advertisement. Presumably, the third procedure gives comparable results with the other two when a sufficiently large number of subjects is employed.

Many different factors have been used, such as: attention value, perception value, feeling value, convincingness, persuasiveness, etc. In this connection two points of view have appeared: the first is that each part of an advertisement (or each function) should be tested separately and the results combined to give the efficiency of the advertisement. The second view is that subjects cannot sense the impressions received from parts of an advertisement, that they have only one general impression from the whole of it, and consequently they should be asked to judge with respect to the advertisement as a whole.[1] The writer supports the latter view. The instructions he prefers are simply: "Arrange these advertisements in the order in which you would buy." Since the method is confined to testing the different advertisements of only one firm at a time, it is useful to add to the above instruction: "Take for granted that each advertisement represents a different firm," in order to focus attention upon the differences in the advertisements. Instructions used by Newhall are: "Look over the advertisements as you might those which happened to interest you if seen in a magazine. Arrange the advertisements in order of the degree to which they appeal to you or would induce you to purchase."[2]

When the rank order is requested, the data are scored as follows:

[1] The situation is apparently the same as in rating people on a rating scale. Thorndike found a "halo" effect, that is, that our total impression influences our rating of each attribute so that the ratings of attributes correlate quite highly with one another.

[2] NEWHALL, S. M., "The Reliability of the Order of Merit Evaluation of Advertisements," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1930, **14**, 532–548.

| Advertisements | Individuals | | | | | Total | Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | | |
| No. 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1.6 |
| No. 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 10 | 2.0 |
| No. 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 17 | 3.4 |
| No. 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 20 | 4.0 |
| No. 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 20 | 4.0 |

In this case advertisement No. 1 was selected as best by individuals A, D and E; as second best by B; and third best by C. The average rank is 1.6. The advertisements rank in value as follows: No. 1 first; No. 2 second; No. 3 third; and Nos. 4 and 5 tied for fourth-and-a-half place.[1] If the consumer-jury procedure were used in the above example, all that would have been recorded would be first places; consequently, advertisement No. 1 would be ranked first; advertisement No. 2, second; while the rank of the three remaining advertisements would be undetermined. But if 50 to 100 subjects were used, the rank of all five would be determined in all probability, since every advertisement is likely to be rated first by some subjects. The chief value of the consumer-jury method is the ease with which it may be administered. Its exact relationship to the order-of-merit procedure should be established.

It is usual to credit the order-of-merit procedure to Cattell (1902). Actually, however, Harlow Gale—the father of the scientific study of advertisements—reported his use of the method in 1900.[2] Hollingworth[3] and the writer[4] made use of the procedure in 1910–1911, but 34 of the 59 reported studies are to be credited to Starch.[5]

The chief criticism raised against this method is that it relies upon introspection, which is of unknown reliability. This criticism is justified when the subject is asked to select the best advertisement, regardless of how "best" is defined. In such cases the subject is converted into a critic of advertising. The situation is made many times worse when the same subject is called upon to give several opinions, each upon as many different bases for judgment. But when

[1] Those familiar with statistical methods should use the standard deviation in connection with the average.

[2] GALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–67.

[3] HOLLINGWORTH, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[4] STRONG, E. K. JR., "The Relative Merit of Advertisements," *Archives of Psychology*, 1911, No. 17.

[5] STARCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 306–337.

the subject is asked which advertisement most makes him want to buy and there is not the slightest hint that he will be required to defend his position, the process is much simpler. Here he is reacting largely in terms of general feeling and not in terms of complex ideational conceptions. What he would buy under the conditions of the test is what he wants, what he likes, what interests him. All are able to indicate what they like and dislike, and the reliability of such reactions is surprisingly high.[1]

The majority of investigators have reported positive correlations between rank-order data and sales. Strong[2] obtained a correlation of 1.00 with three Tungsten lamp advertisements; Adams,[3] a correlation of .80 with four mail-order advertisements, a correlation of −.01 with ten other mail-order advertisements and −.06 with a third set of nine advertisements; Borden and Lovekin,[4] positive agreement with four sets of advertisements; Giellerup,[5] positive agreement with one set of Kolynos advertisements; Groesbeck,[6] positive agreement with two sets of advertisements; and Lichtenberg,[7] negative agreement with a set of ten advertisements, but in this case order-of-merit data were obtained from his own salesmen, who were not bona fide prospects. Starch,[8] using sometimes sales and sometimes inquiries as criteria, reports 20 correlations ranging from .40 to 1.00 and averaging .79 for 20 different sets of advertisements.

Additional evidence of a similar nature has been published showing satisfactory agreement on the whole between rank-order data and inquiries. Hollingworth[9] obtained a correlation of 1.00 for five lathe advertisements, .62 for five electric light advertisements and .92 for

[1] The permanence of interests for five years is .75 (corrected for attenuation it is .84). See STRONG, E. K., JR., "Permanence of Vocational Interests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1934, **25**, 339.

[2] STRONG, E. K. JR., "Psychological Methods as Applied to Advertising," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1913, **4**, 393–404.

[3] ADAMS, *op. cit.*, pp. 402–422.

[4] BORDEN, N. H., and O. S. LOVEKIN, "A Test of the Consumer Jury Method of Ranking Advertisements," *Graduate School of Business Administration*, Harvard University 1935, **22**, No. 2.

[5] GIELLERUP, S. H., "Let's Stop Guessing About Advertisements," *Advertising and Selling*, 1928, **11**, 27, 76–79.

[6] GROESBECK, K., "Testing Advertising in the Laboratory," *Advertising and Selling*, 1930, **15**, 19 and 66; "Corroborative Tests Favored by Groesbeck," *Advertising Age*, 1932, **3**, 6.

[7] LICHTENBERG, B., "Test Copy on Results, Not on Opinions," *Printers' Ink*, 1928, **145**, 128–132.

[8] STARCH, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[9] HOLLINGWORTH, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–16.

fifteen player-piano advertisements. Strong[1] obtained a correlation of .81 for four watch advertisements and .63 for nine prune advertisements (discussed below). Adams[2] reports 1.00 for four mail-order advertisements, −.43 for ten advertisements and −.43 for still a third set of nine advertisements; Firth,[3] a correlation of −.26 for eight advertisements; Nilan,[4] a correlation of .59. Borden and Lovekin[5] report eight cases of positive results, three of negative results, and two indecisive among thirteen groups of advertisements. Similar results have been obtained by several advertisers but never published. Quite likely, there are other unpublished studies in which the results were not so satisfactory. The average of the 34 correlations reported above is .65. Starch's 20 cases average .79 while the 14 cases from other investigators average but .44. The fact that there are five negative correlations among the 34 must warn us that we do not yet have a satisfactory conclusion to the question how valid is the order of merit test. Part of the discrepancy in results is to be attributed to variations in procedure—this also needs to be standardized.

The data in Table X are typical of an order-of-merit test. In this case nine full-page colored advertisements of prunes were considered, all of which had been run in the same woman's magazine. The nine advertisements are listed in column 1 of Table X in the order in which they were run. In column 2 are given the actual number of inquiries that were received, expressed in terms of ratios of advertisement No. 5 which brought in the largest number. In column 3 these ratios are given their rank order, advertisement No. 5 as "1," advertisement No. 1 as "2," etc. In column 4 appears the rank order as determined by the order-of-merit test. The correlation between these two orders is .63. The relationship is very close except in the case of advertisement No. 2, which stood third in actual returns and seventh-and-a-half in the test.

There is another factor that needs to be taken into account in such calculations, and that is the strength of the suggestion to reply to the advertisement. As far as is known, order-of-merit data are not influenced by such suggestions but only by the strength of the appeal,

[1] STRONG, E. K., JR., "Actual Returns from Advertising and Results Obtained by Experiment," *Association of National Advertising Managers, Report* No. 8, 1914.

[2] ADAMS, *op. cit.*, pp. 402–422.

[3] FIRTH, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–127. Correlations calculated by Willits, not by Firth or Nilan.

[4] NILAN, J. O., "Tests that Make Advertising More Profitable," *Printers' Ink Monthly*, 1932, **24**, 31.

[5] BORDEN and LOVEKIN, *op. cit.*

while in actual practice inquiries represent both influences. Accordingly, test results should be weighted in some way to take account of the suggestion to write in order that they may be compared more fairly with the number of inquiries which are received.

None of these nine advertisements contained a coupon; but the strength of the suggestion to write varied considerably. In advertisements Nos. 1 and 2, a prominent subtitle called attention to the recipe packet which could be secured. In advertisements Nos. 4, 5, 8, and 9, recipes were prominently displayed; in advertisement No. 7, a single recipe was given but rather inconspicuously; and in advertise-

TABLE X.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACTUAL RETURNS AND TEST RESULTS IN NINE PRUNE ADVERTISEMENTS

| Advertisements | Actual returns | Rank order | | Rank order on basis of suggestion to write | Average columns 4 and 5 | Rank order of column 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Actual returns | Test results | | | |
| No. 1 | 84 | 2 | 1 | 1½ | 1¼ | 1 |
| No. 2 | 69 | 3 | 7½ | 1½ | 4½ | 4½ |
| No. 3 | 23 | 9 | 9 | 8½ | 8¾ | 9 |
| No. 4 | 61 | 4 | 2 | 4½ | 3¼ | 2 |
| No. 5 | 100 | 1 | 3 | 4½ | 3¾ | 3 |
| No. 6 | 31 | 6 | 4½ | 8½ | 6½ | 7 |
| No. 7 | 24 | 8 | 7½ | 7 | 7¼ | 8 |
| No. 8 | 40 | 5 | 4½ | 4½ | 4½ | 4½ |
| No. 9 | 29 | 7 | 6 | 4½ | 5¼ | 6 |

ments Nos. 3 and 6, no recipe was shown at all. Advertisements Nos. 1 and 2 were given, accordingly, the rank order of 1½ as to suggestiveness to write; advertisements 4, 5, 8, and 9, the rank order of 4½; advertisement No. 7, the rank order of 7; and advertisements Nos. 3 and 6, the rank order of 8½; as in column 5 of the table. Averaging the rank orders from the test (column 4) with the rank orders from suggestion to reply (column 5) gives column 6, which is reduced to a straight rank order in column 7. The correlation between the data in columns 3 and 7 is .89, which is, of course, a high correlation. The writer does not claim that this is the way to take into account the factor of suggestiveness to write (frankly he does not know the proper method). The discussion, however, emphasizes the need for such a procedure.

If the test had been run prior to using the advertisements, and if on the basis of experimental results the three poorest advertisements (Nos. 3, 7 and 6) had been eliminated, and three new ones prepared, averaging in strength to the six that were kept, the efficiency of the campaign would have been increased by 24 per cent. It is an interesting fact in this campaign that the poorest advertisement (No. 3) was used more than any other. It was run in four periodicals; advertisements Nos. 1, 8, and 9 were run in three magazines; advertisements Nos. 4 and 5, in two media; and the remainder in but one medium. If all nine advertisements had been kept, but the best one according to the test (No. 1) had been used in four magazines, the next three according to the test (Nos. 4, 5, and 2) in three magazines, and the next two (Nos. 8 and 9), in two magazines, there would have been an increase in returns of 25 per cent. If both of these precautions had been taken, the increase would have been 36 per cent. The cost of this increase should not have exceeded the hire of an intelligent woman for a week plus that of preparing three new advertisements similar to the six best ones. (All these calculations are made in terms of inquiries received. To the extent that this measurement of advertising efficiency is unreliable, to just that extent must one remain ignorant of the true situation.)

## EVALUATION OF TEST PROCEDURE

Relativity applies here as well as in Einstein's time and space. Results are not absolute in the sense of being measured by a yardstick but are always relative. If subjects are asked to rank advertisements in order of merit the final results will be rank-order. The data cannot be expected to tell how much better one advertisement is than another. Several have pointed to the fact that in a test conducted by Groesbeck[1] the difference in ranking two advertisements seen in *Liberty* was 44 per cent, whereas the difference in inquiries was 100 per cent (700 and 1,400 inquiries, respectively). The test agreed with the criterion in picking the better of the two advertisements, *i.e.* the rank order was the same in both cases. So far, it is not possible to go beyond this.[2]

In evaluating a test one needs to know at least five things: the reliability of the test, the validity of the test, the validity of the criterion, the administrative procedure employed, and the interpretation given to the data. Reliability of the test is the self-consistency

[1] GROESBECK, *op. cit.*

[2] Use of the standard deviation and other statistical procedures are an aid in determining how much one advertisement is superior to another in the rank order.

of the test, *i.e.*, the extent to which the same results will be obtained if the test is repeated. Validity of the test is the agreement between test scores and the criterion, *i.e.*, in this case the correlation between the test scores and either sales or inquiries. But this measure of the validity of a test can have little significance unless the criterion is valid, *i.e.*, unless it is a faithful representation of the true objectives of the advertising. Even when all these three considerations are satisfied, the results of using a test may be misleading because the test was improperly administered or the results were incorrectly interpreted. Psychological tests look easy; very often, however, the novice fails to give the test properly, through lack of appreciation of the whole procedure. Years ago the writer was asked to explain how five different results could have been obtained by the following procedure. Five assistants in five different drugstores asked women customers which of five containers they liked best, and in each store the choice was different. The explanation of the conflicting results is to be found in the tendency for one to force, often unconsciously, one's own choice upon others. In this case each assistant preferred a different container and he influenced enough women so that his choice was voted first. Only by the most careful administration of the whole test procedure can this tendency be obviated.

The work of Newhall[1] indicates that the reliability of the order-of-merit test is satisfactory. Published results show that data secured with this test agree more closely with inquiries and sales than any of the other tests. It is, then, the best test available for evaluating the relative merits of a group of individual advertisements. Just how good it is still remains to be seen. Because of the halo effect it is doubtful, however, if the test is valid for measuring the effectiveness of separate parts of advertisements, such as heading, layout, illustration, and the like, unless the testing is conducted under the rigorous conditions of a laboratory.

The reliability and validity of the aided-recall and triple-associates test have not been established, although published data suggest the reliability is satisfactory. These two methods are useful in determining the extent to which an association has been established between commodity and trade name as a result of all sales influences to date.

It is surprising that many businessmen who demand the best physicians for their families will accept the results of an amateur in copy testing. In the words of Coutant,[2] "If you are in a big hurry,

[1] NEWHALL, *op. cit.*

[2] COUTANT, F. R., "Where Are We Bound in Marketing Research?" *Journal of Marketing*, 1936, **1**, 33.

you might as well pass up the test and use your judgment. Thorough copy testing is slow and costly; shallow testing is only a gesture. Every test should be verified by at least two methods," and wherever possible there should be some check against sales; otherwise you cannot be sure the salesplan will sell merchandise.

In interpreting results it is not sufficient to determine that more people know, for example, that Chase and Sanborn print the date on their cans of coffee than know some other fact about somebody else's coffee. Until it is known that such information influences sales it is of little significance. Procedure such as that of Houser in determining the power of an attitude (page 470) should be used in this connection. Otherwise, in the words of Paul Cherington, the advertising may be "battering down an open door."

### SELECTION OF TRADE-MARKS AND PACKAGE DESIGNS

As trade-marks and packages are to be recognized, but practically never recalled, they should be selected from the standpoint of being easily recognized. A method for doing this is as follows: Show the trade-mark together with, say, nineteen other trade-marks, to people who are bona fide prospects for the product. Then supply these people with slips of paper upon which appear, one at a time, the twenty trade-marks they have seen, mixed in with twenty trade-marks not previously shown. Instruct them to sort the slips into three piles —the first pile for the trade-marks they are absolutely certain, they would swear, they have seen before; the second pile for those they are reasonably but not absolutely certain of; and the third pile for all the rest. This third pile will contain those that the individuals are certain were not seen and those that they do not know about. Score the trade-marks which are placed in the first pile with a "2" those in the second pile with a "1," and those in the third pile with a "0." Total up the scores.

In running such a recognition test, the twenty trade-marks that are shown can all be new trade-marks under consideration. But it is well to include among the twenty some "ringers," that is, some that are in use and are known to be good ones, also some that are known to be poor ones. The scores that these "ringers" receive throw light on what the other scores mean.

Ease of recognition is not the only factor to be considered. The appropriateness or pleasingness of the trade-mark is quite important. To test this out, first inform your people what the commodity is that is to be sold. Then, have them sort your twenty trade-marks into three groups: first, those they like very much; second, those that

"are all right but nothing wonderful"; and, third, those they don't like. Score again with "2," "1," and "0" as before.

An average of the scores in the two tests gives a final rating on the value of the trade-marks. Package designs can be tested in the same way.

The greatest care must be taken in such tests that the people to be tested do not discover what trade-marks you are interested in. If they do, the results will probably be worthless, as most people are very accommodating and will vote as they think you want them to.

The above procedure has nothing to do, of course, with the problem of selecting a trade-mark that can be registered at Washington or in foreign countries. Nor does it safeguard the selection against feelings of unpleasantness that may arise on the part of people in some foreign country. Gum means rubber in England; and Wrigley has had to change his name to "chewing sweets" in order to please the Englishman.

These tests will aid materially in selecting a good trade-mark. When businessmen are ready for still better procedures, such will be developed. At the present time, far too little thought is given to the subject. The writer found in one investigation that the trade-mark of a medium-priced commodity meant "cheap" to three prospects out of four, and meant "inferior quality" to almost every dealer. This attitude on the part of the dealer was traceable to his experience with another company whose name was somewhat similar. No wonder a half million spent in advertising the new product failed to put it on the market. Most of that loss is attributable to the fact that the mark was selected in a meeting of the board of directors, after practically no consideration of the matter.

## SELECTION OF TRADE NAMES

A trade name is to be recalled; only when it cannot be recalled is it to be recognized. In selecting a trade name, some consideration can be given to ease of recognition, as has been considered in the preceding section in connection with trade-marks. But the chief consideration must be given to the question: When a prospect has an occasion for buying, will he easily recall the trade name? This means that the commodity should suggest the trade name, if possible; that the name should be pleasing and appropriate and one that can be easily pronounced.

The first step in selecting a trade name is to obtain a long list of possible names. Contests have frequently been employed in this connection. They have a good advertising value, but frequently

bring in so many thousands of names that it requires a great deal of time and worry to handle them. The chances are that the suggestions from 100 to 1,000 persons will be ample.

A number of experts should, each independently, select from this first list about twenty of the best names. Those names that are most often selected by the experts should then be further considered, and the remainder dropped. But any name that was suggested by a considerable number of the original 100 to 1,000 people should be included, unless it is obviously poor. In this first weeding-out process all names should be dropped that clearly could not be registered for one reason or another. There should remain at this point from twenty to fifty names. Here again the use of "ringers," as described above, is advisable.

*Relevancy and Pleasingness.*—Describe the commodity to be sold. Then instruct the people to be tested, who should be bona fide prospects, that they are to select from the list of twenty to fifty names that trade name they *would most prefer to buy.* Present the names, each on a separate slip of paper. After they have selected the one they most prefer, have them sort the remainder into three piles: the first pile to contain the names they like and would buy; the second pile to contain the names they care nothing about—are indifferent to; and the third pile to contain the names they dislike and feel they would not want to buy at all. Score the best name "2," the names in the first pile "1," the names in the second pile "0," and the names in the third pile "−1." Add up the scores for each name from all the people tested.

In this test it is important that the people who are performing the test shall keep in mind the commodity to be sold. Otherwise, they may rate the names on the basis of the pleasingness of the names alone. Consequently, remind them frequently that they are to sort the names on the basis of whether they would buy the commodity or not.

*Ease of Pronunciation.*—Have another group of bona fide prospects sort the names into three piles according as they are very easy to pronounce, occasion no trouble, or are hard to pronounce. Score the names in each pile with "2," "1," and "0," respectively.

*Ease of Recall and Recognition.*—Show the names one at a time and then ask the person to write down all the names he can recall. When that is done, give him the names now mixed in with an equal number of new names and instruct him to pick out those he had been shown. Score the recall test by assigning "2" to each name correctly recalled, "1" to each name approximately correctly recalled, and "0" to all

the rest. Conduct and score the recognition test as described in connection with the testing of trade-marks and packages. (As the first and last five names in a list are more likely to be remembered than the remainder, the names should be shuffled each time before showing them to a person to be tested.)

*The Final Rating.*—Combine the total scores in each test for each name. The higher the total, the better the final rating. As the relevancy test is the most significant, it can be weighted double if desired.

Occasionally, a name that is scored very low because of difficulty in pronouncing it is scored very high in the recognition test and fairly high in the recall test, although here such a name is likely to be misspelled. In such a case, it is worth while to consider the possibility of presenting the name in such a way as to obviate the difficulty of pronunciation. If this difficulty can be eliminated, as has been done with Pro-phy-lac-tic, an excellent name may be developed.

People can be secured for such tests with surprisingly little difficulty by an energetic young man or woman with pleasing personality. If the commodity is a soap, for example, customers coming into a drug-store can be inveigled into doing the required stunt. The chief difficulty is to get rid of them after the test is over. They tend to stand around with insatiable curiosity.

This and the preceding section are presented because the writer has seen grievous mistakes made by supposedly capable businessmen with regard to choice of trade names and because the above procedure has worked satisfactorily in several cases. There is need here, as in this whole field of testing advertising, for thoroughgoing research to determine the best procedures.

## CHAPTER XXIII

## QUESTIONNAIRE

The most natural procedure when one wants to know what another thinks or how he feels is to ask him, or those closely associated with him. This is essentially the purpose of the questionnaire. Obviously, however, no one goes to the trouble of preparing a questionnaire unless he wishes to ask the same questions of a considerable number of persons and furthermore is desirous of obtaining a fairly accurate summary.

In the field of marketing it is important to know whether or not wholesalers, retailers, and consumers like one's product and how they regard it in comparison with competing products. Usually much of this information can be obtained in one way or another by ascertaining the volume of business in a given territory, but such data do not throw any light upon why one competitor is selling more than another. The primary function of most marketing questionnaires is, then, to ascertain what is bought and particularly why it is bought. Questions are asked, accordingly, as to: how much the buyer knows about the product and its various uses, whether he asks for it by brand name or not, how much he buys at one time, whether or not he buys it at a particular season, what advertising media are effective in influencing him, and so on.

This information is obtained, of course, in a more or less informal manner, through the normal, everyday contacts with the public. Thus, a salesman gains a fairly comprehensive conception of what buyers want and why, and this information is relayed on to district sales managers and the home office. Some sales organizations make no particular effort to gather or use such information; others require from their representatives elaborate reports on the subject. There are, however, serious drawbacks to this informal method. Most salesmen are not research men in any sense of the word. They are interested in selling and tend to interpret what they see and hear from the standpoint of increasing their sales. They meet only those with whom they do business. What the rest of a community thinks and feels is largely unknown to them.

In order to obtain an unbiased conception of the situation, it is usually advantageous to employ special investigators who are not

employees of the company or, if they are, are members of a research department, with no responsibility for selling but only for obtaining facts. Such investigators may be untrained or trained for the work. If only a few facts are desired, it is often possible to obtain people who have some spare time and can make the necessary contacts. Thus, one could locate all the retailers in a locality selling magazines and ascertain whether they were essentially retailers of tobacco, drugs, stationery, or the like, and the relative importance of their magazine business to the total, by employing school teachers, college students, or representatives of a local newspaper. A rather short questionnaire to fill out would be sufficient. The success of the venture would depend very largely upon the simplicity of the questions to be answered and the honesty of the interviewers. Because some interviewers may do a very slipshod job and make little effort to cover their territory, it is essential that some sort of check be established. In this case, for example, a fairly complete record can be obtained, from the city directory or classified telephone book, of all drugstores, tobacco stores, etc. Then, if any interviewer reports an unusually small percentage of the total as selling magazines, his territory can be resurveyed.

The point just made applies, of course, to all investigations. Some sort of check should always be made of part, if not all, of the study. This is one place where the ingenuity of the research man is often taxed to the limit, in order to discover adequate checks upon his investigation. If the research is concerned with why people do or do not buy a certain brand of soap, one question inevitably is, "What soap do you buy?" The answers can be compared with the total sales in the locality. If the two do not agree, then it is necessary to discover what factor in the investigation is responsible. Possibly the interviewers have skipped the wealthiest or the poorest sections of town.

When the questionnaire to be filled out includes many questions, or questions that are not very easy to answer, a trained investigator is essential. Such a person must have a pleasing personality, genuine tact, and ability to engage strangers in conversation. He must, in addition, have the faculty of getting the facts, regardless of whether they are favorable or not. It is truly surprising how few people can record both sides to a proposition, if they have any conviction on the subject themselves. This is one reason why outside investigators are so often employed. For the same reason it is well not to allow the investigator to know whom he really represents.

The best way to train investigators is to explain what is wanted by each question and then send them out to interview for a day.

Spend the next day going over their reports, criticizing the answers, and making suggestions for improvement. By a plan of alternating trial interviewing with conferences for a week to ten days, the inefficient can be weeded out and the remainder trained to obtain what is wanted in a uniform manner. Time spent in this way will be saved later on when the data are to be worked up, and, moreover, the data will be far more worth while to summarize. In a survey of a considerable number of consumer investigations, Reilly[1] finds the trained interviewer has handled over twice as many questions as the untrained (31 to 14 questions on the average, respectively).

There is considerable difference of opinion as to whether the interviewer should show the questionnaire to the person to be interviewed. Where it is very brief and particularly where it involves rather personal and controversial topics, possibly it is better not to show the questionnaire. The person interviewed will answer more freely when he thinks the answers are not written down and so cannot be credited to him. Some investigators find no particular advantage in concealing the questionnaire, even in such cases. In the handling of a long questionnaire, it is necessary to produce the paper; otherwise, the interviewer will fail to ask some of the questions and he cannot be expected to remember accurately all the answers given. In many cases the printed questionnaire seems to assure the person interviewed that the investigator is bona fide.

Reilly[2] believes:

> Men are perhaps more successful in interviewing men, whether those interviewed are consumers, retailers, or jobbers; they are not handicapped, as women are, in interviewing all classes of subjects in all classes of neighborhoods; and can stand better than women the strenuous work of interviewing. Women, on the other hand, are more successful in interviewing women in connection with food products, women's and babies' products; they are more easily satisfied at this work, for a man who is keen enough to do such work soon aspires to an executive position; and women usually receive more courteous treatment from those interviewed than men do.

Questionnaires are employed, not only in personal interviews as described above, but also by mail. The former method has many advantages over the latter, some of which are pointed out below. The reason usually given for sending questionnaires by mail is that the procedure costs less money. When such questionnaires bring in only 2 to 10 per cent replies, as is true in most cases, it is an open question

[1] REILLY, W. J., "Marketing Investigations," p. 133, New York, Ronald Press Company, 1929.

[2] REILLY, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

which method is the more expensive, for the cost of mailing 1,000 blanks with return postage must be compared with the cost of 50 to 100 interviews. In the latter case, the investigator has some data on nearly all who were contacted, while in the former case he has no information about the 90 to 95 per cent who did not reply by mail.

## DEVELOPMENT OF A QUESTIONNAIRE INVESTIGATION

The preparation of an effective questionnaire is fraught with many difficulties. The more experience one has, the more careful one becomes in its formulation. Only a person devoid of experience would think that he could write out a questionnaire in an afternoon and have it in the mail by the next evening.

The steps in developing a questionnaire are about as follows:

1. Determine very carefully what you want to know, or find out. Imagine different possible answers to each question and ask yourself what you would do with such answers. Unless the answers can be used, there is no reason for asking the questions.
2. Prepare questions which will lead to the desired information.
3. Try out the questions on a few associates, to get their reactions.
4. Revise the questions.
5. Try out the questions on 25 to 100 typical cases.
6. If the tryout is fairly satisfactory, work up the data secured from the 25 to 100 cases just as though they were all you expected to get. This will give you a clear understanding of whether the answers to the questions can be tabulated and whether the answers obtained are significant.[1]

If the tryout data can be assembled in tables so as to answer your questions, you are ready to go ahead with the investigation. In such a case you will know at this point what tables you will have and their headings and you will know just what manipulations of the data are to be made.

7. Revise the questionnaire.
8. Put the questionnaire to actual use.

[1] If any considerable number of replies are to be handled, the most economical method is to punch the data on cards devised for sorting and tabulating machines. If this is to be done, the coding system should be worked out, as part of step 6. Preparing a good coding system forces one to consider all the possible answers to a question and how each is to be tabulated. Such thinking helps greatly in revising the questions so that they will bring in the answers that can be used. To facilitate the punching of cards, the questions should be numbered; where answers are supplied, with instructions to check one, each can be given a code number on the questionnaire.

## "SELLING" THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RECIPIENT

When the questionnaire is handled by a trained interviewer, the motivation is presented orally by him. But when the questionnaire is sent by mail, the motivation must be presented in print. Here you have the same problem that is present in all advertising, *i.e.*, to cause the reader to do what you desire. If you fail in this respect, the questionnaire is a total loss.

Because there is a great tendency to send out questionnaires before they have been well formulated, and because many receive far too many anyway and must protect themselves, a group of scientific men formulated the following rules to guide them in deciding how much cooperation to bestow. These rules give some idea of what one is up against in asking others to fill out a questionnaire.

1. If the questionary interests you or can be answered accurately in a few minutes, reply as a simple matter of courtesy, unless you see some positive reason why you should not reply.
2. Do not, in general, reply to a questionary issued by a person whom you know neither personally nor by scientific reputation.
3. If the unknown author of a questionary is introduced by some one whom you know, the case may be different; but you should make sure that the author's sponsor is actually guaranteeing the value and the precision of compilation.
4. Do not reply at all if you cannot reply accurately. Do not encourage slipshod work. If the questions are ambiguous, omit them. If the questionary calls for "yes" or "no" and the answer is not truthfully categorical, do not reply categorically, but give the complete answer or none at all. If there is insufficient space left for an accurate answer, omit the answer or use an extra sheet. If the wording of a question is ambiguous, omit it. If, however, there are many equivocal questions or many instances of insufficient space, it is a sign that the questionary has been made without sufficient knowledge of the situation under investgation and is, therefore, unlikely to yield reliable results; do not then reply to it at all.
5. Do not reply when the questionary asks for information that is available to the questioner through library sources, unless you know the answer without looking it up.
6. In general a request for a reply should be by personal letter to you, and not by mimeographed or printed form.
7. Do not think that the receipt of a stamped envelope for return of the questionary, or thanks expressed in advance, places an obligation upon you for reply.[1]

**Appeal to Loyalty.**—The best incentive to induce recipients to fill out a questionnaire is loyalty to yourself, your organization, and your cause. The writer has succeeded in getting 25 to 35 per cent of professional men to fill out his Vocational Interest Test, although that requires about 35 minutes. The covering letter appears on Stan-

[1] See *American Journal of Psychology*, 1926, **37**, 632; also *National Education Association, Research Bulletin*, 1930, 8, No. 1.

ford University stationary and appeals to the recipient to help develop vocational guidance for the benefit of young men. In appealing to dentists, Dean A. R. McDowell of the San Francisco College of Physicians and Surgeons signed the letter and 50 per cent replied. In appealing to ministers, the writer was able to say that the recipient's name had been supplied by a prominent minister who was personally known to nearly all on the list, with the result that 70 per cent replied.

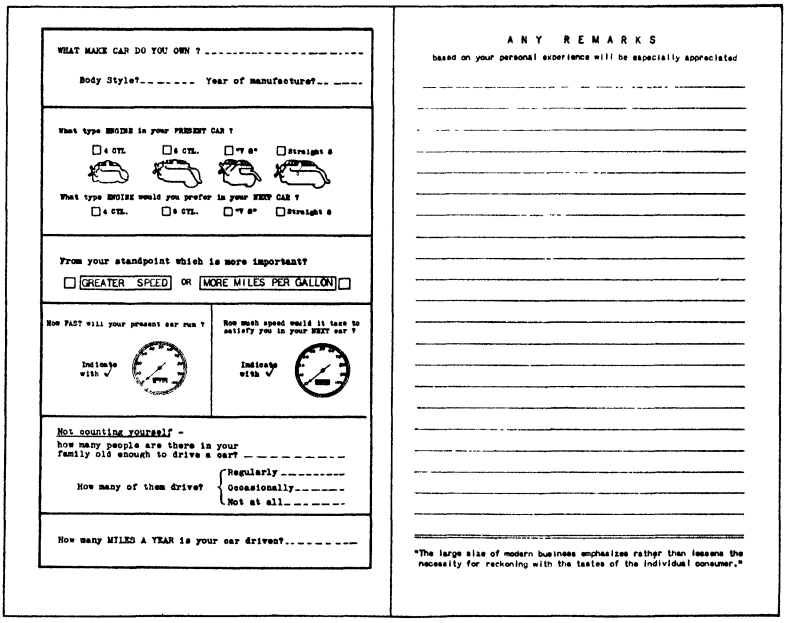



FIG. 51.—Second and third pages of a questionnaire entitled "The Proving Ground of Public Opinion," sent out by the General Motors Corporation.

Evidently, loyalty to a friend is greater than to a cause sponsored by a university.

The business concern can ordinarily not make use of this appeal of loyalty to it in a consumer research, for if it does, it obtains data difficult to evaluate, since those who are favorably disposed reply more readily than those who do not use the company's products. For example, Reilly[1] found upon interviewing personally both those who had and those who had not replied to a mail questionnaire that 92 per cent of those who replied were users of the company's product while among those not replying only 40 per cent were users.

The business concern can appeal, however, to loyalty to a cause, if proper explanation of what that means to the recipient is emphasized.

[1] REILLY, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

The questionnaire sent out by the General Motors Corporation, entitled "The Proving Ground of Public Opinion," is an example of this. The covering letter appearing on the front page of the $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$, 16-page booklet is well worthy of study. (The second and third pages appear in Fig. 51).

This questionnaire is sent you in behalf of a leading group of automobile manufacturers who are keenly alert to the necessity of having their products conform to the customer's tastes and desires.

It has been the aim to make it interesting and informative from your viewpoint as a consumer, and it is felt that the time and effort that you devote to it may prove helpful to you when it comes to selecting your next car. (With this thought in mind an extra copy is being enclosed for your files.)

I realize that many people look upon requests of this character as something of a nuisance. Can't say that I blame them, and yet the fact remains that these sophisticated individuals are the very folks whose ideas are worth the most in dictating future design.

So this is designed to appeal to those who usually ignore questionnaires—it is easy to read—in fact you can get the idea without any reading and no writing is necessary unless you should feel the "urge." As a matter of fact, the answers can be checked off with less effort than it takes to work a cross word puzzle.

So if you haven't time to fill it out right now, just stick it in your pocket—and maybe it will come in handy while you are waiting for dinner.

In many cases the information desired by a business concern is of more or less common interest to many other companies. In such cases there is great gain in having the questionnaire sent out under the auspices of a trade association or similar organization.[1] Thus, a survey for recreational resorts in New England was sent out under three auspices: first, a personally signed mimeographed letter from Tufts College with a penny return post card; second, an identical letter but not personally addressed to the recipient, signed by a facsimile signature of the executive secretary and upon stationary of the Publicity Department of the State of New Hampshire; third, the same mimeographed letter addressed to the recipient and personally signed by the Secretary of the State of Vermont. The returns were respectively: 36 per cent, 44 per cent, and 51 per cent—unusually high returns.[2]

**Short and Easy to Answer.**—If the questionnaire appears formidable, poorly gotten up, uninteresting, the reader is not likely to reply. It is important, then, to have the questionnaire neatly printed in an attractive manner and to give the impression that it can be easily

[1] See Fig. 31 (p. 180) for an example of a questionnaire sent out by a trade association.

[2] CHIDESTER, L. W. "New England's Recreational Appeals," The New England Council, 1930, pp. 10–11.

answered. The less writing required, the more this impression is suggested. To accomplish this, it is important to start with the easiest questions and to reserve to the end the most difficult questions, particularly those to which the recipient may object. The questions in Fig. 51 fulfill these requirements; also those in Figs. 30 (page 179),

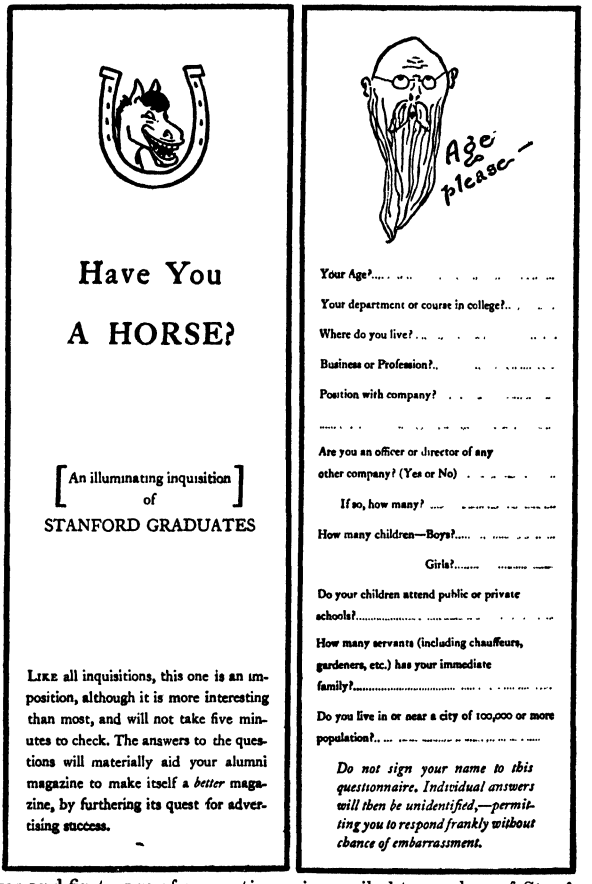



FIG. 52.—Cover and first page of a questionnaire mailed to readers of *Stanford Illustrated Review* and based on one sent out by *Time*.

31 (page 180) and 52. The latter is part of a questionnaire sent out by the Stanford University Alumni Association, adapted from one by *Time*. The last page is properly restricted to the very personal questions concerning investments of the recipient, his annual salary, life insurance, and total annual income. Many object to give such information, even when signatures are not requested. Questions

calling for judgment require time and those also should be reserved to the end.

**Returns Are Confidential.**—Many people are extremely touchy about being quoted. It is, therefore, extremely important to emphasize that "individual records are kept absolutely confidential." One way of guaranteeing this is to make a signature optional. There are some cases where it is really valuable to secure the names, particularly when there is a possibility of some sort of follow-up. The writer has found very useful in this connection the following sentence, added as a postscript to his covering letter: "It is not necessary to sign your name, but it is an advantage to us in following up any unusual developments." In one research the addition of this sentence raised the percentage of signatures from around 50 to about 95 per cent.

**Reward for Cooperation.**—Among scientific circles it is usual to promise a report of the findings to those who reply. Many businessmen wish to keep an attractively prepared questionnaire and so refrain from answering. Weaver[1] reports a 50-per cent increase in returns when a duplicate copy is enclosed, marked "Duplicate copy. Retain for your file." To obviate the cost of sending two copies, the writer has employed the device of sending a follow-up postal card the third paragraph of which reads, "If you did not receive the blank, or have mislaid it, just return this postal in an envelope and another blank will be sent you." This postal follow-up has always brought in at least 10 per cent additional replies, which possibly represent the number who wished a copy for their files.

## TO WHOM SHOULD THE QUESTIONNAIRE BE SENT?

Obviously, the questionnaire should be sent to those from whom information is desired. This often calls for great ingenuity in discovering a good way to get the names and addresses. In addition, it is essential that those contacted shall be a good sampling of the remainder; otherwise, data on a few cannot be representative of the whole. If the questionnaire concerns electric refrigerators or an expensive automobile, a mailing list based on names in a telephone book might be adequate, but not for an electric iron or a Ford automobile, because many who buy the latter do not have a telephone, as probably all do who buy refrigerators. If the plan provides 100 mailings in a city with a telephone book of 100 pages, the best procedure is to take the first name on each page. Taking one hundred names consecutively at any one place in the directory sometimes

[1] WEAVER, H. G. "Consumer Questionnaire Technique," *The American Marketing Journal*, 1934, **1**, 115.

gives a preponderance of one racial group, which may not at all be desired.

To obtain an adquate sampling, those contacted should represent all types of those from whom information is desired. This means proportionate sampling from the various geographical districts, from city, town, and rural areas; from wealthy, middle class, and poor; from people of various ages; and from both sexes. This cannot be accomplished by haphazard methods but only after very careful planning. Instead of relying upon chance to give a proper sampling, the most feasible procedure is to employ representative sampling. In other words, individuals are so selected that there will be the proper percentage from each income level, from each geographical section of the area, from urban and rural districts, etc.

Mailing lists can be secured from many agencies, such as the telephone and city directories, membership lists in societies of all kinds, press clippings of births and deaths, lists of voters and owners of automobiles. Various agencies interested in advertising direct by mail have extensive lists which are available at moderate cost. It cannot, however, be too strongly emphasized that unless the mailing list is an adequate sampling of the larger group, the data secured will not represent the facts which are desired.

## TYPE OF QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED

Only after extensive experience does one come to appreciate how very difficult it is to frame good questions. Poffenberger[1] asked a group of 75 educated people to frame a simple question which would be best calculated to find out "how much people usually pay for their socks." Out of the 75 questions framed there were no two exactly alike." Here are a few of those questions:

1. What is the usual price you pay for socks?
2. How much do you usually pay for socks?
3. What price do you usually pay for socks?
4. What is the average price you pay for socks?
5. How much should young men spend for socks?
6. Do you usually pay more than $1 for your socks?
7. What quality of hosiery do you usually buy?
8. What are reasonable prices for silk, wool, and cotton stockings of good quality in your budget?
9. What do you consider a fair price for a pair of socks?

As Poffenberger points out question 7 may obtain answers not related to price, question 8 does not ask at all for "usual price," and question

[1] POFFENBERGER, A. T., "Psychology in Advertising," pp. 136–138, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932.

6 is even worse. Yet, intelligent people thought these questions would determine the usual price paid for socks!

The principle of tacit assumption applies here. In answering any question people always reply on the basis of certain assumptions. If the question is reworded or the situation in which the questioning takes place is changed, the assumptions made may be different, thus resulting in quite different answers. Lazarsfeld[1] points out that when the question is asked, "Why did you buy this book?" the respondent will emphasize "buy," "this," or "book," depending upon the total situation. The principle is well illustrated by an extract from one of Chesterton's detective stories.

> Have you ever noticed this: That people never answer what you say? They answer what you mean, or what they think you mean. Suppose one lady says to another in a country house: "Is anybody staying with you?" The lady does not answer: "Yes, the butler, the three footmen, the parlor maid, and so on," though the parlor maid may be in the room, or the butler behind her chair. She says: "There is nobody staying with us," meaning nobody of the sort you mean. But suppose a doctor inquiring into an epidemic asks, "Who is staying in the house?" then the lady will remember the butler, the parlor maid, and the rest. All language is used like that; *you never get a question answered literally, even when you get it answered truly.*[2]

**Clear, Simple, Unambiguous Questions.**—The above emphasizes the need for questions that simply cannot be misunderstood. The only way to know that questions meet this requirement is to try them out and note the answers. Thus, if the question, "What kind of face powder do you use?" is asked, the replies in terms of trade name, form (loose or compact), and color indicate the question is interpreted in three different ways.

Sometimes a seemingly satisfactory question does not give all the desired information. Thus, in a survey of shopping conditions in Provo, Utah,[3] the data in the table on page 418 were obtained. If only the first question had been used, the J. C. Penney store would have been ranked third for best service. But when the replies to the second question are taken into account, this store is ranked last. Although the two questions seemingly ask for logically opposite answers, they really supply quite different answers and supplement each other in a very valuable way.

[1] LAZARSFELD, P. F., "The Art of Asking Why in Marketing Research," *National Marketing Review*, 1935, **1**, 1–13.

[2] CHESTERTON, G. K., "The Invisible Man," in "Innocence of Father Brown."

[3] JOHNSON, A. R., "A Survey of Consumer Buying Practices in Provo, Utah," Brigham Young University, 1934, pp. 6–7.

The section on Interpretation of Data (page 188) should be reviewed at this point. Questions may seemingly be clear, simple, and unambiguous, but if they cannot be accurately interpreted they are of little value. For example, the question "Why did you change from Brand A to Brand B?" appears at first thought to be clean-cut, leading to a desirable answer. The respondent may reply, however,

| Stores | Which stores in Provo render the best service? In per cent | Which stores in Provo render the poorest service? In per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Butlers | 16.7 | 7.3 |
| Taylor Bros. | 14.9 | 16.9 |
| J. C. Penney | 14.0 | 39.7 |
| Shivus | 6.1 | 0.0 |
| Levus | 6.1 | 0.7 |
| O. P. Skaggs | 5.1 | 0.0 |
| I. G. A. | 4.2 | 0.7 |
| Woolworth | 3.7 | 10.3 |
| Sears Roebuck | 2.8 | 5.9 |
| Red and White | 2.8 | 0.7 |

in terms of why he quit using A or why he started using B and either of these answers may be in terms of "impulses within himself," "influences coming from others," or "attributes of the commodity." Such a hodgepodge of replies cannot be statistically handled in a satisfactory manner. Instead of the one question there should be at least three: (1) What was unsatisfactory in Brand A? (2) What influenced you to consider Brand B? and (3) What features of Brand B especially appeal to you?

**Questions Which Call for Specific Answers.**—A good sample is:

"What cold cream do you use?"

Ponds _____
Colgates _____
Pompeian _____
Etc.

There can be no misunderstanding of what is wanted here and the replies can be easily tallied. The questionnaire shown in Fig. 53 is a fine illustration of this procedure.

There is a great advantage in this kind of setup, in which all the likely answers are supplied and the answer can be indicated by a check mark. It invites cooperation. In some cases, however, it invites too much cooperation. For example, if the question is, "What magazines do you read regularly?" and a long list of magazines is

given to check, the reader will check more than if called upon to write the names from memory. Probably, the former procedure records more and the latter records less than the true situation.

Questions leading to answers qualified by "often," "sometimes," "a good many," etc should be avoided for such answers cannot be tabulated with any real degree of accuracy.

1. Do you smoke cigarettes?

*(Please check)*

☐ Yes ☐ No

2. How long have you smoked?

*(Please check)*

☐ 1 year (or less)
☐ 1 to 2 years
☐ 2 to 5 years
☐ over 5 years

3. What brand do you smoke now?

*(Please check)*

☐ Camels
☐ Lucky Strikes
☐ Chesterfields
☐ Old Golds
☐ Other Brands

4. How long have you smoked this brand?

*(Please check)*

☐ 1 year (or less)
☐ 1 to 2 years
☐ 2 to 5 years
☐ over 5 years

5. What brand did you smoke previously?

*(Please check)*

☐ Camels
☐ Lucky Strikes
☐ Chesterfields
☐ Old Golds
☐ Other Brands

6. This questionnaire filled out by (Please check)

☐ Male
☐ Female

FIG. 53.—A questionnaire which provides unambiguous questions, easy to answer, calling for specific answers, which are not suggested in any way.

**Avoid Leading, Suggestive Questions.**—Three cigarette companies each found as a result of three separately conducted consumer researches that their own cigarette was the most popular. Each had asked the question, "Do you use Camel (Lucky Strike, etc.) cigarettes?" People always answer questions with at least two objectives in mind: first, to tell the truth if not too inconvenient, and, second, to please the questioner. Consequently, if they like the interviewer

and have no particular preference or even smoke his cigarette occasionally, they say "Yes." Questions 3, 4, and 5 in Fig. 53 will secure the real facts in this connection, for there is nothing on the page to indicate what answer is desired.

The above is written on the supposition that facts are desired. Actually, in many consumer analyses the facts are not desired but results that will impress people. The testimony of research men that many sales organizations are not interested in the facts is so widespread that it is questionable if data supplied by sales and advertising organizations should be accepted, unless independently checked.

**Ask for Facts That Are Known.**—Practically no one knows how many suits he buys a year, or shoes, or neckties. Why then ask him? He probably can remember the last time he bought any particular commodity. Answers to this question, because they are more accurate, will be more useful than answers regarding how many were bought.

A frequently used question that is exceedingly futile is, "What advertising has impressed you most?" No one can possibly know that. Another similarly useless question is, "Is price or quality of more importance?" Everyone knows that price is most important with the masses, yet quality always wins out over price in such questionnaires. Other things being anywhere near equal, people will always say "Quality" because it makes them feel good, while "Price" sounds cheap.

**Get Answers by Objective Means.**—Do not ask, "Do you like unscented soap?" but ask for the kinds of soap in the kitchen and bathroom. If the questionnaire is handled by an interviewer, show various kinds of scented and unscented soap and ask, "Which do you like best?" If at the door, do not ask "Which vacuum cleaner do you have?" but find a way to see it. Then you absolutely know what kind is used; also what model it is, what condition it is in, and about how long it has been in use.

**Comparisons Must Be Based upon Similar Questions.**—It is evident that no comparison could really be made between the stores in two parts of a city if in one part the question had been, "Which gives the best service?" and in the other part, the question had been, "Which gives the poorest service?" Yet just this sort of thing is done quite frequently. Consider, for example, these three questions appearing in different parts of a questionnaire regarding shopping in a small town: "Have you bought furniture in the small town during the last two years?" "How much money have you spent for furniture in the nearby large city during the last two years?" "Do you buy furniture

from mail-order companies?" The three questions must be worded similarly if direct comparisons are to be made; better still, they should appear as parts of one question.

**Personal Opinion Can Be Asked for, as Such.**—It is appropriate to ask what people like, but it is preferable to ascertain what they *do*, because that is usually a better indicator of what they like than is what they say. Thus, the question, "Which newspaper do you subscribe to?" is better than, "Which newspaper do you like best?" There are, of course, exceptions to all rules. In this example, a wife might prefer one paper but her husband might subscribe to another.

**Personal Questions.**—Avoid asking personal questions that people object to answering, such as age among women, religion among many, etc. In one questionnaire of 25 questions handled by an interviewer, question 7 asked, "What toilet soap advertises: 'Good for B.O. or Body Odor'?" and question 8 asked, "What soap advertises: 'Why do my hands look so old'?" The interviewers reported that the questions offended many housewives and caused considerable embarrassment. If such questions must be asked, they should be listed at the end of the questionnaire, when both parties feel better acquainted and any embarrassment will have little effect upon the remaining questions.

**Arrange Questions in Sequence to Fit in with Recipient's Flow of Thought.**—In addition to arranging questions in order, from the easily answered to the more difficult, arrange them so as to proceed from one topic to another in an order that is natural for the thinking of the recipient. Ask for education before occupational experience, because that is the normal order of life. Ask "At which shoe stores in town do you trade?" and then "What feature (or features) influences you in that choice?" (listing features to be checked). The recipients have to answer the first question anyway before coming to the second.

**Provide Space for Remarks.**—Among the most important results of any investigation are the sidelights which may be obtained from concrete instances that are given by those who reply. The data may show why people buy, but examples of actual occurrences are very useful in expressing those reasons in advertising and selling. In addition, chance remarks often bring to mind new developments which are worthy of a second investigation. Chance remarks also frequently show that the one interviewed has not understood the question and that his answers must be otherwise interpreted. For these reasons it is always worth while to provide space for "Remarks." Half of the space in the General Motors questionnaire is reserved for remarks (see Fig. 51).

**If Possible, Do Not Disclose Object of Inquiry.**—It has already been pointed out that suggestive questions will usually lead to biased replies. For this reason it is best not to reveal the real objective of the investigation; but as people will not fill out a questionnaire unless they see some purpose in it, some explanation must be provided. In a study of Japanese living in California, for example, it was desirable to learn how efficient and trustworthy they were as servants, in comparison with other nationalities. The questionnaire was headed, "Report on Domestic Servants Employed for a Month or More during 1928 and 1929,"[1] and asked for the nationality of servants employed and for ratings on their efficiency and trustworthiness. Questions on additional information regarding increase or decrease in wages and general satisfactoriness were added, merely to make the total more impressive. If the real purpose of the study had been revealed, it could be expected that those disposed either for and against the Japanese would be more likely to reply than others, thus giving a distorted picture. As it was, the 34 per cent who replied could not in any way be biased regarding the Japanese, for the name was not even mentioned in the questionnaire or covering letter.

The above applies to investigations where the objective is to obtain the uninfluenced opinion of individuals. But when the questionnaire is sent to experts on the subject, calling either for their opinions or for data which they possess, it is usually very much better to explain very clearly the purpose of the investigation. Not only will better cooperation be secured, but the questions will be more intelligently answered in the light of the purpose stated.

**How Many Questions to Include.**—Reilly[2] reports that the average mail questionnaire has 12 questions, while the personal interview questionnaire has 31 questions (medians, respectively, of 10 and 21 questions). He does not report upon the relationship between length and percentage of replies. It is probably true that the recipient is about as likely to answer a mail questionnaire of ten easy questions as one of five such questions, but beyond that number it would appear that the percentage of replies would decrease with increase in number of questions. (The exact relationship should be determined by someone.) Consequently, if a large return is desired, the number of questions should be kept down to about 10 to 15 questions. If more questions need to be asked, it is better to prepare two separate ques-

[1] STRONG, E. K. JR., "Vocational Aptitudes of Second-generation Japanese in the United States," *Stanford University Publications, Education-Psychology*, 1933, **1**, No. 1, 147–153.

[2] REILLY, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

tionnaires and mail them to two equal samplings than to incorporate all the questions in one questionnaire sent to both lists.

Very much longer questionnaires may be used when they are sent to experts who are interested in the investigation or are under some obligation to reply. Thus, among 267 questionnaires sent out in 1927–1928 to school authorities, there were

60.3 per cent with 2 to 20 questions
24.7 per cent with 21 to 50 questions
7.1 per cent with 51 to 100 questions
3.4 per cent with 101 to 200 questions
3.0 per cent with 201 to 500 questions
1.5 per cent with over 501 questions.[1]

But even here the median number of items was only 17.4.

## HOW MANY MUST BE QUESTIONED?

In answering the question as to how many persons to interview, two different considerations must be taken into account: first, how many replies are necessary to answer the question, and, second, how many replies are necessary to impress properly those to be influenced. An advertising manager of a large men's clothing store sent out 1,000 return postal cards to charge customers, asking them to check from a list those newspapers which they read regularly. The returns showed one newspaper clearly in the lead. When the advertising manager reported to the owner that he was planning to spend most of his advertising appropriation in that newspaper, the owner was not at all impressed by the returns and insisted that at least 10,000 cards be sent out. This was done. The final percentages agreed very closely with those obtained from addressing one-tenth of the audience. Here, ten times as many needed to be contacted to convince the boss as to answer the question.

The number of replies necessary to answer the question depends upon several factors. If the question is, "What is the most satisfactory location for a starter button?" and the replies clearly favor one of the listed locations, only relatively few replies are needed to answer the question satisfactorily, providing that those questioned are an adequate sampling. But if the questions, "What automobile do you own?" and "What automobile will you probably buy next time?" are asked, many more replies are needed in order to determine quite accurately the trend from present to future ownership. The

[1] "The Questionnaire," *National Education Association, Research Bulletin*, 1930, **8**, No. 1.

type of question and the degree of accuracy in the answer determine the number of replies needed.

It should be borne in mind that the reliability of the answer does not vary directly with the number of replies but with the square root of the number. Thus, the reliability from 100 replies is only twice that of 25 replies and not four times. (The ratio here is $\sqrt{100}$ to $\sqrt{25}$, or 2 to 1, and not 100 to 25, or 4 to 1.) When our clothing merchant insisted upon 10,000 inquiries, he increased the cost ten times but increased the reliability only three times, assuming 20 per cent of replies in both cases.

One simple test as to whether enough answers have been received is to compare the average from half the data with that of the other half, taking care that both halves represent comparable samplings. If the two halves agree closely, one has enough data; if the two halves differ, more data should be obtained. A more precise procedure in this connection is to calculate the standard deviation of the difference. If this critical ratio amounts to three or more, it is assumed that the difference between the two averages is significant. If the critical ratio is somewhat less than three, it suggests that a significant difference might be obtained if based on a larger number of cases.

The formulas are:

$$\text{Critical ratio} = \frac{av_1 - av_2}{\sigma_{(diff)}}$$

$$\sigma_{(diff)} = \sqrt{\sigma^2_{(av_1)} + \sigma^2_{(av_2)}}$$

$$\sigma_{(av)} = \frac{\sigma_{(dist)}}{\sqrt{N}} \qquad \text{and} \qquad \sigma_{(dist)} = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma D^2}{N}}$$

For an example, suppose one desires to ascertain whether age is a factor in the preference for Brands A and B, the ages of those interviewed being distributed as in Table XI. From the data, the average age of those preferring Brand A is 30.95 years and for those preferring Brand B is 35.2 years. It looks as though those preferring Brand B are older than those preferring Brand A; but can we rely upon this difference which is based upon data from only 200 persons?

The necessary statistical calculations are given in Table XI. The first step consists in jotting down the difference ($D$) between the average age and each age group ($15.95 = 30.95 - 15$). These differences are squared ($D^2$) and each is multiplied by the number of cases in that category ($4572 = 15.95^2 \times 18$). The remaining steps are shown in the table.

The critical ratio of 2.3 is finally obtained. As it is customary to require a critical ratio of 3 or more as satisfactory statistical proof

TABLE XI.—CALCULATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO AVERAGES

| Distribution by age of those preferring | | | Brand A | | | Brand B | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Brand A | Brand B | $D$ | $D^2$ | $fD^2$ | $D$ | $D^2$ | $fD^2$ |
| 15 | 18 | 11 | 15.95 | 254 | 4,572 | 20.2 | 408 | 4,488 |
| 20 | 15 | 12 | 10.95 | 119 | 1,785 | 15.2 | 231 | 2,772 |
| 25 | 12 | 11 | 5.95 | 35 | 420 | 10.2 | 104 | 1,144 |
| 30 | 13 | 11 | .95 | 1 | 12 | 5.2 | 27 | 297 |
| 35 | 12 | 10 | 4.05 | 16 | 192 | .2 | 0 | 0 |
| 40 | 10 | 13 | 9.05 | 82 | 820 | 4.8 | 23 | 299 |
| 45 | 7 | 11 | 14.05 | 197 | 1,379 | 9.8 | 96 | 1,056 |
| 50 | 6 | 8 | 19.05 | 363 | 2,178 | 14.8 | 219 | 1,752 |
| 55 | 4 | 7 | 24.05 | 578 | 2,312 | 19.8 | 392 | 2,744 |
| 60 | 3 | 6 | 29.05 | 844 | 2,532 | 24.8 | 615 | 3,690 |
| N | 100 | 100 | | | | | | |
| Mean..... | 30.95 | 35.20 | | | | | | |
| $\Sigma D^2$ | | | | | 16,202 | | | 18,242 |
| $\sigma_{(dist)}$ | | | | | 12.7 | | | 13.5 |
| $\sigma_{(av)}$ | | | | | 1.27 | | | 1.35 |

Calculations:

$$\sigma_{(dist\ A)} = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma D^2}{N}} = \sqrt{\frac{16{,}202}{100}} = 12.7$$

$$\sigma_{(av\ A)} = \frac{\sigma_{(dist\ A)}}{\sqrt{N}} = \frac{12.7}{\sqrt{100}} = 1.27$$

$$\sigma_{(diff)} = \sqrt{\sigma^2_{(av\ A)} + \sigma^2_{(av\ B)}} = \sqrt{1.27^2 + 1.35^2} = 1.85$$

$$\text{Critical ratio} = \frac{av_{(B)} - av_{(A)}}{\sigma_{(diff)}} = \frac{35.20 - 30.95}{1.85} = 2.3$$

that the difference is not due to chance, we conclude that those who prefer Brand B to Brand A are likely to be older, but we cannot be sure. If we wish to be sure that there is this age difference, more data should be secured. Suppose 200, instead of 100, cases are distributed exactly as in Table XI under both Brands, A and B, then the average ages and the standard deviations of the distributions would remain the same, while the standard deviations of the averages would be reduced to .9 and .95, respectively. These would yield a critical ratio of 3.2. This suggests, therefore, that 200 cases regarding each Brand, instead of 100, would be sufficient; but only after the critical ratio has been worked out on the data actually secured would we know what the critical ratio based on two sets of 200 cases actually is.

Consider a different example, where 100 individuals are asked to state their preference for either Brand A or B, with the result that 33 per cent prefer Brand A and 67 per cent prefer Brand B. Is this difference statistically significant?

One way of attacking the problem is to calculate the reliability of the difference between .67 (or .33) and chance, which in this case is .50. Here again the difference is divided by the standard error of the proportion and, if this quotient is three or more, the difference is accepted as significant.

The standard error of the proportion is

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\overline{pq}}{N}}$$

where $p$ and $q$ represent the two percentages and $N$ represents the number of cases. In this particular case

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{.33 \times .67}{100}} = .047$$

The difference between .67 and .50 = .17. This divided by .047 = 3.6. As the critical ratio (3.6) exceeds 3.0, the difference is accepted as significant.

Another way of considering the above problem is to determine the limits within which the true percentages will fall. As theoretically in 99 out of 100 cases the true average will differ from the obtained average by not more than three times the standard deviation, the true percentages will lie within the limits of .67 $\pm$ .141 (3 $\times$ .047), *i.e.*, between .811 and .529 and within the limits of .33 $\pm$ .141, *i.e.*, between .471 and .189.

One additional example should be considered in which is calculated the significance of the difference between two proportions based upon two different sets of data. Suppose in one district 67 per cent of 100 cases favor Brand A and in a second district only 57 per cent of 400 persons favor Brand B, does this mean that there is a real difference in the preferences of people in the two districts or is the difference to be attributed to chance? The formulas here would be:

$$\sigma_{(diff.\ p_1-p_2)} = \sqrt{\frac{p_1q_1}{N_1} + \frac{p_2q_2}{N_2}} = \sqrt{\frac{.67 \times .33}{100} + \frac{.57 \times .43}{400}} = .053$$

$$\text{Critical ratio} = \frac{p_1 - p_2}{\sigma_{(diff.\ p_1-p_2)}} = \frac{.67 - .57}{.053} = 1.89$$

The conclusion would be that there is some tendency in the first district for people to prefer Brand A more than in the second district

but that this tendency may be due to chance (critical ratio being 1.89 and not 3 or more). If the data in the first district had been based on 400 cases instead of 100, the critical ratio would then have been 2.92 and the conclusion could be accepted that there is a real difference in attitude toward Brand A in the two districts.

These cases illustrate the procedure required to indicate how many replies are necessary in order to determine a given point. The smaller the difference between two averages, the more data are necessary to establish the difference as statistically significant.

It should be pointed out that in many consumer researches it makes little difference what the size of a percentage is so long as it lies between certain limits. Thus, whether 30 or 90 per cent of customers object to a certain feature, which can be changed at little cost, is relatively immaterial; for such a change should be made as soon as it is realized that there is any real number of people who desire it. If, on the other hand, the cost of making the change is very great, there arises one of those very nice problems of adjusting cost of production to ease of selling which take up a great deal of the time of the executive committee of a company. The research department should determine in such cases not only what consumers prefer but how much their adverse preference really affects their buying of the commodity.[1]

### RELATION OF THOSE WHO REPLY TO TOTAL QUESTIONED

If there is no reason to suppose that those who replied to a questionnaire are any more or less favorably disposed toward the issues at stake than those who did not reply, then the results obtained from a minority may be accepted as typical of all. By using six follow-up letters, Toops[2] succeeded in getting a 100-per cent return to a questionnaire. In his case, the additional replies did not essentially change his conclusions based on the first returns.

The presidential polls carried out by the *Literary Digest* in 1924 and 1928 were answered by about 14 per cent of those to whom ballots were sent. Yet the return in 1928 foretold very accurately the actual election return in 46 states. Hoover received 63.92 per cent of the *Literary Digest* ballots, totaling 2,738,379 and 58.81 per cent of the actual vote of 36,434,606 cast for Hoover and Smith. The difference between these two percentages far exceeds what might be expected by chance in two such samplings, indicating that the *Literary Digest* did not obtain a perfect sampling of the entire voting population.

[1] See p. 470 as to measurement of how much an attitude affects action.

[2] TOOPS, H. A., "Return from Follow-up Letters to Questionnaires," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1926, **10**, 92–101.

Nevertheless, their sampling was close enough to prophesy the final outcome with surprising accuracy. As is well known, the *Literary Digest* balloting in 1936 gave an utterly incorrect picture of what actually occurred at the polls. This third experience is a warning that a questionnaire based on over a million returns may give quite misleading conclusions.

If the minority who reply are a significantly different sampling from the total, then the data based on the minority returns need to be scrutinized with great care. Because of this contingency, it is important to include some questions in the questionnaire which may throw light on the situation. Thus, in a consumer research concerning Brand A tires, a question or two may be asked regarding present ownership of tires. If these data check with what is known about the relative sale of all makes of tires in the area in question, then it may be assumed that the minority returns represent a good sampling of all owners of tires.

The best check of all upon a mail questionnaire is to have both those who reply and those who do not personally interviewed in certain selected areas, and so determine what differences, if any, actually exist between the two groups. Such a check costs a little more, but it establishes the degree of dependance that can be placed upon the mail questionnaire. That is worth a great deal.

## CHAPTER XXIV

## RATING SCALES

Every time we meet an individual, we size him up more or less. We say to ourselves, "I like him," "I don't think he is honest," "He doesn't know very much of what he is talking about," "He is a hard worker."

We may be good at judging others; then again, we may be actually very poor judges; nevertheless, we hire, promote, and discharge men, we listen to their propositions or not, we react to them on the basis of our estimates of their ability, character, and personality.

TABLE XII.—USE OF RATING SCALES IN BUSINESS IN 1934
(After Walters)

| Activities | Percentage of 233 business concerns | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Maintain now | Dropped during depression | Dropped since N.I.R.A. | Adopted since N.I.R.A. | Considering adoption |
| Rating entering employees | 34.3 | . . . | 1 3 | 2 5 | 10.0 |
| Rating employees periodically | 31.8 | 4.1 | 1.4 | 5.4 | 10.8 |
| Rating foremen | 21.9 | 5 9 | 2.0 | 5.9 | 15.7 |
| Rating executives | 13.3 | 6.5 | . . | 6.5 | 12.9 |
| Rating apprentices | 29.6 | 10.1 | 1 4 | 4.3 | 7.2 |

In order to eliminate as much as possible of the error of individual judgments of others and to secure such judgments on a comparable basis, the rating scale is being used more and more. Such scales are employed by at least half of our colleges and universities, as well as many industrial and commercial concerns. Scott, Clothier, and Mathewson[1] report that 41 per cent of 195 business concerns were using such scales in 1930–1931 and J. E. Walters[2] reports that over one third of concerns who answered his questionnaire are using rating scales and

[1] SCOTT, W. D., R. C. CLOTHIER, and S. B. MATHEWSON, "Personnel Management," p. 489, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931.

[2] See, "Effect of the Depression on Industrial Relations Programs," National Industrial Conference Board, 1934.

that over 10 per cent of such concerns not now using rating scales are considering their adoption. (See Table XII.)

## NEED FOR MEASURING PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Personal estimates of the ability and personality of others are quite unreliable, although we use them every day in our relations with those with whom we come in contact. Sales managers seemingly should be superior to the average in sizing up others, for it is their business to select men who will make good salesmen. The following example makes clear that they do not agree among themselves as to whom to employ.

TABLE XIII.—RATING OF APPLICANTS BY JUDGES, CONSENSUS OF JUDGMENTS, AND THE RANKING OF APPLICANTS IN SPECIAL TESTS
(After Snow)

| Applicants | Judges | | | | | | | Total in rank | Consensus | Rank in tests |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | | | |
| C. R. | 1 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 22 | 1 | 11 |
| C. Y. | 7 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 28 | 2 | 4 |
| B. W. | 10 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 35 | 3 | 8 |
| M. H. | 2 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 41 | 4 | 5 |
| L. R. | 3 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 9 | 37 | 5 | 1 |
| P. A. | 4 | 7 | 1 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 43 | 6 | 6 |
| B. L. | 11 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 7 | 44 | 7 | 10 |
| F. E. | 5 | 5 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 11 | 6 | 48 | 8 | 2 |
| M. M. | 12 | 10 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 10 | 49 | 9 | 7 |
| M. A. | 6 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 53 | 10 | 9 |
| S. T. | 8 | 11 | 5 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 11 | 65 | 11 | 3 |
| S. N. | 9 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 81 | 12 | 12 |

After the Packard Motor Car Company of Chicago had reduced a long list of applicants for the position of salesmen of motor trucks to twelve, these were interviewed by six outstanding sales managers of that and other automobile concerns and by a psychologist. Snow[1] reports the ratings given each of the twelve applicants by the seven judges (see Table XIII). The striking thing about the data is the lack of agreement among these judges; all but the last two applicants would have been hired by one or more of the judges if they were expected to select the best four from among the twelve applicants. Table XIV gives the correlation between rankings of each pair of

[1] SNOW, A. J., "An Experiment in the Validity of Judging Human Ability," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1924, **8**, 339–346.

judges. In six cases the rank order of one judge was practically reversed by another; in only five out of twenty-one cases did a pair of judges agree with a correlation of .50 or better. The agreement between the individual ratings of these seven judges and the combined rating of all ranged from a correlation of .01 up to that of .72 with an average of .43. This is not an isolated example. Other studies show that sales managers differ greatly among themselves as to which applicants are likely to succeed; this has been proved true "even when the conditions of interviewing and acquaintanceship with the men were ideal."[1]

TABLE XIV.—CORRELATIONS AND AVERAGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JUDGES
(After Snow)

| Judges | $\rho$ | A.D. | Judges | $\rho$ | A.D. | Judges | $\rho$ | A.D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A–B | −0.82 | 4.5 | B–D | +0.61 | 2.1 | C–G | −0.97 | 4.1 |
| A–C | +0.03 | 3.7 | B–E | +0 44 | 2.8 | D–E | +0.49 | 2.5 |
| A–D | +0.16 | 3.8 | B–F | +0 32 | 3.7 | D–F | +0.47 | 3.0 |
| A–E | −0 98 | 3.4 | B–G | +0 57 | 2.2 | D–G | +0.44 | 2.5 |
| A–F | −0 94 | 4.1 | C–D | +0.22 | 3.5 | E–F | +0.59 | 2.3 |
| A–G | +0.49 | 3.0 | C–E | −0.95 | 4.4 | E–G | +0.73 | 2.0 |
| B–C | −0.82 | 4.7 | C–F | +0.57 | 2.5 | F–G | +0.28 | 3.1 |

Without question there is a real need for any device which will increase the accuracy of personal judgments of others. Two points of view must be recognized in this connection. The first is that of the pure scientist. He seeks perfection; he longs for correlations of unity; he is disdainful of methods with low reliability and validity. The practical man, on the other hand, is faced with a problem *today*. He cannot wait until perfect or nearly perfect techniques are available; he must do the best he can with the instruments at hand. If he can find a procedure that increases his efficiency 5 or 10 per cent, that procedure is a "real find," although the pure scientist may take no account of it. If a sales manager, for example, is actually selecting one first-class salesman, three mediocre salesmen, and six failures out of every ten he employs; and this record is improved by the use of some new measuring device so that he selects two good, three fair, and only five failures; he is improving his efficiency possibly 40 per cent. That represents a very real gain, even though his procedure is still quite inefficient.

[1] BINGHAM, W. V., and B. V. MOORE, "How to Interview," p. 71, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1934.

**Need for Specifications.**—Great progress has been made in industry by setting up detailed specifications in terms of which purchases are made and in terms of which production is controlled. There is exactly the same need for specifications concerning the human beings who are employed. The better the specifications, the better can the personnel department hire new people, recommend them for transfer, promotion, and increase in salary, outline educational programs for the development of their character and personality. The better the specifications, the more nearly will all executives handle employees on the basis of their real qualifications. The better the specifications, the more they will become recognized by employees as worth-while goals toward which to work.

Because we know relatively little regarding the components of personality, we cannot set up specifications for human beings with anything like the accuracy pertaining to specifications for materials. But we probably can do about as good a job in this respect as was done a generation ago regarding materials; and we will make no progress unless we diligently work at the problem.

**Need for Methods of Measuring "Traits."**—There is little value, though that little is positive, in setting up specifications, unless methods are developed for measuring the components of the specification. Thus, it is better to know that a certain position requires honesty than not to consider the element, but until the honesty of men can be determined, we can make little use of the specification. Before there were thermometers people talked about very hot, hot, warm, cool, cold and very cold, but they could never agree very closely upon the meaning of these terms. Today temperature is measured very accurately. We need "thermometers" to measure honesty, perserverance, ability to get along with others, etc.

The rating scale, a device for recording an opinion, or a consensus of opinions, regarding a given individual, must be viewed as a temporary means to this end, ultimately to be replaced by more accurate "measuring sticks." It does, however, focus attention upon certain characteristics that are considered essential for the job; it defines these "traits" to some extent so that the raters are more likely to have the same thing in mind while rating; and it furthermore enables the raters to express their judgments in more uniform fashion as to how much of the "trait" the candidate possesses. All this makes it possible for different raters to rate various men on a more uniform basis than if left entirely to their own devices.

**Need for Opinions as Well as Exact Measurements.**—There is really need for two different measures of personal characteristics: the

first, to measure the actual amount of the trait; the second, the amount of the trait which others believe to be possessed. At the present time there is no way of measuring the actual amount a man has of most personal characteristics, and all that can be done is to measure what people think he has. Undoubtedly, there are a great many instances where the latter opinion is very misleading, and this should be remembered in all evaluations of personality supplied by others. There are other cases, however, where opinion is very important. Fame is really nothing more than the opinion held by others concerning those who possess it. Mendel had no fame in his day but now every text on eugenics gives him great honor. Whether Franklin D. Roosevelt is really efficient and is leading the country in the right direction is a thing which only history will finally reveal; what people thought of him determined his election in 1936. So, when one comes to know a man, he may be found to be very disagreeable; but if he gives most people who meet him only once in a while the opposite impression, he may be popular socially.

Because there are many positions where a man's usefulness is determined far more by what people think of him than by what he actually is, it is valuable to determine, as far as possible, the opinion of others regarding him. Of course, the exact facts as to his capabilities should be ascertained in addition, whenever that is possible.

In evaluating rating scales this distinction must be kept in mind. A good rating scale may reveal quite accurately the opinion of others regarding the man who is rated, but because those opinions are actually quite faulty, the combined results may deviate very greatly from the actual situation.

## METHODS OF RATING

A great deal of thought and ingenuity has been devoted in recent years to the construction of rating scales. As a result, there are several different tendencies which have not yet been fully explored or evaluated. Consequently, we cannot determine the one best procedure. It is more than likely that several procedures are best in the sense that each is most useful under certain conditions.

In order fully to appreciate the subject it is very desirable to note the general trends that have appeared in the development of rating scales. There seems to be a tendency for beginners in this field to prefer the older methods at first and only after some experience to become interested in the more recently developed procedures. Possibly this recapitulation is necessary, but at least the beginner should

be aware of the stages through which rating scales have progressed and of the recent developments into newer practices.

The writer recognizes eight different developments in this field. They are listed below, arranged more or less in logical order, which happens to be approximately the order of their appearance.

**1. Individuals Directly Compared with One Another.**—Psychologists had already compared various objects with one another in terms of various attributes and it was most natural to use their methods when attempting to make similar judgments of people. Various types of comparison were possible, such as:

*a. Paired Comparison.*—Each individual in a group is compared with every other individual with respect to a given characteristic. A final graded series is obtainable based on the number of times each individual is preferred.[1]

*b. Order of Merit.*—All the individuals are arranged in descending order according as they possess the characteristic in question.[2]

*c. Classification in Groups.*—The individuals are assigned to several groups which represent descending degrees of possession of the characteristic in question. The number of groups may extend from two to seven or even eleven, five being the most commonly used.

The first two of these three methods are most applicable to ratings of a comparatively small number of cases; the third method can be readily used with a large number of cases. If a sufficient number of raters is used all three methods will give results substantially in agreement.

The first two methods, involving comparison of one individual with many others, are rarely applicable, because the available raters are not likely to know the same individuals. They should be used, however, in checking the results obtained by other methods. The third method constitutes one of the procedures used very extensively in rating, even today. It is illustrated in Fig. 54, taken from a civil service commission blank, dated 1919.

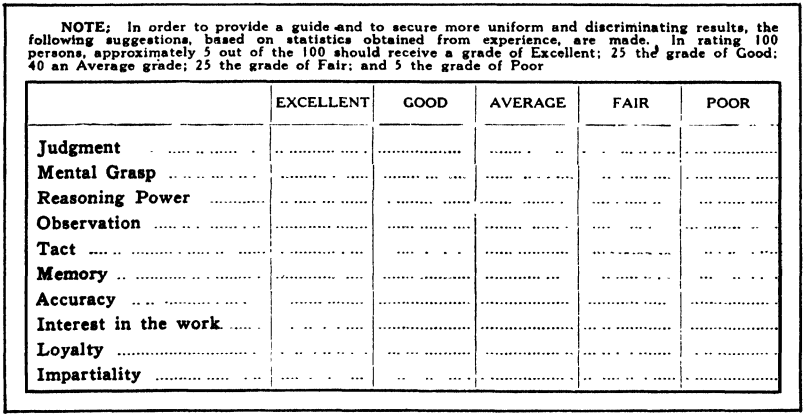
**2. Individuals Compared with Typical Representatives.**—Scott's army rating scale utilized the paired comparison method as follows: The rater wrote down a long list of officers he knew who were one rank higher than the men he was to rate. From this list he selected, for example, the outstanding leader; then the man with the least leadership ability; third, a man who appeared to be halfway between in this quality; fourth, a man halfway between the best and the middle man;

[1] See GUILFORD, J. P., "Psychometric Methods," Chap. VII, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936.

[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. VIII.

and fifth, a man halfway between the poorest and the middle. These five men constituted the rater's scale for leadership. The men to be rated were then compared with these five and their comparative standing indicated accordingly. Similar scales were prepared for the four other qualities: Physical qualities, intelligence, personal qualities, and general value to the service.

Rugg[1] made a very careful study of this procedure and showed it to have such low reliability that there was not much chance for a single rating to place an individual within the proper fifth of the



NOTE: In order to provide a guide and to secure more uniform and discriminating results, the following suggestions, based on statistics obtained from experience, are made. In rating 100 persons, approximately 5 out of the 100 should receive a grade of Excellent; 25 the grade of Good; 40 an Average grade; 25 the grade of Fair; and 5 the grade of Poor

| | EXCELLENT | GOOD | AVERAGE | FAIR | POOR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Judgment | | | | | |
| Mental Grasp | | | | | |
| Reasoning Power | | | | | |
| Observation | | | | | |
| Tact | | | | | |
| Memory | | | | | |
| Accuracy | | | | | |
| Interest in the work | | | | | |
| Loyalty | | | | | |
| Impartiality | | | | | |

FIG. 54.—Rating scale used by State Civil Service Commission of Ohio in 1919. Illustrates the classifying of persons into five groups; also the recognition of distribution in terms of normal surface of distribution.

distribution. Bradshaw[2] suggests that one reason for this was the fact that each characteristic was really a group of many. For example, the quality "leadership" was defined as "initiative, force, self-reliance, decisiveness, tact, ability to inspire men and to command their obedience, loyalty, and cooperation." Different raters may have obtained quite varied conceptions according as they emphasized one term or another. A second reason for the unsatisfactory results, in the opinion of the writer, is that the raters were not for the most part particularly interested and were not checked up. Rating people is hard work; the rater must be thoroughly instructed and cooperative or his ratings will not be sufficiently reliable to be used.

[1] RUGG, H. O., "Is The Rating of Human Character Practicable?" *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1921, **12**, 425–438, 485–501; **13**, 30–42, 81–93.

[2] BRADSHAW, F. F.: "The American Council on Education Rating Scale," *Archives of Psychology*, 1930, No. 119, 9–10.

**3. Dot on Line.**—Miner[1] instructed his raters to place a check mark on a line to indicate the degree to which the person rated had a certain quality. The lines were divided into five parts suggesting at least that those rated were to be so classified. Under each line appeared the name of the characteristic to be taken into account. Those used by Miner were: Scholarship, general ability, common sense, energy, initiative, leadership and reliability. A rating scale employing the above procedure, except that the line is divided into six parts and not five, is shown in Fig. 55. Miner reported very satisfactory reliability

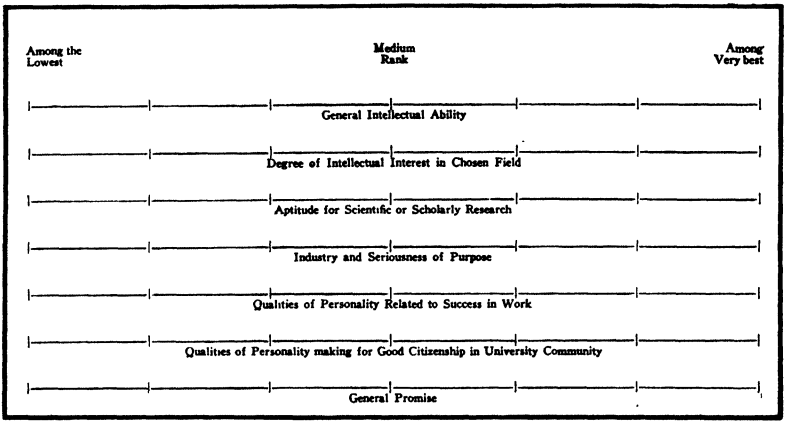



FIG. 55.—A dot-on-line rating scale formerly used by the Committee on Admission and Advanced Standing at Stanford University. The rater placed a cross at the appropriate place on each line. In making the ratings the rater was asked to compare the candidate with the general run of graduate students accepted as candidates for the Master of Arts or higher degrees.

for his scales: correlations of one judgment with another were obtained as high as .65 and between the average of two judgments and the average of two other judgments as high as .79.

**4. Descriptive Scale.**—Under each characteristic to be rated are given several descriptive phrases (usually five in number). The rater checks the one that is most appropriate. The person rated is given the numerical rating assigned to that phrase. For example, in rating one aspect of social behavior the descriptive phrases might be:

*a.* Extremely breezy and informal.
*b.* Cordial and congenial.
*c.* Meets one halfway.
*d.* Slightly reserved.
*e.* Constrained and formal.

[1] MINER, J. B.: "The Evaluation of a Method for Finely Graduated Estimates of Abilities," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1917, **1**, 123.

This type of scale attempts to give a definite meaning to each of the five groups, replacing the less clearly defined characterizations of very superior, superior, average, inferior, and very inferior.

The Barteau Personality Rating Chart lists sixty "traits" giving under each four degrees of performance. For example,

3. Correctness and Manner of Speech.
   *a.* Always careful, correct; no speech mannerisms—a good talker.
   *b.* Usually fairly correct, fair command of language; no mannerisms.
   *c.* Careless in grammar; rather poor command of language; talks too fast, too loud or drawls; enunciation poor; assumes affected accent; or too dogmatic in manner.
   *d.* Very ungrammatical; poor command of language; "hems and haws" habitually; or has objectionable mannerisms such as nervous cough, etc.

[The rater is instructed to place] a circle around the letter which designates the degree of each trait into which he believes the subject of the rating falls. In addition, where the degree of a trait is defined by several descriptive words, or phrases, he underscores the words or phrases which he believes characterize the ratee most accurately; or, he may cross out the words or phrases which do not apply.[1]

**5. Graphic Rating Scale.**[2]—This is a combination of the dot-on-line and descriptive-phrase procedures, the phrases appearing under the line at appropriate positions (see Fig. 56). The reliability of this scale is high according to data published; correlations between two ratings by the same foreman a month apart ranged from .52 to .91 with an average of .76, and averaged .87 between the second and third monthly ratings (see Table XV, page 448).

This is the most commonly used form of rating scale today, but recent scales of this type show the influence of the next two developments.

To appreciate the advantages of the graphic rating scale, compare the one shown in Fig. 56 with the following:

| Attendance, punctuality, and deportment | Initiative, interest in work, and cooperative spirit | Speed and quantity of work | Reliability, accuracy, and quality of work | Value to department | Total | Rated by |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | 15 | 20 | 30 | 25 | 100 | |

[1] BARTEAU, C. E., "A New Conception in Personnel Rating," *Personnel*, published by American Management Association, 1936, **13**, 20–27.

[2] First described in print by D. G. Paterson of The Scott Company in "The Scott Company Graphic Rating Scale," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 1922–1923, **1**, 361–370; and discussed at length by Max Freyd in "The Graphic Rating Scale," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1923, **14**, 83–102.

(SCALE B)

**GRAPHIC RATING REPORT ON WORKERS**

Name of Employee_____ Branch_____

Position of Employee_____ Department_____

Employee Rated By_____ Date_____

Instructions for Making Out This Report:—Rate this employee on the basis of the actual work he is now doing. Before attempting to report on this employee, it is necessary to have clearly in mind the exact qualities which are to be reported on. Read the definitions very carefully. In each quality compare this employee with others in the same occupation in this company or elsewhere. Place a check (✓) somewhere on the line running from "very high" to "very low" to indicate this employee's standing in each quality. It is not necessary to put the check (✓) directly above any of the descriptive adjectives.

| QUALITIES | REPORT | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. Ability to Learn: Consider the ease with which this employee is able to learn new methods and to follow directions given him. | Very Superior | Learns With Ease | Ordinary | Slow To Learn | Dull |
| II. Quantity of Work: Consider the amount of work accomplished and the promptness with which work is completed. | Unusually High Output | Satisfactory Output | | Limited Output | Unsatisfactory Output |
| III. Quality of Work: Consider the neatness and accuracy of his work and his ability constantly to turn out work that is up to standard. | Highest Quality | Good Quality | | Careless | Makes Many Errors |
| IV. Industry: Consider his energy and application to the duties of his job day in and day out. | Very Energetic | Industrious | | Indifferent | Lazy |
| V. Initiative: Consider his success in going ahead with a job without being told every detail; his ability to make practical suggestions for doing things in a new and better way. | Very Original | Resourceful | Occasionally Suggests | Routine Worker | Needs Constant Supervision |
| VI. Cooperativeness: Consider his success in effectively cooperating with his coworkers and with those exercising greater authority. | Highly Cooperative | Cooperative | | Difficult to Handle | Obstructionist |
| VII. Knowledge of Work: Consider present knowledge of job and of work related to it. | Complete | Well Informed | Moderate | Meagre | Lacking |

REMARKS: (See Reverse Side for Suggestions)_____

Total_____

Final Rating_____

FIG. 56.—Graphic rating scale for employees, prepared by The Scott Company about 1922. A later edition omitted the headings to each quality, *i.e.*, "ability to learn," "quantity of work," etc. On the reverse side the rater indicated whether or not the workman was qualified for a supervisory position, promotion at the first opportunity, transfer to other work; also, whether he was ambitious, desired advice, etc.;

Here each rater formulates his own conception of what 5, 10, 15, and 20 means as far as "speed and quantity of work" is concerned, which can only mean that different amounts will be assigned for the same degree of efficiency. Furthermore, when the rater totals the ratings and finds that his employees are not ranked according to his notion of their value, he tends to readjust the detailed estimates accordingly. What finally results in such cases is merely an estimate of general fitness with more or less arbitrary amounts assigned to the individual items. This defeats one of the purposes of rating employees, namely to determine their qualities in each respect separately.

**6. Abstract Terms versus Objective Duties.**—The earlier rating scales were evidently constructed with the following two considerations, among others, in mind: first, not to call for ratings on more than about five characteristics because it was believed that raters were not apt to cooperate if asked to do too much; and second, to ask for ratings in terms of very comprehensive traits. It was most natural, if one had to limit his description of an army officer to five ratings, that each of these would be expressed broadly enough to cover as many aspects as were presumed to be related. Hence, in the Scott scale appear eight definitions of leadership, some of which are clearly not particularly related, as "self-reliance" and "tact," and "decisiveness" and "loyalty." There seems to be no way out of this difficulty except to ask for ratings on many separate characteristics, securing presumably thereby poor cooperation from raters, or to restrict the ratings to only a few specific characteristics and omit other specific qualities which are seemingly just as important. This dilemma applies to those situations where ratings are to be obtained from former instructors or employers; it does not necessarily apply to the rating of employees by their superiors where the organization is ready to insist on careful, thoroughgoing rating.

The tacit assumption of those who constructed the earlier rating scales was that the characteristics most worthy of measuring were those traits which were involved in successful behavior. By trait is meant "a distinctive mode of behavior, of a more or less permanent nature, arising from the individual's native endowments as modified by his experience." This was the theory. In practice, the author selected the characteristics which he thought were traits and furthermore which he thought were involved in successful behavior. The author could do no more than this, for neither then nor now have psychologists identified any such traits, unless it be general intelligence. It is no wonder that a collection of rating scales will contain two to three hundred different terms, each of which has been considered by someone

to be of vital importance. In some cases the terms used have resulted from careful selection. Thus, Miner started with over three hundred terms. From this list fifty were selected and ranked in order of their importance by competent judges, and seven finally selected which seemed to represent different important factors in personality from the point of view of employment. Similarly, in preparing the rating

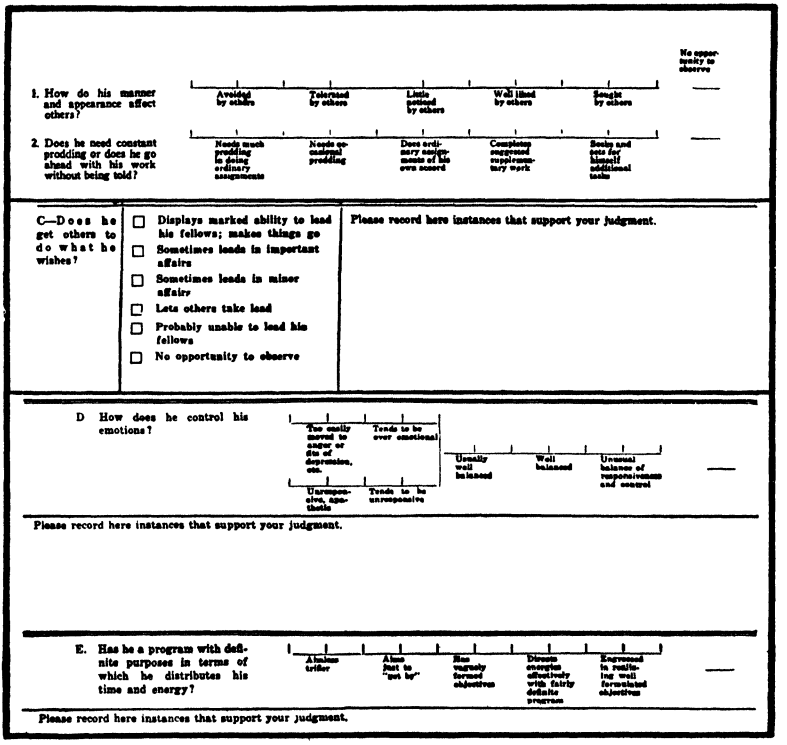



FIG. 57.—American Council on Education Rating Scale, Forms II, IV, and V. The first two items are shown as they appear in Form II (1928), the third item as in Form IV (1929), the last two items as in Form V (1929).

scale for college students (see Fig. 57) the Committee on Personnel Procedure of the American Council on Education collected 38 rating scales used in colleges and universities and found 118 traits in all. The most frequently mentioned were intelligence, 23; leadership, 21; initiative, 19; companionability, 19; cooperation, 19; personality, 17; industry, 17; reliability, 16; perserverance, 16; integrity, 15; alertness, 13; personal appearance, 13; scholarship, 13; originality, 11; self-reliance, 10; punctuality, 6.[1] From these were selected the five

[1] "Measurement and Guidance of College Students," Chap. III, American Council on Education, 1933.

which seemed of most importance (see Fig. 57) and which at the same time did not correlate too highly with one another.

'Shortly after the World War there arose under several different auspices the new practice of substituting actions for traits. It was rather natural for those familiar with job analysis to utilize some of the activities involved in a job as good items to be considered in measuring the performer. Thus arose the graphic rating scale for insurance salesmen in which questions like the following were asked:

1. How does he impress people by his physique, voice, and bearing?
2. Does he "stay with" a proposition in spite of difficulties?
3. How carefully does he study each prospect, his needs and his attitudes?
4. Does he boost the company?
5. Does he dominate an interview, take the lead in the conversation?
6. Can he tell a good story and hold attention?

Similarly, the questions used in a graphic rating scale for district sales managers of a motor truck company relate to specific performances, as follows:

1. Is he dependable? (*a*) Never certain that he will understand or carry out a policy, (*b*) Safe only when following instructions literally; judgments weak, (*c*) Stands narrowly for company policy, (*d*) Stands firmly for company policy; understands its principles.

2. Is he well informed on the buying habits and prejudices of his territory? (*a*) Seems to know only principal accounts, (*b*) Depends largely on what salesmen tell him, (*c*) Fair acquaintance, (*d*) Unusually well informed on personnel and business relations in community.

3. Are prospects well distributed among salesman? (*a*) No planning; plays favorites, (*b*) Unsystematic; prospects picked as salesmen wish, (*c*) Mechanical distribution of prospects, (*d*) Distribution shows knowledge of his men and of their ability.

4. How cordial are inter-departmental relations? (*a*) Try to get each other in wrong, (*b*) Suspicion and failure to give credit to others, (*c*) Relations good, (*d*) Even make suggestions to one another for improvement, etc.

Psychologists and educators studying character and personality similarly analyzed out specific performances as symptomatic of the supposed traits they were investigating and these were then used in rating scales. Possibly the Upton-Chassell scale[1] for measuring the importance of good citizenship published in 1919 was the first scale to employ conduct habits as opposed to traits. In the conduct scale of May and Hartshorne[2] each item on the scale represents observable

[1] UPTON, M. A., and C. F. CHASSELL, "A Scale for Measuring the Importance of Habits of Good Citizenship," *Teachers College Record*, 1919, **20**, 36–65.

[2] MAY, M. A., and H. HARTSHORNE, "Recent Improvements in Devices for Rating Character," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1930, **1**, 66–77.

modes of conduct. The rater merely checks the items which apply to the child and thus does not rate him in the usual sense, since there is no attempt to estimate how much of the characteristic is possessed. An example follows:

Cooperation
A—Works with others if asked to do so.
B—Works better alone. Cannot get along with others.
C—Works well and gladly with others.
D—Indifferent as to whether or not he works with others.
E—Usually antagonistic or obstructive to joint effort.

A reliability of .77 is reported by Dr. Yepson, who developed this scale.

A fairly early graphic rating scale in which an effort was made to utilize conduct habits and not traits is shown in Fig. 58. A companion scale was used when ratings upon applicants were requested from college instructors. Comparison of early scales with this one and those in Fig. 57 shows the gradual evolution away from the use of nouns to adjectives and finally to verbs, nouns referring to traits and verbs emphasizing conduct.

**7. Behaviorgrams.**—From the earliest use of rating scales there have been many instances of raters giving additional information about the person rated. Such comments on the back of a rating blank are exceedingly useful and illuminating for they narrate instances and record facts explaining the assigned ratings and portraying other features of the individual's personality. But it is only recently that a deliberate attempt to enlist such behaviorgrams,[1] as they have come to be called, has been made; although as early as 1923 Hollingworth[2] pointed out their desirability.

[1] Defined by Bradshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 48, as "a narration of instances, supporting facts, or anecdotes illustrative of the behavior of the person being rated."

A principal of a secondary school wrote the following on the back of an American Council on Education rating scale, Form II (see Fig. 57, p. 440). "An unusual mixture of charm, naïveté, shrewdness, and indolence, wealthy in his own right (his father is dead), he indulges himself freely in everything money can buy, he comes from a wealthy home in which there is no particularly cultured influence. Good-looking to a degree, popular, much interested in girls, in the habit of having his own way, having the capacity to get out of distasteful tasks, never having done any consecutive hard work, possessing a fine mind, he is a boy of great potentiality and probably little promise. A sweet, innocuous, charming, lazy, diffident youngster who has all of the attributes and equipment to be a useful, influential citizen except the will power and interest to carry through his good intentions. A member of a fraternity, photographic editor of the school annual." Would you admit this applicant to your university?

[2] Hollingworth, H. L., "Judging Human Character," pp. 101–110. New York, D. Appleton-Century and Company, Inc., 1923.

Rating scales, which give long lists of activities pertinent to success or failure on the job or in some social position (as described in the preceding section) obviate to some degree the need for narrating instances, because each item that is checked stands for such an instance.

**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS**
**STANFORD UNIVERSITY**
**EMPLOYER'S RATING BLANK**
***(The information on this sheet will be held strictly confidential)***

**Name of Applicant** . . . . . .

Admission to the Graduate School of Business is determined, among other things, by the applicant's record as an employee.

In the spaces below, please rate the applicant in terms of comparison with other college graduates who have succeeded in business, or with non-college men of your acquaintance who have shown unusual promise of success in business. Indicate your rating with regard to each question by placing a check mark on the line where you think it ought to be. If you have had no opportunity to judge the applicant with respect to any question, please place a check mark at the extreme right of the line.

| | | | | | | No opportunity to judge. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **How attractive is his personality?** | Disagreeable Avoided by others | Unimpressive Not noticed in a group | Average | Quite attractive Usually noticed in a group | Unusually attractive | |
| **Was the amount of his work satisfactory? Is he a hard worker? When necessary, does he put forth special effort, or work overtime, to get his work done?** | Should have been fired | Indifferent, half hearted worker Unsatisfactory output | Average energy and output | Above average in energy and output of work | Unusually hard worker High output Frequently worked overtime of own accord | |
| **Was the quality of his work satisfactory?** | Poor quality | | Average quality | | Unusually high quality | |
| **Does he need constant supervision, or does he go ahead with his work without being told every detail?** | Needs constant supervision | Does routine work without supervision | Has some initiative and originality in doing non routine work | Has much initiative and originality in doing non routine work | Has unusual initiative, originality, and worthwhile practical ideas | |
| **Does he take on additional work and responsibility, or does he sidestep work not definitely assigned to him?** | Allows others to take over work rightfully his | Does only what he is told to do | Takes on new work willingly when opportunities are obvious | Takes on too many new duties to do all acceptably | Handles acceptably an ever increasing range of duties | |
| **Does he show good judgment in reaching decisions or in handling unusual situations in his work?** | Judgment frequently unsound, easily confused | | Ordinarily uses good judgment | | Uses excellent judgment in most cases | |
| **How well does he co-operate with fellow employees and superiors?** | Individualist Does not co operate | | Ordinarily co operative | | Exceptionally co operative | |
| **Does he display ability to lead, teach, and direct others?** | A follower | | Leads others fairly well | | Capable and forceful leader | |

What work did he do for you?. . . . .

How well did you know the applicant? . . . . . .

Why did he leave your employ? . . . . . .

What was his outstanding weakness? . .

If you had a vacancy and he should apply to you for employment again, would you be pleased to get him back?

If you wish to express in any other way your judgment as to the applicant's probable success in business, please do so freely, using the other side of this sheet.

Date . . Name . . . . . .

Firm . . . . . Position . . . . . .

FIG. 58.—An early attempt to replace abstract terms with concrete conduct habits, as the basis for rating. (*Strong and V. Pelz*, 1927.)

Consequently, we must view rating scales of this type as examples in which genuine emphasis is placed upon the recording of specific facts regarding what the person rated has actually done. But regardless of how long a list of activities there is to check, there is always additional

information that can be given which explains the why and wherefore of the action. Without this information the record of what was done is often quite meaningless.

To determine experimentally which form of rating scale would secure the largest number of behaviorgrams, the American Council on Education issued three forms of its rating scale, which are shown in Fig. 57. Bradshaw[1] reports that when the information on 85 blanks of Form II was compared with the information on the same number of blanks of Form IV, the raters and those who were rated being quite similar in both cases, only 7 behaviorgrams were recorded in the first instance as against 138 in the second. Such data do not, however, answer the whole question as to what form of rating scale will secure the best description of the person rated. Forms IV and V will give more explanatory information regarding the five items to be rated than Form II; but will they give more information about the individual on other points than those included in the five items? It has been the experience of the admission committee at Stanford University that many raters feel they have not conveyed an adequate conception of an applicant by merely checking the items and so turn the blank over and give additional information. In many cases these comments are very enlightening and valuable. They may concern the five items, but more often refer to other matters. A rating blank should always invite general remarks of this nature.

**8. Many Specific Items.**—The Probst Service Report[2] for appraising an employee's service value is a good example of a report blank on which the person is rated upon many specific items. The first 15 of the 80 items follow:

( ) ( ) ( ) Lazy
( ) ( ) ( ) Slow moving
( ) ( ) ( ) Quick and active
( ) ( ) ( ) Too old for the work
( ) ( ) ( ) Minor physical defects
( ) ( ) ( ) Serious physical defects
( ) ( ) ( ) Indifferent
( ) ( ) ( ) Talks too much
( ) ( ) ( ) Too blunt or outspoken
( ) ( ) ( ) Too much self-importance

[1] BRADSHAW, *op. cit.*, p. 48. The comparison is not quite fair because the reverse side of Forms IV and V are largely given up to a discussion of behaviorgrams, all of which is absent from Form II. But the latter provides more space for remarks than the former.

[2] Copyrighted by J. B. Probst in 1929. See BECKMAN, R. O., "A Yardstick for Employee Performance," *Management Methods*, June, 1932, for discussion of a similar scale adapted to retail store managers.

( ) ( ) ( ) Good team worker
( ) ( ) ( ) Not a good team worker
( ) ( ) ( ) Resents criticism or suggestions
( ) ( ) ( ) Antagonizes when dealing with others
( ) ( ) ( ) Might often be more considerate

[The instructions are to check] all those items . . . which properly fit or describe the employee. Do not guess; if you are not reasonably sure that the employee possesses the trait or quality indicated by a certain item, do not check that item at all. . . . You may be able to check 25 or more items for one employee and have difficulty in finding more than a dozen or so to describe properly some other employee.

After the employee's immediate superior has checked the blank, it is passed on in turn to other superiors, who similarly check the blank in columns 2 and 3.

The advantages of such a scale, as pointed out by Beckman, are: It is easily understood and quickly filled out without involving reporting officers in mathematical computations. It is couched not in abstract terms but in concrete statements of fact which can be verified. It convinces officers and employees of its fairness, yet conceals the technique by which it is scored, so that rating officers cannot play favorites without being detected. It is easy to determine whether the same general level and distribution of ratings occur in different divisions or territories.

Another blank for rating foremen by a large industrial concern contains 85 items, of which the first six are given:

1. Yes No He is interested in his job
2. Yes No He wastes time unless constantly supervised
3. Yes No Are complaints made (more often than average) on the quality of production in his department?
4. Yes No He tends to keep ahead of his work schedule
5. Yes No He lacks experience
6. Yes No If he were away from his department for several weeks, would his people be interested in making the job go well during his absence?

The instructions differ somewhat from those in the Probst scale. They are:

If a statement describes the foreman named above, draw a circle around the word "Yes." If a statement cannot truthfully be made about the man, draw a circle about the word "No." . . . Answer each statement by encircling one of the words "Yes" or "No."

The rating scale in Fig. 59 could never have been evolved except after analysis of the duties of a motorman. It gives specific information as to just what a motorman does well, fairly well, and poorly, and

consequently concentrates attention upon what special training the motorman most needs next. At the same time it forms a worth-while goal for the employee to work toward. The contrast between this rating scale and the one on page 437 emphasizes how little the management really knows about the jobs in the latter case.

**INSTRUCTOR'S REPORT**

Operator.....
Badge.....Hours.....
Car.....In Service.....
Line.....Date.....
Cause of Follow Up.....

| OPERATION | Violation | Grade |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Starts | 1 | C |
| 2. Stops | | A |
| 3. Schedules | 2 | E |
| 4. Fares | 3 | C |
| **SAFETY** | | |
| 5. Loading and Unloading | 2 | C |
| 6. Following or Passing Vehicles | 4 | E |
| 7. Warning Signal | 5 | C |
| 8. Recognizing Danger | | A |
| 9. Attention | 3 | C |
| 10. Action in an Emergency | | A |
| **SERVICE** | | |
| 11. Watching for Passengers | | A |
| 12. Attitude toward Passengers | | A |
| 13. Announcements | | A |
| 14. Information | 2 | C |
| **RESPONSIBILITY** | | |
| 15. Attitude toward Job | | A |
| 16. Following Instructions | | A |
| 17. Neatness | 1 | C |

Additional Training Given in.....
.....
.....Instructor
Remarks on other side

FIG. 59.—Rating scale employing many items, each of which refers to a specific activity. The five letter grades are defined as follows: *A*, operations perfectly performed all the time; *B*, for an occasional slip of a minor nature; *C*, errors of minor nature repeatedly made; *D*, errors of a more serious nature made once; *E*, serious errors repeated. (*S. M. Shellow and W. J. McCarter, "Who Is a Good Motorman?", Personnel Journal*, 1928, **6**, 338–343.)

## EVALUATION OF RATING SCALES

A good rating scale should meet four statistical requirements.

**Ratings Approximate Normal Distribution.**—One of the established principles in the psychology of individual differences is that, if men are properly measured with respect to any characteristic, the distributions of the measurements will approximate the bell-shaped normal surface of distribution. This means that the great majority of individuals cluster very closely about the average and that fewer and fewer have higher and higher scores (or lower and lower scores). Consequently, one check upon rating scales has been to determine how closely the distribution of ratings actually obtained agrees with a normal surface of frequency.[1]

The first draft of the Scott army scale used the term "moral qualities." It was found that nearly all officers were rated in the two highest positions. Investigation disclosed that regardless of how the term was defined it was interpreted by most officers to mean, "does he get drunk and not act like a gentleman?"

[1] Symonds suggests that if approximately 40 individuals are to be rated on a five-step scale, the percentages falling in each step should be: 7, 24, 38, 24, and 7; and if approximately 185 are to be rated the percentages should be: 4, 24, 44, 24, and 4. See SYMONDS, P. M., "Diagnosing Personality and Conduct," p. 81, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1931.

When the term was changed to "personal qualities," a much better distribution of ratings was obtained.

The Probst scale can be fitted into this conception, since the items are to be checked only when they distinctly apply to the individual. In other words, the Probst scale can be thought of as providing three, four, or five steps, and only the first or last actually used. The rating blank for foreman referred to on page 445 violates this cardinal principle by requiring that each foreman shall be rated either "Yes" or "No" on each item. A third possible rating of "?" should be introduced between "Yes" and "No" to provide a place for the great bulk of foremen who are not outstandingly good or bad with respect to each trait.

**Low Correlation between Rating Items.**—Practically all traits selected for rating scales correlate positively with one another. The aim should be to select a list of items all of which correlate significantly with the criterion but which at the same time have a low degree of correlation among themselves.[1] For example, Bradshaw found that there were many high correlations between the items in Form I of the American Council on Education rating scales and that this was particularly true with respect to items two, three, four, five and six, showing that they were measuring pretty much the same thing. Because of this, the second, fourth, and sixth items were dropped.[2] Until the correlations between items are known one cannot tell how much duplication there is between items and so is not in a position to formulate an adequate scale.

**Reliability.**—Reliability has reference to the degree of accuracy of a given report. It is usually measured by determining the self-consistency of the test in one of two ways: first, by correlating two sets of ratings by the same rater upon the same individuals with a sufficient interval of time intervening to eliminate the influence of immediate memory; second, to correlate the results obtained from the odd-numbered items with the even-numbered items and to step up this coefficient with the Spearman-Brown formula. Because of the small number of items in the usual rating scale, this second method is not applicable.

Table XV presents coefficients of reliability as reported for The Scott Company Graphic Rating Scale for Workers. It is evident that continued use of the scale leads to greater consistency of ratings. Table XVI gives reliability coefficients on the American Council on

[1] For discussion of this point, see, for example, HULL, C. L., "Aptitude Testing," Chap. VIII, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, World Book Company, 1928.

[2] BRADSHAW, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–33.

Education's rating scale. The first two columns represent reliability under unusual conditions, *i.e.*, ratings by fraternity brothers, where

TABLE XV.—RELIABILITY OF SCOTT COMPANY GRAPHIC RATING SCALE FOR WORKERS
(After Paterson)[1]

| Rated by | Correlations between first and second monthly ratings | Correlations between second and third monthly ratings |
|---|---|---|
| Foreman B | .91 | .96 |
| H | .88 | .92 |
| C | .85 | .86 |
| G | .84 | .92 |
| I | .84 | .90 |
| D | .82 | .90 |
| F | .62 | .66 |
| E | .60 | .82 |
| A | .52 | .88 |
| Average correlation | .76 | .87 |

[1] PATERSON, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

TABLE XVI.—RELIABILITY OF RATINGS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION RATING SCALE
(After Bradshaw)[1]

| Item | Ratings by fraternity brothers | | Ratings by secondary school references |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Average of 5 raters *vs.* average of 10 raters | Average of 12 raters *vs.* average of 12 raters | Average of 3 *vs.* average of 3[2] |
| I. Appearance and manner | .59 (.07) | .78 (.04) | .35 |
| II. Constant prodding | .92 (.01) | .95 (.01) | .73 |
| III. Gets others to do what he wishes | .89 (.02) | .88 (.03) | .64 |
| IV. Emotional control | .54 (.07) | .73 (.06) | .56 |
| V. Program with definite purposes | .90 (.01) | .94 (.01) | .67 |
| Composite rating | .86 (.03) | .93 (.01) | |

[1] BRADSHAW, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 56.

[2] Secondary school ratings on college freshmen as calculated by Spearman-Brown Formula from product-moment coefficients.

there was unusual intimacy and a common standard of comparison. The third column gives results under the usual conditions of rating

college applicants. Clearly raters agree very much better with respect to how much prodding is necessary to get a man to do his work than with respect to his appearance and manner!

The accumulation of evidence is sufficient to show that ratings on a well-devised rating scale can be as high as those obtained on psychological tests, especially if the average of three ratings is employed and not the ratings from one rater alone.

**Validity.**—The most important consideration in evaluating a rating scale is the determination of the agreement between the ratings and the thing which it reputedly measures (the criterion).

There are three things that a rating scale may be supposed to measure. First, public opinion. If the item calls for a rating on, "How his appearance and manner affect others," the correct answer is to be obtained only by securing the opinion of many people as to how he affects them personally. Validity would be a measure of how nearly a rater's opinion of how the subject affects others agrees with how others feel. In the case of the item, "Does he get others to do what he wishes?" the rater's opinion constitutes, in this case, one of the many opinions which together make up the final public opinion answer. Hence, comparison of one rater's opinion with that of many ratings would be a measure of validity. Bradshaw's reliability coefficients in Table XVI are also in this sense measures of validity.

Second, a rating scale frequently calls for estimates of how much the person actually has of a certain trait, such as initiative, originality, and the like. As previously stated, there is no way of measuring such traits; in fact, psychologists have no evidence that they actually exist, except as logical abstractions. Accordingly, there is no possibility today of establishing the validity of rating such items in this sense.

Third, a rating scale is designed more or less to measure future success on a job or in school. In such cases, the ratings should be correlated with degrees of subsequent success on the job, or in school, to ascertain validity. Success in a job is dependent not only upon how well the individual performs his work, but also upon the attitude of his superiors toward him and his work. The truth of the matter is that the latter is probably the best criterion of success from a practical point of view, for the superior determines whether the man continues on his job or is discharged. Hence, validity of the ratings of those recommending a man can be obtained by correlating such ratings with the subsequent opinion of the man's superiors. We know such opinions of teachers are not very reliable, even when expressed in school grades; it is quite likely that the opinions of foremen and other supervisory

officials in business are no more reliable.[1] Validity measures on such a basis will be rather unsatisfactory, if for no other reason than that the criterion itself is unreliable.

We must not overlook in what has just been said that the performance of the man on the job is a major factor in determining his superior's attitude toward him. Consequently, it is very important to determine the validity of ratings in terms of some objective measure of subsequent performance. This, as it happens, is a very difficult thing to accomplish in many cases. Where the job consists of performing the same task repeatedly, the quantity and quality can be ascertained; but as jobs of a more and more complex nature are considered, the possibilities of measuring performance become more remote. About the only way to rank sales managers, comptrollers, and lawyers, for example, is on the basis of their salary; which is often a very unfair measure of real ability.

Relatively few records of validity of rating scales are available. Bradshaw[2] reports the data in Table XVII which indicate a satis-

TABLE XVII.—CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE ITEMS IN THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION RATING SCALE AND MEASURES OF LEADERSHIP OF COLLEGE STUDENTS
(After Bradshaw)
$N$ = 22 students

| | |
|---|---|
| I. Appearance and manner | .67 (.07) |
| II. Constant prodding | .61 (.08) |
| III. Gets others to do what he wishes | .69 (.08) |
| IV. Emotional control | .36 (.09) |
| V. Program with definite purpose | .58 (.08) |
| Composite rating | .66 (.07) |

factory validity between the ratings on the American Council on Education rating scale and leadership when this is determined on the basis of the nonscholastic activities of students while in college. In the case of 107 students, the correlations between college grades and the average of three ratings by high school officials ranged from .03 with item III (leadership) to .18 with item I, .25 with item IV, .34 with item V and .50 with item II (constant prodding); giving a final correlation of .30 for the scale as a whole.

Manson reports a correlation between secondary school principals' ratings on intellectual performance and first semester grades at the

[1] Correlations ranging between .33 and .82 and averaging .71 are reported between the ratings of two foremen upon the same workmen. SCOTT, CLOTHIER, and MATHEWSON, *op. cit.*, p. 196. But these do not reveal how accurate these foremen's opinions are with respect to the actual performance of their men.

[2] BRADSHAW, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–60.

University of Michigan of .43 ($N$ = 1,072) and Hartson reports a correlation of .57 based on ratings on four items. Crandall correlated all grades secured by a freshman class with the items on Form II of the rating blank in Fig. 57 and reports the following.

| | | 345 men | 193 women |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grade point ratio *vs.* | appearance | .00 | .09 |
| | prodding | 31 | .32 |
| | leadership | 09 | 24 |
| | emotional control | 20 | .28 |
| | program | .35 | .36 |

[It should be noted] that ratings on the question, "Has he a program with definite purposes in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?" are nearly as predictive of Stanford scholarship as any other single measure. The corrected coefficient of correlation between ratings on this fifth question and grade point ratios is .46, which is only slightly lower than the correlation between [Thorndike] College Aptitude Test scores and scholarship (.51 corrected) according to Cowdery.[1]

## SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES

In addition to the principles already enunciated there are a number of others that can be stated very briefly.

### Construction of the Scale.

1. Great care should be taken that all instructions are free from ambiguity.

2. The scale should be constructed so that ratings can be made easily and with a minimum of time.

3. The line upon which check marks are made in a graphic rating scale should be about five inches long.

4. Five[2] degrees of merit should be indicated by descriptive terms placed under the line at appropriate points.

5. The central point of the scale should equal the average or typical degree of ability to be found in the group to be rated.

6. The highest and lowest degrees of ability should be used by raters about 5 per cent of the time. If not so used, revisions should be made to bring this about.

[1] CRANDALL, E. B., "The Relationship of Ratings on the Stanford Personal Rating Blank to Intelligence, Scholarship, and Certain Personality Traits," pp. 28, 52, Master's thesis, Stanford University Library, 1935.

[2] Conklin says "five," Symonds states "seven" classes yield the best results. See CONKLIN, E. S., "The Scale of Values Method for Studies in Genetic Psychology," *University of Oregon Publications*, 1923, **2**, No. 1; and SYMONDS, P. M., "On the Loss of Reliability in Ratings Due to Coarseness of the Scale," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1924, **7**, 456–461.

7. All reference to numerical equivalents of ratings should be excluded from scales. If used, they should be calculated in the personnel office. It is best to translate such numerical equivalents into some simple code as *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, and *E* and use these letters in discussing the ratings with workmen and foremen.

**Items.**

1. Traits or qualities which can be measured objectively in some other way should ordinarily not be included in a rating scale. Thus, intelligence should be measured by an intelligence test; irregular attendance, from office records.

2. Items should be restricted to those that can be observed by the rater. Leadership is a poor item on a rating scale to be used by college professors, for they have little opportunity to know about the leadership qualities of their students.

3. Items should be based upon duties performed. Tact, for example, is a poor item, for a woman may be rated high for tact as a hostess in her home but be quite the reverse as a saleswoman. Consequently, items should be constructed which will bring out the latter aspect, if this is what is wanted.

4. Items should never include two or more qualities which vary independently of each other.

**Raters.**

1. Raters must be acquainted with the man to be rated. Space should be provided for the rater to record the degree of his acquaintance; also for him to check "No opportunity to judge" on all items for which he has no opinion (see Fig. 58).

2. Raters need to be trained to obtain the best results. Follow-up conferences in which the discrepancies in ratings are pointed out and discussed will bring about surprising increase in accuracy of rating. This makes the ratings of different officials more comparable, which is a great advantage.

3. There are several well-recognized tendencies to err in rating:

*a*. Halo effect. The attitude toward the personality as a whole causes ratings of each quality to be expressed accordingly. One way to obviate this somewhat is to rate all men on the first quality, then all on the second quality, etc.

*b*. Central tendency of judgment. A group of men are rated in terms of the average man in the group rather than on the basis of the average that is set up as the standard.

*c.* Personal equation. Some raters are conservative and give few high ratings; some are the reverse. The average of their ratings are thus lower or higher than the average of other raters.[1]

*d.* Leniency. Some raters refrain from recording low ratings unless the individual is very poor.

*e.* Personal bias or prejudice. There are some prejudiced ratings, either for or against. The probability is that they are far fewer than those occasioned by more or less unwitting bias because of personal relationship. These can be ironed out in follow-up conferences.

**Interpretation.**

1. The estimate of an individual should be based on the ratings of three or more raters. The rating of one judge alone is quite unreliable. One of the great advantages of insisting upon three ratings from applicants is that almost anyone can find one friend to rate him. It is surprising how many find it difficult to secure three ratings. This in itself tells a valuable story.

In industry the growing tendency is to have the workman rated by three supervisors, such as the man immediately in charge, the foreman, and the superintendent. Subordinate officials will very quickly come to give their ratings very serious consideration when they know their ratings are reviewed by their superiors.

2. Ratings of which the rater expresses himself as "very sure" are markedly more reliable than ordinary ratings.

3. Some individuals are easier to rate than others. The poorest members of a group are usually easiest to rate, then the best members, while the average individual has been least noticed and so is hardest of all to rate.

**Practice in Industry.**

1. There is no general practice regarding rating employees in industry. Some rate only workmen, some only supervisory officials, some only salesmen. Some rate only when some need arises; some periodically. Possibly the trend is in the direction of rating all workmen and lower rank supervisors regularly every six months. This is done at the time promotions and salary changes are considered. In addition, in some concerns ratings are made upon all new employees one month after being hired.

[1] The recent work of Conrad indicates that this tendency does not affect results as has been believed. CONRAD, H. S., "The Personal Equation in Ratings," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1933, **24**, 39–46.

2. Different rating scales are needed in industry for workmen and supervisory positions.

## USES OF RATING SCALES

Rating scales are used most extensively in determining which to select from many applicants, whether for employment and promotion, for admission to college, or for the awarding of honors, such as scholarships, fellowships, and the like.

A valuable by-product from using rating scales for selection and promotion is that the characteristics set forth on the rating scale are thereby called to the attention of employees and supervisors and become established as standards of success. Motormen rated on the scale shown in Fig. 59 will inevitably come to act in terms of all seventeen activities instead of only some of them.

Rating scales are used somewhat as means of reporting on the efficiency and progress of employees and students as regards the more intangible elements involved in success. Thus, in considering the promotion of workmen to foremen it is important to know not only their relative proficiency on the job but their loyalty, capacity to get along with others, ability to lead others, etc. If the men are working under different foremen, it is difficult to obtain comparable recommendations because of personal bias and the varying conceptions of each foreman as to the characteristics to be considered. But when all the workmen have been rated on the same rating scale by their foremen and supervisors, there is much greater chance that the combined ratings are comparable.

Rating scales are used to diagnose individual weaknesses. Most competent persons have one or more failings which militate considerably against their value. Often acquaintances are fully aware of such defects but are loath to point them out. A very useful procedure in this connection is for the personnel manager, or some other person, to explain to a group the advantages of having an unbiased report upon themselves. Each member of the group fills out a rating blank upon himself and supplies the personnel manager with from five to ten names of associates who know him fairly well. The personnel manager contacts all these associates and obtains the desired ratings from them. This is an ideal occasion for using a rating scale which lists many specific items, as the objective is to identify the subject's good and bad characteristics in detail. The results are passed on to the man rated, but without revealing the source of any individual rating. In this way the individual learns what others think about him. In

addition, he may find that he rates himself much higher or lower on some quality than do others. Results from following this procedure make clear that in the majority of cases an individual has sized himself up as well as has anyone else, but that many have failed to note an obvious weakness and that some capable individuals have grossly underestimated one or more of their best traits.

## CHAPTER XXV

## MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES

Businessmen believe that the attitude of their employees toward the organization has an effect upon the way work is done. Recent studies in the field support this general observation. Consequently, effort has increasingly been made by many business concerns to cultivate a favorable attitude among the workers. Pensions, sick and death benefits, hospitals, cafeterias, and profit sharing are all means to this end. Even when they have been introduced, however, an unfavorable attitude is often found to persist. Some of this is due to ignorance and misunderstanding of the personnel projects, some of it is occasioned by faulty personal relationship among the rank and file of employees themselves and between such employees and their supervisors. The writer hazards the guess that the greatest cause for unfavorable attitudes of employees is to be found among the personal relationships of the chief executives of the company.

An employee is not a person who lives two separate lives, one at work and one at home; he is a person whose work and private life are so inextricably entangled that what happens to him while at work affects his home life most vitally, and vice versa. Recent studies in employee attitude are emphasizing this point. Thus, the second-generation girl who is in almost daily conflict with her foreign-born parents regarding her social life brings to her work certain attitudes which interfere with her efficiency. If that efficiency is to be improved, the conflicts with her parents must be resolved. Business organizations for the most part have so far felt little or no concern about their employees outside working hours. But if unfavorable attitudes are to be replaced by more favorable ones in order to increase efficiency, then business must concern itself about the social environment of employees. Furthermore, if there is to be harmony and *esprit de corps* within the plant there cannot be squalor and wretchedness and lawlessness outside.

Much the same thing holds with respect to the attitudes of consumers and the general public toward a business. Such attitudes are never purely the resultant of experience with a particular company alone; they always reflect experiences from everyday life as well. A

few years ago the attention of the public was focused upon the railroads as obstacles to the attainment of certain economic advantages. More recently, public utilities have become the bogeymen for many people. Nothing such business organizations do is good in the minds of those possessed with a general attitude of hostility—fair dealing is immediately misinterpreted or seized upon as evidence of a far-reaching policy of lulling the public to sleep while carrying on an underhanded and nefarious program.

Although attitudes of employees, consumers, and the general public toward a business organization are so influenced by experiences extrinsic to the business, yet they are primarily established and maintained by direct contact with the business. Any organization may, therefore, by its own action, greatly modify or build up the attitude of others toward itself. To do so, however, it is necessary to ascertain what existing attitudes are, to determine their causes and to reorganize business practices so that causes of unfavorable attitudes will be eliminated and causes of favorable attitudes substituted therefor. Results of such studies make clear that much of industrial discontent is unnecessary. In fact, much can be eliminated at slight expense, once it is understood.

## DEFINITION OF ATTITUDE

Thurstone[1] defines attitude as:

> the sum total of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic. Thus a man's attitude about pacifism means here all that he feels and thinks about peace and war. It is admittedly a subjective and personal affair.

An attitude, first of all, is a stabilized set or disposition toward overt action, a readiness to respond in one direction rather than another. Second, an attitude is usually, but not always, charged with emotion; it is a matter of feeling. Third, an attitude is a disposition "for or against, with corresponding favorable or unfavorable feelings. When we speak of measuring attitudes, it is the degree of their positiveness or negativeness that we are seeking to determine."[2] Fourth, an attitude as a want, may be latent or kinetic. A person may have a strong prejudice against Negroes and yet enjoy tremendously the singing of the Negro, Robeson. In such a case, Robeson is reacted to as a

[1] THURSTONE, L. L., "Attitudes can be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1928, **33**, 531. Doob has employed "attitude" in a much broader sense to include all forms of behavior, so that attitude means for him what want does for the writer (see Chap. IX).

[2] KORNHAUSER, A. W., "The Technique of Measuring Employee Attitudes," *Personnel*. published by American Management Association, 1933, **9**, 101.

talented singer, not as a Negro; and the attitude toward Negroes is latent.

Attitude is a disposition, a tendency to act; it can be disclosed only by what is said or done. The verbal expression of attitude is termed opinion; it is "the individual's own account or statement (frequently a rationalization) of his attitude." Because attitude can never be measured directly and because it is never completely disclosed by actions, gestures, and words, all expressions or measurements of attitude must fall short of perfect completeness and accuracy.

The measurement of attitude has been attempted only very recently and we are still in the stage of perfecting the methods and utilizing the results from these initial studies. It is, therefore, well to realize that we do not know in any thoroughgoing manner the answers to such questions as the following:

1. How well can one reveal his attitudes?
2. How successfully can one refrain from disclosing his true attitude, when he is at the same time seemingly cooperating?
3. To what extent do actions agree with attitudes?
4. To what extent do actions agree with opinions?
5. How well can an investigator report and interpret attitudes?

Studies of attitude have been largely directed toward economic, political, religious, ethical, and racial questions.[1] We shall confine our discussion, however, to the attitudes of employees, consumers, and the general public toward a business concern. There is, however, one concept which has come from sociologists in their study of interracial attitudes that should be borne in mind as it is useful in understanding employer-employee attitudes. This concept is "social distance."

**Social Distance.**—Several hundred people on the Pacific coast were asked by Bogardus,[2] to rate various racial groups according to their attitude toward them—taking into account their willingness to intermarry with them, to chum with them, to live next door to them, etc. The arithmetical means of the ratings of 110 Americans are given in Table XVIII. A different order is obtained from Negroes or native-born Jews.

Each individual associates himself with certain groups and has for other groups little or no sympathy, or real antagonism. The former may be designated as the we-groups or in-groups; the latter as the

[1] MURPHY, G., and L. B. MURPHY, "Experimental Social Psychology," Chap. XI, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1931.

[2] BOGARDUS, E. S., "Social-Distance: A Measuring Stick," *The Survey*, 1926, **56**, 169 *ff*; also "Social Distance and its Origins" and "Measuring Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925, **9**, 216–226 and 299–308.

other-groups or out-groups. One's attitude is favorable toward his in-groups and indifferent or unfavorable to his out-groups. This conception raises the question as to how far it will ever be possible to educate people to assume a favorable attitude toward groups to which they do not personally belong.

TABLE XVIII.—SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN AMERICANS AND OTHER RACIAL GROUPS
(After Bogardus)

| Race | Social distance index | Race | Social distance index |
|---|---|---|---|
| English | 0.27 | Armenian | 3.51 |
| Canadian | 0.30 | Bulgarian | 3.97 |
| French | 1.04 | Negro | 4.10 |
| Dane | 1.48 | Chinese | 4.28 |
| German | 1.89 | Japanese | 4.30 |
| Czech-Slovak | 3.46 | Turk | 4.80 |

## MEASUREMENT OF EMPLOYEE ATTITUDE

The different methods for ascertaining employee attitude may be outlined as follows:

1. Employee attitude deduced from company records.
2. Employee attitude deduced from what is said and done, through
   *a.* Informal contacts.
   *b.* Standardized interviews.
   *c.* "Unguided" interviews.
3. Employee opinions expressed statistically, through the use of a
   *a.* Scale, established by expert opinions.
   *b.* Graphic rating scale.

Each of these procedures will be considered below.[1]

**Attitudes Deduced from Company Records.**—Objective records which measure in any significant way the attitude of employees should be examined to throw light on the problem. Efficiency records, when compared by departments and by smaller groups, make clear who are and who are not efficient. Labor turnover figures similarly handled indicate on what jobs men continue with the company a satisfactory length of time and on what jobs there is evident discontent. Records of absences, tardiness, costs, expenses, in fact, nearly all the records of a business throw some light on how and where attitudes differ. All such

[1] Voting, whether by actual or straw vote, is too familiar to be considered here. The procedure of "sending up a trial balloon," so popular at Washington, is used somewhat by business executives but the writer is not aware of any published results.

are gross results and do not reveal very much about the attitudes themselves, but they may well be used to check against findings on attitudes.

Many businesses today, particularly smaller ones, make amazingly little use of company records for what seem to be most fundamental determinations of business policy. Filipetti,[1] for example, reports that some business concerns surveyed in Minnesota could not tell from their records whether their profits came from manufacturing or selling! It is not surprising, then, that many concerns are not interested in studying the attitudes of their employees, for they have not yet learned to employ many of the simpler tools which are customarily utilized in measuring efficiency.

**Employee Attitudes Deduced from Informal Contacts.**—Most executives, from foreman up, come in personal contact with employees and necessarily develop impressions as to what are the attitudes of these employees. It is, however, unfortunately true that many of the higher officials of a company have so little personal contact with the rank and file that they really have no opportunity to know what their employees think and feel. Such executives, accordingly, rely upon the interpretation of employee attitudes rendered them by minor executives and in some cases by detectives expressly hired for the purpose. What is reported, however, to the chief executive is very apt to be biased, for no subordinate wishes to make clear to his boss that the men under him are not satisfied. Undoubtedly, many strikes and industrial conflicts arise because the chief executives are unaware of the true feelings of their men.

From time to time a chief executive realizing his ignorance in this respect, engages a trained investigator to survey the situation or makes the necessary contacts himself. A good example of such a study is reported by Whiting Williams[2] who gave up his position as personnel director of a steel company and spent many months as a common laborer in coal mines and steel companies. His reports of what employees want and talk about convinced many an anxious executive in 1920–1922 that labor was not planning to oust them from their managerial positions. Their fears were due to ignorance of the attitudes of their employees, coupled with an idea that Wilson's Industrial Democracy meant to workmen that industry should be managed by vote of all employees.

[1] FILIPETTI, G. "Scientific Management an Aid to Industrial Control," *Employment Stabilization Research Institute*, University of Minnesota, 1933.

[2] WILLIAMS, WHITING, "What's on the Worker's Mind," 1920, and "Mainsprings of Men," 1925, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

**Standardized Interviews.**—A carefully formulated questionnaire is the basis of a standardized interview as to employee attitude. The principles involved are essentially the same as those involved in the use of any other questionnaire (see Chap. XXIII).

Bingham and Moore[1] report how carefully standardized interviewing was employed to ascertain the attitude of employees of two paper mills toward a contract which had been entered into between the employees and the management seven years previously. The contract guaranteed stable employment the year round in return for certain concessions from the employees, particularly with regard to nonparticipation in sympathetic strikes. The employees had originally struck rather than sign the contract, but later on returned to work and signed up. Seven years later, the opinion in the community was that many of the employees harbored resentment even though they had had steady pay ever since. Interviewing of officials of other unions than those involved and of others not employed by the two paper companies showed that these people believed practically unanimously that the contract had originally been forced upon the employees and that practically all the employees would leave the companies if work were available elsewhere. At the same time, they agreed that the two companies had lived up to their agreement during the seven years.

The investigation as to the attitude of the employees themselves involved, first, a secret ballot and, second, personal interviewing of about half of the employees who came under the provisions of the contract. Except for a few individuals, the employees cooperated satisfactorily with the outside investigators, thus substantiating the experience of others that employees will talk about their working conditions if properly approached. The interviewing showed that 100 per cent of the full-time employees and 92 per cent of the part-time employees (who were not personally benefited by the plan) were in favor of the plan, although only 36 per cent of the former group had signed up at the beginning. Eighty-eight per cent stated they had no objection to signing a similar contract if they went to work for another company. "The results of the interviews checked consistently with those of the secret ballot." The investigation showed conclusively that common opinion in the neighborhood was not at all in agreement with the attitude of the employees.

Bingham and Moore conclude that:

1. A frank approach to the interviewees is successful in getting their cooperation, at least in such an investigation as this.

[1] BINGHAM, W. V., and B. V. MOORE, "How to Interview," pp. 195–216, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1934.

2. The reliability of fact-finding interviews is ordinarily more apt to be jeopardized through failure of interviewee and interviewer to understand one another than by any attempt of the interviewee to falsify. Responsibility for this source of error falls upon the interviewer. It might be said that the dependability of the findings is conditioned by the skill and care of the interviewer more than by any other single factor.

3. The interview can be relied upon for revealing attitudes, and also for obtaining facts which the interviewee has some reason for knowing. It is not reliable for obtaining data as to past events which the interviewee has no longer a motive for remembering. (The truth of the last sentence is shown by the fact that 43 per cent of employees did not give correctly the date on which they signed the contract and their average error amounted to 2.5 years.)

On the basis of similar interviewing of 511 employees in another connection Bingham and Moore report that "it seems safe to infer that . . . two hundred well selected and carefully directed interviews are highly indicative of what can be obtained from two or three times as many." The first 80 interviews correlated .84 with the entire 511, the first 160 interviews correlated .89 and the first 239 interviews correlated .93.

**"Unguided" Interviews.**—The essential difference between standardized interviews and "unguided" interviews is that in the former case the same carefully prepared questions are asked of all, whereas in the latter case the employee is encouraged to talk about what interests him and the primary function of the interviewer is that of sympathetic listening. The word "unguided" has been set off with quotes to emphasize that it is only in a relative sense that interviews included here are unguided. The interviewer at least indicates in a general way the purpose of the interview and more or less keeps the interviewee on the general subject.

The outstanding example of the "unguided" interview is that of the Western Electric Company at the Hawthorne Plant in Chicago.[1] The program started with a typical industrial experiment to determine the effect of rest periods and other working conditions upon efficiency. This led eventually to the discovery that more potent than working conditions including wage incentives was the type of supervision. Unwittingly, during the experimentation there had been a change from the usual type of supervision to a very free-and-easy, informal relationship; and it was this change that was responsible for the marked increase in production.[2]

In an attempt to spread the benefits of this principle to all the 40,000 employees, personal interviewing was introduced. At the

[1] MAYO, E., "The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization," particularly Chaps. III to VI, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933.

[2] See p. 592 for discussion.

beginning the interviewers attempted to carry on an informal discussion in which six standardized questions were asked as opportunity arose regarding supervision, working conditions, and what employees like and dislike about their work. It was not long, however, before the staff became convinced that this program did not meet the needs of many employees. "The thoughts of some employees tended to gravitate toward a particular condition or subject" and it seemed best to permit each employee to talk about what interested him most. The result was the unguided interview, where the interviewer contented himself with putting the employee at his ease, and showing interest in whatever was said, and interrupted only in order to express sympathy, to get a point expressed more clearly, or to start the conversation going again. In this way 30 interviewers interviewed approximately 10,000 employees in a year, during the two years 1929 and 1930, the average interview taking about one and a half hours.

In this interviewing women interviewed women and men interviewed men. The interviewers did not interview employees they knew. No record was kept of the name of the employee and what was said was held absolutely confidential throughout. Employees were invited, not ordered, to talk.

The benefits from the interviewing were many. First of all, "the employees enjoyed the opportunity of expressing their thoughts." The supervisors reported favorably about the plan, feeling that it had not embarrassed them in any way. Second, supervision was improved. Many specific complaints and suggestions were utilized. But more important by far was the increased interest of supervisors in employees as human beings. This was stimulated by frequent conferences among supervisors in which the material from the interviewing was presented. Third, the attitude of the employees was improved. Mayo suggests two ways in which this occurred. In some cases there was an "emotional release"; talking freely about a grievance or worry more or less eliminated it from the system. In other cases a situation was cleared up. Thus, an employee discovered that his dislike of a supervisor was after all based only on a fancied resemblance to a hated relative. Here he discovered his own bias and straightened it out. Another employee came to see that the experiment to which he had been devoting all his spare time for several years was not particularly significant and so was able to drop it, thus freeing his time for more worth-while pursuits. The major contribution from the interviewing was a better understanding of the factors and forces involved in good morale in an industrial concern. This topic will be considered further in Chap. XXX.

## OPINIONS MEASURED ON A SCALE

Several different psychological-statistical procedures have been employed for measuring opinion. Only two of these will be considered here, because they have been more extensively used than any others in the study of employee attitudes.

**Scale Based on Opinions of Judges.**—Uhrbrock's[1] scale for measuring employees' opinions is typical. Two hundred and seventy-nine statements were selected, indicative of a great variety of opinions that employees might have about their company. They were phrased in the language of workmen. These 279 statements, each typed on a separate slip of paper, were sorted by one hundred college professors and graduate students into eleven piles. The statements which the judge believed express the highest appreciation of the company were placed in pile number one; similarly, the statements expressing the strongest opinions against the company made up pile number eleven. The remainder of the slips were placed in the remaining nine piles in accordance with the degree of positive or negative opinions expressed in them, care being taken to place those expressing a neutral position in pile number six. The scale value of each item was determined by averaging the piles to which it was assigned by the one hundred judges. "The correlation between scale values computed on the basis of the data contributed by the first and second groups of fifty judges was .990 $\pm$ .0007."

The fifty statements constituting the final scale were selected so that scale values from 0.6 to 10.5 would be represented and a great variety of company policies would be included. In addition, only those items were considered which had been placed in three contiguous classifications by 80 per cent of the judges. The following statements are representative of the entire scale of 50 items.

Scale value

10.4 I think this company treats its employees better than any other company does.
9.5 If I had to do it over again I'd still work for this company.
8.9 A man can get ahead in this company if he tries.
8.5 The company is sincere in wanting to know what its employees think about it.
7.4 On the whole the company treats us about as well as we deserve.
6.3 I think a man should go to the hospital for even a scratch as it may stop blood poisoning.
5.4 I believe accidents will happen no matter what you do about them.

[1] UHRBROCK, R. S., "Attitudes of 4,430 Employees," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1934, **5**, 365–377. See also, THURSTONE, L. L., "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1928, **33**, 529–554., and "The Measurement of Social Attitudes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1931, **26**, 249–269.

5.1 The workers put as much over on the company as the company puts over on them.
4.4 The company does too much welfare work.
4.1 Soldiering on the job is increasing.
3.6 I do not think applicants for employment are treated courteously.
2.9 My boss gives all the breaks to his lodge and church friends.
2.5 I think the company goes outside to fill good jobs instead of promoting men who are here.
2.1 You've got to have "pull" with certain people around here to get ahead.
1.5 In the long run this company will "put it over" on you.
1.0 The pay in this company is terrible.
0.8 An honest man fails in this company.

The fifty statements arranged in random order were given to 3,934 factory employees, 96 clerical workers and 400 foremen, with the following instructions:

The following statements have been made about the Company, and about its plans and policies. You will agree with some of them and disagree with others. If you feel that a statement is true, and if it expresses your own sincere and honest belief, underline or check the word True. If a statement does not express your own belief, underline or check the word False. Be absolutely frank.

The superintendent of the plant administered the test and emphasized that frank opinions were desired and that no blanks were to be signed.

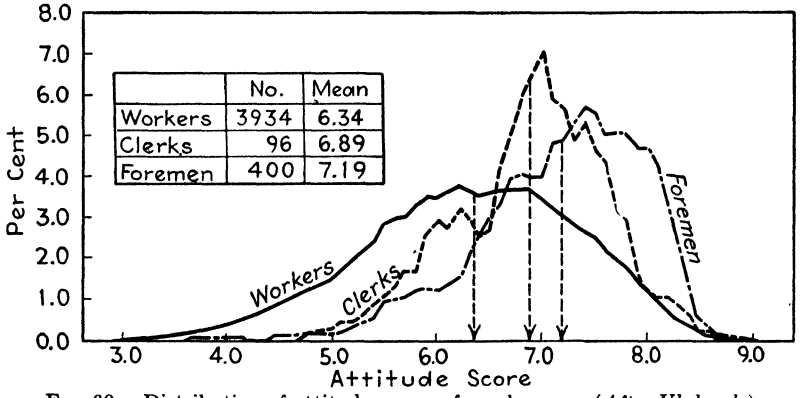



FIG. 60.—Distribution of attitude scores of employees. (*After Uhrbrock.*)

The average scores of each of the three groups of employees and the total distribution of scores are shown in Fig. 60. (An individual's score is the average scale value of all the statements that he has indorsed). The differences between the average scores of the three groups are all significant. The data showed significant differences between several of the plants. Thus Plant A had an average score for workers of 6.76 and 7.59 for foremen, while Plant L had scores respectively of 5.97 and 6.84.

It is evident that the average score of workers (6.34) is only slightly above the neutral point of the scale (6.00). And the distributions of scores (see Fig. 60) indicate a considerable number with unfavorable attitudes. The larger the number of employees with unfavorable attitudes and particularly with very unfavorable attitudes, the greater the chance for disputes and strikes. Since the data were secured from employees of a company with an outstanding reputation for treating their employees generously, one wonders what would be the scores obtained in many other companies. Here is a challenge to business leaders; can they so improve working conditions as to raise materially the general attitude of their employees?

Such a scale makes it possible to measure employee attitude. By repeating the test from time to time it is possible to obtain a measure of the influence of new policies and practices, particularly when data are considered with reference to different plants and to the several departments within a plant.

**Opinions Measured by Graphic Scale.**—Houser[1] has used the graphic rating scale to measure the attitude of employees, consumers, and the general public.

Having prepared a graphic rating scale, described below, trained interviewers talk with a sufficient cross section of the employees to obtain a representative showing. As an introduction they present a letter from the chief executive urging the employee to speak freely and frankly and assuring him that his name will not be recorded. The employees are questioned and rated relative to 20 elements entering into their working relationship with the company, as follows:

I. Adjustment to Job
   1. Breaking in—new job
   2. Chance to use experience
   3. Clearness of instructions

II. Supervision
   4. Freedom to consult
   5. Independence and initiative allowed in work
   6. Judging results
   7. Courtesy

III. Incentives
   8. Security of job
   9. Help given by company (insurance, pensions, sick benefit, etc.)
   10. Remuneration
   11. Adding to ability
   12. Chance for promotion

IV. Participation—Expression
   13. New ideas or suggestions

[1] HOUSER, J. DAVID, Many unpublished reports, 1923 to 1935.

14. Grievances
15. Knowledge of larger affairs (company and departmental)
16. Changes in work policies

V. Working Conditions and Facilities

17. General working conditions
18. Equipment—tools, etc.
19. Fellow workers
20. Work schedule

The employees are asked a question for each of the above items. In the case of number 11, Adding to ability, the question is:

Are you learning things on your job that will be of use to you later on, either on this job or on a higher job? Are you getting a chance to learn or study some other job? *How much do you feel that you are growing on the job?*

The reply of the employee is rated from 5 to 1[1] according as his answer best fits into one of the five following, which constitutes the scale for Adding to ability.

5. The company certainly does encourage and offer me every opportunity to develop and make progress. I sure am being given every chance there could be.

4. Yes, there are a number of opportunities offered. I believe I'm getting some new knowledge and ability every day. It could be a little better, perhaps, but the company takes an interest and that's an encouragement.

3. The chance for learning here is all right I guess—about average—no kick so far as I can see.

2. You've got to pick most of it up for yourself. The job doesn't give you much chance—I've learned about all I can. I feel that more interest should be shown along this line.

1. Don't think I'm getting along at all. I'm in a fierce rut. No chance to learn. There's no encouragement at all to try to learn or go ahead.

The results of such a survey in a large public utility company are shown in Table XIX, where a rating of 5 is called 50; a rating of 4, 40; etc. All five averages are well above the mid point of indifference (30). This is especially true of Supervision, Working Conditions, and Adjustment to Job. The lower average score of 36.4 for Incentive is explained by Houser as due to lack of information more than anything else. "New employees do not know about the pension plan. They do not know very much about group insurance. The greatest lack of knowledge . . . is that concerning promotional opportunities . . . a deadening weight that could be much lightened by more general information as to just how promotions are made and what the channels are." All

[1] Likert has shown, at least for his own data, that this simple method of weighting the five steps on a rating scale is equivalent to the more elaborate method of calculating the sigma value of each step, since the two weighting systems correlate .99. See, LIKERT, R., "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," *Archives of Psychology*, 1932, No. 140, 25.

in all the data indicate very good morale among the employees of this company.

TABLE XIX.—DISTRIBUTION OF OPINIONS REGARDING WORKING CONDITIONS OF 1,500 EMPLOYEES OF A PUBLIC UTILITY
(After Houser)

| Score | Adjustment to job | Supervision | Incentive | Working conditions | Participation expression |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10–14 | .1 | .1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 15–19 | .3 | .6 | .6 | 0 | .4 |
| 20–24 | .8 | .8 | 4.6 | .6 | 1.7 |
| 25–29 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 8.6 | 3.4 | 4.9 |
| 30–34 | 11.8 | 4.5 | 27.7 | 7.5 | 14.7 |
| 35–39 | 15.0 | 11.3 | 24.1 | 21.2 | 25.1 |
| 40–44 | 46.2 | 25.5 | 22.0 | 30.7 | 25.2 |
| 45–49 | 24.7 | 55.4 | 12.4 | 36.6 | 28.0 |
| Mean | 41.0 | 44.0 | 36.4 | 41.4 | 39.8 |

TABLE XX.—CORRELATION BETWEEN CONSUMER ATTITUDE AND RATINGS ON EMPLOYEES FOR SERVICE BY TRAINED INTERVIEWERS
(After Houser)

| | Electric light company | Gas company |
|---|---|---|
| Consumer attitude *vs.* courtesy | .75 | .40 |
| Consumer attitude *vs.* interest in customer | .26 | .84 |
| Consumer attitude *vs.* quality of service | .09 | .26 |
| Consumer attitude *vs.* final effect on customer | .53 | .53 |
| Consumer attitude *vs.* total score | .53 | .75 |

## CONSUMER ATTITUDE[1]

The same general procedure has been employed by Houser in measuring the attitude of the consumer toward the company. Four points were noted in such investigations. First, the degree of favor, or buying attitude, of each customer toward the company, expressed by a single figure. Second, the chief causes of this general attitude, determined by detailed questions as to specific attitudes. Third, the amount of dissatisfaction with each aspect of service and merchandise. And fourth, the power or influence of the dissatisfaction with each

[1] This topic is intimately related to the material in Chap. XI on Consumer Research.

element of service and merchandise. The usual service shopping report (see page 191) gives a report on only the second and possibly the third of these four considerations.

Measurement of the buying attitude, or degree of favor, toward an electric light company was made by asking fifteen general questions such as these:

5. Is the electrical service better than it was two or three years ago?
6. Is the electrical service dependable on the whole?
7. Do you get better service from the clerks in the Light Company's offices than you do from the clerks in department stores?
9. Are the rates charged for electricity reasonable?

The answers were rated from 5 to 1 on the basis of how they compared with the standard replies on the rating scale. The extent to which each customer responded favorably to these 15 questions was accepted as a measure of his general attitude toward the company.

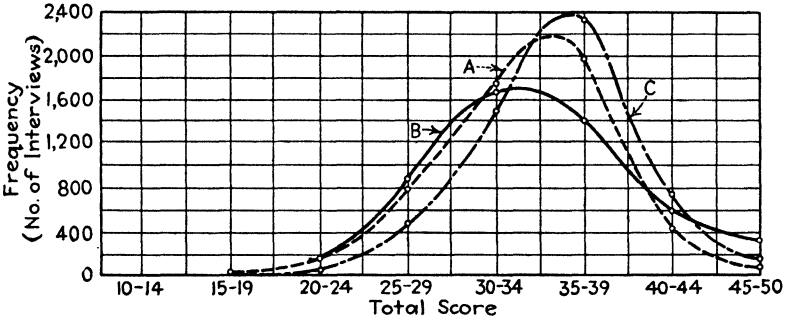



FIG. 61.—Public attitude—distribution of total scores in three public utilities.

That the attitude of the public can differ considerably toward different companies is shown in Fig. 61, where the total scores for three different public utility companies are given. Company 1 is clearly rated higher than the other two. Company 3 has distinctly more supporters who are enthusiastically favorable than the other two, offset by some who are unfavorable.

The specific causes for dissatisfaction were ascertained by asking 90 additional questions which pertained to specific activities and policies, as for example,

44. Are the bills for electric current so made out that you sometimes have difficulty in understanding them because of lack of detail?

The amount of dissatisfaction with each such aspect of the service is expressed by the percentage of those interviewed who registered an unfavorable attitude. (Such percentages are given in Table XXI, for several items used in interviewing the customers of a department store.)

**"Power" of an Attitude.**—It is not enough to know how many are favorably and unfavorably disposed toward a given activity; it is essential to know how much the difference affects the general attitude toward the company as a whole. This latter consideration Houser has termed "power"; it might be called the significance of the difference.

TABLE XXI.—THE IMPORTANCE OF SERVICE ASPECTS IN A LARGE DEPARTMENT STORE
(After Houser)

| Service aspect | Per cent unfavorable | Power |
|---|---|---|
| Personal type suited | 24 | 17 |
| More value for money than elsewhere | 30 | 13 |
| Helpful information from clerks | 24 | 16 |
| Special sales as advertised | 14 | 24 |
| Interference with "looking around" | 20 | 10 |
| Waiting for change | 49 | 4 |
| Sufficient care taken to insure good taste | 6 | 32 |
| Clerks trying to govern purchase | 17 | 11 |
| Courtesy of drivers | 2 | 19 |
| Prices on counters plainly marked | 11 | 3 |
| Difficulty in phone orders | 35 | 0 |
| Accounts *vs.* cash | 33 | 0 |

The formula for calculating power is that of a critical ratio, namely

$$\frac{\text{Difference of attitudes of the favorable and unfavorable groups}}{\text{Standard deviation of the difference}}$$

An example will make clear how the formula is used in connection with item 44 given above. First, the average response to the 15 general-attitude questions is calculated for all those who said "Yes" to question 44; also the average responses for all those who said "No" to this question. (Suppose those who said "Yes" to question 44 average 10.1 favorable replies to the 15 general questions and those who said "No" average 6.5 favorable replies.) Second, calculate the standard deviation of these averages. (Suppose these are 1.0 and .8 respectively.) Third, calculate the critical ratio for the difference between the two averages, the formula being

$$\text{Critical ratio, } i.e., \sigma_{diff.} = \frac{av_1 - av_2}{\sqrt{\sigma^2_{av_1} + \sigma^2_{av_2}}}$$

(Suppose in this case the critical ratio is 2.8.) Houser has called 28 (dropping the decimal point) the power of the item.

The importance of the item must be judged in terms both of the power and of the percentage of people unfavorably disposed. Thus, although 35 per cent are aggrieved over placing orders over the telephone, this service feature is not one that needs particular attention, since these 35 per cent have the same general attitude toward the store as the 65 per cent who have no difficulty placing orders over the telephone. Far more attention needs to be given the complaints from 14 per cent of customers that special sales are not as advertised, because these 14 per cent of customers have a much less favorable attitude toward the whole store than the 86 per cent who find no fault with the advertising of special sales.

It must be borne in mind that these particular figures have reference to a particular store at a particular time. Any change in store policy might upset these relationships and cause a rearrangement in the relative importance of the several aspects. The value of such information as in Table XXI is that it gives the management a clear idea as to what are the most important matters to attend to next.

## EFFECT OF EMPLOYEE SERVICE UPON CUSTOMERS

There are two procedures by which the effect of employee service upon customers may be measured. The first has already been outlined, that in which customers are directly interviewed and their opinions recorded. The second procedure involves the use of shoppers who pose as customers and record their impressions of the service. In Houser's studies the shoppers contacted employees in all the varied ways customers deal with the company. Thus they telephoned or came to the office complaining that their bill was too high, the service was unsatisfactory; they looked around the company store, asked for information; actually bought equipment; they inquired about cost of equipment and installation for a new house, laundry; etc. The shoppers recorded their impressions on a rating scale which included such items as courtesy, appearance, interest in customers, speech, quality of information or service, and total effect on customer.

Data from such contacts supply an excellent basis for proper supervision and training, as they reveal the comparative standings of the various branch offices and also the comparative performances of different activities, such as handling complaints, installing equipment, etc. Once a department manager knows his department is rated lower than other departments and in what respects, he has something very tangible with which to deal; he has also the incentive to appear well in the eyes of his superior and to surpass his fellow department managers.

The general attitude of the public is a factor in influencing the attitude of customers, so also are price and quality of goods or service, but the most important factor influencing consumer attitude is the personal contacts they have with employees. This is shown in the correlations between consumer attitude and various measures of employee service in Table XX. In a sense these figures are misleading: one should not draw the conclusion that quality of service has always little effect upon consumer attitude. It is because the quality was high in this public utility company that the correlation found here is low. If the quality varied from district to district there would be a corresponding variation in consumer attitude. Nevertheless, it will undoubtedly be found in any survey that consumer attitude is very largely determined by the kind of personal service received from employees of the company.

**Relationship between Employee and Public Attitude and Service Rendered by Employees.**—Houser reports the following average scores based on several public utilities.

| | |
|---|---|
| Employee attitude | 37.1 |
| Employee performance (service to customers) | 26.3 |
| Public attitude | 26.7 |
| Customer attitude | 28.6 |

The mid-point of indifference on these rating scales is 25. Houser also reports these correlations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Employee attitude and public attitude | .00 |
| Employee attitude and personal service of employees | .30 |
| Public attitude and personal service of employees | .60 |

Employee attitude or morale is much higher than the other three measures, but it apparently has no effect upon public attitude and little effect upon the service employees render the public. The service they actually render, however, has a considerable effect upon public attitude. The explanation is seemingly that employees may be quite happy in their work and yet treat the public in such a stereotyped, indifferent manner that consumers feel the company has little or no interest in them. To improve consumer attitude it is necessary to train employees to treat the public efficiently, courteously, and with genuine interest.

**Change in Attitude.**—Attitudes can be changed. Thurstone,[1] for example, tested children on a scale measuring an attitude toward Chinese before and after seeing a moving picture favorable to that race.

[1] THURSTONE, L. L., "The Measurement of Change in Social Attitude," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1931, **2**, 230–235.

There was marked improvement in the attitude scores. He repeated the experiment using a second film unfavorable to the Chinese with some decrease in attitude scores. Robinson[1] tested 419 men and women before and after they had met for four successive weeks to listen to radio addresses upon the subject of unemployment and to discuss the subject afterwards. He tested also a control group who did not so participate but some of whom might have heard the addresses. The exposed group gave 10 per cent more solutions to the problem after than before, while the control group showed no change. Furthermore, the radio talks and discussions increased the number of items accepted, decreased the number of items doubted, and had no effect upon the items rejected. Robinson concludes: "On the whole our people were positively rather than negatively minded to begin with, and the additional exposure to political ideas tended to increase that generally credulous attitude, making them surer of what they did believe without making them surer of what they did not believe."

**Resurvey.**—Houser reports the following data regarding resurveys of service of employees:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mid-point on scale, *i.e.*, neutrality | 25.0 |
| Original survey, April, 1925 | 30.5 |
| Resurvey, December, 1925 | 32.7 |
| Resurvey, April, 1926 | 34.5 |
| Resurvey, August, 1926 | 35.9 |
| Resurvey, December, 1926 | 37.3 |
| Present standard of attainment | 39.0 |
| Future standard of attainment | 42.5 |

Here is an improvement of 25 per cent in employee performance in fifteen months' time. Three factors are responsible for this improvement, for it did not just happen to occur. First, employee performance was measured. This focused attention upon it and made everyone realize that what he did was being noticed. Second, standards were set up as to what had happened and what could occur under more favorable conditions. In this case "Present Standard" was set at what had been attained by the best department. Third, definite instructions were given employees on how to deal with the public.

The general characteristic of the personal service of employees was not that it was poor, although there were some examples of this, but that it was indifferent, what might be called lackadaisical service. The training problem was twofold: to cause employees to want to do better and to teach them how. The good morale already in existence in this particular company, coupled with reports on how various departments stood in this respect, furnished the necessary motivation.

[1] ROBINSON, E. S., "Are Radio Fans Influenced?" *The Survey*, 1932, **68**, 546–547.

The instruction centered around demonstrations of good and poor performances in which individuals took the parts of customers and employees and dramatized the service. This is the case system of instruction applied to selling. The employee spectators were taught to rate the service so exhibited just as the trained shoppers did. This caused the employees to note the constituent parts of their jobs and the differences between satisfactory and unsatisfactory performance of each. Conferences were also held in which employees gradually worked out standard procedures for each activity.

### ATTITUDE OF PUBLIC

The attitude of the public toward private and public ownership is a very important consideration for a privately owned utility. Houser's survey of the attitude of the public regarding the Chicago Rapid Transit lines in 1925 showed:

| | Total interviewed | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| For municipal ownership | 1,975 | 37.5 |
| Against municipal ownership | 3,294 | 62.5 |

The municipal vote several weeks later was:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For | 227,554 | 40.8 |
| Against | 329,228 | 59.2 |

If Houser's data are distributed into three groups we have:

| | Per cent |
|---|---|
| Very hostile to unfavorable (ratings 10 to 24) | 10.4 |
| Mildly unfavorable and mildly favorable (25 to 34) | 60.0 |
| Favorable to enthusiastically favorable (35 to 50) | 29.2 |

The great majority (60 per cent) evidently care very little (in 1925) and probably could be influenced one way or the other in a spirited political campaign. Improvement in service and particularly personal service is one way of forestalling political action. The same situation in a sense confronts all business concerns of any size.

Lack of information has a bearing on public attitude. Thus, Houser reports about 10 per cent of consumers do not know the name of the utility which serves them, and in several localities 80 per cent do not know of the existence of any kind of regulatory or protective body such as the Commerce Commission.

## CHAPTER XXVI

## JOB ANALYSIS

The standard of performance is the basis for handling men. In a company where the standards are high an average employee would be rated as inefficient, whereas if the standards are low the same employee would be considered quite satisfactory. When the standard has not been clearly formulated, every executive is likely to have a somewhat different conception of it, with resulting poor supervision and low morale among the men; when the standard is definitely stated as so many units of this and that, every executive has approximately the same conception of it and good supervision results. Regardless, however, of the standards which exist, they determine who are hired, promoted, and given raises in salary.

It is only very recently that definite, measurable standards have been set up for production purposes. Formerly motors, for example, were built individually and, if a part broke, a new one had to be made to order to fit the old motor. Today motors are made in large quantities, and any part will fit any motor of a given size. Thus have come about the new concepts of standardization of manufacture and interchangeability of parts. From the recognition of the fact that only a few varieties of any commodity are needed to meet at least 90 per cent of consumer requirements and that the remaining varieties cost more than they are worth, has come the third concept, of simplification. Upon this basis the trade agreed, for example, to handle only 12 sizes of bed blankets instead of 78 sizes. Purchasing of materials has advanced from merely ordering so many units of a commodity at a given price to ordering that the commodity should meet very detailed specifications.

The supervision of men should be placed upon as definite a basis as exists in handling materials. Definite standards should be established as to what each man is to do, and the specifications should be such that every man can understand what they mean. Considerable progress has already been made in this direction, but much is still to be desired.

"A production standard represents the amount of work which an average experienced worker can be expected to produce on his job

under standard conditions." A standard is not perfection; it is the best available procedure. It is, moreover, the accepted procedure, because it and other procedures have been carefully considered and it is known to be the best under the existing conditions.

Kenagy and Yoakum were among the pioneers in developing standards in the field of salesmanship. What they had to say in 1925 still holds good for many sales managers today.

> Employers, when interviewing applicants for positions, presumably seek to discover facts which indicate fitness or lack of fitness for the job in question. But many sales managers are guilty of gross error in this respect. Sometimes because they are following "hunches," sometimes because they are poor judges of qualifications, but more often because they lack a carefully classified statement of the salesman's job, sales managers hire a high percentage of men who do not make good. In some cases they judge an applicant by standards and qualifications which are not necessary for success; in other instances they hire the wrong man because the standards of measurement do not take into account all the specific abilities that are necessary. Before a sales manager can become proficient in picking high-grade men, he must know definitely just what things the salesman has to do and what qualities he must have in order to do them well.[1]

Following an extensive survey of industrial conditions in Minnesota, Filipetti wrote in 1932:

> Except for a small number of well-managed plants, manufacturing industries in the Twin Cities and Duluth are under the control of management of the traditional type. Opinions, beliefs, hunches, and prejudices are the guide to business actions. Because certain methods, practices, techniques, and mental attitudes served well enough yesterday it is assumed that they will serve satisfactorily today.[2]
>
> The work content of the specific operations performed in the plants is unknown. Job requirements have not been determined and the devices available for selecting employees of the required qualifications are not used. Adequate employee records are lacking. Individual plants lack cost-accounting information and few show any interest in the development of satisfactory cost systems.[3]

If a similar study were made in any other city, similar results would unquestionably be found. All this emphasizes how far ahead of his time Taylor was when he wrote in 1911 that

> Each job should be carefully subdivided into its elementary operations, and each of these unit times should receive the most thorough time study.[4]

[1] KENAGY, H. G., and C. S. YOAKUM, *The Selection and Training of Salesmen*, p. 104, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1925.

[2] FILIPETTI, G., "Scientific Management an Aid to Industrial Control," *Employment Stabilization Research Institute*, University of Minnesota, 1933, p. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[4] TAYLOR, F. W., "Shop Management," p. 83, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1911.

While Taylor was interested primarily in time and motion study, much of the present-day interest in job and man analysis may be traced to his pioneer efforts.

## JOB AND DIFFICULTY ANALYSIS

If standards are to be established relative to the work done or regarding the qualifications of the men to do the work, careful analysis must be made of what men do when engaged in each task. Such analysis is called job analysis.

**Job Analysis.**—Tead and Metcalf have defined job analysis as

> . . . an organized statement or record of all the facts descriptive of the content of and the modifying factors surrounding a job or position.[1]

This definition stresses the job and says nothing about the worker. But actually there is no job except as a man is working there. And as no two men can perform a job in the same way, there can be no real description of the job without analyzing what the workers do and recording that. Consequently, we would define job analysis as a method of scientifically analyzing what workers do in a job in order to determine the component elements and their influence upon the length of learning period of the worker, production, and labor turnover.[2] Psychologists would understand better what is involved if job analysis were defined as the search for habits necessarily used by a workman on the job.

On certain very simple jobs, a job analysis is nothing more nor less than a listing of the tool operations of the workman. He uses a hammer or a saw, for example, in certain ways. In other words, he has certain skillful habits. As we come up the scale from workman through foreman to executive, we find less skillful habits and more and more intellectual habits, together with more and more opportunity to recall, judge, think, and reason. The ordinary job analysis does not record the reasoning used on a job.[3] The nearest it comes to this is to record statements like "A superintendent reads instructions and plans methods of handling work in the shop. He plans efficient arrangement of floor space. He has charge of the safety work."[4]

Once a start is made in analyzing the man on the job, the tendency is to go on and on until one is confronted with the whole problem of

[1] TEAD, O., and H. C. METCALF, "Personnel Administration," p. 235, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933.

[2] STRONG, E. K., JR., and R. S. UHRBROCK, "Job Analysis and the Curriculum," p. 22, Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins Company, 1923.

[3] See p. (504) for further discussion of this point.

[4] STRONG and UHRBROCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23.

analyzing the whole man from every angle. There is no question but that our understanding of a man in a particular situation is aided greatly by knowledge of men in every capacity. Nevertheless, for ordinary purposes job analysis must be restricted to what the worker does. We are in no position today to determine the motives which activate the worker. If such is to be attempted, it is best to consider it as a separate problem, as discussed in Chap. XXV. At the same time, if the worker is clearly superior or inferior to the average, it is important to consider the cause. The superior worker may perform essentially the same movements but may have developed a rhythm that is absent in the average worker. The inferior worker may be handicapped by defective vision, of which he is not aware, by worry over a situation at home, or by any one of a host of other factors. These are elements in the man on the job that enter into his activities and must be appreciated if his work performance is to be understood.

**Outline for Job Analysis.**—The following is suggestive of the topics to be considered in job analysis. What should be included in a particular case depends upon local conditions and the purpose to which the data are to be put (see page 488 for further discussion).

1. Identification of job. Name of job, code number, alternative names in use. Names and locations of departments in which the work is carried on.

2. Technical equipment. Machines, tools, and materials used.

3. Working conditions. (*a*) Location in factory or office, inside or outside. (*b*) Ventilation, temperature, humidity, illumination. (*c*) Permanent or temporary. (*d*) Day or night. (*e*) Hours per day, per week, overtime, lunch hour, vacations. (*f*) Standing, sitting, stooping, walking, lifting, etc. (*g*) Fast, moderate, slow, necessity for fast work in emergencies. (*h*) Accuracy required. (*i*) Routine, monotonous, varied. (*j*) Nerve strain, eye strain, physical strain: moisture, heat, dust, fumes, acids, exposure to weather. (*k*) Accident hazards. (*l*) Disagreeable features, as dirt, noise, oil, vibration, etc. (*m*) Social features, as works alone or with others, can carry on conversation. (*n*) Standards of output required.

4. Pay. Starting rate, regular rate, piece work or day work. Bonus. Penalties.

5. Duties. Just what is done on the job, reported in detail.

6. Description of worker. (*a*) Sex. (*b*) Nationality. (*c*) Age. (*d*) Physical qualities.

7. Length of time to learn job.

8. Essential qualifications. (*a*) Education. (*b*) Special training. (*c*) Experience. (*d*) Personal qualities.

9. Qualifications not essential but of value. (*a*) Education. (*b*) Special training. (*c*) Experience. (*d*) Personal qualities.

10. Route to job.

11. Probable line of promotion.

Figures 62 and 63 present the first two pages of a four-page blank used by the United States Department of Labor in drawing up job specifications. The third and fourth pages provide additional space for recording the job elements. In this case the objective is to picture the job as it is found in the industry rather than in a particular plant. Figures 64 and 65 give the completed job specifications of a structural steel worker together with an illustration of the operations.[1]

The above outline is typical of that employed on more or less repetitive types of work. But where a worker—particularly with some managerial responsibility—is confronted with many different kinds of tasks, his greatest responsibility is to perform the more important tasks first. To do this he must know the primary objectives of his whole job and must evaluate each task in terms of these objectives. It is because of this situation that it is difficult to reduce the work of a district ranger, for example, to a clean-cut job specification. All manner of factors arise, such as drought, hunting season, fire—sometimes very suddenly—and then there is need for re-evaluation of each task in terms of the new situation. Loveridge, of the Forest Service, lists the following steps for job analysis.

1. Objectives—defining the desires and reasonably attainable objectives in each main branch of forest activities.

2. Breaking each activity up into the component jobs which must be performed to attain the objective and

3. Determining and recording the job specifications—in terms of standards of perfection and intensity, methods and practice—needed to attain the objective.

4. Determining and recording the unit time requirements for doing each job properly.

5. Grouping the separate jobs into the periods (months) during which they should be done.

6. Reassembling the separate jobs into an integrated plan of action—scheduling—planning and routing, including trip plans.[2]

The more clearly the objectives of the job and the means of accomplishing the objectives are known, the easier it is to determine whether the worker or executive has performed his job or not and to reward him accordingly.

[1] "Job Descriptions for the Construction Industry," Occupational Research Program, United States Employment Service, United States Department of Labor, Government Printing Office, 1936, **5**, 1536, 1537.

[2] LOVERIDGE, E. W., "Job Load Analysis and Planning of Executive Work in National Forest Administration," Government Printing Office, 1932, p. 14.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

1 Job title ..... 2. Date .....

3 Alternate job titles ..... 4. Establishment No. .....

5. Industry ..... 6. Branch ..... 7. Department .....

**A. MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT.**

1. Sex .. 2 Age .. to .. 3. Height .. to .. 4 Weight .. to ..

5. Education: S R W English; Other .....

6. Special knowledge required: (a) None .. (b) Specify .....

7. Experience: (a) None .. (b) Same job .. (c) Recentness .. (d) RNP ..

and (e) Similar job .. (f) Title .. (g) Recentness .. (h) RNP ..

or (i) Similar job .. (j) Title .. (k) Recentness .. (l) RNP ..

(m) Other job .. (n) Title .. (o) Recentness .. (p) RNP ..

8 Comments .....

**B. RELATION OF THIS JOB TO OTHER JOBS.**

1 From what jobs are workers promoted to this job? .....

2. To what jobs (not involving promotion or demotion) may workers on this job be transferred? .....

3 To what jobs are workers on this job promoted? .....

4 Into what jobs is this job broken down in other establishments? .....

5. With what jobs is this job combined in other establishments? .....

6 Comments .....

**C. DETAILS OF JOB.**

1 Seasonality of job (a) Not seasonal .. (b) Seasonal periods .....

2 Machine set-up (a) Done by worker .. (b) Done by others .....

3 Personal tools and equipment required: (a) None .. (b) Specify .....

4 Accuracy required: (a) Coarse .. (b) Fine .. (c) Exact .....

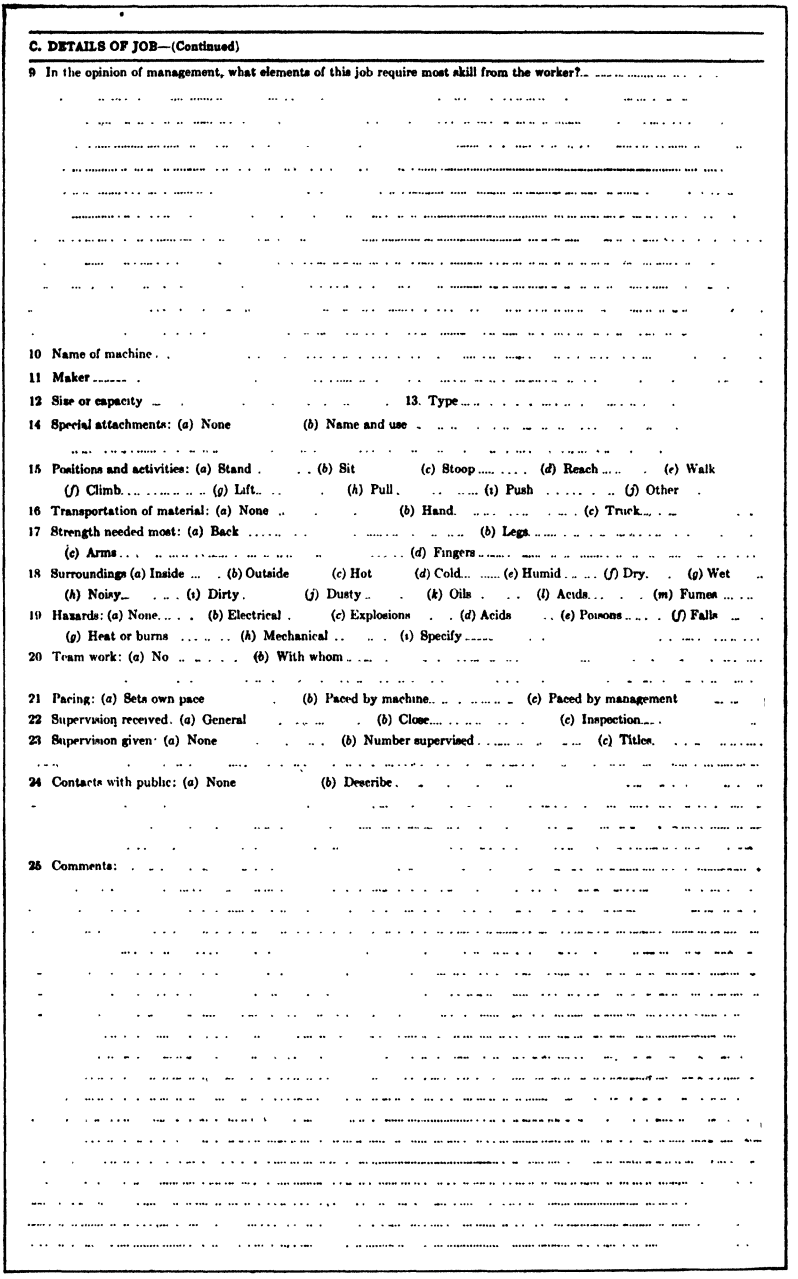
5. Knowledge of special measuring devices (a) No .. (b) Name and use .....

6. Knowledge of graphic instructions. (a) No .. (b) Name and use .....

7. Average production .....

8 Comments: .....

FIG. 62.—First page of job analysis blank used by United States Employment Service, 1935.



C. DETAILS OF JOB—(Continued)

9 In the opinion of management, what elements of this job require most skill from the worker?

10 Name of machine

11 Maker

12 Size or capacity 13. Type

14 Special attachments: (a) None (b) Name and use

15 Positions and activities: (a) Stand (b) Sit (c) Stoop (d) Reach (e) Walk (f) Climb (g) Lift (h) Pull (i) Push (j) Other

16 Transportation of material: (a) None (b) Hand (c) Truck

17 Strength needed most: (a) Back (b) Legs (c) Arms (d) Fingers

18 Surroundings (a) Inside (b) Outside (c) Hot (d) Cold (e) Humid (f) Dry (g) Wet (h) Noisy (i) Dirty (j) Dusty (k) Oils (l) Acids (m) Fumes

19 Hazards: (a) None (b) Electrical (c) Explosions (d) Acids (e) Poisons (f) Falls (g) Heat or burns (h) Mechanical (i) Specify

20 Team work: (a) No (b) With whom

21 Pacing: (a) Sets own pace (b) Paced by machine (c) Paced by management

22 Supervision received. (a) General (b) Close (c) Inspection

23 Supervision given (a) None (b) Number supervised (c) Titles

24 Contacts with public: (a) None (b) Describe

25 Comments:

FIG. 63.—Second page of job analysis blank used by United States Employment Service, 1935. The third and fourth pages of this form provide additional space to record "Job Elements."

*Riveting Crew*

STRUCTURAL-STEEL WORKER
(RIVETING)
RIVETER
HAMMERMAN

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY — RIVER AND HARBOR

*Summary of Duties*

Fastens together, with rivets, sections of pipe or structural-steel members, such as girders, columns, and plates; works under general supervision of FOREMAN (RIVETING).

*Work Performed*

1. Assists in erecting frame or scaffolding.
2. Carries Pneumatic Riveting Hammer to position on scaffold; connects air hose to Riveting Hammer; selects appropriate rivet set (hammer head); and inserts it in the hammer.
3. Assists in bolting together members that are to be riveted.
4. Alines rivet holes: Drives drift pin through holes with maul or Pneumatic Hammer; drills or reams holes; may be assisted by BUCKER-UP.
5. Drives rivet: Presses trigger in handle of hammer to turn on air for hammering operation; holds hammer firmly with both hands, one grasping the cylinder, the other pushing on the handle grip. Forms head on projecting shank of hot rivet with Pneumatic Riveting Hammer while BUCKER-UP holds rivet securely in place with dolly bar; releases trigger to stop hammer.
6. Removes loose rivets by cutting off rivet heads with chisel or pneumatic buster, and forcing out shank with backing-out punch.
7. May alternate tasks with BUCKER-UP and RIVET CATCHER.

Forming rivet heads requires the most skill.

The riveting crew usually consists of RIVETER, BUCKER-UP, RIVET CATCHER, and RIVET HEATER.

*Machine*

Pneumatic Riveting Hammer: Consists of a cylinder containing a compressed-air-driven piston which rapidly strikes a bar-like hammer that pounds against the rivet shank. The cup-shaped face of the hammer can be changed for driving rivets of various sizes. The pneumatic buster is a chisel-shaped tool that may be attached to the Pneumatic Hammer.

*Tools and Equipment*

Sledge hammer; wrenches; hammer; drill; reamer; drift pin; backing-out punch.

Drift pin: Small, round steel bar, tapered at each end; used for alining holes.

Backing-out punch: A hammer with long, round head and circular face to punch rivets out of rivet holes.

*Material*

Rivets; steel members.

*Working Conditions*

Surroundings: Outside; hot, noisy, dirty, dusty.

Hazards: Burns from hot rivets; injury or death from falling off scaffold or structure.

*Relation to Other Jobs*

Promotion from: STRUCTURAL-STEEL-WORKER APPRENTICE.

Promotion to: FOREMAN (RIVETING); FOREMAN (STRUCTURAL-STEEL ERECTION).

Transfer from and to: BUCKER-UP; RIVET CATCHER; RIVET HEATER.

Job Combination: RIVET CATCHER; STRUCTURAL-STEEL WORKER (STEEL ERECTION).

*General Qualifications for Employment*

Education: Ability to speak English.

Experience: 3 to 4 years on same job; STRUCTURAL-STEEL-WORKER apprenticeship usually required.

Special Physical Requirements:

Strength: Husky, to hold vibrating hammer while riveting.

*Additional Information from Employer and Applicant.*

Type and size of project.

FIG. 64.—Job specifications of structural steel worker, "Job Descriptions for the Construction Industry," United States Employment Service, United States Depart-

**Standardization of Terms.**—To describe the operations of a job it is necessary to employ the technical terms in common use in the industry. Such terms are ordinarily unknown to those not familiar with that specific situation. If the job specifications are to be used, generally a glossary is necessary. Even within a good-sized industrial organization it happens very often that the same term is used with entirely different meanings. Consequently, one of the duties of a job analyst is to standardize the terms used throughout his company. The

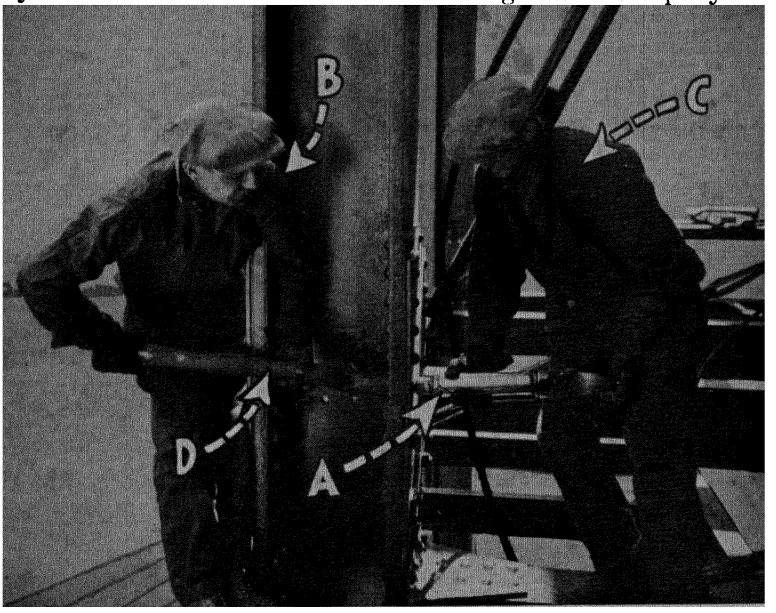



FIG. 65.—Riveter and bucker-up at work. *A*, riveting hammer; *B*, bucker-up; *C*, riveter; *D*, dolly.

resulting elimination of confusion owing to the same term's having different meanings has many advantages. Years ago a strike was called in one plant of a large corporation because the workers felt that they were underpaid in comparison to the workers in another plant of the company. Eventually, it was demonstrated that this was not true and the strike was ended but not until both employees and the company had lost many millions of dollars. The whole trouble arose because there was no standardization of terms throughout the company and certain terms referred to skilled jobs in the first plant and to semiskilled jobs in the second plant.

**Difficulty Analysis.**—A job analysis gives the routine, usual manner of performing the job. But many jobs, particularly those in selling

and those of an executive nature, involve many activities which arise infrequently and for which no standard procedure has been developed. In such cases, success or failure is largely dependent upon how the unexpected and exceptional are handled. It is important, especially from the point of view of training such men, to know what are the difficulties which confront them and the best way they are to be handled. This is the objective of difficulty analysis. Here there is a search for those problems or situations that are not readily solved and reduced to a habit, or automatic performance.

The difficulties which confront, for example, buyers in a department store may be gathered by the analyst visiting them from time to time and getting each to tell what has worried or troubled him most during the day. These incidents may then be used in training conferences for both buyers and assistant buyers. The conference can be opened by relating the case of a saleswoman who sells more than anyone else in the department and who could easily get a similar job in competing stores. But of late she has formed the habit of coming late to work and usually succeeds in avoiding all the nonselling activities in the department, such as putting stock away and covering it up at night. The result is a constantly increasing jealousy of her on the part of the other saleswomen, which is seriously affecting the morale of the department. From the discussion in a conference over this case are sure to come some excellent ideas as to how to handle the situation. In this way the combined experiences of many are concentrated on difficulties which arise too seldom for any one person to establish standard procedure.

**Solution Analysis.**—A sequel to difficulty analysis is solution analysis. Here are gathered together the best possible solutions to the difficulties encountered. Since good solutions are not always known it may be necessary to hold a series of training conferences, as described above, before such solutions will be discovered.

## INTERRELATIONSHIP OF JOBS

The ideal business organization is one in which the business is divided into functions upon the basis of an analysis of the work done, and in which like functions are grouped together and clearly defined. The management of an organization is best accomplished by assigning one or more functions to an executive and holding him responsible for their operation. In such an ideal setup every executive will perform different functions from every other executive, thus eliminating the overlapping of duties and making possible centralized control with

clean-cut delegation of authority. In other words, the ideal is to secure maximum of initiative and minimum of conflict.

**Functional Chart.**—After an analysis had been made of a number of printing concerns, the functional chart in Fig. 66 was drawn up. There are shown all the major functions of such a business. Moreover, these functions are grouped as found in the average printing business.

> No printing company that we know of is actually so organized. But all of them show variations of this functional organization. A small company has several of these separate functions combined in one man's position. A large company, on the other hand, has several men performing one function (*i.e.*, several pressmen or several salesmen). And in any company variations of these two extremes will be found largely depending upon the calibre of the several executives.[1]

To the extent that the analysis of printing companies was thoroughgoing and to the extent that the separate duties were classified in the best possible manner under the headings which appear in Fig. 66, to that extent is this functional chart an ideal for the organization of printing companies. Under such an organization each executive will be held responsible for certain duties which are distinct from those assigned every other executive. This provides for the minimum of misunderstanding and conflict and the maximum of responsibility and authority.

**Organization Chart.**—It is seldom possible to assign distinct functions to each man in an organization. The principle reason why this cannot be done is that no matter how the duties are classified, it is impossible to find men who are capable of handling just those combinations. Thus, for example, the composing room foreman in Fig. 66 may have certain connections through which he is able to bring certain business to the company. Thus, he is used not only as a production foreman, but also as a salesman, performing two functions which should not be grouped together, since they are quite distinct. The result is that the actual organization of a business will always deviate from the ideal in order to make the best use of the peculiar capabilities of each man in the organization.

The organization chart shows each man in the organization according to the existing lines of authority and responsibility. From the rectangle representing each man are drawn, accordingly, two lines, one line connecting him with the man to whom he reports and one or more lines connecting him with the one or more men who report to him.

**Zoning Chart.**—After all the jobs in a business concern have been analyzed, they should be allocated to zones or levels according to the

[1] STRONG and UHRBROCK, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

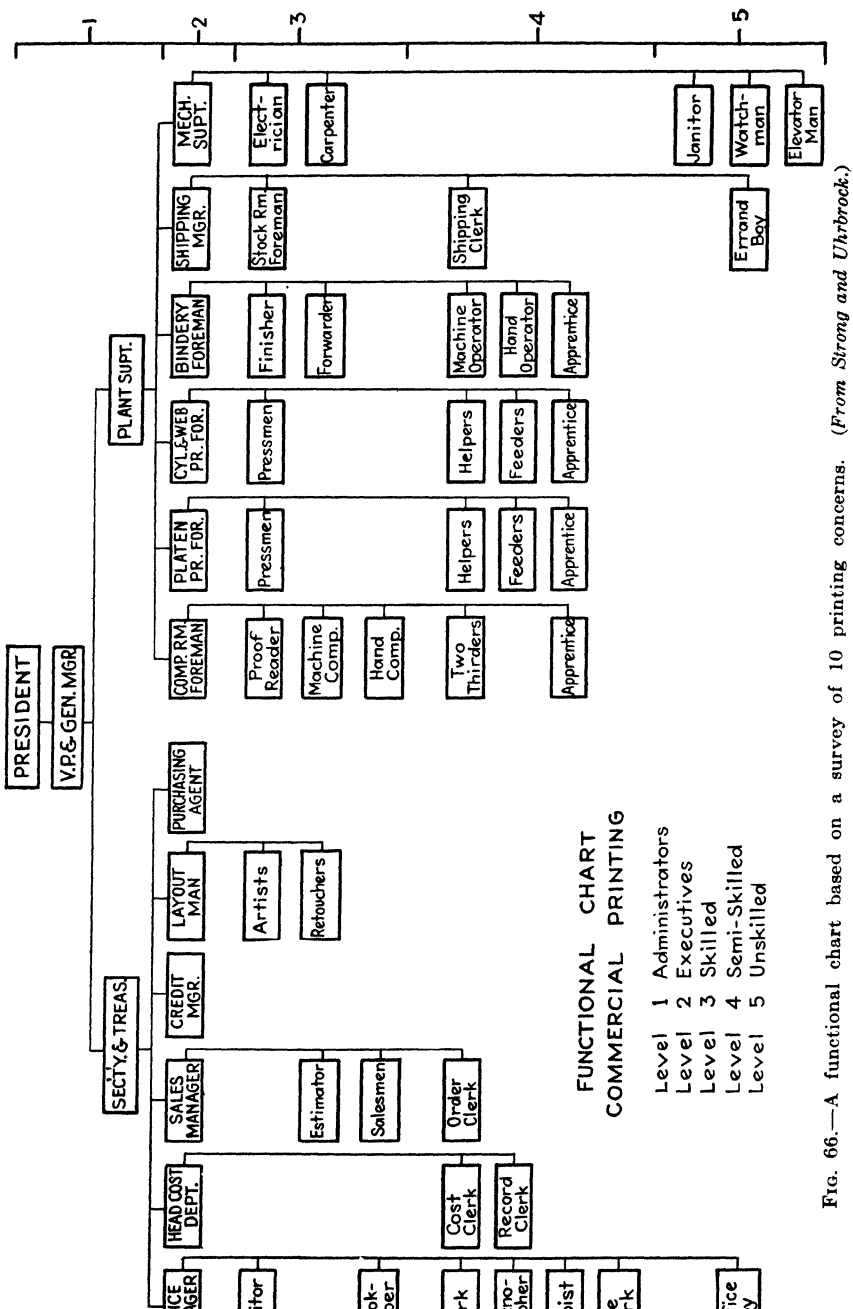



FIG. 66.—A functional chart based on a survey of 10 printing concerns. (*From Strong and Uhrbrock.*)

responsibility and complexity of the work. For example, in Fig. 66 the various jobs are assigned to one of five zones.

In large and more complicated industrial organizations six to nine levels may be distinguished. Each position is assigned one of these levels on the basis of all the facts that bear on the matter. Such assignments are not easy to make in some cases because a particular individual may be performing a mixture, for example, of skilled and executive work. But on the whole, it can be done. And in the case of such hybrid jobs it is often very useful to come to recognize that the individual is actually holding two different positions.[1]

In Fig. 66 all the jobs in the company are shown in one zoning chart. This was customary a few years ago. But the difficulties of evaluating on one scale clerical work, sales activities, and production work are very considerable and this method probably results in very little value. Thus, even if it is realized that a certain production position is superior in complexity and responsibility to a certain sales position where the salary is considerably higher, there is very little chance that the two incomes can be altered, in the light of the facts. Consequently, it seems preferable to restrict the zoning of jobs to those within a general department; with the result that there will be as many zoning charts as there are major departments of a business. (The primary use of zoning charts is discussed on page 495 in connection with determination of wages.)

**Promotion Chart.**—In general, men advance upward along the lines shown in an organization or functional chart. But there are always other lines of promotion by which a man advances by leaving his own department and entering some other. Thus in Fig. 66 the shipping clerk may be promoted in his present department or transferred to clerk under the office manager, to record clerk in the cost department, or to order clerk in the sales department.

A promotion chart should show all the possible lines of promotion from each job to those above it. Such lines of promotion can be determined, first, by noting how men have advanced in the past and, second, by noting the jobs which are related to each other in terms of one or more common duties. Those promotions may be indicated by a solid line, where experience gained in a lower position is of particular value in performing the work of a higher position, as, for example, in the sequence, stenographer—secretary. The remaining promotions can be differentiated from the above by use of dotted lines. These will depend, not only upon the possession of certain experiences required in the higher position, but also upon the acquisition of additional skill and knowledge. The latter can be illustrated by the sequence,

[1] STRONG and UHRBROCK, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

typist—stenographer, where shorthand is necessary in the latter but not in the former.

Promotion charts are fairly easy to establish for jobs up to and including foreman and department head. Up to this level promotion is very largely a matter of increasing skill and knowledge. But beyond this level promotion depends more and more upon executive capacity —the abilities to take responsibility, to direct others, and to coordinate the work of many. Consequently, it is not easy to indicate lines of promotion among the higher positions in a company, for promotion is here largely a matter of the qualifications of the man himself and not of the position he holds.

Promotion charts are useful in the employment office, especially where there is a well-established policy of promoting from within. Whenever there is a vacancy, the chart naturally causes the employment manager to consider for promotion all those in positions immediately leading to the vacancy, regardless of where the men are located. The promotion chart is also valuable in indicating to employees possible lines of advancement. If there are also available job specifications of the advanced positions, the ambitious employee can prepare himself along the lines in which he is deficient. Thus, our shipping clerk could study cost accounting and so prepare himself to become a cost clerk.

## USES OF JOB ANALYSIS

The resultant of job analysis is more precise information concerning what is done. This benefits every phase of management which is concerned with handling men. Better standards are established for the jobs in the concern; selection of men is improved because there is a more thoroughgoing understanding of what is required and of the qualifications which are needed; training on the job and for promotion is facilitated because the objectives are more definite; wages are better standardized; and morale is improved by eliminating many grievances which arise from lack of knowledge of the entire situation.

With the above in mind, it is most natural to try to achieve all these ends when instituting job analysis. This is a mistake, however, judging from the experience of many concerns. The analyst does not know the information he is to secure; in fact, to a very considerable degree it is not appreciated by anyone in the concern. If he is able to concentrate upon securing every available bit of information as to how the job is performed, he will have plenty to do. If, at the same time, he attempts to record the factors which affect safety, morale, and training, he will find the task utterly beyond him. As a result, he will

secure considerable information upon all four of these objectives but he will not have obtained all that was possible about any one of them. Under these circumstances it is best to restrict the job analysis to some one main objective, such as a description of what is done on each job and what are the qualifications of each man on each job. This will supply an excellent basis for developing standard procedure for each job and for providing the employment office with the needed information for hiring, transferring, and promoting men and standardizing wages. All of this will, furthermore, provide an excellent starting point for a subsequent supplementary job analysis if further information is needed regarding safety, fatigue, health, morale, or training. Or the general program may be reversed and the original job analysis be instituted to gather data for a training program. It is important to realize that, just as no one person can survey a tract of land and simultaneously record its geological characteristics, its flora and fauna, and its lumbering possibilities, so no one job analyst can record simultaneously what is done, how the men feel toward their work, and what technical knowledge is required. Each of these must be done by a specialist concentrating on that particular phase of the subject.

**Standard Procedure.**—The production standard is the quantity and quality of work which a competent and experienced worker is expected to produce on his job in a given time under standard conditions.

Where the job consists of repeating over and over one task, measurement can be made of each element with a stop watch. Where it is desirable to determine very precisely what movements are performed by the most skilled employees, motion study is employed. Time and motion study may be viewed as an elaboration of job analysis, so far used rather exclusively by the production engineer. Lack of space precludes proper discussion of the subject in this text.

A vast number of jobs, including certain repetitive tasks, involve a variety of activities, and this makes it difficult to describe them in time and motion study. This is true in the main of construction work, of repair work, of jobs in small plants, of many office jobs, of many sales activities, and of executive work. The day may come when it will be desirable to describe the duties in these jobs with refined accuracy, but today the real requirement is to obtain a clear understanding of what is involved without going into too much detail. Job analysis is sufficient in these cases.

The stop watch can, however, be used in connection with job analysis very profitably in some situations. For example, Table XXII gives the per cent of working time devoted to various activities by

salesmen for wholesale druggists. These "activities" represent only a very rough analysis of what the salesmen do. The next step will be to divide them up into greater detail. The value of such data is apparent —they afford standards in terms of which the work of individual salesmen can be checked in order to discover where they are less efficient than the average.

TABLE XXII.—THE PER CENT OF WORKING TIME DEVOTED TO VARIOUS ACTIVITIES BY SALESMEN OF WHOLESALE DRUGGISTS[1]

| Activities | Per cent of salesmen's total working time | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | City | Country | All |
| Order taking | 17.5 | 15 8 | 16.1 |
| Selling | 28.7 | 21.4 | 23.0 |
| Traveling | 18 0 | 32 4 | 29.8 |
| Visiting | 17 3 | 15.5 | 15.9 |
| Waiting | 12 8 | 9.5 | 10 2 |
| Lost by interruption | 2.4 | 3 2 | 3.1 |
| Other | 3 3 | 2 1 | 2.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[1] CARROLL, E. J., "Wholesale Druggist Operations," Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Domestic Commerce Series*, No. 86, 1934.

The usual procedure in developing a standard procedure would be about as follows. Job analysis is made of the job and the other jobs related to it in function. Job specifications are drawn up on the basis of what is found. Study of them reveals the fact that a rearrangement of certain duties among several jobs would simplify these jobs considerably. This is called to the attention of the appropriate officials. When the operating men are agreed as to what duties the revised jobs will include, the final job specifications are prepared. Time studies are now made to determine what is a proper amount of work to be done. The standard procedure is written, giving the sequence of operations to be performed and the time allowances. Upon the basis of this standard men are rated efficient or not, and wages are paid accordingly, possibly with a bonus added for those who meet the standard requirements.

Uhrbrock has outlined the procedure followed by one large manufacturing organization in determining the elements involved in the work of a foreman. As this position is highly complex in nature, it cannot be reduced to specific details as in the case of repetitive work. From

the analysis 2,263 statements were obtained which represented the things done, in various combinations, by all the foremen.

A study of foremen's tasks indicated that the foreman has four main *functions*, namely, to

1. Manage men.
2. Maintain and use equipment.
3. Handle materials.
4. Control operations and processes.

Each of these functions may be subdivided into responsibilities. For example, we may consider that a foreman has the following nine *responsibilities*, as he discharges his first function, that of managing men:

1. Secure and select men.
2. Coordinate the work force.
3. Improve morale of the organization.
4. Prevent accidents.
5. Promote health.
6. Interpret and transmit company policies.
7. Record and report personnel data.
8. Train operators, such as mechanics and inspectors.
9. Develop a program for his own self-improvement.

Under each responsibility we may list the duties that must be performed if that responsibility is to be taken care of adequately. If the foreman really accepts Responsibility Number 3, "improve the morale of the organization," he must perform the following twelve *duties:*

1. Study personality and peculiarities of each individual.
2. Call workers to account for poor work.
3. Promote and encourage deserving workers.
4. Handle cases of transfer and discharge.
5. Make a fair apportionment of work.
6. Participate in the setting of wage rates.
7. Regulate hours.
8. Divide and define responsibility.
9. Distribute wages and make adjustments in pay.
10. Adjust workers' difficulties.
11. Establish effective relations with employees.
12. Discipline violators of company practices.

Each duty may be further subdivided into routine tasks. These task statements are really made up of the units that were collected by means of the job analysis technique. For example, the duty to "discipline violators of company practices" is made clearer if we examine some of the six separate things done, or *tasks* performed:

1. Reprimand subordinates.
2. Warn habitually careless persons.
3. Determine action in disciplinary cases.
4. Confer with superior on difficult cases.
5. Report insubordinates to superior.
6. Enforce instructions by rewarding and penalizing.

In reverse order we may view the work of the foreman in the following terms. Depending upon the scope of his position he is called upon to perform anywhere

from 50 to 350 separate tasks. He cannot be considered fully trained until he is capable of performing each of these tasks smoothly and easily.

A group of related tasks may be considered as the elements that make up a *duty*. The untrained man has difficulty at this stage, because the efficient discharge of a duty calls for the smooth coordination of a number of related tasks. The pattern of activity is important, as well as the ability to perform each separate step.

We may classify a group of duties as a *responsibility*. This larger unit depends upon the close integration of the smaller parts.[1]

**Employment.**—The most extensive use of job analysis is probably in connection with the employment office. It was here that the need for such information was first felt. The job specifications may be filed in this office and be referred to whenever any query arises concerning the nature of a job or the qualifications needed in any employee for the job. Or the employment manager may prepare reference cards for each job and have recorded on them significant data from the job specifications. In this case much of the material will appear in code, to facilitate use.

*Job Questions.*—In the process of sizing up an applicant for employment he is always asked a number of questions. In most cases these questions vary from applicant to applicant and are not standardized; the result is that the employment manager must more or less guess whether the applicant is satisfactory or not. When standardized trade or job questions are used, the employment manager can determine fairly accurately from the number of questions correctly answered the applicant's fitness for the job, because the former knows how many correct answers are given by skilled journeymen, apprentices, and men in related and unrelated occupations (see Fig. 67).

The first step in developing standardized job questions is an analysis of the job into its component parts. The second step is the collection of a large number of questions which test the knowledge requisite for performance of the various components of the job. Third, the questions are tried out on workmen of known efficiency and those questions which do not differentiate between workmen of different degrees of skill are discarded. For example, 35 questions were tried out on the 201 workmen in Fig. 67 but 13 were dropped and the scores in that table are based on the remaining 22 questions.[2]

[1] UHRBROCK, R. S., "Job Analysis in Industry," *Occupations*, June 1934, **12**, 69–74.

[2] See CHAPMAN, J. C., "Trade Tests," New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1921, for discussion of procedure in development of trade tests; also, THOMPSON, L. A., and associates, "Interview Aids and Trade Questions for Employment Offices," New York, Harper & Brothers, 1936.

**Classification of Jobs for Employment Agencies.**—There are many jobs that are quite similar to other jobs in entirely different industries but which never occur to a man out of work or to employment agents as possible substitutes. As a result of the extensive program of the United States Employment Service in analyzing jobs in many different industries it is expected that there will result a far-reaching classification of jobs on the basis of similarity of skills in jobs. This will greatly facilitate the transfer of men from industry to industry as

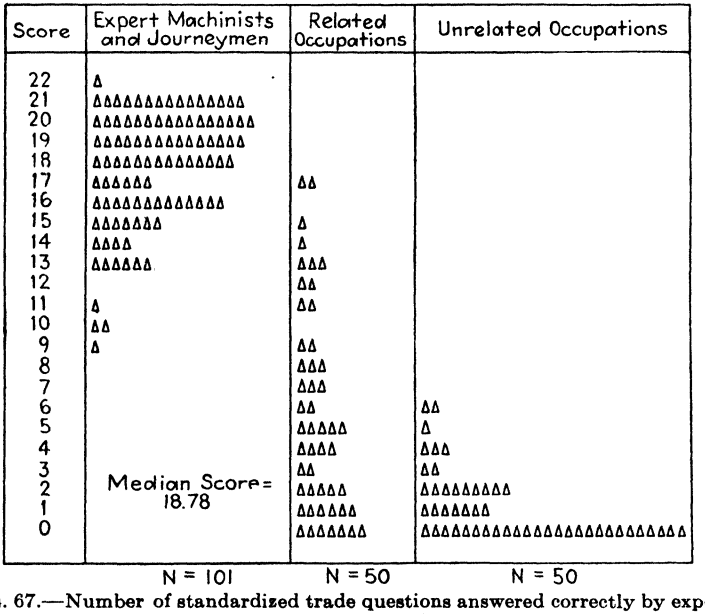



FIG. 67.—Number of standardized trade questions answered correctly by expert and journeyman machinists and by workmen in related and unrelated occupations. (*Data supplied by W. H. Stead, associate director for standards and research, U. S. Enployment Service.*)

employment fluctuates in these industries. Herein lies one of the most promising measures for meeting the vagaries of seasonal unemployment.

In this connection an Occupational Characteristics Check List is used. Such characteristics as the following are considered: (1) work rapidly for long periods; (2) strength of hands; (6) dexterity of fingers; (12) estimate size of objects; (17) keenness of hearing; (22) memory for details (things); (27) intelligence; (31) initiative; (36) tact in dealing with people; and (41) work under hazardous conditions. These make clear that the analysis pertains to the workman on the job and not to the job itself. The instructions for rating these characteristics are—

Indicate the *minimum* amount of each characteristic demanded of the worker in order to do the job satisfactorily by putting an X in column A, B, or C.

The amounts designated by A, B, and C are as follows:

A. A very great amount of the characteristic, such as would be possessed by not more than two out of a hundred persons.

B. A distinctly above average amount of the trait, such as would be possessed by the highest 30 per cent of the population but less than the amount designated by A.

C. An amount of the trait less than that possessed by the highest 30 per cent of the population.

In checking these items, think of people in general, not just persons on the job.

If some characteristic is demanded which does not appear in this list, write it in and check as described above.

**Safety, Health, Fatigue.**—In certain instances job analysis has been employed to determine the operations which may cause undue fatigue, accidents, or injury to health. More often the procedure is not used in any wholesale manner but only upon those jobs where there is evidence that safety and health are threatened.[1]

**Training.**—From the job specifications can be determined what is done on each job. On the basis of this information and the general experience of the director of training can be deduced fairly accurately what needs to be known in order to perform the necessary duties. Here is the foundation upon which all training in an industrial organization should rest.

The standard procedure is the best textbook that can be supplied to a worker in order to train him for the job. This is especially true if it is supplemented by notes explaining how difficult processes are to be performed and why. *The How and Why Sheets* of the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company are excellent in this regard. The same thing is true as regards training for the next job. From studying the standard procedure the employee is able to secure a very good idea of all the elements entering into his job—the machines, tools, and materials used, the specific operations, and the quantity and quality of work required. He should also be supplied with additional material from the job specifications which outlines the qualifications needed by a successful workman, the technical knowledge that is considered essential and some that is not essential but desirable, and the like.

From job and difficulty analyses can be obtained a world of material to be used as the basis of foremen training. Every topic quoted from Uhrbrock (page 491) could be made the subject of a very interesting round-table conference of foremen. The same applies to the training of any executive group, and of salesmen as well.

From analysis of the job specifications it is possible to determine that certain employees need specific technical information either to

[1] See p. 515 for further discussion.

perform their present jobs or to prepare themselves for promotion. Courses can be prepared to meet the needs of such men. Even today a surprising number of sales organizations have only a hazy idea of what their salesmen do and what they need to know. It is no wonder that many training courses for this type of employee are filled with a great mass of undigested material copied very largely from other sources.

One of the best procedures in training men on the job is to require them to work up specifications for their own job. Young executives, as they are rotated from one position to another, should be required to hand in such specifications. It will force them to master their work and usually will arouse genuine interest. An additional training device of real merit is to test the learner's knowledge of what he has read by the true-false or multiple-choice type of question. In one corporation it was found that not a single executive could answer correctly the thirteen questions based upon the paragraph stating the terms of employment, given to all new employees.

Anyone interested in training apprentices on the job should consult the work of Jones,[1] who presents in detail the process of building a curriculum on the basis of job analysis.

In order that the reader may not obtain from the foregoing the idea that it is easy to prepare a good job specification, it would be well for him to prepare one which describes the familiar task of putting on a coat. Jot down the steps in proper sequence and describe them so clearly and accurately that anyone unfamiliar with the task could perform it. His experiences in this connection will warn the reader to try out each job specification most carefully before basing employment or training upon it.

**Wage Determination.**—There are two problems in wage determination: one is concerned with how much shall be paid in comparison with what is paid elsewhere; the other is concerned with how much shall be paid for a particular job in comparison to other jobs in the same concern. Job analysis is of only slight aid in solving the first problem, except as it may afford a common basis for comparison between companies, but it may be used very extensively in solving the second problem.

Wages paid to employees performing the same work in the average concern show great inequalities; many examples can usually be found where employees doing less important work are paid more than employees performing more important work. This is illustrated in Fig. 68,

[1] JONES, W. B., "Job Analysis and Curriculum Construction in the Metal Trades Industry," *Teachers College Contributions to Education*, No. 227, 1926.

where the salaries paid to clerical workers in one division of a company are distributed according to salary paid and importance of the work (grade index). Note in this chart that there is a range from $135 to $205 in jobs graded 18; also that over half the employees in grade 20 jobs receive more pay than one of the two employees in

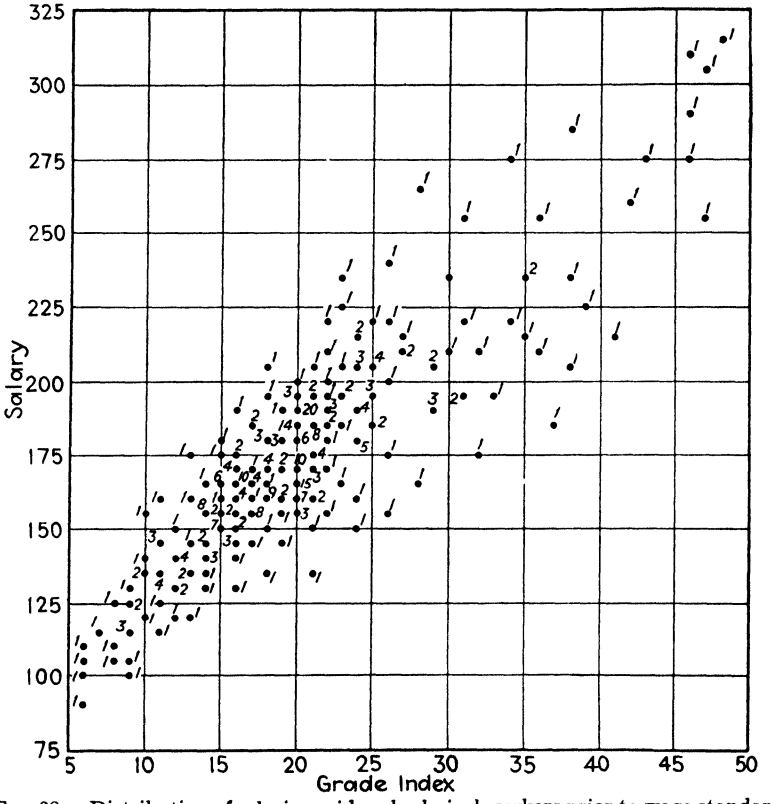



FIG. 68.—Distribution of salaries paid male clerical workers prior to wage standardization. Jobs are here ranked on the basis of their importance as determined by job analysis. (*From E. G. McCann.*)

grade 32. These inequalities are unfair and they inevitably undermine the morale of the company.

There are always some executives who like to raise wages and there are always other executives who are primarily interested in maintaining a low expense account. If an employee works for the former, he is very likely to have his wages increased; if he works for the latter, his wages are seldom raised. To meet this situation wages for each job must be standardized with a minimum and a maximum and a central

salary committee given authority to maintain the rates. How shall this standardization be brought about?

First, all jobs are divided into several major classes, such as clerical, sales, production, since there is no particular point in trying to standardize wages throughout the entire business.[1]

Second, factors are selected in terms of which the importance of jobs can be measured. Danger to life, continuous attention to work, responsibility, time required to learn the work, and strenuousness are examples.

Job factors, to warrant inclusion in even a tentative job-grading scale, must meet these requirements:

1. They must be relevant to *all* jobs, not merely to a few.
2. They must be clearly *discoverable* and *definable*, not dependent on unverifiable opinion, either of employee, manager, or investigator.
3. They must be quantitatively describable.[2]

Each factor is assigned so many points, depending upon its importance. Thus dust might be given 25 points, dirt (sifting lampblack, for example) 75 points, etc. In order to assign these points consistently it is well to establish a sort of rating scale for each factor. In the case of "character of duties performed" there could be these four steps:

*a.* Simple repetitive operations.

*b.* Routine operations—covered by rules and instructions.

*c.* Complex operations of a specialized nature, covering a restricted or limited phase of a field.

*d.* Intricate operations of a broad scope covering every phase of a field.

The total number of points assigned to each job in terms of character of duties performed would be distributed according to the four degrees of that factor.

Third, all jobs, on the basis of their job specifications, are rated independently by several experts in terms of each of the factors.

Fourth, all jobs are arranged in rank order on the basis of the total number of points assigned to them on all the factors.

Fifth, the above procedure is revised in the light of discrepancies between the rank order secured in step four and the best judgment of experts. Such a revision is appropriate, since the weighting system is based upon opinion only. Eventually, a weighting system is adopted that gives sensible results and there is a rank order of jobs which agrees

[1] It is worth knowing, for example, that certain salesmen are earning more than certain production men whose jobs are more "important" on any basis of rating that can be set up. But if good salesmen cannot be hired for less, there is not much that can be done about the matter.

[2] KINGSBURY, F. A., "Grading the Office Job," *Management and Administration*, 1923, **6**, 74.

fairly well with the judgment of management and can be defended in terms of the factors entering into each job. What is accomplished is the development of a hierarchy of jobs which is the best that can be obtained. Moreover, all concerned have gained a better conception of why all the jobs are so ranked.

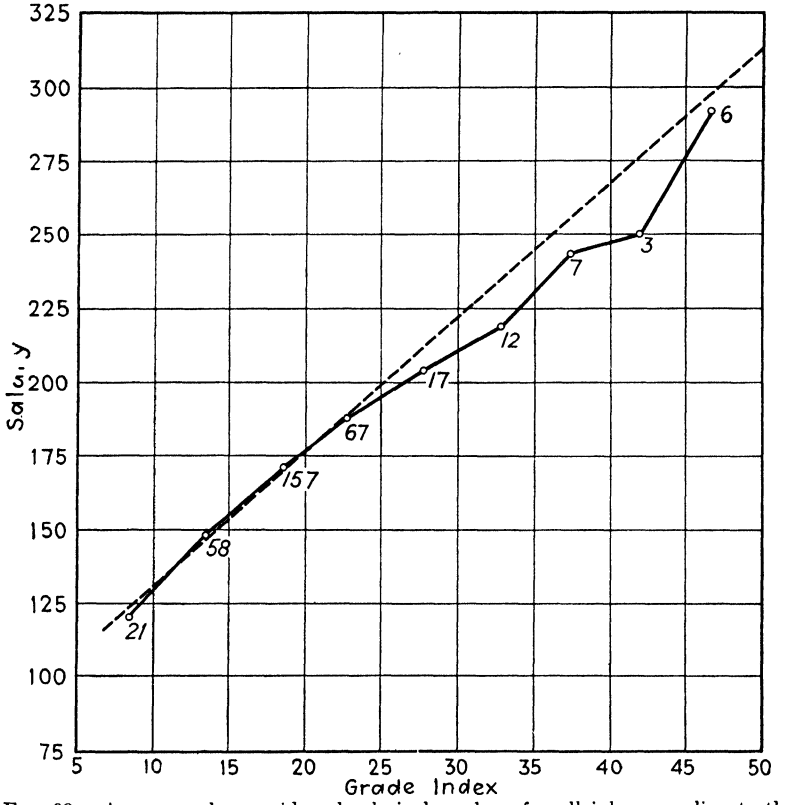



FIG. 69.—Average salary paid male clerical workers for all jobs according to their importance (based on Fig. 68). Dotted line indicates the new rate to be paid as adopted by the company. (*From E. G. McCann.*)

Sixth, the wages paid to each man should be plotted as in Fig. 68, in order to obtain a clear idea of the existing situation. (The sum total of points assigned to jobs is usually reduced to some convenient basis. In this figure they have been reduced to the range of 1 to 50.)

Seventh, the average wage paid for all jobs at each grade index level is plotted, as in Fig. 69. A smoothed curve is then drawn to indicate what is to be the general trend of wages in reference to grade indices of jobs.

Before the smooth curve is drawn it is well to gather data from other local concerns regarding wages paid to three or four typical jobs, say at levels 10, 20, 30, and 40, in order to determine how one's own wages compare with those of other businesses.

Eighth, a chart is developed, similar to Fig. 70, showing the minimum and maximum wage to be paid at each job level.[1] Thus, in this case all jobs with indices from 14 to 17 are classified as routine A jobs

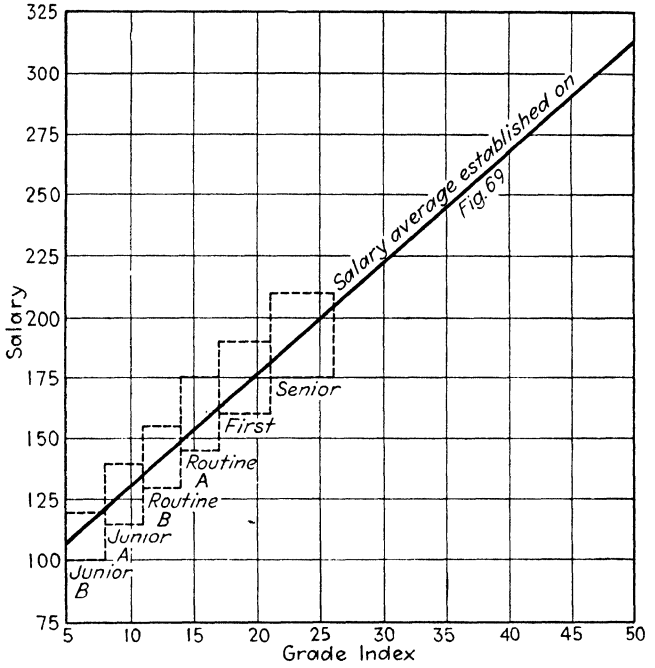



FIG. 70.—Maximum and minimum salaries to be paid male clerical workers in each grade of clerical work. (*From E. G. McCann.*)

with a minimum of $145 and a maximum of $175 a month. Length of service coupled with satisfactory performance can then be rewarded by raising an employee from $145 to $175. But if he is capable of advancing beyond this level, he should be promoted before he is earning more than $160 as this is the starting wage at the next level. Such a wage-control system delineates the lower and upper limits of what can be paid for each job.

Ninth, the new program is put into operation. It is a great mistake to attempt to revise the whole wage system immediately. Many

[1] Hay recommends that the maximum should be one-third greater than the minimum. See HAY, E. N., "Constructing Salary Scales," *Personnel Journal*, 1936, **14**, 352.

companies have taken from five to ten years for the readjustment. When wages are too low, it is better to give a number of increases over several years than to accomplish the change all at once. When wages are too high, two policies may be followed: first, wages may be maintained as formerly, with the expectation that those now overpaid will drop out or be promoted, presumably without any increase in pay; second, wages may be cut to bring them into line with the new policy. Possibly the best program is to promote as soon as possible the abler employees and to cut the wages of the less efficient, thus bringing wages of all into line. It is usually to their own advantage in the long run for the less efficient to take a cut, for they are the most likely to be laid off in any emergency since they are costing more than they are presumably worth.

Theoretically, every job should render a profit and every employee should be paid in terms of the profits that he renders. Actually, there are always operations that cost more than the going rate outside and in that sense are unprofitable. They are continued because it is more convenient. It is unfair to penalize an employee who is assigned such tasks and to reward liberally another employee who happens to operate a profitable machine. Wages set on the basis of job analysis, on the other hand, are adjusted on the basis of the complexity of the job, the responsibilities required, etc. This is a fairer arrangement for the employees as a whole.

**Collective Bargaining.**—The sixth use of job analysis is to afford a factual basis for collective bargaining. A great many grievances arise because of misunderstanding on one or both sides. Demands for increases in wages often arise for the same reason and also because there are manifest inequalities in pay to men who are performing tasks obviously of equal importance (refer again to Fig. 68).

When an agreement has been entered into between management and employees regarding wages, hours, and other working conditions, each has in mind his own conception of the various jobs. Inevitably, these two conceptions do not entirely agree and eventually the time will come when management will insist that the worker is paid to do so and so and the employees will contend that they are hired to do something else. The only way to meet this situation is the preparation of job specifications describing the operations in detail, which may become an integral part of the collective agreement.

The writer well remembers a case tried before the impartial arbitrator in the clothing industry in Chicago where a workman had been fired for inefficient work. Every fellow employee and every foreman selected the vests made by this workman from a large pile, as improp-

erly finished. Yet the man was reinstated with back pay by the arbitrator because, although he had violated common procedure, the job specifications, which had been agreed to by both sides, did not prescribe how the operation in question was to be done.

## PROCEDURE

How the job specifications are obtained is extremely important. Job analysis is similar to exploration in many respects. The explorer and the job analyst are likely to see only the things they are looking for and then only if they look in the right place.

There are several ways of gathering the necessary data. First, the analyst may perform the job and record his own impressions of what is done. Second, he may observe the work of skilled workers. Third, he may interview both them and their immediate superiors. Fourth, he may supplement the above by study of trade literature and company procedures, but such must be used with discretion, as the aim is always to record what is done in one's own plant. The job analyst should never rely on his introspections as to how he would do somebody else's job nor upon the consensus of opinion of people who are not working at the job.

We are all familiar with the rule that if you want a job done well, you should do it yourself. It is also true that if you want cooperation you should make it as easy as possible for the other fellow to do what is wanted. This applies particularly to job analysis. The job analyst should go out of his way to do everything he can and require as little as possible from everyone else.[1]

If the job to be studied is complex, such as that of a salesman, buyer of merchandise, foreman, or branch manager, it is necessary to interview a considerable number to make sure that every phase of the subject has been covered. In such cases a check list is advisable. To begin with, the analyst prepares as extensive a list of questions as possible to use at the first interview. Following each interview the questions are revised and extended to cover new topics. After a number of interviews it becomes apparent that relatively little new material is being discovered. The questions can now be framed so that most can be answered by checking one of several listed answers. These check lists can be used in lieu of part of the usual interviewing.

[1] There is one exception. Employees may be called upon to draw up a specification of their own job either as a method of more thoroughly acquainting them with their work or of securing their understanding and cooperation of the whole program. Obviously, in such cases the job analyst gets the employees to do the work but, after they have finished, it is necessary in many instances for him to revise their work very thoroughly in order to secure satisfactory specifications.

The remainder of the interviews is then devoted to analysis of any unusual answers on the check list and any new points that the interviewee has given.

Because the job analyst is exploring a more or less unknown field, he cannot know when he has discovered everything. One very able analyst realized after he had spent one to two days each interviewing thirty branch managers that nothing had been recorded regarding financial matters. He had overlooked the subject and no branch manager had volunteered anything. It is necessary to resort to every possible device for discovering new aspects of a job. One such procedure is to obtain a copy of every form used in the business and personally follow samples of each one from the persons who initiate their use, until they are ultimately filed away. In this way many details are discovered which would otherwise be overlooked. This is especially true of such activities as preparation of pay roll, physical inventory, and the like, which are not in process at the time the analyst is at work.

**Where to Begin.**—The president of the company, or the general manager of a plant, must understand the whole program and give it his active support. The program should then be presented to the senior executives and their support be obtained. All this may take some little time, but it must be carried through successfully. The next step is to begin with the department head who is the most interested and where the analyst will be most at home. The junior executives under this department head are then "sold" the program. With the aid of the most interested of these the foreman or chief clerks under the junior executive are next approached in the same way. Finally, the analyst is ready to go to work. The place to start is with the lowest grade of employees under the executives all the way down the line who are most ready to support the program. From this point the analyst works upward until he has finished that unit, then he starts at the bottom of the next, and so on. In other words, the analyst always works upward from the bottom of each unit, but he never does this except when every executive above where he is working is openly in sympathy with what is being done.

The first draft of the job specifications should be given to the workers and their superiors for their O.K. When finally revised and completed, they should be signed by the workers and their superiors as proof that they are satisfactory. If this is not done, later on when some action is based on the specifications, the workmen or their superior may object to the action on the ground that the specifications are not correct. Two other more important reasons for securing such

signatures are that such action, first of all, insures careful scrutiny of the specifications and thus guarantees greater accuracy and, second, it generates a better feeling all round among the employees since they feel that the management is playing fair.

**Joint Cooperation with Employees.**—The objective of job analysis is to increase efficiency. This means both increased productivity and decreased working at cross purposes. Management is responsible for poor organization and its improvement; management may feel responsible for amount of production but it can never reach a maximum without the cooperation of the workers. The evidence is clear that few employees are working anywhere near up to their capacity.[1] The history of the scientific management movement is replete with incidents where management has not played fair and employees have been imposed upon. It is only to be expected that they will safeguard their position as far as possible. The present situation will continue as long as "cooperation" merely means doing what the boss wants. What is needed today is a realization that cooperation means the joint enterprise of two equals—employer and employee.

The recent legislation requiring collective bargaining as to wages and working conditions can never be satisfactory as long as there is no agreement as to what constitutes the job. It is inevitable that work standards will eventually be the subject of collective bargaining. The wise personnel organization will take the lead here rather than be forced into it by a sullen group of employees. It must be realized further that much of the data needed in job analysis is in the possession of employees and only as they willingly cooperate will it be secured. Such cooperation is essential if the revised standards are to be effective. The writer has seen both common workmen and college professors defeat new working conditions they did not like by the very effective means of procrastination. Finally, it must be realized that there is no such thing as a perfect, or absolutely right, work standard. All that can be said about any standard is that it is the best available under the circumstances. This means that it is always arrived at after the weighing of pros and cons. If the workmen have a say in its establishment they will understand it and cooperate in its enforcement. The writer has never found either workmen or college professors anxious to run the organization. It is only when they feel that working conditions are not fair and they have no hand in their formulation that serious opposition arises. The most important procedure in job analysis is the securing of cooperation from everyone concerned, both

[1] See, for example, Mathewson, S. B., "Restriction of Output among Unorganized Workers," New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1931.

executives and employees. It will depend upon circumstances, and particularly upon how fairly management has treated the employees in the past, how far the job analyst will have to go to secure proper support from the workers. A few words of explanation may be all that is necessary on the one hand and an elaborate organization of employee committees on the other hand.

It may be urged that such a program takes too much time and costs too much. Real progress unfortunately costs money and always comes slowly. If management is planning a long way ahead it must inevitably realize that steady gains in efficiency which employees accept as fair are much cheaper than sudden spurts which antagonize the personnel and occasionally lead to strikes.

**Follow-up.**—A business concern is a living organism. It is constantly changing just like a tree which puts forth new leaves and branches and sloughs off the old. For example, an employee in the production department may among his various duties keep certain records for the cost-accounting department. Little by little he does more and more cost accounting and less and less production work until finally he is devoting practically all his time to the former. But he may still remain an employee in the production department and his time be charged there. This sort of thing is going on all the time; in fact, the more progressive the business, the more the changes in performance of employees. The result is that the organization is always changing and many of the more recent shifts are unknown.

It is for this reason that job analysis is never finished. Job specifications and standards of procedure must be continually revised to keep them up to date.

## LIMITATIONS OF JOB ANALYSIS

Seemingly a perfect job specification would be a complete list of all the habits utilized by an employee in connection with his work, plus the statement as to the qualifications a man should have in order to acquire these habits within a reasonable length of time. But such a complete statement does not contain within it the most important aspect of the job, for the job consists of its parts, plus their proper coordination, and this coordination cannot be expressed in terms of parts, or at least has never been so expressed. This point was brought home to the writer most forcibly by studying the job specifications of a clergyman. At least 90 per cent of the items could be performed just as well by a layman. The peculiar essence of a minister's work was not included in the specification. This is true of every job, but it is particularly true of the more complex ones, particularly those

involving planning and coordinating of work. In the case of the simpler jobs the list of duties does define the job very well, in fact, quite adequately as far as present management is concerned. But even here it must be realized that a skilled act is no better described by a listing of the movements involved than would be the case in golf or tennis. It is the timing or coordinating of all these separate actions into one smoothly performed habit that constitutes skill. And this can be learned only after long-continued effort.

Job analysis is a very useful tool for management. Unfortunately, it has its limitations and these must be taken into account in its use. It must be radically improved or else a new tool must be invented before we shall be able really to describe a skillful act or the coordinating functions of a foreman or a higher executive.[1]

[1] Time and motion study is a further aid in analyzing a skilled performance but this does not yet give us a complete analysis. The very essence of the skill escapes us. Three references on this subject are: ALFORD, L. P., "Cost and Production Handbook," Sec. 10, New York, Ronald Press Company, 1934. DONALD, W. J., "Handbook of Business Administration" Chap. 8, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931. MOGENSEN, A. H., "Common Sense Applied to Motion and Time Study," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### SAFETY WORK

According to the National Safety Council,[1] 100,000 persons were killed in 1935 and 370,000 were permanently and totally disabled. Traffic accidents accounted for 37,000 of those killed, accidents in the home for 31,500, public accidents, not including motor vehicle mishaps, for 18,000, and occupational deaths for 16,500. In addition to these deaths and the serious injuries, it is estimated that there were 9,340,000 injuries of a less serious nature, many of which were quite trivial. Dublin[2] estimates that there were 3,000,000 accidents serious enough to cause interruption of work. There were only two diseases in 1934 which resulted in more deaths than did accidents—heart disease, with a death rate of 243.9 per 100,000 population, and cancer, with 106.2. Accidents had a death rate of 79.9.[3] Among men accident was second to heart disease, whereas in women it was sixth in cause of death.

The cost of this fearful disregard for human value is estimated at $3,450,000,000 by the actuaries of the National Safety Council. As billions mean very little to most of us, possibly the tremendous cost of accidents is more forcefully brought home by the experience of one industry, the taxicab business.

> The annual taxicab mileage is estimated at 2,200,000,000 miles, approximately one per cent of the total motor vehicle mileage of the country. The average cost for accidents in this industry alone is close to one cent per mile, or close to $22,000,000 a year.[4]

The worst of it is that most of these accidents "could have been avoided."

Motor vehicle fatalities have increased steadily from 1923, when there were 18,394 deaths in the United States, to 36,101 in 1934 and 37,000 in 1935. In the last ten years 312,000 men, women, and chil-

[1] "Accident Facts," National Safety Council, Chicago, 1936.

[2] DUBLIN, L. I., "The Job and the Life Span," *Harper's Magazine*, 1930, **160**, 439–448.

[3] The national death rate from accidents was 71.3 in 1932, 72.4 in 1933, 79.9 in 1934, and 78.4 in 1935.

[4] VITALES, M. S., "Industrial Psychology," p. 371, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1932.

dren have been killed on our highways. This is one-fourth more than all the soldiers who have been killed in action or have died of wounds in all the wars in which this country has been engaged.[1]

A plague that carried off as many people in a year as do our traffic accidents would leave a country huddled in fear. An earthquake that destroyed that many persons and wrecked as much property would be a world calamity. A flood that swept as many into the jaws of death and injured a million more would be an unprecedented horror. A famine that destroyed so many would rally all Christendom to the rescue. But when it is just reckless driving, we yawn and talk about something else.[2]

As an illustration of how needless many of these motor vehicle accidents are, note that during the first six months of 1935 there were approximately 600 grade-crossing accidents in which the automobile crashed into the train, with 116 fatalities and 905 injured. In 30 per cent of such cases the crossings were protected by safety devices and in 11 per cent the automobile crashed through safety gates before hitting the train. About 24 per cent of these accidents occurred during daylight.

TABLE XXIII.—INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS[1]

| Year | California | | New York | | Massachusetts | | Pennsylvania | | Four states | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Fatal | Non-fatal | Fatal | Non-fatal | Fatal | Non-fatal | Fatal | Non-fatal | Fatal | Non-fatal |
| 1917 | 626 | 57,692 | 1,570 | 311,836 | 481 | 78,308 | 3,072 | 224,808 | 5,749 | 672,440 |
| 1920 | 592 | 69,813 | 1,236 | 344,436 | 376 | 65,112 | 2,528 | 172,451 | 4,732 | 651,812 |
| 1922 | 708 | 70,028 | 1,421 | 292,423 | 306 | 50,999 | 1,890 | 144,365 | 4,325 | 557,815 |
| 1924 | 645 | 89,301 | 1,684 | 366,756 | 336 | 60,103 | 2,209 | 175,330 | 4,874 | 691,490 |
| 1926 | 763 | 92,020 | 1,787 | 482,916 | 313 | 59,175 | 2,116 | 178,284 | 4,979 | 812,395 |
| 1928 | 636 | 93,192 | 1,870 | 506,110 | 340 | 59,990 | 2,065 | 150,433 | 4,911 | 809,725 |
| 1930 | 637 | 81,389 | 2,006 | 469,504 | 344 | 61,397 | 1,752 | 142,917 | 4,739 | 755,207 |
| 1932 | 411 | 56,223 | 1,505 | 352,793 | 222 | 41,845 | 1,070 | 84,036 | 3,208 | 534,897 |

[1] "Industrial Accidents in the United States, 1917 to 1932," *Monthly Labor Review*, 1934, **38**, 1093-1100.

It is difficult to draw any conclusion as to whether industrial accidents are increasing or decreasing. Table XXIII gives data for four states but these are complicated by increasing population, fluctuations

[1] Revolutionary War, 4,044; War of 1812, 1,956; War with Mexico, 1,549; Civil War: Union forces, 110,070, Confederate forces, 74,524; War with Spain, 1,704; World War, 50,510; total, 244,357. Quoted from the *United States News*, Oct. 14, 1935.

[2] Editorial, *Los Angeles Times*.

in number employed, and variations in methods of gathering and reporting data. It is obvious that New York and Pennsylvania are not counting nonfatal accidents on the same basis. The National Safety Council has estimated industrial accidents as follows: 19,000 in 1928, 20,000 in 1929, 19,000 in 1930, 17,000 in 1931 and 15,000 in

TABLE XXIV.—RESULT OF ACCIDENT PREVENTION WORK IN SEVERAL SELECTED INDUSTRIES[1]

| Industry | Number of full-time workers | Number of accidents | Accident frequency rates (per 1,000,000 hours exposure) | | Accident severity rates (per 1,000 hours exposure) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Rate | Percentage of decrease | Rate | Percentage of decrease |
| Iron and steel: | | | | | | |
| 1910 | 202,157 | 45,283 | 74.67 | .. | 5.20 | |
| 1927 | 395,707 | 23,338 | 19.66 | 74 | 2.30 | 56 |
| Portland Cement Association: | | | | | | |
| 1919 | 16,247 | 2,119 | 43.47 | .. | .69 | |
| 1927 | 31,290 | 1,340 | 14.27 | 67 | .35 | 49 |
| Paper mills:[2] | | | | | | |
| 1920 | 26,525 | 3,684 | 46.34 | .. | 2.60 | |
| 1927 | 61,790 | 5,084 | 27.42 | 41 | 1.57 | 40 |
| Chemicals:[2] | | | | | | |
| 1923 | 6,015 | 443 | 24.55 | .. | 4.78 | |
| 1927 | 84,682 | 4,364 | 17.80 | 27 | 1.90 | 60 |
| Power presses:[2] | | | | | | |
| 1926 | 126,387 | 9,184 | 24.23 | .. | 1.39 | |
| 1927 | 149,359 | 8,717 | 19.45 | 20 | .93 | 33 |

[1] "Statistics of Industrial Accidents in the United States to the End of 1927," *U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin* 490, p. 5.

[2] Industrial accident experience of members of the National Safety Council.

1932. These figures are in general agreement with the death rates from accidental injuries per 100,000 of white male policy holders, aged 15 and over of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, namely: 30.4 in 1928, 35.9 in 1929, 31.0 in 1930, 27.3 in 1931, 22.9 in 1932, 21.2 in 1933, 23.6 in 1934, and 21.9 in 1935.[1] The decrease shown in these

[1] Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin*, July, 1936.

two instances might be explained on the basis of decreased industrial activity rather than genuine decrease in accident rate.

That accidents can be controlled is the claim of the National Safety Council, based on the experience of industrial concerns which have been reporting accident experience to them over a period of years. "These companies had a 1935 frequency rate (disabling injuries per million

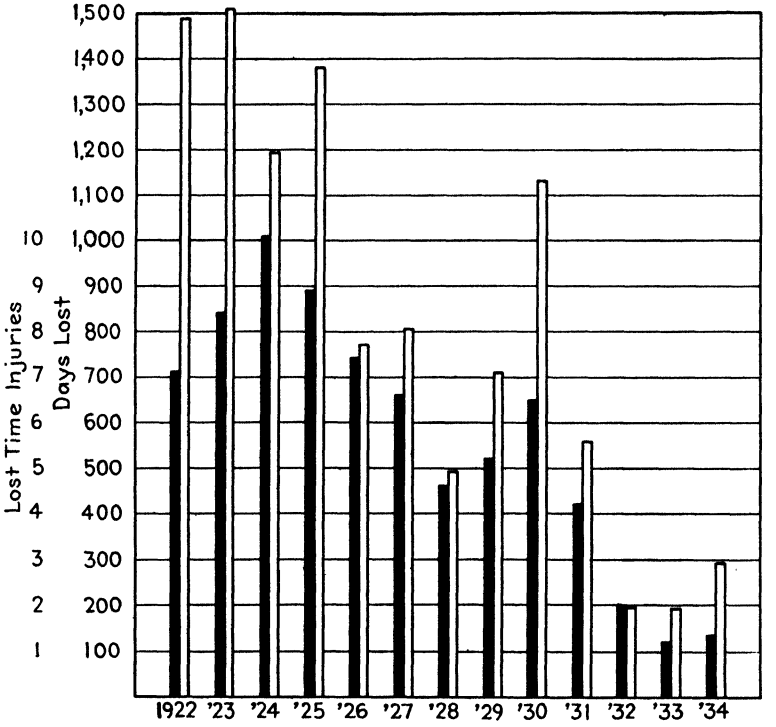



FIG. 71.—Decrease in accidents resulting from aggressive "Safety First" campaign in Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

Solid bars: lost-time injuries per 100 employees; hollow bars: days lost per 100 employees.

man-hours of exposure) which was 61 per cent below their rate in 1926, and a severity rate (days lost per 1,000 man-hours) 43 per cent below 1926." With the exception of three years there has been a decrease each year over the preceding year in both these accident rates over the period from 1926 to 1935. "In 30 major industrial groups, not one failed to achieve a lower accident frequency in 1935 than existed in 1926."[1] The data in Table XXIV indicate decided decreases in certain industries, or certain companies with progressive safety pro-

[1] "Accident Facts," *op. cit.*, p. 18.

grams in these industries. The graphs in Figs. 71 and 72 show very satisfactory progress in decreasing accidents in a public utility, where safety work has been carried on quite aggressively for many years. The accident rates (per 10,000,000 train-miles) for train men in freight and passenger service show a fairly steady decrease from 2.8 fatal and 67.5 nonfatal in 1913 to 1.4 fatal and 39.5 nonfatal in 1927.[1] The Pullman Company is advertising that in 1935 "Pullman cars carried 15,475,000 passengers 7,100,000,000 miles without a single passenger or employee fatality."

Determination of cost of an industrial accident is not easy; there are too many ramifications to permit of ordinary accounting procedures

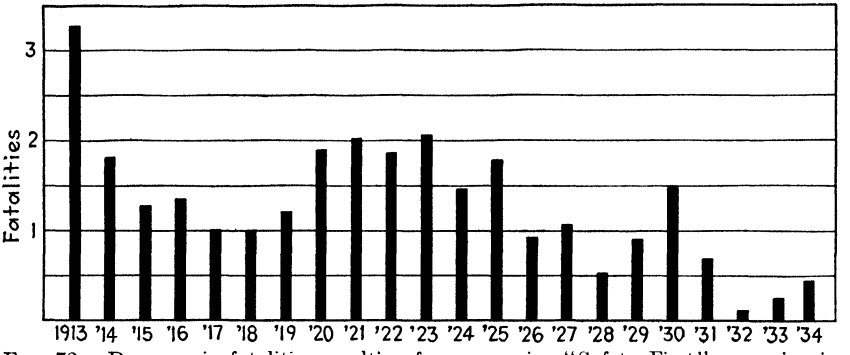



FIG. 72.—Decrease in fatalities resulting from agressive "Safety First" campaign in Pacific Gas and Electric Company.
Solid bars: fatalities per 1,000 employees.

in the situation. There is, first of all, the cost to the industry itself; cost of time of fellow employees who come to the rescue and of others who stop work out of curiosity; cost of time of foremen and supervisors in investigating the cause, breaking in a new man, making out reports, etc.; medical expense of physician and hospital; payment to injured under Workman's Compensation Law; delay in production schedule; etc. There is, second, the cost to the injured man himself: loss of the difference between full wages and what is paid under the Workman's Compensation Law; decreased earnings upon return to work because of temporary loss of skill; cost of canceled activities and interrupted plans as a result of physical disability; possibility of subsequent loss from improper healing or permanent incapacity. And, third, there is the loss to the man's family and society generally; death or permanent incapacitation may mean inability to obtain adequate education by the children, etc. All such costs are aside from the physical suffer-

[1] "Casualities Attending the Operation of Steam and Electric Railways," *U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Bulletin 490, 1929.

ing of the man himself and the mental anguish, worry, and disappointments inflicted upon himself, his family, and his friends.

## SAFETY MOVEMENT

The safety movement started about 1907 in the iron and steel industry. Five years later the National Safety Council was organized with a charter membership of 16 companies, which had grown in 1925 to more than 4,000 members employing over 13,000,000 workmen.[1]

> In the years immediately preceding 1906 there existed in American industry generally a frightful disregard of human life. Accident occurrence had reached a condition not paralleled perhaps at any other time or place. Two factors contributed to such a condition: First, an unprecedented degree of business activity; and, second, the introduction into the country of a larger proportion of inexperienced immigrant labor than at any other time before or since. The combination of these circumstances, with the absence of any organized safety effort as the term is understood today, produced accident rates of a degree of frequency and severity almost unbelievable when the records of the past are compared with those of today.[2]

As a result of this movement many companies have unquestionably reduced their accidents very materially. In addition to examples given above, mention may be made of "the United States Steel Corporation, having approximately 250,000 employees, which estimates that during the 12 years ending 1918 it had saved from death or serious injury 23,195 workmen—based on its accident record prior to 1906."[3]

But even in 1925 the safety movement had not received primary consideration from management. An editorial in *Management* stated:

> The outstanding features which characterize the present situation are: (1) Sustained general interest in industrial safety, accompanied by a lack of executive interest, (2) a pause in the reduction of industrial accidents, though the aggregate number in American industry is still enormous, (3) steadily increasing costs of safety work, (4) persistent unfavorable workmen's compensation loss ratios.
>
> The end of this situation will mark the close of the first or superficial stage of the safety movement and will usher in the second or more fundamental stage. It will also mark a shift of responsibility for the industrial safety program from the "safety man" to the management, for this desirable second stage and its progress cannot come until the interest and active participation of executives is secured.[4]

[1] PALMER, L. W., "History of the Safety Movement," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1926, **123**, 10.

[2] "Industrial Accidents and Their Prevention," *Federal Board for Vocational Education, Bulletin*, No. 47, 1919, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 8.

[4] "Real Safety Movement to Come," *Management*, 1925, **10**, 61.

Although there have always been executives who have been deeply concerned about accidents, it is generally said that most executives became interested in the subject after the passage of workmen's compensation laws, whereby it became financially worth while to decrease accidents.

**Accident Compensation Laws.**—The principle underlying compensation laws is well expressed by Gillin:

> Since disabling injuries by accident and disease are inevitable concomitants of that mechanical industry which has made modern civilization possible, and the products of which are enjoyed in fullest measure by the classes least exposed to its hazards; since the victims of these injuries are precisely those least able to bear the burden of economic loss themselves or to shift it to others; . . . those who are crippled in the production of the community's wealth, and the dependents of those who are killed, have a right to indemnity from the public for whom they wrought.[1]

The cost of accidents is, accordingly, to be considered as a cost of production just as much as the cost of replacing worn-out equipment.

Prior to the passage of accident compensation laws, the employer was usually able to escape damage claims for accidents of employees on the grounds of "contributory negligence" of the employee or of a "fellow servant" and of "assumption of risk" upon entering employment. These defenses have been eliminated and today the employer is responsible for all accidents except those occasioned by deliberate disobedience of instructions.[2] He must provide for proper medical attention and pay a definite proportion of the wages the workman would have earned if he had not been injured.

All this is fairer than it appears at first thought, for it has been shown by Heinrich[3] and many others that the basic causes of accidents are really only two: accidents owing to inadequate supervision and accidents arising from mechanical or material hazards. The former are responsible for 88 per cent of accidents, the latter for 10 per cent; the remaining 2 per cent are nonpreventable.

The same argument is now being applied to sickness resulting from employment. Satisfactory regulations will be more difficult to establish here than with respect to accidents, for in many cases it is far from easy to establish whether or not the employee contracted the disease as a result of his employment on the job; and also whether he is really sick or not.

[1] GILLIN, J. L., "Poverty and Dependence," p. 426, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1922.

[2] In California, for example, the indemnity is merely reduced one half where the injury is caused by the serious and willful misconduct of the injured employee.

[3] HEINRICH, H. W., "Executive Responsibility for Safety," *Manufacturing Industries*, 1928, **16**, 302.

Germany was the first country to provide legal provision for injured employees, in 1885. In the United States, Maryland was the first state to enact such legislation, in 1902; Montana was second, in 1910; and New York third, in 1911. By 1931 all the states, except Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina, had passed accident compensation laws for the protection of industrial workers.

The extent to which industrial concerns are interested in this movement is shown somewhat by the data gathered by Walters from 233 companies, see Table XXV.

TABLE XXV.—ATTENTION GIVEN SAFETY MOVEMENT IN 233 INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS[1]

| Activities | Percentage of total | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Maintain now | Dropped during depression | Dropped since N.I.R.A. | Adopted since N.I.R.A. | Considering adopting |
| Constant attention to mechanical safeguards | 92.3 | .5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Safety education | 75.1 | .6 | 0 | 0 | .6 |
| Safety conferences | 68.7 | 3.8 | 0 | .6 | 0 |
| Safety posters | 88.8 | 1.4 | 0 | .5 | 0 |
| Safety competition | 42.5 | 6.1 | 0 | 1.0 | 0 |
| Safety committees | 74.2 | 3.5 | 0 | .6 | 0 |

[1] Walters J. E., in collaboration with the Research Staff of the National Industrial Conference Board. See the board's bulletin, "Effect of the Depression on Industrial Relations Programs," 1934.

## SHIFTING EMPHASIS IN SAFETY WORK

In the development of safety work emphasis has been put upon four different aspects of the subject.

**Safeguard Machinery.**—The first emphasis was upon safeguarding working conditions. Elevators, for example, were supplied with gates, and revolving saws with guards. A vast amount of ingenuity has been exercised in this respect, with resulting large expenditures of money. According to Table XXV, 92 per cent of 233 companies investigated stress this feature today.

Gradually, it became apparent, however, that most accidents were not directly caused by defective machines. Stephenson, an English investigator, summarizes the situation by attributing one third of industrial accidents to the use of machinery but not more than one third of these machine accidents to the absence of guards, leaving about 90 per cent of present-day accidents to be accounted for as failures of

the human subject.[1] Similarly, only 7 per cent of all automobile accidents in America can be attributed to faulty cars. "This does not mean that there is only that proportion of faulty vehicles on the highways—far from it. But it does mean that the actions of drivers (and pedestrians) account for 93 per cent of our fearful experience."[2]

**Eliminate "Carelessness."**—The second aspect of safety work naturally became that of interesting the individual workman in the subject, since he was responsible for 90 per cent of all accidents. At the beginning it was assumed that this situation resulted from carelessness and that it was necessary to "sell" the workman a more careful attitude. A personal experience of the writer illustrates the problem. He had packed about 20 sticks of dynamite in a gunny sack and carried them from camp to a bridge site. Later on, while looking for a tool he carelessly picked up the gunny sack and tossed it out of the way onto a pile of equipment. Fortunately, nothing happened, but the resulting "bawling out" he got from the foreman and fellow workmen made a lasting impression. The problem here is how to influence the worker before he makes such mistakes, how to make him realize that the gunny sack is filled with dynamite.

The typical program has been about as follows. The safety engineer is placed in charge, not only of safeguarding machinery, but of educating the force. A central safety committee is set up, selected from among the general manager, superintendent, engineer, master mechanic, foremen, and employees. Its function is to supervise all safety work and review all inspection reports. Under this general committee is a workmen's committee for each department, who inspect all hazardous conditions, investigate all accidents in their department, and render written reports. The membership of such committees is rotated as an excellent method of educating the men. Each foreman is held responsible for accidents in his department. This necessitates individual instructions to his men, especially to new men. To facilitate the education of foremen a monthly conference is held to discuss safety procedures. The working force is acquainted with the whole program by posters and announcements on the bulletin board and through the award of prizes to departments making the best record.

A complete program of "selling" safety can never be accomplished within an industrial organization alone. Far more accidents take place in the home and on the highway than on the job. Children and

[1] STEPHENSON, A., "Accidents in Industry," *Journal of the Institute of Industrial Psychology*, 1926, **2**, 194–200.

[2] "Who Should Drive?" Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth*, 1935, **11**, No. 44, Part II, 25.

adults must be educated in this respect continuously if the accident rate of the country is to be effectively lowered. Part of this program must be directed against the superstition that possession of a charm, relic, or lucky coin is all that is necessary to ward evil away.

**Accidents as Evidence of Inefficiency.**—So long as 90 per cent of accidents were attributed to carelessness, management did not quite know what to do, but when the third aspect of the program became emphasized, namely, that accidents were evidence of inefficiency, then management knew very definitely what to do, for it had had extensive experience with this concept. Suppose, for example, as a loaded hand truck is being pushed down an aisle a heavy casting falls off and crushes the foot of an employee. Here is an accident that looks as though it just happened, or at best was occasioned by careless piling. But once it is realized that whether the casting hit someone or not, there was a delay in production just the same, then the incident is identified as inefficient work. The cure is proper instruction in loading trucks and enforcement of the regulations.

Instead of general and frequently aimless education about accidents, the third phase of safety work includes provision for safeguarding machinery, specific instruction as to how to do the job efficiently and safely, and strict enforcement of the rules. Thus, one large public utility found many accidents continued, regardless of safety education. But when penalties were attached in the form of layoff without pay, the accident rate dropped noticeably. Not until we really reach this stage with respect to traffic accidents will there be any noticeable decrease in the deaths and injuries on our highways. At the present time traffic violation fines are assessed far more to collect revenue than to effect safe driving.

The third emphasis in safety work does away with the concept of carelessness—accidents do not just happen—and substitutes the concept that accidents are evidence of inefficiency. There is some explanation for each accident, something or somebody is responsible, there is a more efficient way, and that way must be discovered and taught.

**Eliminate Individual Cause of Accident.**—Each accident is the result of a combination of causes. The specific causes differ from accident to accident and the combination is never the same for two different individuals. Once this is realized, the procedure in handling accidents is reduced to two steps: first, analyze the whole situation and determine the one or more causes; second, retrain the individual so that he will not repeat his inefficient, accident-producing, movements.

In going over the accident records of bus drivers for example, it was noticed that one chauffeur had had several accidents, all of minor

consequences. Further analysis showed that in each case the left rear of the bus was damaged. After an inspector had ridden with the driver for some time, he spotted what was wrong. The chauffeur drove along the right-hand side of the street and when he came to a parked car he drove up close to it and then turned out rather quickly. This procedure gave so little warning to any driver just behind that if he was not paying strict attention he would hit the bus. The bus driver was consequently instructed to start turning out much farther back, thus giving more warning to any car following.

This incident illustrates the latest emphasis in accident prevention, sometimes called the psychological or clinical approach. The general procedure is as follows:

1. Keep a record of all accidents, including the most trivial. The latter are an aid in identifying the accident-prone workman, since there is a distinct tendency for those having trivial accidents to have more than their share of serious ones.

2. Concentrate on the men with the worst accident records. (For example, in the case given in Table XXVI, the place to start is with

TABLE XXVI.—DISTRIBUTION OF ACCIDENTS AMONG 636 EMPLOYEES OF BOSTON ELEVATED RAILWAY BEFORE AND AFTER ACCIDENT ANALYSIS AND RETRAINING OF MEN WITH WORST RECORDS[1]

| Number of accidents in the year | Year | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1927 | 1929 |
| 0, 1, or 2 | 316 | 401 |
| 3, 4, or 5 | 218 | 209 |
| 6, 7, or 8 | 76 | 22 |
| 9, 10, or 11 | 26 | 4 |
| Total number of accidents | 1,924 | 1,399 |

[1] BINGHAM, W. V., and C. S. SLOCOMBE, "Safe Transportation," *Personnel Research Federation*, 1930, p. 4.

the 102 men having six or more accidents.) Analyze the situation of each one in turn, possibly observing them for several hours on the job, until their faults are identified. In some cases a job analysis will be necessary in order to ascertain the proper sequence of movements before attempting to discover what the employee is doing which is wrong.

3. Point out what is wrong. Show the worker the proper procedure. See that he learns how to follow it correctly.

4. Follow up the retraining with frequent inspections to see that he is continuing to do it properly.

5. Give the whole program good publicity, so that all concerned will know what is being done and why. Acquaint every employee with his past record and secure his active interest in bettering that record.

Authorities, such as Bingham and Vitales, stress the fact that only a small percentage of men cannot be retrained. These must be transferred to other work or, in a few cases, be discharged.

*Results of Clinical Procedure.*—The cost of injuries and damages to the Boston Elevated Railway was $1,502,314 in 1928 and $1,201,643 in 1929. The difference of $300,671 is attributed to analysis of accidents and retraining of the worst offenders. Table XXVI shows that there was a corresponding reduction of 525 accidents among 636 employees and that the greatest gain was among those employees having six to eleven accidents each. In January, 1930, all previous accident records (summer or winter) were broken. Collision accidents per 10,000 car miles were 1.16 which is less than one half those of the same month of 1927 (2.39).

## CAUSES OF ACCIDENTS

An accident is usually the outcome of a complex set of antecedents. Research makes plain that accidents cannot be attributed to any one factor or even to two or three factors. There are many factors, but they are not all present in any one accident. This means that the correlation between accident rate and any single factor will be low.

**Accident-prone Group.**—Four hypotheses may be set up with respect to the distribution of accidents among the population. The first hypothesis assumes accidents are distributed by pure chance. The second hypothesis assumes that those who have had accidents are thereby rendered more susceptible to future accidents. The third hypothesis postulates that individuals "do not start on an equal basis but that some are inherently more liable to accidents than others." The fourth hypothesis is the reverse of the second, namely that those who have had accidents learn thereby and so have fewer accidents later on. Greenwood and Woods[1] and later Newbold[2] studied the records of accidents in industrial concerns and have shown that of the first

[1] GREENWOOD, M., and H. M. WOODS, "The Incidence of Industrial Accidents, with Special Reference to Multiple Accidents," *Industrial Fatigue Research Board Reports*, No. 4, 1919, p. 25.

[2] NEWBOLD, E. M., "A Contribution to the Study of the Human Factor in the Causation of Accidents," *Industrial Fatigue Research Board Reports*, No. 34, 1919, p. 74.

three hypotheses, the third is most in agreement with the facts. This conclusion automatically eliminates the fourth hypothesis.

> The significance of this conclusion is far reaching. It suggests the practicability of foretelling, from an experience in one period, the average allotment of accidents amongst individuals in a subsequent period. It points to the desirability of transfer, to industrial processes relatively free from accident risks, of those individuals who are particularly susceptible to accident as an additional measure in preventing accidents in industry.[1]

Data, such as in Table XXVI, have been published in varied form, substantiating the above hypothesis that there is a relatively small proportion of the population that is peculiarly prone to have accidents.[2] "Marbe's law," or the "law of recurrence," expresses all this in another way; *i.e.*, "the probability that an individual will experience an accident can be determined from the number which he has already sustained."[3]

**Specific Factors.**—A very long list of factors contributing to accidents could be prepared, based upon various studies. Adequate consideration of them would require far more space than is available here. Consequently, only a few will be discussed and these very briefly.

*Age and Experience.*—"Inexperience is a prolific source of accident," according to Fisher.[4] His data based upon textile workers show a gradual decrease in accident rate from 181 per cent with less than one month of experience to 36 per cent with between 20 and 30 years of experience. The Travelers Insurance Company analyzed the records of 1,258,030 automobile drivers and found those between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-four years had a much lower fatality record than younger or older drivers. (See Table XXVII.) Bingham reports

> The older the man the fewer the accidents. This principle extends even to the group who had been with the company thirty years or more. Some of the men with the finest records during 1927 were about seventy years of age.[5]

[1] VITALES, M. S., "Industrial Psychology," pp. 339–340, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1932. See Chap. XVI to XVIII for more extended discussion of the whole subject of safety.

[2] Among 1,924 taxicab drivers, having 1,871 accidents, 10 per cent were responsible for 31.85 per cent of accidents, 20 per cent had 50.75 per cent of accidents, while 25.2 per cent had no accidents. "Preventing Taxicab Accidents," Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1931, p. 5.

[3] MARBE, K., "*Praktische Psychologie der Unfalle und Betriebsscheden*," p. 110, Oldenbourg, 1926.

[4] FISHER, B., "Mental Causes of Accidents," p. 34, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922.

[5] BINGHAM, W. V., "Personality and the Accident Habit," *AERA*, 1928, **19**, 722–723.

The inexperienced are most apt to be young workers, so that it is difficult to say how much inexperience, not age, is the cause of accidents in textile mills and how much age, not inexperience, is the cause of traffic accidents. In the case of Bingham's data it must be realized that many of the inefficient had been weeded out long before he tabulated his results.

Newbold,[1] using partial correlation technique, concludes that accidents tend to decrease with age, while accidents do not tend to decrease

TABLE XXVII.—RELATIONSHIP OF AGE OF AUTOMOBILE DRIVERS TO FATAL ACCIDENTS IN 1936[1]

| Age | Total drivers | Drivers in fatal accidents | No. of drivers in fatal accidents per 100 drivers involved | Per cent greater or less than average |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under 18 | 17,910 | 880 | 4.91 | +47.9 |
| 18–24 | 261,060 | 11,720 | 4.49 | +35.2 |
| 25–64 | 963,500 | 28,160 | 2.92 | −12.0 |
| 65 and over | 15,560 | 960 | 6.17 | +85.8 |
| Total | 1,258,030 | 41,720 | 3.32 | |

[1] Letter of Harry Barsantee, *The Travelers*, May 5, 1937.

with experience. Her data are based upon the records of 8,962 employees in 22 plants for periods of from three months to two years. Further studies are needed to establish the true relationship here.

*Fatigue.*—In early days industrial fatigue was conceived as a simple matter, the result of work, which rest would cure. Certain chemicals were used up in muscular activity and certain others, as carbon dioxide, were given off. Today we know that fatigue has reference to a very complex situation, that it is impossible to distinguish fatigue from inhibition or to separate the fatigue of continued work from that of monotony. There is, consequently, no satisfactory way to measure fatigue, because it is not one specific phenomenon but a mixture of many. For all practical purposes, it is best to eliminate the term fatigue and substitute for it the expression, "reduced capacity for doing work." Such reduction will be found to result from sheer inability to continue muscular work any longer, from mere loss of interest, from positive desire to do something else, and many other causes.[2]

[1] NEWBOLD, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–41.

[2] An interesting discussion is to be found in E. Mayo's "The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization," New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933.

In general, the rate of production during the day follows the course of the two upper curves in Fig. 73. There is typically a warming-up period at the beginning of both the morning and afternoon work periods, followed by a gradual decrease in performance until the end of the period. The lower two curves in the figure portray the accident rate, which increases steadily until a short time before the end of both work periods when there is a decided decrease in accidents.

The curve for personal injury accidents on the highway, given in Fig. 74, is somewhat similar to the two lower curves in Fig. 73, except

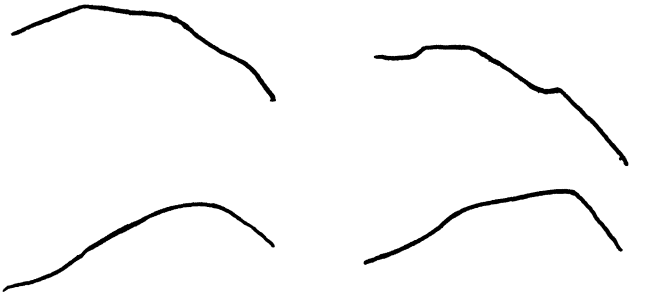


FIG. 73.—Typical production and accident curves in industry. The left-hand curves pertain to the morning and the right-hand curves to the afternoon; the interval between to the luncheon hour. (*From Burtt.*)[1]

that the afternoon section is very much higher than the morning section. Offhand, this could be explained by the factor of traffic density, which is undoubtedly heaviest between 4:30 and 6 P.M., if it were not that the accident rate is especially low between 8 and 9 A.M., when there is a somewhat similar traffic congestion.

Ryan and Warner report that the results from an experiment of theirs indicate that a long automobile drive has a fatigue effect on body reactions.

> There is an increase in unsteadiness, a decrease in accuracy of hand-eye coordination, a decrease in accuracy and speed of mental addition and color naming, a decrease in fading time of the vascular skin reaction, and a decrease in visual efficiency. These effects on the sensory discriminations, associative processes, and motor reactions may possibly be related to making a driver prone to accident[2].

Osborne and Vernon[3] present data which question the reliability of the oft-reported statement that "accidents rise as the output of the

[1] BURTT, H. E., "Psychology and Industrial Efficiency," pp. 154, 157, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1929.

[2] RYAN, A. H., and M. WARNER, "The Effect of Automobile Driving on the Reactions of the Driver," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1936, **48**, 403–421.

[3] OSBORNE, E. E., and H. M. VERNON, "The Influence of Temperature and other Conditions on the Frequency of Industrial Accidents," *Industrial Fatigue Research Board Reports*, No. 19, 1922, 17.

individual falls," which is certainly suggested from the curves in Fig. 73. They found this relation to hold for dayworkers but not for employees on the night shift. Here the highest accident rate was at the beginning of the night shift and the rate fell in general all night so that the lowest rate was just before quitting time in the morning. These authorities suggest that whereas the dayworker is looking forward as the day goes on to the enjoyment of the coming evening and therefore pays less and less attention to his work, the situation is

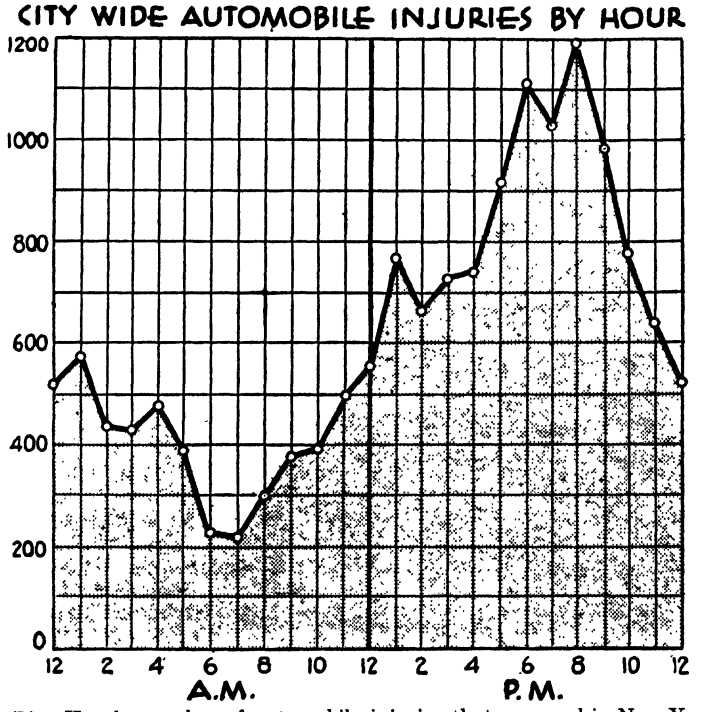



FIG. 74.—Hourly number of automobile injuries that occurred in New York City during the six-month period from January to June, 1937. The low was 221 at 7 A. M. and the high 1,192 at 8 P. M.

reversed for the nightworker, who has nothing to look forward to but going to bed. His enjoyment came before going to work and as the night advances he thinks less and less of what has passed and attends more and more to his work. What the worker is thinking about is, then, a factor in accident rate.

*Temperature.*—The body must be kept at the constant temperature of 98.6°. The more strenuous the work, the more the need for lowering the temperature of the body through perspiration. The higher the room temperature and the more stagnant the air, the more difficult

it is for this to be accomplished; the lower the temperature and the more air movement, the more easily it is done. Consequently, the proper measure of temperature in connection with accidents and production is with a wet-bulb thermometer, which takes these two factors into account.

According to one study, accident frequency rises from 130 at 47.5° Fahrenheit to 135 at 52.5° and falls to 100 at 67.5°. From there on the rate rises, slightly for women but very noticeably for men, reaching 140 at 77.5°. The above is based upon workers in three munition factories.[1] Undoubtedly, type of work will affect this relationship somewhat.

*Physiological Condition.*—Slocombe and Bingham[2] report the following relationship between high blood pressure in men over fifty years of age and accident liability.

| | Number | Number of accidents | Average per man |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abnormal blood pressure | 21 | 136 | 6.5 |
| Normal blood pressure | 38 | 110 | 3.0 |

Newbold[3] reports a correlation of .30 between frequency of visits to the medical dispensary and accidents but zero correlation between days absent owing to illness and accidents. Possibly, the factor here is not illness or inclination toward illness, but temperamental instability which causes frequent visits to the dispensary and also accidents.

Man is a very adaptable organism. If he cannot perform an operation one way, he uses a different set of muscles. Some people go right ahead, almost regardless of ills and pains which cause others to go to bed. Not long ago a man lost both legs in an accident. Today he drives his car, walks without a cane, and is very successful in a business he entered after his accident. A young man lost his right arm in an accident. While under the auspices of the Rehabilitation Board of the State of Colorado, he drew a very creditable sketch, although he had never had any art instruction and prior to the accident had not used his left hand for writing.

It is for such reasons that physical examinations afford only an insecure basis for prophesying who will have accidents or be efficient in

[1] OSBORNE, E. E., and H. M. VERNON, "Two Contributions to the Study of Accident Causation," *Industrial Fatigue Research Board Reports*, No. 19, 1922, 7.

[2] SLOCOMBE, C. S. and W. V. BINGHAM, "Men Who Have Accidents," *Personnel Journal*, 1927, **6**, 251–257.

[3] NEWBOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

some operation in the future. We may be sure that 100 men who have abnormal blood pressure or defective vision or who are somewhat under the influence of alcohol will have more accidents than 100 men free from these disabilities, but it is quite another matter to postulate what any individual one of the 200 will do.

Many studies as to the influence of alcohol upon performance have been made, but a final conclusion cannot yet be drawn up because of variations in results. In one such study, for example, students and chauffeurs were given the equivalent of alcohol contained in three light highballs.

> The effect of the alcohol was to reduce the speed of the selective reaction by 9.7 per cent; of the muscular reactions 17.4 per cent. In the power of concentration test, those taking alcohol showed 35.3 per cent more errors than did the controls, in the muscle coordination test 59.7 per cent more errors.[1]

*Psychological Factors.*—The majority of accidents cannot adequately be explained in terms of environmental factors or physiological conditions of the men involved. As a result, each investigator presents a list of more or less psychological factors to which he attributes the causes of many accidents. Unfortunately, the science of psychology has not yet been advanced to the point of establishing a standard list of terms for use in this connection.

Slocombe gives the following as the principal causes of accident proneness among 160 of the high accident men of the Boston Elevated Railway. Physiological defects were the principal characteristics of 16 of these. Of the remaining 144:

> In 30 cases the principal cause seems to be lack of understanding of factors constituting accident hazards of the highway. They had not learned to recognize, for instance, the significance of smoke coming from the tail of an automobile parked along the curb ahead. . . .
>
> The chief defect in 15 of the men seemed to be poor judgment of speed—their own speed and the relative speed of other vehicles. In 19 cases it was faulty judgment of distance, evidenced by repetition of some such type of accident as that which happens as the motorman's street car is rounding a corner and does not clear an automobile parked nearby. Taken together, poor judgment of speed and distance accounts for a total of 21 per cent of the entire group.
>
> Wrong attitude towards work, management or supervisor, accounted for 3 cases. Poor sensori-motor coordination, for 9 cases. Excessive perseveration, 7 cases.
>
> Inability to distribute attention, 7 cases. Oscillation of attention, 7 cases.
>
> Slowness of reaction, 5 cases. Excessive susceptibility to fatigue, 5 cases. Insufficient experience, 14 cases.

[1] "Who Should Drive?" Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth*, 1935, **11**, No. 44, Part II, 42. Based on P. Bahnsen, and K. Vedel-Petersen, *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, 1934, **16**. 304.

Nervousness and fear, 5 cases. Excitement and worry, 2 cases. Impulsiveness, a tendency to act too quickly in a situation, 3 cases. Irresponsibility, 4 cases. Chronic hurry, 6 cases. This leaves three miscellaneous unclassifiable.[1]

The existence of such lists, varying from investigator to investigator, focuses attention upon the very great value today of placing the emphasis upon analyzing each accident by itself, discovering the specific causes and determining what retraining is necessary so that the man will not repeat the faulty performance.

[1] BINGHAM, W. V., "Personality and Public Accidents—A Study of Accident-prone Drivers," *Transactions, Seventeenth Annual Safety Congress, National Safety Council*, 1928, **3**.

# PART VI

## EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIP

The preceding four chapters have considered certain aspects of the employer-employee relationship but primarily from the research point of view. The three phases of this relationship considered here are

Wants of employees and employers (Chap. XXVIII).

Leadership, not only in business but in other forms of group activity (Chap. XXIX).

Morale (Chap. XXX).

## CHAPTER XXVIII

## WHAT EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS WANT

Before one can formulate an adequate program of industrial relations it is essential that there be an understanding as to what both employees and employers want. The naïve assumption is widespread that the financial motive is almost the only one activating both workmen and employers. The point of view upheld here is that both groups have a great variety of wants; this is recognized to some extent by use of the terms financial and nonfinancial incentives; also, that both have far more wants in common than in conflict. The differences result to a very large degree from the fact that each group has certain wants fairly well satisfied and so, ignoring them, emphasizes those wants which are not satisfied.

As was pointed out in Chaps. V and VI, all men have certain basic wants. From these develop many derived wants, which may be viewed as habits or attitudes according to one's point of view. Once a habit is established, it takes on many of the characteristics of a basic want. Interference with a habit as well as with a basic want causes annoyance and the tendency to overcome the interference. It is because of this tendency that the cause of a labor disturbance may result from some seemingly trivial change in working conditions or from some slight or assumed insult. Usually, however, these seemingly trivial elements will not be mentioned; instead, workmen and employers will stress what appear to be more dignified and significant causes for their antagonism. To understand the causes of any disagreement between individuals it is essential that the total situation be analyzed in order to discover all the specific elements that are causing trouble.[1]

Furthermore, the tendency is for man to feel his wants rather than to analyze them and express them clearly in words. But only as they are clearly expressed can they be properly communicated to others, particularly to members of other groups who are not actually experiencing the situation. Here, again, there is evident a real need for knowing what men want.

[1] See p. 515 for discussion of this point in regard to the analysis of accidents.

## WHAT EMPLOYEES WANT

The British employer and writer on economic subjects, Rountree, told us back in 1919 that labor wanted four things: first, "a standard of living which, at the very least, will raise them above the poverty line;" second, "a share in controlling industrial conditions;" third, "freedom from the menace of unemployment, which at present hangs like a dark cloud over the lives of millions;" and fourth, "shorter hours . . . life should mean something more than 'bed and work.' "

After the employees of the department store of William Filene's Sons Company of Boston had had a Cooperative Association for some time, a committee formulated "what the Filene employee expects from his employer," namely,

1. A living wage—his full market value.
2. Reasonable continuity of employment.
3. Proper working conditions.
4. Opportunity of advancement.
5. Participation in the profits.
6. Protection and remuneration for long service or infirmity.
7. Reasonable opportunity for recreation or vacation.
8. Arbitration of any unfair conditions.
9. Opportunity to participate in cooperative movements.
10. Voice in management.[1]

One of the difficulties with all such formulations is the indefiniteness of meaning of the terms. What are, for example, "proper working conditions"? Would the same answer be given by different groups of employees? Rountree's fourth item "shorter hours" takes on a quite different meaning when the further expression "life should mean something more than 'bed and work' " is added.

John L. Lewis, leader of the C. I. O., is quoted in this connection as follows:

> Let the American workman have a sufficient participation in the increased efficiency of industry. Let him have decent wages, own his own home, educate his children.
>
> Create a citizen with a stake in the country and at all times he will fight to protect that stake. He can be trusted not to follow false gods or false leaders to a point where the stability of the Nation in its domestic economy would be impaired. . . .

[1] FILENE, A. L., "A Merchant's Horizon," p. 150, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

To the question "Does the Employee Get It?" the answer was "Yes" to all ten questions except numbers 5 and 6. To number 5 the committee replied "Bonus, Yes, Profit-sharing, No." To number 6, "No, except as charity." To number 10, the answer was "Representation in the Board of Directors Arbitration Board." "Not an employee requirement, nor highly valued by every employee."

Labor wants and demands the right to a larger participation in industry's increasing productiveness. It wants a larger part in the Government of this country. It wants an equality of opportunity. It wants the privilege of helping make the policy of the Nation.[1]

In order to obtain what might be a more complete list of the wants of employees the writer has read through a number of articles and books bearing on this subject which are referred to in this chapter. From these he has jotted down what organized labor was demanding for employees. Such items can be divided into two groups: what employees want as individuals and what they want as members of labor organizations. Items of the first group have been assembled together for convenience. It should be appreciated, however, that other possible groupings would give a somewhat different impression.

1. Steady employment: ("'right to work' is the 'right to life'"); no discharge without cause; ("ownership" or "vested interest," in job); security of job ("first requirement for safeguarding the worker's self-respect"); seniority.
2. Job requirements:
   Instructions, clear and implicit.
   Definite allocation of responsibility.
   Freedom to do job in own way.
   Being consulted about changes in job.
   Good equipment and materials.
   Working rules which safeguard dignified treatment.
3. Working conditions:
   Protection against accidents.
   Protection against illness.
   Proper heating, lighting, ventilation, sanitation.
4. Wage:
   Equitable.
   Higher.[2]
   Sufficient to provide for comfort.
   Proper differential between pay of unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled.
5. Hours of labor:
   Shorter working day.[2]
   Shorter working week.[2]
   One day's rest in seven (two days in seven).
   Annual vacation.
6. Escape from fatigue, strain, exhaustion, monotony.
7. Treatment as an individual:
   Respect for his opinions.
   Voice in control of welfare conditions.

[1] CARLISLE, J. M., "Labor and Lewis—Where Do They Go from Here?" In *This World, San Francisco Chronicle,* May 16, 1937, 12.

[2] What seems to be wanted is higher wages and a shorter working day and week than that possessed today. Will these ever be satisfactory? A man working for himself, on the other hand, has a desire for a longer day in order to obtain more income.

Greater individual freedom, social justice ("ruled almost absolutely by mil boss").
Right to think.
Chance of self-realization.
Freedom to consult, to make suggestions.
Confidence of superiors.

8. Workmanship. Enjoyment in his work:
   Knowledge of job results.
   Knowledge of larger affairs of business.
9. Voice and free will in determining work conditions. Sense of responsibility.
10. Grievances satisfactorily adjusted.
11. Opportunity to rise on his merits.
12. Boss, decent:
    Real leader.
    Manifesting fairness, not sympathy.
13. Approval of fellows and public, prestige.
14. Recreational facilities, leisure.
15. Savings, ownership of home.
16. Insurance against risks of life:
    Accidents.
    Sickness.
    Old age.
    Death (for family).
    Unemployment.
17. "Life abundant": More education for self and children.[1]
    Best existence and happiness possible for family.

**Wants of Organized Labor.**—A labor union is a business organization.

Its raison d'être and primary purpose are to increase the bargaining power of its members: to compel employers, through sheer economic necessity if necessary, to recognize its right to a voice in the determination of labor conditions and to enter into agreements or contracts with it.[2]

The workingman himself in turn, regards his membership in a labor union as chiefly, if not wholly, a business proposition. . . . The principal bond is one of financial returns rather than of affection. . . . His loyalty and support, in short, depend upon the ability of the union to find him a job (or its ability to exclude him from a job if he is not a member), and upon its power to protect or improve his conditions of labor and standard of living . . . a union . . . is a more or less

[1] The safest and most comprehensive reply to the question, "What are the chief aspirations of labor?" would be found, according to Catlin, "in the two words 'security' and 'opportunity'—security of employment and of income, security of life, limb, and health, security of old age; opportunity for leisure and recreation, opportunity for education—if not for itself, for his children—opportunity for advancement in position and well-being, the right to think, a chance for self-realization." CATLIN, W. B., "The Labor Problem," pp. 9–10, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

[2] *Ibid.*, 335.

permanent combination of labor, seeking to safeguard and, if possible, advance the interests of its members through collective bargaining.[1]

A labor organization, like any other business structure, must strive for those ends which will best continue its own existence. It must attract and hold its membership. To do this it must give its members what they want. It must also secure certain features which the members may or may not care about but which are essential for its own continuance. Thus, the average workman may be indifferent to collective bargaining itself but, as that is the chief method by which organized labor advances its cause, it is ranked as the chief desideratum of that body. As late as 1931 the American Federation of Labor opposed unemployment insurance very largely because the necessary supervision and control of both federal and state governments would deprive the worker of the freedom to fight for better conditions, *i.e.*, it would eliminate to a considerable degree the primary function of organized labor.

Some, at least, of the distinctive wants of organized labor follow:

1. Collective bargaining.
2. Representatives chosen by men.
3. Recognition of union.
4. Closed shop, which involves among other things that the union selects employees for the employers.
5. Employee not to be discharged for union activities.
6. Higher standard of living, "endlessly enlarged."
7. Handling of grievances by union representatives.
8. Seniority in promotion.
9. No piecework.
10. Prohibition of scientific management in government shops.
11. Increased productivity of labor.
12. Opposition to compulsory arbitration.
13. Child labor restrictions and regulations.
14. Protection of women employees, minimum wage, limitation of hours of labor.
15. No wage and hours of labor regulation by government.[2]
16. Nation-wide employment service.
17. Government ownership of public and semipublic utilities, railroads, and mines.
18. Increased appropriations for Department of Labor.

## INSTINCT THEORY[3]

Certain authorities have attempted to explain the behavior of working people in terms of instincts. These "furnish him ready-made

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 336–337.

[2] Considerable evidence exists today of a change in attitude in this respect.

[3] See Chap. V for discussion of this topic.

all his motives for conduct, all his desires, economic or wasteful, moral or depraved, crass or aesthetic."[1] "Human life is dynamic, change, movement, evolution, are its basic characteristics, self expression, and therefore freedom of choice and movement, are prerequisites to a satisfying human state."[2]

Carleton Parker explained industrial strife and the I.W.W. in terms of instincts, largely in terms of balked personal desires. From 1913 until his death in 1918, he devoted much of his time to investigating industrial strikes and riots, first as Executive Secretary of the California State Immigration and Housing Commission and, later, Government Mediator in the Northwest. He wrote:

> If the environment through any of the conventional instruments of repression, such as extreme religious orthodoxy, economic inferiority, imprisonment, or physical disfigurement, such as short stature or a crippled body, repress the full psychological expression in the field of the instinct tendencies, then a psychic revolt, a slipping into abnormal mental functioning, takes place, with the usual result that society accuses this revolutionist of being either willfully inefficient, alcoholic, a syndicalist, supersensitive, an agnostic, or insane.[3]
>
> These guilt obsessions result almost universally in an inferiority phobia, a *minderwertigkeit*, a feeling of guilt. This inferiority-realization creates two types of reaction—either the person affected is weak-kneed, submissive, yellow-streaked, a backslider, a fair-weather friend; or secondly, he becomes a strange creature who compensates for his inferiority by an aggressive ordering of his life as if he were imbued with the opposite character virtues.[4] The balked laborer follows one of the two described lines of conduct. First, either weakens, becomes inefficient, drifts away, loses interest in the quality of his work, drinks, deserts his family, or, secondly, he indulges in a true type-inferiority compensation and in order to dignify himself, to eliminate for himself his inferiority in his own eyes, he strikes or brings on a strike, he commits violence or he stays on the job and injures machinery, or mutilates the materials; he is fit food for dynamite conspiracies. He is ready to make sabotage a part of his regular habit scheme. His condition is one of mental stress and unfocussed psychic unrest, and could in all accuracy be called a definite industrial psychosis. He is neither willful nor responsible, he is suffering from a stereotyped mental disease.[5]
>
> The most notable inferiority compensation in industrial life is the strike.[6] Union recognition, the closed shop, the sympathetic strike, are not pursued by the unionist because of any deep realization of the ethical or strategic significance of the issue, but because it is a means of expressing resentment at the stresses and strains of their position. This diverted energy becomes a relief activity, and activity tending, curiously, to reestablish the unionist's dignity in his own eyes.[7]

[1] PARKER, C. H., "The Casual Laborer and Other Essays," p. 133, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1920.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 138–139.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Parker believed a strike is the more or less natural result of bad conditions. His description of the situation which led to the riot in the hop fields of Wheatland, California, in 1913 in which several men were killed, follows:

The story of the Wheatland hop pickers riot is as simple as the facts of it are new and naïve in strike histories. Twenty-eight hundred pickers were camped on a treeless hill which was part of the Durst ranch, the largest single employer of agricultural labor in the state. Some were in tents, some in topless squares of sacking or with piles of straw. Eight small toilets had been erected and four days use had made them revoltingly filthy. No toilets had been allotted to women. There was no organization for sanitation, no garbage disposal. The temperature during the week of the riot had remained near 105 degrees and though the wells were a mile from where the men, women, and children were picking, and their bags could not be left for fear of theft of the hops, no water was sent into the fields. A lemonade wagon appeared at the end of the week, later found to be a concession granted to a cousin of the ranch owner. Local Wheatland stores were forbidden to send delivery wagons to the camp grounds. It developed in the state investigation that the owner of the ranch received half of the net profit earned by an alleged independent grocery store which had been granted the "grocery concession" and was located in the center of the camp ground.[1]

The pickers in August, 1913, were drawn from three sources. About a third came from California towns and cities, men and boys who form the great class of town casuals, and the wives and children from various strata of the middle class. Another third were families from the Sierra foothills, quasi-gypsies, with carts or ramshackle wagons. The final third were the migratories,—the pure hobo, or his California exemplar, the "fruit tramp"; Hindus; and a large body of Japanese. There was much old-time California blood in this group, and even if the individuals had come upon evil economic days, their idea of personal dignity and their devotion to certain strange western "rights" had remained most positive. They began coming to Wheatland on Tuesday, and by Sunday the irritation over the wage scale, the absence of water in the fields, plus the persistent heat and the increasing indignity of the camp, had resulted in mass meetings, violent talk, and a general strike.

The ranch owner, a nervous man, was harassed by the rush of work brought on by the too rapidly ripening hops, and indignant at the jeers and catcalls which greeted his appearance near the meetings of the pickers. Confused with a crisis outside his slender social philosophy, he acted true to his tradition and perhaps his type, and called on a sheriff's posse. What industrial relationship had existed was too insecure to stand such a procedure. It disappeared entirely, leaving in control the instincts and vagaries of a mob on one hand, and great apprehension and inexperience on the other.

As if a stage had been set, the posse arrived in automobiles at the instant when the officially "wanted" strike leader was addressing a mass meeting of excited men, women, and children. After a short and typical period of skirmishing and the minor and major events of arresting a person under such circumstances, a member of the posse standing outside fired a double-barrelled shot gun over the heads of the crowd, "to sober them," as he explained it. Four men were killed, two of the posse and two of the strikers, and the posse fled in their automobiles

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.

to the county seat, and all that night the roads out of Wheatland were filled with pickers leaving the camp. Eight months later two hop pickers, proven to be the leaders of the strike and its agitation, were convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to life imprisonment. Their appeal for a new trial was denied.[1]

Parker believed furthermore that the I.W.W. "gained their cause-for-being from intimate and unendurable oppression" as has been the case of "all the famous revolutionary movements of history." "The shrewdest I.W.W. leaders we found said, 'We can't agitate in the country unless things are rotten enough to bring the crowd along.' "[2]

Parker has this to say about the responsibility for such conditions and the remedy.

It is argued: First, that when unsanitary conditions lead to discontent so intense that the crowd can be incited to bloodshed, those responsible for the unsanitary conditions are to be held legally responsible for the bloodshed, as well as the actual inciters of the riot. Second, that, if the law will not reach out so far as to hold the creator of unsanitary, unlivable conditions guilty of bloodshed, at any rate such conditions excuse the inciters from liability, because inciters are the involuntary transmitting agents of an uncontrollable force set in motion by those who created the unlivable conditions.[3]

It is the opinion of your investigator that the improvement of living conditions in the labor camps will have the immediate effect of making the recurrence of impassioned, violent strikes and riots not only improbable, but impossible; and furthermore, such improvement will go far towards eradicating the hatred and bitterness in the minds of the employers and in the minds of the roving, migratory laborers. This accomplished, the two conflicting parties will be in a position to meet on a saner, more constructive basis, in solving the further industrial problems arising between them.[4]

## WORKMANSHIP

One so-called instinct has received especial attention, that is, workmanship, or the creative instinct. Influenced by William James and McDougall, the economist Veblen wrote "The Instinct of Work-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–67. In a report to the Governor of California in March, 1914, Parker stated: "These conditions described were more or less typical of much of farm and construction work throughout the state at that time. It is only fair to state that the ranch referred to in this specific report has since been turned into a model labor camp. . . . Among other revolutionary improvements, there is a reading room for men, with books, magazines, and a victrola. Ford and Suhr are still in jail, but the California casual can hardly recognize today the fly-proof, sanitary haunts of his unscreened, ungarbaged past. The clean-up of camps under the State Immigration and Housing Commission has been a concrete accomplished fact." (*Ibid.*, p. 169.)

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[3] PARKER, C. S., "An American Idyll, the Life of Carleton H. Parker," p. 75, Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1919.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

manship" in 1914. He makes it clear that workmanship is not a simple nor an irreducible element in the psychological sense.[1] It is auxiliary to all the other instincts, "concerned with the ways and means of life rather than with any one given ulterior end."[2] "Under the impulse of workmanship the agent's interest and endeavor are taken up with the contriving of ways and means to the end sought."[3] "It does not commonly, or normally, work to an independent, creative end of its own, but is rather concerned with the ways and means whereby instinctively given purposes are to be accomplished."[4] "The instinct of workmanship is in the main a propensity to work out the ends which the parental bent makes worth while."[5]

Subsequent writers seem to have assumed that the instinct of workmanship caused people to work spontaneously in the same sense that the instinct of eating leads to eating. Thus, the economist, Taussig, writes

> But if there is a spontaneous impulse,—spontaneous in the sense of not being dependent for its initiation on a calculated gain,—we may be led to conclude that the patent system, for example, is a huge mistake. Men would invent anyhow: they obey the instinct and therein take joy.[6]

Marot assumes that man has a creative impulse and that he has a need for expression of it. She tells us that

> . . . the creative impulse is concerned with the transforming of a concept or some material into an expanded concept or a new object. The creative impulse itself finds its satisfaction in the process of completion and loses its force when the object is produced. The use of the concept or object created is not a characteristic of the creative but of the social impulse. A man who is interested in the use or application of a product, the value it has for others, possesses the social impulse as well as the creative.[7]

Marot further defines the creative impulse by stating that

> . . . the creative effort is not *necessarily* an individual matter. It may be possible for a group of people to associate cordially and freely together with a single creative purpose and endeavor. It may be possible for each worker to experience the joy of creative work as he takes part with others in the planning of the work along with the labor of fabrication. It is a creative experience or dull labor as his

[1] VEBLEN, THORSTEIN, "The Instinct of Workmanship," p. 27, B. W. Huebsch, 1914.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[6] TAUSSIG, F. W., "Inventors and Money-makers," pp. 17–18, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915.

[7] MAROT, H., "Creative Impulse in Industry," pp. 136–137, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1918.

association with others in the solution of the problem is freely pursued and genuine, or as it is forced and perfunctory.[1]

Because of our inability to lose our personal attachment for our own work, because of what it may yield us in personal ways, the world never yet has experienced the joy and creative possibility of associated effort.[2]

There is no provision in our industrial institution for the common run of men to function creatively.[3] There was opportunity then [period of craftsmanship] as there is not now for the worker to gain the valuable experience of initiating an idea and carrying the production of an article to its completion for use and sale in the market; there was the opportunity then also as there is not now, for the worker to gain a high degree of technique and a valuation of his workmanship.[4]

Long and weary experience has proved that wage earners under factory methods and machine conditions are not interested in maintaining standards of work. The standards which are set by the scientific management schemes of efficiency are not, to be sure, the qualitative standards of craftsmanship but they are qualitative as well as quantitative standards of machine work. . . . The point in scientific management is that efficiency depends, wholly depends they believe, on centralizing the responsibility for setting and maintaining workmanship standards, on transferring the responsibility for standards of work from workers who do it, to the management who directs it done.[5]

According to Marot, employers believe that

. . . from 95 to 99 per cent of the working force is without productive impulse, that this condition of development represents, as they say it does, the "native limitation" of the men who work.[6] What the financiers and industrial managers most want is efficient, docile labor.[7]

Work is universally conceived as something which people endure for the sake of being "paid off." Being paid off, it seems abundantly clear, is the only reason a sane man can have for working. After he is paid off the assumption is his pleasure will begin. A popular idea of play is the absence of work, the consumption of wealth, being entertained.[8]

The labor movement gets its stimulus, its high pitch of interest, not from its struggle for higher wage rates, but from the worker's participation in the administration of affairs connected with life in the shop.[9] Reform in labor hours (shorter work hours, rest periods, change-off from one kind of routine work to another) does not compensate the worker for his exclusion from the directing end of the enterprise of which he is a part and from a position where he can understand the purpose of his work.[10]

Miss Marot quotes from a report of Robert Wolf before the Taylor Society which has been frequently referred to by other writers.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

In describing the process of extracting the last possible amount of water from paper pulp, Wolf said:

Our problem was to determine the best length of time to keep the low pressure on, as the high pressure is governed entirely by the production coming from the wet machine. After having determined that three minutes of low pressure . . gives maximum moisture test, we furnished each man on the wet machines with a clock and asked him to leave this low pressure on just three minutes. As long as the foremen kept constantly after their men and vigilantly followed them up we obtained some slight increase in the test; but it required a constant urging upon our part to focus the attention of the men upon this three-minute time of low pressure. . . . We realized finally that in order to get the results we were after, it was necessary for us to produce *a desire* upon the part of our men to do this work in the proper way . . . so we designed an instrument which would give us a record of the time lost between pressing operations, also the number of minutes the low pressure was kept on. It took us something over a year to perfect this machine, but after it was finally perfected and a record of the operations made, we found that the men actually were operating at an average efficiency of 42 per cent. . . . Our next step was to post a daily record of the relative standing of the men in the machine room, putting the men who had the best record at the top of the list, in order of their weekly average efficiencies. . . . As a result of simply posting this record our efficiencies rose to over 60 per cent. . . . Some of the best and most skilled men had an efficiency of over 80 per cent, but quite a large percentage of them were down below 50 per cent. We therefore decided that it was necessary to have the foreman give more detailed information to the men as to what the machine meant and how their efficiencies were obtained and to put the instrument which did the recording into a glass case in the machine room where all the men could see it. Each foreman took a portion of the chart and one of the celluloid scales by which we obtained the efficiencies and explained in detail to each one of the men how their records were calculated. As a result of this, our efficiency rose from 60 per cent to 80 per cent in less than four weeks, and it has remained at 80 per cent ever since—(ever since being over two years).[1]

Marot writes that this was accomplished, according to Wolf,

. . . without resorting to piece work or bonus or any of the special methods of payments, their men being hired by the day throughout the entire plant. Mr. Wolf accomplished the result by giving meaning to a meaningless task, by letting the men see for themselves how they arrived at results, letting them see the different processes of getting results and knowing on their own account which were the most valuable.[2]

Wolf's own comments on his procedure are

Our efforts, ever since we began to realize the workman's point of view, have been not to take responsibility from him. It is our plan to increase his responsibility and we feel that it is our duty to teach him to exercise his reasoning power

[1] WOLF, R., "Control and Consent," *Bulletin of the Taylor Society*, March, 1917, III-2, 10.

[2] MAROT, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.

and intelligence to its fullest extent. There is *no advantage gained by stimulating a man's reasoning power, and through this means his creative faculty, if the management relieves the man of the responsibility for each individual operation.* The opportunity for self-expression, which is synonymous with joy in work, is something that the workman is entitled to, and we employers who feel that management is to become a true science must begin to think less of the science of material things and think more of the science of human relationships. Our industries must become *humanized,* otherwise there will be no relief from the present state of unrest in the industries of the world.

In this connection it might be well to observe that our experience in the pulp industry has been that instructions which go *too much into detail* tend to deaden interest in the work. We realize fully the value of sufficient instructions to get uniform results, but we try to leave as much as possible to the judgment of the individual operator, making our instructions take more the form of constant *teaching of principles* involved in the operation than of definite *fixed rules* of procedure. It is necessary to produce a desire in the heart of the workman to do good work. No amount of coercion will enlist him thoroughly in the service.

The new efficiency is going to reckon a great deal more with the needs of the individual man; but in order to do this, it must have some philosophical conception of the reason for man's existence. *It is beginning to be understood that when we deny to vast numbers of individuals the opportunity to do creative work, we are violating a great universal law.*[1]

There is a great deal of truth in the foregoing remarks. Unfortunately, we are not yet in a position to weigh the exact amount. Few, if any, psychologists believe there is an instinct of workmanship as described above. Man is a dynamic organism and enjoys activity for its own sake: hence, he is constantly attending to objects, particularly moving ones, and he is constantly manipulating what catches his attention. But such proclivities do not guarantee construction of worth-while objects; they do not lead to long-continued activity in the same direction. What the world calls worth-while construction occurs when man is endeavoring to satisfy any one of his myriad wants and conquers the obstacle in an adequate manner. The joy of work is the elation of overcoming a difficulty. The difference between work and play is very largely not in what is done but in why it is done. The less one is concerned about the goal to be reached, the more the task is work; the more one is interested in achieving the goal, the more the task becomes play. Desire for approval is another potent factor in explaining the "creative impulse." Our conception of what is worth while is based very largely upon the approval and disapproval of our fellows. A group of workmen who have been loitering on the job will work like fury when a life is at stake, for now all approve of the effort put forth.

[1] WOLF, R., *op. cit.*, 6.

### WORTH-WHILENESS

When many believed and feared that industrial democracy meant to workingmen the taking over of the management of industrial concerns, Whiting Williams left his position of personnel manager of a steel company and went to work in coal mines and steel plants to find out "what's on the worker's mind." Just as Filene discovered that his employees were not desirous of great responsibilities so Williams found

> . . . these workers have got only . . . to the point of wanting to put their feet—the feet of their representatives—under the same table with the plant heads and then negotiate, or, as they say, bargain, for better wages and hours and working conditions. After that at some distant time, maybe, they may want more, but why bother about that now? Just now—and for a long time to come—they are all more interested in getting a vested interest in the *job* than in the plant or management, general misunderstanding to the contrary notwithstanding.[1]

Williams expresses the mainspring of employees in the single word "Worth-whileness." He writes:

> The prime influence on all of us today is our wish to enjoy the feeling of our worth as persons among other persons. This feeling can hardly exist without a corresponding recognition and respect on the part of others.[2] Everywhere and continually are we driven by the need of maintaining our belief in ourselves.[3] The maintaining of our "face" becomes nothing less than a vastly complicated responsibility.[4] This never-ceasing effort to avoid the sense of final and irretrievable net inferiority among our group—this is what makes each of us at every moment so complex and yet so unified a "going concern."[5] First, then the initial demand within us to be "worth while" and second, the encouraging approvals and the opposing disapprovals of others to whom we give attention—these two forces and the constant interplay between them we must understand if we are to know the mainsprings of our neighbors and ourselves.[6]
>
> It is impossible, therefore, to judge the effect of either wage or other conditions of work apart from the relationship the work permits with other persons. What every worker knows is this: that sooner or later the final joy of his work is settled, not by him nor by his employer, but by the social standing awarded him by his fellow citizens.[7]

The above is well illustrated in the following incident.

[1] WILLIAMS, WHITING, "What's on the Worker's Mind," pp. 170–171, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.

[2] WILLIAMS, WHITING, "Mainsprings of Men," p. 147, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

"Charley, how'd you like to join the Meelwright gang?" the foreman called to me. He appeared to think he was offering a distinguished honor—in spite of his explanation that it paid only two cents an hour more. The change was accepted with indifference: surely so slight an increase in pay could not mean much of a promotion. Half an hour sufficed to prove my error. As I came by my former companions, carrying oil-can and wrench, I made a veritable sensation! Every one of these old friends leaned upon his shovel and wiped the sweat and dirt out of his eyes while he exclaimed:

"Hey, Boodie! W'ere you catch-em job?—Meelwright gang? Oil-can and wr-rench! No more . . . shovel! My Ga-wd!"

From that moment it was possible to talk familiarly with the first and second helpers, those experts who peer through their colored spectacles into the changing conditions of the furnace's "bath" of "hot metal" up to the instant of the "tapping." For three weeks I had puzzled why these men would have nothing to do with me. Now we were suddenly become pals! But this was not all. My elevation brought honor not only inside but outside the plant. Without doubt, if my wife had lived near by, she would have received the congratulations of the wives of the unskilled laborers: "Your man he catch-em fine job!" And not one of them but would have observed closely, the next day, to see whether she continued to speak to them![1]

All this, manifestly enough, describes a system of caste or relative social statuses *based on work*. It corresponds, accordingly to that other system of caste with which most of us are more familiar, namely, that of the relative social statuses *based on property*.[2]

The pay received, the conditions surrounding the job, and the usefulness of the job ("and so of its doer") all contribute to the status of the worker. Is it any wonder that the job looms so important in the mind of the worker and that he struggles to achieve some form of property right in the job?

Williams summarizes his outstanding impressions as follows:

First. The astonishing consequences which follow in the lives of millions from the restrictions of their material and their dollars-and-cents conditions—consequences physiological, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual.

Second. The surprising vastness of the gap which everywhere among the workers separates the holder of a "swell" job from the holder of a "bum" one, and most of all divides the possessor of *any* job at all from the luckless vagrant who possesses none and knows not where to find one.

Third. The amazing ignorance, on the part of employer and employee, of each other's deeper purposes and desires—the incredible ease and certainty with which each of these groups proceeds to justify to itself its own view-point regarding the other. So far from caring to indulge in mutual study, each appears so often to feel that it already knows too much about the other!

Fourth. The unbelievable importance of the worker's feelings and experiences rather than his logic or reason, as a factor in all his view-points and attitudes.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Fifth. The unity of life and labor—the complete impossibility of walling off the factory from the home, the worker from the citizen, of dividing the hankerings of a man's working hours off from those of his hours of leisure.[1]

## RELATIVE STRENGTH OF WANTS

It is important to know what man wants but, because of the number and complexity of his wants, it is still more important to ascertain which of his wants are strongest. Animal psychologists rate maternal drive, thirst, and hunger as the strongest wants of animals, sex comes next and exploration last of the five. There seems to be little information, however, on this subject regarding adult human beings. There are occasional statements in the literature on the subject. Lorwin, for example, while discussing conditions in the period of 1925–1929 states

> The desire for steady employment and higher earnings became more dominant in the minds of the workers than the feeling for industrial freedom and independence. This attitude of the worker was reinforced by new opportunities for gratifying the desire for comfort and recreation. The automobile supplied a relative mobility which compensated for the former habit of moving from job to job. The motion picture and the radio supplied new ways of spending leisure which displaced the older forms of recreation based upon shop associations and collective action with fellow workers. In brief, the increasing use of social inventions made the worker more individualistic in his ways of life.
>
> The outstanding feature of industrial relations during these years was the comparative peace and freedom from strikes.[2]

Whiting Williams writes

> I have often felt the fear of joblessness was the great motive, the great factor, in the life of the ordinary manual worker. I am inclined to believe that among office workers you might say the fear of creditlessness is the great cause for unhappiness.[3]

There is need for a better understanding of what are the primary causes for unrest and discontent in specific groups of workers.

A rough measure of the strength of certain wants concerned with working conditions is given in Table XXVIII. Hersey asked employees to indicate the "four most important management policies, the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

[2] Average number of employees involved in strikes per year during 1916–1921 was 1,798,809; during 1922–1925, 863,051; and during 1926–1930, 244,949. See LORWIN, L. L., "The American Federation of Labor," pp. 239–240, Washington, Brookings Institution, 1933.

[3] WILLIAMS, WHITING, "What's on the Office Worker's Mind," *The Human Factor*, 1936, **10**, 95.

four least important, the four best carried out and the four most irritating." The table will repay considerable study.

Another rough measure of the strength of different wants is given in Table XXIX. These data were obtained by having different occupational groups indicate those three of the ten activities listed in the table which they would enjoy most.[1] The order of the preference for the ten items, based upon all the data, is shown by the sequence given

TABLE XXVIII.—RELATIVE STRENGTH OF CERTAIN WANTS AMONG EMPLOYEES CONCERNED WITH WORKING CONDITIONS
(After Hersey)[1]

| Management policy | Most important | | Best carried out | | Least important | | Most irritating | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Union, per cent | Non-union, per cent | Union, per cent | Non-union, per cent | Union, per cent | Non-union, per cent | Union, per cent | Non-union, per cent |
| 1. Employee stock subscription | 5 | 2 | 15 | 12 | 100 | 93 | 49 | 44 |
| 2. Voice or share in management | 13 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 78 | 69 | 26 | 65 |
| 3. Fair adjustment of grievances | 80 | 24 | 52 | 23 | 6 | 27 | 0 | 29 |
| 4. Chance of promotion | 28 | 47 | 18 | 18 | 13 | 7 | 19 | 51 |
| 5. Steady employment | 65 | 93 | 50 | 55 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 0 |
| 6. Medical and dental service | 0 | 6 | 3 | 32 | 72 | 17 | 15 | 15 |
| 7. Safety | 57 | 21 | 79 | 53 | 6 | 7 | 37 | 7 |
| 8. Amount of pay | 49 | 51 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 41 | 36 |
| 9. Working conditions | 49 | 45 | 50 | 55 | 3 | 3 | 22 | 7 |
| 10. Hours of work | 13 | 23 | 38 | 29 | 3 | 21 | 19 | 15 |
| 11. Type of man in charge | 18 | 38 | 15 | 6 | 28 | 34 | 90 | 44 |
| 12. Methods of pay | 0 | 2 | 21 | 15 | 25 | 65 | 37 | 44 |
| 13. Insurance systems and pensions | 18 | 36 | 12 | 89 | 16 | 10 | 26 | 15 |
| 14. Chance to show initiative | 5 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 47 | 34 | 15 | 29 |

[1] HERSEY, R. B., "Psychology of Workers," *Personnel Journal*, 1936, **14**, 293. See also "Workers' Emotions in Shop and Home," Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932.

in the table. "Freedom in working out one's own methods of doing the work" is rated most desired "opportunity to make use of all of my knowledge and experience" is second, "steadiness and permanence of work" is third and "opportunity to understand just how one's superior expects work to be done" is last of the ten.

It is to be noted that the ten occupational groups do not rate these items in the same way. Skilled workmen consider "steadiness and permanence of work" most important, office workers put it second, and all others approximately third. "Opportunity for promotion" is rated most important by clerical workers, second by skilled workmen,

[1] Data taken from Vocational Interest blanks, Stanford University Press.

and about sixth by professional men. The less an occupational group possesses one of these working conditions, the more it is valued, and vice versa. Thus, presidents, physicians, lawyers, and artists do not report to superiors to any real degree and so they do not wish for

TABLE XXIX.—RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TEN WORKING CONDITIONS
(Each individual checked the three items he considered most important. The figures give the percentage of each group who rated the item one of the three most important.)

| Number of cases | President | Production manager | Sales manager | Office worker | Physician | Lawyer | Artist | Carpenter | Printer | Musician | Common laborer | Average, 11 groups |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 169 | 218 | 233 | 326 | 336 | 251 | 232 | 185 | 258 | 252 | 100 | |
| 1. Freedom in working out one's own methods of doing the work. | 66 | 48 | 52 | 42 | 65 | 67 | 87 | 35 | 33 | 41 | 61 | 54 |
| 2. Opportunity to make use of all of one's knowledge and experience | 68 | 52 | 49 | 40 | 76 | 72 | 75 | 38 | 34 | 40 | 36 | 53 |
| 3. Steadiness and permanence of work | 30 | 41 | 34 | 45 | 35 | 33 | 35 | 65 | 64 | 58 | 29 | 43 |
| 4. Opportunity for promotion | 34 | 50 | 57 | 63 | 21 | 30 | 11 | 49 | 41 | 41 | 51 | 41 |
| 5. Salary received for work | 30 | 23 | 31 | 31 | 23 | 23 | 18 | 34 | 49 | 48 | 45 | 32 |
| 6. Certainty one's work will be judged by fair standards | 20 | 30 | 21 | 21 | 22 | 31 | 39 | 15 | 16 | 13 | 21 | 23 |
| 7. Coworkers—congenial, competent, and adequate in number | 38 | 25 | 28 | 22 | 26 | 17 | 14 | 10 | 27 | 25 | 11 | 22 |
| 8. Courteous treatment from superiors | 5 | 18 | 12 | 18 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 24 | 18 | 20 | 25 | 15 |
| 9. Opportunity to ask questions and to consult about difficulties. | 9 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 19 | 20 | 8 | 13 | 8 | 6 | 15 | 11 |
| 10. Opportunity to understand just how one's superior expects work to be done | 3 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 6 |

"courteous treatment from superiors" to anything like the extent of carpenters, sales managers, common laborers, musicians, and office workers.

Possibly we can conclude that all men possess basically the same wants to about the same degree but at any given time the wants which are strongest are those least satisfied. If so, does this mean that

improvements in working conditions will merely cause certain wants to be less desired and certain others to be more potent?

### THE DISSATISFIED WORKER

Industry is not alone responsible for the maladjustment and dissatisfaction of many workers. "Much of the vocational maladjustment in American industry is the result neither of intellectual deficiency nor technical incompetency, nor of objectionable features inherent in the work itself, but rather of nonadjustive emotional tendencies within the individual which make a reasonable degree of harmony between him and most types of work impossible."[1]

Fisher and Hanna point to the 300,000 insane in institutions as individuals who are clearly unable to adjust themselves to normal life. Closely allied is a group of from 8 to 10 per cent of the population with symptoms "more or less popularly known under the terms of nervousness, nervous indigestion, nervous exhaustion, emotional instability, depression, moodiness, melancholy, obsessions, pathological fear, fits, amnesia, etc." While such conditions continue, the individual is not likely to be able to adjust himself, vocationally speaking. A third group are incapacitated to some extent in their daily routine of activity because of "general dissatisfaction, restlessness, indecision, absent-mindedness, an exaggerated tendency to worry, general pessimism, sleeplessness, distractability, etc." A fourth expression of emotional maladjustment, as recognized by these writers, is found in a large part of prostitution, crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, thriftlessness, and chronic unemployment.[2] While these conditions perhaps do not relate directly to the problem of vocational maladjustment, nevertheless, it is perfectly obvious that they are definitely opposed to industrial progress and economic stability. The reason why these basically unadjustable individuals are not recognized more frequently is, first, that they usually do everything possible to conceal their condition and, second, they are apt to be classified as physically sick instead of emotionally unstable.[3]

It would be extremely valuable to determine the extent to which the above symptoms are responsible for the approximately two million who are unemployed during "normal" times;[4] also for the "twenty to

[1] FISHER, V. E., and J. V. HANNA, "The Dissatisfied Worker," p. 1, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1931.

[2] About half a million men and women are incapacitated in any year because of syphilis.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–25.

[4] See CATLIN, W. B., "The Labor Problem," pp. 99–100, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

twenty-five million separations of workers from their jobs each year in the United States."[1]

Brewer[2] made an analysis of the reasons for discharge of 4,375 workers. Sixty-two per cent of the cases, according to this writer, were due to social shortcomings rather than technical unfitness. . . . The specific reasons given for the discharge of these workers follow: insubordination, drinking, violation of rules, absenteeism, laziness, trouble-making, loafing or sleeping, dissatisfaction, habitual lateness.[3]

Anderson reports that approximately 20 per cent of employees in a mercantile establishment may be called "problem" individuals. These include workers who have never "grown up," frequently referred to as "job misfits" and "ne'er-do-wells," as well as those suffering from personality disturbances.[4]

From the foregoing it is apparent that at any given time a considerable proportion of the population are so poorly adjusted to their entire environment that they will be dissatisfied under the best of working conditions. But this does not mean that these poorly adjusted persons are necessarily in this condition all their lives and that the remainder of the population are happy every day. All have their ups and downs—both from day to day and from hour to hour in the day—and, regardless of what any employer could possibly do, all would be dissatisfied part of the time. Hersey gives the following data as to the percentage of the time employees are happy or disturbed.

| | Per cent of time | Production index |
|---|---|---|
| Positive and happy | 55.7 | 101.7 |
| Neutral | 27.8 | 100.3 |
| Negative and disturbed | 16.5 | 93.2 |

He adds

From this it would seem that American workers are happy a little more than half their time, but this does not stimulate their production much. They are unhappy and emotionally upset about one sixth of the time and this causes their production to fall off 6.8 per cent.

In general, I find that when an individual is actively dissatisfied or is worried or in some other "low emotional state," more than 25 per cent of his waking time

[1] FISHER and HANNA, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[2] BREWER, J. M., "Causes for Discharge," *Personnel Journal*, 1927, **6**, 172.

[3] FISHER and HANNA, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[4] ANDERSON, V. V., "The Problem Employee," *Personnel Journal*, 1928, **7**, 203–225; and "Psychiatry in Industry," in "Preventive Management" (ed. by H. Elkind), pp. 71–73, Chicago, Forbes & Company, 1931

either his body or his mind begins to feel the effect and to deteriorate. Either an organic breakdown occurs or a neurosis of some sort tends to develop.[1]

The major influences causing emotional crises, according to Hersey, are incidents at work (35.5 per cent), physical condition (28.4 per cent), outside and home conditions (24.7 per cent) and weather (7 per cent).[2]

**Percentage of Satisfied Workers.**—Fisher and Hanna criticize the statement often made that "approximately half of the employed population of the United States are in the wrong vocation." They point out that this conclusion is based upon questionnaires asking questions such as, "Do you think you are in the right vocation?" "Are you satisfied with your work?" "Would you change if you could?" There is no proof that a change would make the worker any more contented, happy, and efficient. They add

> First, we cannot escape the observation that many individuals are never happy or contented anywhere. . . . Second, many pessimistic and cynical individuals are reasonably efficient in their work, and are always conscientiously opposed to any industrial or social institution which surrounds them, at least in their comments. These individuals would not change their work if they could, their speech belies their true wishes. Third, a large number of individuals are unfortunately gifted with aspirations which carry them far beyond their real abilities. . . . To change to a job on a higher vocational level would detract from their efficiency and make them still less happy than they are. The individual's feelings that he is in the wrong job, therefore, may be in any given case an entirely faulty criterion.[3]

Hoppock summarizes 32 investigations regarding employees' attitude toward their work in the words, "Two-thirds of the studies show less than one-third of the workers to be dissatisfied."[4] Under his direction 88 per cent of the 351 employed adults in New Hope, Pennsylvania were carefully interviewed during the summer of 1933. "When the subjects were invited to take their choice of all the jobs in the world, 36 per cent indicated that they would leave their present occupation. Sixty-six per cent got more satisfaction from their jobs than from the things they did in their spare time."[5] . . . "The results . . . suggest the possibility that most persons, in some hit-or-miss manner, succeed eventually in effecting job adjustments which are reasonably harmonious with their abilities, ambitions, and affections."[6]

[1] HERSEY, R. B., *op. cit.*, *Personnel Journal*, pp. 291–292.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

[3] FISHER and HANNA, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–224.

[4] HOPPOCK, ROBERT, "Job Satisfaction," p. 6, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Hoppock finds six factors related to job satisfaction: (1) "the way the individual reacts to unpleasant situations"—some blame others for what goes wrong, others take life as it comes, without rebellion. (2) Facility in adjusting himself to other persons, both on and off the job. (3) Relative status in the social and economic groups with which he identifies himself. "Somewhere, somehow, if a man is to be reasonably well satisfied, he must achieve something that enables him to feel he is as good as his friends. He may do this directly by attaining some goal, or he may do it indirectly by changing his social group." (4) "Nature of the work in relation to the abilities, the interests, and the preparation of the worker." (5) Security—what he feels, rather than what actually exists. (6) Loyalty. "A genuine sense of loyalty, divorced from all thought of duty, indulged in because one enjoys the service, enables a man to endure with amazing indifference, even with pleasure, hardships far beyond anything the average worker encounters from day to day."[1] Finally, "there may be no such thing as *job* satisfaction independent of the other satisfactions in one's life. Family relationships, health, relative social status in the community, and a multitude of other factors may be just as important as the job itself in determining what we tentatively choose to call job satisfaction."[2]

## SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES

**Absolute Gains Are Easily Overlooked.**—Doubling the total income of everyone would increase their happiness and satisfaction for the time being. The writer hazards the guess, however, that after five years there would be little appreciable effect in this regard. There are some improvements in living conditions which eliminate inconvenience and even acute suffering, such as the introduction of modern plumbing in the home, but in most cases it is not what we possess that determines our contentment but what we want next and the possibility of getting it. Mankind quickly adapts itself to changes in standards of living and then insists upon the new as a necessity. Most of the things that really count are affected very little by a rise in the absolute standard of living of all, but they are tremendously affected according as an individual rises or falls relatively to his fellows.

It is this principle which underlies Whiting Williams "worth-whileness." When the individual is better off than his neighbors he is satisfied, and when he is worse off he is dissatisfied. If this is true, can we ever have satisfaction for all? Does it not follow that increasing the satisfaction of one must decrease the satisfaction of someone

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 279–283.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

else? If we leveled out all differences in individual wealth "would such a system relieve the world of envious discontent and smug self-satisfaction? We doubt it."[1] Organized labor contends that piece rates and bonuses cause rivalry and jealousy among the workers. This is undoubtedly true. There are also hard feelings under a straight day-wage system where the better workers see others paid as much as themselves for poorer work. After all, can the natural desire to surpass the other fellow be eliminated? Do we want it eliminated?

The expectation of life at age twenty is now greater by five years than in 1912. But how many show any appreciation of this in their daily behavior? Lorwin tells us that "practically all the industrial demands of the Bill of Grievances [of the American Federation of Labor] of 1906 had been favorably disposed of by 1916,"[2] yet has there been any improvement in attitudes regarding the labor situation?

*Opportunity* is desired because without it there is no chance of improving one's relative status. Necessarily any discrimination against one is fiercely resented. Too often what is demanded is, however, not free and equal opportunity but discrimination in one's own favor.

**Progress Is Essential.**—Possibly the one most important factor underlying satisfaction in life is the feeling that one is progressing, that tomorrow, or the next day, things will be better than they are today. It is not what an employer gives his employees but how he gives it that really affects morale. If management gives group insurance or a pension system, the effect to a large degree is quickly lost. But if the same end is achieved after the employees have vigorously campaigned for the measure and have had a hand in working out the program, then throughout the development of the program there has been an elation among the employees that they were making progress. Achievement is sweet for a day; progress toward a goal can be most stimulating for years.

**Opposition to Change.**—Man wants to make progress toward his self-selected goal (or goals). But he objects to changes other than those he is seeking and resents most particularly those changes which interfere with his plans.

The older the man, the less does he want to undertake anything new, for such "necessitates the developing of new habits, usually at the expense of old ones. This is easy in youth because the existing habits are not too strongly established and there is surplus energy for the purpose. But later in life the reverse is the case, for old

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

[2] LORWIN, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

habits are well established and can be broken only with genuine effort, and there is less energy available for this."[1]

**Self-interest.**—The great question has been, "Whose brow shall exude the perspiration?"[2] Resort to profiteering, graft, greed of employers, retaliation of employees, tariffs, special favors, and interest in all manner of isms are ways in which mankind attempts to escape the burdens of life by shifting them upon others. No system has yet been conceived, including cooperation and socialism, that will eliminate the work of the world. The most ameliorating factor so far has been labor-saving machinery. This has eliminated much back-breaking toil of man and beast and will free both still more in the future. But there will be hard work to be done for ages to come and all of us will try to escape as much of it as we can. Is it conceivable that the wants of employees can ever be fully satisfied?

**Work Essential.**—Work is essential, not only because without it man can not live, but also because without it most of us would not know what to do with our leisure. Enforced idleness for any extended period of time would probably ruin civilization. Overstreet writes:

> We are learning, in short, that work is a prime requisite for happiness. Perhaps we should add, work that we care about and respect. Every alert psychologist finds that people who are emotionally at sixes and sevens, who are depressed or nervous or phobic or generally cantankerous, are frequently in that condition because they have no steadying, absorbing, soul-satisfying work. Every physician of the mind meets such individuals, and if he is wise, he tries to get their hands and their brains into something that requires concentrated energy and absorbed interest. One might venture to say that most of the troubles of the world arise because the work-life of people is not satisfactory. It is uninteresting or monotonous or over-taxing or contemptible. And one might venture to say further that if everyone were possessed of work that he deeply cared about most of the crimes of the world would disappear—including the arch crime of all, war.[3]

## WANTS OF EMPLOYERS

Although many have interested themselves as to what employees want and need few have worried about employers. Yet the latter have their troubles and many wilt under the strain of their duties.

The Cooperative Association of Filene's department store attached to their statement as to what employees want from management (see page 528) a list of what they conceived "an employer may reasonably expect of an employee," namely:

[1] STRONG, E. K., JR., "Change of Interests with Age," p. 74, Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press, 1931.

[2] CATLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[3] OVERSTREET, H. A., "When Work Is Like Play," *Occupations*, 1935, **13**, 390.

1. An "honest day's work."
2. A minimum of absence.
3. A maximum of punctuality.
4. Loyalty; pride of employment.
5. Willingness to help others prepare for his job.
6. Willingness to prepare himself for job ahead.
7. Sense of job responsibility, increasing with length of service.

NOTE: The phrase, an "honest day's work," seems to be the simplest way to express whole-hearted effort in return for compensation paid. It also includes all the many necessary attributes of efficient work, such as courtesy, tact, cooperation with fellow employees, thoroughness, etc.[1]

It is difficult to understand how anyone could quarrel with this list of wants, for they are all eminently fair and just. However, it is not difficult to understand why employers have had so much difficulty in securing them. Every want in the list depends entirely for its fulfillment upon the attitude of the workers toward the management. A man will not give "an honest day's work" unless he respects his superiors; he will feel no loyalty toward the company or pride in his employment unless the management treats him as an individual capable of thinking and feeling; he will have no sense of job responsibility unless he is made to feel that he fills an important place in the organization. The initial impetus, the esprit de corps, must come from the management. The management must not only set an example, that the men will admire and respect, but it must also make a conscious endeavor to stimulate employee interest.

From a perusal of the literature the writer has gleaned these general employers' wants:

1. Profits and wealth.
2. Success.
3. Permanent organization, stability of enterprise.
4. Efficiency: improvement in quantity and quality of output, reduction of cost.
5. Power.
6. Freedom, self-assertion, leadership. No surrender of managerial authority to unions or anyone else, hire who he pleases; hence, open shop. Laissez-faire, freedom from regulations.
7. Physical fitness.
8. Discipline and responsibility of subordinates.
9. Social approval: respect of other employers, employees, and general public. Reputation for fairness.
10. Congenial and harmonious associates.

[1] FILENE, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–151.

11. Amicable labor relations as an important element in a successful business. Good morale.

12. Efficient and loyal employees, low labor turnover.

13. Elimination of waste.

14. Where there is union recognition, labor union officials who are responsible and fulfill their contracts.

Of course, no two employers want these things to the same degree. Some stress certain items, some stress others. The employer who wants wealth may conduct his business in quite a different manner from the one who primarily wants efficiency. It should be recognized, also, that power is not synonymous with either wealth or efficiency. The employer who seeks and obtains efficiency should be an asset to his country; the employer who strives for greater and greater power frequently disgraces his profession, for what is done to secure power and to display its possession may have little to do with producing good commodities at less cost to the community.

Wealth, success, efficiency, power, freedom are always relative. Regardless of how much one possesses of them, there is always more to be secured. They are among the most effective motives for unending effort to get ahead. Much of the progress of society is attributable to relatively few men who have possessed these qualities in large measure. Much of the anguish and pain that mankind has endured has come also from such leaders. Who can say what the sum total gain or loss has been? Who can say whether industrial leaders are superior or inferior to political leaders in these respects?

Certain wants which can be attributed to employers are potential and not dynamic and therefore have little effect upon behavior. Health is one of those things which are desired by all; but few do anything about it until it is impaired. Similarly, many an employer has gone along for years with little thought about his employees' attitude toward him. Yet, when they strike or do some other "disloyal" act, he is most keenly hurt. Then it is that he may exert himself very greatly to gain the loyalty he thought he had.

The attitudes of employers toward their employees were investigated by Houser in 1927, through personal interviews with both employers and employees and study of available documents. Some of his conclusions are illuminating.

> In general, the attitudes [of employers] were strongly tinged by opportunism. Few expressions indicated any marked sense of social obligation in the minds of executives.[1]

[1] HOUSER, J. DAVID, "What the Employer Thinks," p. 79, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1927.

In only a very few instances was any attention given to inspiring in rank-and-file employees a sense of significance in their work. Numbers of executives seemed unable to understand this human need.[1]

Almost universally, individual executives testified to their desire to be "fair" but frequently they failed to recognize the need for methods which should actually bring about equitable decisions.[2]

Few industrial organizations were found with policies definitely placing upon subordinate executives any obligation for leadership and human development.[3]

There was an outstanding lack of adequate methods by which chief executives could learn how employees were treated. . . . It seems obvious that the organization itself usually prevents the principal executive from obtaining accurate and continuous information concerning employee morale.[4]

There was . . . a growing tendency to recognize the need for more systematic training of minor executives. Numbers of courses of "foreman-training" had been organized. . . . [They] rarely involved an effective formulation of the deeper needs of workers: thus there had been little specific definition of methods by which these needs could be satisfied.[5]

The chief executive wanted his employees to feel that he desired to be "fair."[6]

There were no voluntary statements, except those about "welfare work," which showed any sense of obligation toward employees. There seemed to be a tendency for executives to believe that all reasonable obligations were discharged when they had done everything they could to satisfy financial and physical needs. . . . With very few exceptions, no obligation whatever was apparently felt for the personal development of workers through a more intelligent participation in industrial activities or through stimulation of their sense of social usefulness.[7]

It was obvious that the motives underlying such benevolences [welfare work] were varied, and, in some individual instances, mixed. In most cases, there was a marked consciousness of the social reaction toward such an activity—usually a definite desire to earn social approval. This occasionally went further: there were emphatic assertions that the work "paid in dollars and cents." Here was evident not only a desire for social approval of benevolence, but likewise a desire for approval of business acumen.[8]

The following further quotations refer more specifically to motives or attitudes:

In spite of social disapproval of autocratic ideals and arbitrary practices by employers, and in spite of the consequent unwillingness of the average executive to avow such desires, these nevertheless operate to a definite degree in the unseen nature of industry. The unpopularity of such forces generally prevents a frank admission of their existence but has in no wise entirely eliminated them. Though hidden and never clearly defined, autocratic tendencies still persist.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

The struggle for the expression of personality is the rebellion against these tendencies. Hidden though it may be, the suppression of this powerful impulse is undoubtedly one of the fundamental causes, if not *the* fundamental cause of the pervasive industrial unrest. For only as man expresses himself can he truly live.[1]

Suspicion based on fear undoubtedly plays a great part in the total attitude of many executives. Fear seems especially likely to be engendered in the minds of men managing organizations which employ large numbers of workers.[2]

Frequently the craving of executives for the exercise of power was actually greater than the desire for financial returns.[3]

Executive desire for self-satisfaction surely prompts the installation of welfare work in more enterprises than does any attitude based on thoughtful calculation of the needs of workers.[4] The motives underlying the executive creation of various financial incentives furnish excellent illustrations of methods chiefly valuable for satisfying executive craving for self-expression.[5]

The desire for self-expression is closely related to the desire to obtain and exercise power over others. Power is very often the definite form of expression desired.[6] Their trampling upon other personalities, their hunger for self-expression and their keen joy in using their power constantly produce in workers a bitter resentment.[7]

It was surprising to find in the course of this study how seldom it was possible to obtain from chief executives a statement of the real principles involved [in employee representation plans]. Apparently, little else than feeling and desire had directed the adoption of such plans. Often, as in many other personnel devices, the decision seemed to have been made in mere imitation of practices in other organizations.[8]

Cherington gives us the motives for doing business and their approximate weighting as he sensed them following a year's experience with code work under the N.R.A.—see Table XXX. In the first column of figures is indicated the importance of each of the motives as they actually occurred; the second column is Cherington's "visionary ideal." His comments upon the latter are

This may sound idealistic and vague; but there is nothing vague about the imminent probability that business is going to be operated either for society or by society. If anything could be less promising than the profitless profit system which we have had, it would seem to be operation by society, without either profit or motive. But if the driving force of individualism can be schooled to exert itself in such a way as to result in social gain, that may be found to be the real road to restored profits.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[9] CHERINGTON, P. T., "People's Wants and How to Satisfy Them," p. 180, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

There is a real need for ascertaining what employers want. The above can be construed only as preliminary attempts in this direction. We need to know how employers who are successfully managing their business differ from those who are not successful; we need to know how employers differ with regard to their attitude toward employees, the public, and general social obligations.

TABLE XXX.—MOTIVES FOR DOING BUSINESS (COMBINED MOTIVES AS 100) (After Cherington)[1]

| Motives | As observed by Cherington | A visionary ideal |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Outwitting a competitor | 30 | ½ |
| 2. Stealing accounts | 15 | ¼ |
| 3. Meeting or demolishing salesmen's rumors | 13 | ½ |
| 4. Meeting some chiseler | 10 | ½ |
| 5. Getting volume for plant | 7 | 4 |
| 6. Getting trade or craft prestige | 6 | 2 |
| 7. Meeting dictates of trade | 5 | 1 |
| 8. Getting some competitor's goat | 4 | Trace |
| 9. Getting even with a goat-getter | 4 | Trace |
| 10. Keeping up an appearance of alertness | 3 | ½ |
| 11. Trying to "pull a fast one" on the trade | 2½ | ¼ |
| 12. Carrying out a desire to perform some useful service to society | Trace | 50 |
| 13. Making an honest effort to make an honest profit. | Trace | 40 |

[1] CHERINGTON, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

## EMPLOYERS VERSUS EMPLOYEES

It is customary to view capital and labor as opposed to each other in almost every sense. When we focus our thinking, however, not upon logical abstractions but upon living human beings, we find many agreements as well as some differences between employers and employees. Both possess the primary and acquired drives listed in Chaps. V and VI. It is quite likely, however, that some wants are more strongly held in one group than in the other. The greatest difference between the two lies in the manner in which they attempt to satisfy their wants.

The prevalent insistence of employers for power and authority necessitates from employees' attitudes of submissiveness, gratitude, docility, irresponsibility, and perfunctory performance of duties except under constant supervision, though employers claim that they want genuine loyalty, mutual confidence, and cooperation. So long, however, as cooperation really means to the employer doing what the employer wants, there will be no real cooperation, for this can arise

only between equals who are mutually interested in the same project. (See Chap. XXX for further consideration of this point).

Variations in abilities, to begin with, coupled with variations in opportunities, lead inevitably to a "caste" system. In India one is born into a caste and must remain in it throughout life. To a lesser degree the same is true in countries like Germany and Italy. Even in the United States the social status of parents plays a more important role than we are willing to admit. But even if all influences occasioned by birth in a given social environment were eliminated by educational and other facilities, the populace would gravitate into social strata. Woll's preference for vertical rather than horizontal unions is predicated upon the difference between skilled and unskilled labor,[1] symptomatic of degrees of social preferment based here upon occupational fitness. The only safeguard against the caste system of India is that which we have attempted to set up in America, where everyone is supposed to have a chance to rise through merit. It must be fully recognized that if some succeed others must fail. Many of the differences between employers and employees are the direct resultants of giving all an opportunity to better themselves. The same differences have already arisen in Russia with differentiation of pay paralleling that here. Men who accomplish more will always endeavor to get more, and will usually succeed. According to Woll,

> The American Federation of Labor rests upon a third important principle, namely, the mutuality of interest between capital and labor. No one would doubt that there are tests of strength between labor and the employer from time to time, but this is different from a philosophy that is built on class war. Both the mentality and the vocabulary of American labor differ from European labor on this point. American labor affirms the mutuality—not identity—of interest of all concerned in the process of production.[2]

This mutuality of interest is more striking in the large corporation than in the small business where the owner is personally in control. In some large corporations today not a single stockholder owns as much as one per cent of the stock. Here, the legal owners are dependent upon the managerial group for direction of the business. In many functional respects the management views stockholders and bondholders as merely people who have loaned money and to whom interest must be paid. Managers are legally employees of the stockholders; functionally they are the employers. Every manager, from president down to foreman, has this dual capacity of being an employee and an

[1] WOLL, M., "Labor, Industry and Government," p. 92, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1935.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

employer. There seems to be a slow but steady trend in the direction of managers' identifying themselves less and less with the legal owners and more and more with the interests of the rank and file of employees. The writer believes that many group insurance and pension programs and other welfare measures have been developed because the managerial group wanted these very things for themselves.

### WANTS OF CONSUMERS

Because of lack of space we must leave this topic for the reader to develop himself. It must be recognized, however, that consumers are composed of employers and employees. Since there are far more employees than employers, the wants of employees and consumers must have far more in common than do those of employers and consumers. Employees, however, want high wages, which must mean high prices for commodities; whereas comsumers want low prices and forget wages.

# CHAPTER XXIX

## THE LEADER

There is no record of a single race—primitive or civilized—or of a single community—rural or urban—which has existed without leaders. In every case the group has consisted of one or more leaders and many followers. Le Bon writes,

> As soon as a certain number of living beings are gathered together, whether they be animals or men, they place themselves instinctively under the authority of a chief.[1]

And Tead says,

> It is in this profound sense that it can be truthfully said that people hunger to be led. And it is the rightful effort to satisfy this hunger that puts upon each executive the added responsibility of leading. In short, organizations need command and executive direction plus leadership. The leader is demanded as a releaser of the energies of his followers, as the summoner to attainment at levels they had not suspected they could reach.[2]

Regardless of the explanation the fact remains that subordination and superiority are universal—leaders have been so far indispensable.

The achievements of a group have always seemed to be best explained in terms of the leader rather than the followers. No one can read "Grim Journey," the story of the Donner Party, without realizing that the awful hardships were the result of poor leadership, that a strong man would have saved many lives.

Recently, in certain quarters there has been advocacy of cooperation as a new form of social organization. In every case known to the writer the cooperative has had a leader and apparently its success or failure is as much dependent upon the calibre of leadership as in other forms of social order. Socialism and communism are advocated by leaders and where they have been put into operation they have always been under leaders. Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin have been no less domineering than other rulers. Man has not yet conceived of a social order that is not controlled by leaders.

[1] Le Bon, G., "The Crowd," p. 118, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1896.

[2] Tead, O., "The Art of Leadership," p. 17, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935.

If leaders are inevitable, it is important to determine what kinds of leaders are best. Two considerations enter here; first, what kind of a leader will be most successful in accomplishing the objectives of the group as a whole? Second, what kind of a leader will bring the greatest amount of satisfaction to the members individually, aside from accomplishing the objective of the group? What should be the relative emphasis upon these two considerations? Clearly, the emphasis will vary greatly with different social conditions. In war individuals must be sacrificed for the common good; on a picnic, happiness of individuals is essential in order to achieve the general objective of all having a good time.

**Leader versus Executive.**—Until recently many writers did not distinguish particularly between a leader and an executive. Now we think of the latter as one who has men under him, who makes decisions on questions as to policy and practice, and who exercises authority in seeing that such decisions are carried out by his subordinates. A leader, on the other hand, is one who influences people to cooperate toward a goal which they find desirable. "It is a matter of leading out from within individuals those impulses, motives, and efforts which they discover to represent themselves most truly."[1]

The foreman over a gang of slaves may organize well and get things done, but he is not a leader because in no real sense do the slaves cooperate of their own accord. There must be either selection of the leader by the followers or acceptance of him by them if we are to have leadership. This is what Charles M. Schwab had in mind when he said,

> The real leader in industry today is not the man who substitutes his own will and his own brain for the will and intelligence of the crowd, but the one who releases the energies within the crowd, so that the will of the crowd can be expressed.[2]

The terms "leader" and "executive" are not mutually exclusive. A man may be one and not the other or he may be both—also, of course, he may be neither. Gandhi may be cited as a good example of an outstanding leader who lacks executive ability.

**Leader, Follower, Environment.**—In studying leadership the tendency has been to analyze the duties of leaders and point out the qualities that are needed in carrying out these duties. It is essential to note, however, that leadership always occurs in a social environment and

[1] TEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[2] Quoted by R. S. Baker in "The New Industrial Unrest," p. 166, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1920.

necessitates followers. Lindeman writes in this connection that a leader is

> an individual whose rationalizations, judgments and feelings are accepted (responded to) by the group as bases of belief and action. . . . The definition is doublebarrelled. It assumes that the leader acts as a stimulant to group action and also that the group *accepts*, *i.e.*, consciously acknowledges the rationalizations, judgments and feelings of the leader as its own. The implication here is that these very rationalizations, judgments and feelings of the leader may have been stimulated by the group. The leader is a stimulus but he is also a response.[1]

The characteristics of the group and its environment determine the type of leader that is desired. If the group is struggling to obtain certain privileges for itself, it will select a different kind of leader than will be chosen if the group is threatened by its enemies, or is embroiled in factional controversies. "This makes leadership pretty much a matter of chance," according to Person,[2] "the chance of the particular leadership situation finding in some individual the leadership qualities it requires."

Some years ago three railroads appointed new presidents. One was an engineer, the second was a financier, the third a lawyer. The first railroad was primarily concerned with extensive building operations, the second with reorganizing its financial setup, the third with extensive litigation regarding a new right of way into a large city. To be a leader, one must be available when opportunity arises and have the qualities demanded by the group at that time. This is particularly apparent in the political arena; it is just as true in other walks of life. Sometimes it appears that the group actively selects its leader, sometimes it looks as though the leader finds a group for himself; but in either case the leader must fit the existing social environment and be able to carry out in general the desires of the led.

Poole emphasizes this relationship between followers and leader when he says,

> Mussolini, formerly a Socialist, proclaims himself to be the voice of the masses, pretending to know, better than parliaments, what the masses really want and how it can best be given to them. . . . Aided at critical moments by certain vested interests, Hitler has nevertheless achieved supreme leadership by reason of an unfailing psychological accord with the masses, out of which he himself emerged. . . . It is probable that the term of Hitler's power (if it is not sooner ended by death) will be set by his ability, and that of his associates, to sustain a belief among the wide ranks of the German people that he, Hitler, knows best the needs and

[1] LINDEMAN, E., "Social Discovery" pp. 222, 223, 159, New York, New Republic, Inc., 1924.

[2] PERSON, H. S., "Leadership as a Response to Environment," *Educational Record Supplement*, January, 1928, **9**, No. 6. 14.

aspirations of the multitudinous common man and how most effectively to satisfy those mass needs and aspirations.[1]

Followers of a leader are not all imbued with the same interests, understanding of the situation, or loyalty to the leader. Pigors distinguishes four types: (1) constructive followers, ranging from the young leader of the future to the intelligent assistant; (2) routine followers, ranging from the faithful subordinate to the drudge; (3) impulsive followers, ranging from the hero-worshiper to the faddist, attracted to something new for a short time; and (4) subversive followers, ranging from the one who "tags along," hoping to get something out of it for himself, to the disguised traitor who bides his chance to lead a mutiny.[2] Use of the term "audience" instead of follower emphasizes the heterogeneity of the group about a leader and the problem confronting the leader of winning men and women of varied points of view to his cause. Measurements of attitude of members of groups and of citizens of a state would seemingly prove to be more and more useful to leaders in their efforts to represent their followers (see Chap. XXV).

Changes in the social environment will unquestionably bring about changes in the type of man who becomes leader. Education of the masses has raised millions from "the condition of dumb cattle to that of human beings." It has also increased the dynamics of political action. People are considering a wider and wider range of problems and expecting results in less and less time.

## TYPES OF LEADERS

There is no one method of classifying leaders, for they differ among themselves in many ways. By looking at leaders from several points of view it is, however, possible to learn considerable about them, how they differ, and what are the more desirable types.

**Planning, Executing.**—A leader should be planner, technician, trainer, commander, coordinator, energizer, and critic. He needs to perform one or only a few of these activities upon certain occasions, but he needs to do all of them during the course of a short period of time. The seven may be reduced to two for our purposes here, *i.e.*, planning and executing.

Distinction between these two is well exemplified by the line-and-staff organization in many businesses. Line executives are the oper-

[1] POOLE, D. C., "Public Opinion," Alumni Lectures, Princeton University, 1936, pp. 10–11.

[2] PIGORS, P., "Types of Followers," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1934, **5**, 378.

ating officials. They are responsible for production; units must be turned out on scheduled time and measuring up to the required standards of quality. Each line executive reports to one superior and each has several subordinates who take orders exclusively from him. Such an organization provides for definite, clean-cut responsibility and authority. Staff men, on the other hand, are specialists. They direct activities necessitating investigation and extensive planning. Line executives give attention to all the activities of their department; staff men give attention to one factor wherever it appears throughout all departments. This distinction between line and staff recognizes the fundamental difference between the functions of executing and planning, as well as the fact that some men by temperament are better able to perform one of these functions than the other.

Ordinarily, a staff man does not give orders; he instructs men in new duties and reveals in his reports the observance or neglect of these duties. The line adopts the staff's recommendations as it is able without sacrificing scheduled production. The functions of a staff man are further illustrated by the following duties of a training director:

1. To provide that enthusiastic and promotive quality which spreads interest in training throughout the organization and creates desire and willingness on the part of every supervisor to take part in the training process.
2. To help to prepare the instructional outlines to be used by supervisors in the training of their workers. One says "help" advisedly, because it may be easily recognized that when the supervisors themselves have prepared the instructional outlines with the help of an educational department, they are much more likely to take an interest in the training program and to feel a definite responsibility for making it effective.
3. To prepare, improve, and constantly revise the procedure for carrying out the training program, thus facilitating the work of the supervisor.
4. To take a very active part in training the supervisor to train.
5. To act as an advisor to the management of the company in regard to the development of its personnel and thus link the training policy of the company to the whole future of the business and its financial success.[1]

This distinction between line and staff is to be found in other organizations than business. It is typical of a military organization, as well as in state and federal governmental agencies. Possibly, if there were more able staff men in government there would be less reliance upon lobbyists who often are the best informed of all regarding new legislation. Root's classification of radicals into emotional radi-

[1] DONALD, W. J., "Decentralized Employee Training," p. 1249, in "Handbook of Business Administration," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931.

cals and intellectual or scientific radicals[1] has reference to this same distinction, for it is the former that are leaders in action, while the latter scheme and plan but seldom act. Inventors, scientists, and philosophers may similarly be thought of as the staff men of society.

An editorial by Chester Rowell, some years ago, very aptly points out the difference between planning and executing.

> Max Mason, who has resigned the presidency of the University of Chicago to become research director of the Rockefeller Foundation, visions a world free of hunger, poverty and sickness, and even of morbid worries and unsound passions, whenever knowledge becomes sufficient and is made available to the people. To that end, research will be directed, backed by unlimited funds.
>
> Of course, it can be done. But it does not at all follow that it will be done. There is knowledge enough now to abolish smallpox, but it is not abolished. Any one of thousands of men could draw up a workable plan of world peace, but not all of them combined could get it adopted. A committee of experts could draw up a plan to make the machinery of democracy workable in America, but the Republican and Democratic parties together could not put it through. Henry Ford knows how to abolish poverty, and has done it within the scope of his authority. He will never be given the authority to abolish it generally. Knowing what to do is easy. The hard thing is to get the people to do it.

It is the line man, the executor, the one who gets things done, who is in a position to be a leader. Whether he is a real leader or not depends upon the relationships he has established with his subordinates. The staff man, the planner, is a valuable assistant to the line man but he is not a leader per se.

**Effect of Environment.**—The social situation, the cultural pattern, the environmental setting give us different types of leaders. The chief in a primitive social group performs different functions and maintains different relationships with his followers from that of a national leader. It is more than likely that examples could be found in this country, ranging from one extreme to the other according as we moved from small isolated communities to a large city. Even within a city great differences can be found between the leaders of various groups. Similarly, the business leader differs from the political, military, religious, scientific, or radical leader because his environment necessitates such differences. Much of the misunderstanding between businessmen and labor leaders arises, not merely because their objectives clash, but because their environments are so largely unlike.

**How Selected.**—The leader may be self-selected, appointed from above, or group selected. It is the self-selected leader who is so often

[1] ROOT, W. T., "The Psychology of Radicalism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1925, **19**, 341–356.

thought of as the born leader. He pushes his way up from the bottom. Too often his "will to power is inordinate and insatiable."

> The excessively aggressive person of resolute purpose is always in danger of forgetting the desires of his followers because he is under the spell of his own adroitness and power to influence them for ends which are always his more than theirs. There can be such a thing as too commanding and impressive a presence, too dominant an ego, too ruthless a desire to realize one's own intention by using whatever means and instruments are at hand.[1]

Tead feels that all such leaders are an "anachronism," "uncongenial to the whole mood of a democratic society."[2] It must be recognized, however, that history is replete with instances in which the self-selected leader has, seemingly at least, played a very valuable role. The influence of Napoleon or Lincoln, for example, has been very great. Much as some may dislike Lenin, Hitler, Mussolini, and many other dictators in political and industrial life, nevertheless, they have contributed considerable—whether for good or ill, only history may decide.

The man appointed to office is the least likely of all these types to be a genuine leader. He owes no allegiance to those under him. Unless he makes a real effort to identify himself with their interests, he will remain a superior because of position, but not a leader. But some men thus thrust into positions of influence do become real leaders.

**Method of Control.**—The leader may boss or lead his followers. The former is the autocratic leader, who maintains his position because of his capacity to impress and dominate his followers.[3] The latter is the democratic leader who maintains his position by reason of personal capacity to express and persuade his followers. Discipline is secured in the former case through enforced obedience to authority external to the followers themselves. Morale is the basis of control in the latter case, the source of authority arising from within the individuals constituting the group (see page 587 for further consideration of this point).

**Method of Handling Conflicts.**—Leaders may be grouped, furthermore, according to the methods pursued in handling conflicts. There

[1] TEAD, *op. cit.* p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[3] Domination is defined by Pigors as "a process of control in which by the forcible assumption of authority and the accumulation of prestige a person (through a hierarchy of functionaries) regulates the activities of others for purposes of his own choosing." See PIGORS, P., "Leadership or Domination," Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935.

are, first, those who insist on having their own way; second, those who seek a compromise; and third, those who seek an integration of conflicting interests.[1]

Conflicts are not bad per se. The world is a seething mass of conflicts of every kind imaginable. Some cause distress and grief, whether they are wars between nations or uncontrolled selfishnesses within a family group. Many conflicts, on the other hand, lead to worth-while rivalry resulting in fine athletics, good scholarship, new inventions, improved social conditions. The conflicting interests within a group or between the group and other groups must be handled by the leader. If he is the dominating type and he thinks he has a chance to win, he is apt to demand his rights. The more intellectual type of leader is more prone to compromise, securing what he wants most by giving up what he cares for least. The still more far-seeing leader attempts to adjust matters so that both parties secure as much as possible of what they desire, by emphasizing their common purposes and minimizing their differences. The third procedure tends to bring the conflicting groups into closer agreement as again and again they both embark on some common undertaking for their mutual good.

Compromise is the method selected by Congress for adjudicating labor difficulties. Both sides must bargain and, if they cannot agree, the supposition is that they will resort to arbitration. Labor, however, is fearful of compulsory arbitration, so that that is not required by law. Too often there is no real satisfaction this way, for neither party secures what it really wants.

The chief function of a leader of a large organization is coordination. This should not be through compromising but by integrating conflicting interests. Unfortunately, too often the leader acts as umpire or arbitrator and decides in terms of the existing rules of the game instead of synthesizing the elements into a new constructive program. Slocombe has pointed out in a series of articles in the *Personnel Journal* how a company may lose more than it gains by winning decision after decision from its men because they are unable to prepare their side of the case properly. Instead of permitting the arbitrator to act as a mere umpire, he insists that the company should "help the employees to define their wants, to gather facts and marshall their arguments in support, and bargain intelligently." Otherwise, "the inefficiencies due to ceaseless unrest, the possible consequences of keeping this unrest

[1] FOLLETT, M. P. "Constructive Conflict," p. 114 *ff.*, in "Scientific Foundations of Business Administration" (Ed. by H. Metcalf), Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins Company, 1926.

alive, the cost of employee ill will" will lead to the "employees sooner or later floundering their way through to getting their way."[1]

**Objective.**—Leaders may be classified according to their objective or goal. The goal usually thought of in this connection is increased sales for a sales manager, greater production at less cost for a production manager, more converts for a church leader, majority of votes for a politician, and so on. Tead maintains that there should be an entirely different goal. He writes,

> The vital problem is how to make group activity a happy and satisfying experience for people.[2] In every organization, irrespective of its explicit aim, the whole man has to be appealed to and ministered to. . . . Organizations are always means to an end, agencies to help achieve what people want. It is the human beings themselves who are the ends.[3]

This is a new note. It will take a considerable period of time to properly reconcile these two objectives. Is the postal service, for example, to be run in order to deliver mail expeditiously or to make employees of that service happy? Up to the present time the thought has been that the postal service was to be efficient in order that the general public would be pleased with honest and prompt service. The shorter the hours, the greater the pay and the less the discipline, the greater the satisfaction presumably among postal employees and the greater the cost and the poorer the service to the public. How are the conflicting interests to be adjudicated?

**Honesty of Leader.**—Lorwin points out five types of racketeering to be found in labor unions. They are: (1) collusion between union men and employers whereby some special privilege is given the latter in return for pecuniary emoluments, (2) abuse of funds to advantage of officers, (3) use of position by official to engage in business himself, (4) employment of professional gangsters to aid certain officials to maintain their position, (5) racketeering proper. Gangsters muscle in to a union, gain control, and use the power to hold up business. "Racketeering in unions reflects in large measure racketeering methods of business in the same industries."[4]

Labor unions are probably no worse in this respect than are other forms of group organization; if they are, it is because the temptation is greater in an organization fighting vigorously for its rights than in

[1] SLOCOMBE, C. S., "Good Technique in Negotiating," *Personnel Journal*, 1935, **14**, 48.

[2] TEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[4] LORWIN, L. L., "The American Federation of Labor," pp. 319–324, Washington, Brookings Institution, 1933.

one which is fairly well satisfied with the *status quo*. Regardless of the environmental situation, the leader who is dishonest is a rather distinct type from the leader who is unmistakably honest.

The above methods of classifying leaders only emphasize how little, after all, we know about leaders, for these classifications are neither clean-cut nor adequate. The self-appointed leader may be an executive who bosses his followers, winning his objectives by frontal attacks in a military campaign, but he may be a planner who integrates the desires of many groups, leading them through the clarity of his thinking into a program none had thought of at all. There is need for fruitful research here, as well as upon all the other phases of this subject.

## TRAITS OF LEADERS

Considerable attention has been given to the traits that characterize leaders. It is certain that any one trait or only a few traits will not account for leadership. The relationship between a leader and his followers is always complex and is constantly shifting, so that the leader can be explained only in terms of a complex set of responses by him toward his followers and by their responses to him. There is some gain at the present time, however, in considering some of the "traits" that have been mentioned by writers on the subject.

**Height and Weight.**—Gowin[1] gathered data from 2,497 leaders in 40 different capacities and found that they were taller and weighed more than the average man. The ten groups who weighed the most were superintendents of street cleaning, chiefs of police, wardens, presidents of fraternal organizations, chiefs of fire departments, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, bank presidents, factory superintendents, railroad presidents, and presidents of labor organizations. The ten groups weighing the least were manufacturers, inventors, chief justices of state courts, artists, merchants, lecturers, musicians, philosophers, authors, and psychologists. The first group averaged 193 pounds (height 5 feet 10.6 inches); the second group, 163.3 pounds (height 5 feet 9.3 inches). Gowin concludes that eminence in general is not necessarily correlated with size but that superiority in weight and height tend to favor one in contests for executive positions. This situation might be explained on the basis that all desirable traits tend to be correlated positively or on the ground that executives are purposely selected because their size has an impressive effect. Although these conclusions hold in general, it must be emphasized that there are

[1] GOWIN, E. B., "The Executive and His Control of Men," pp. 22–32, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915.

many striking exceptions of able leaders who are shorter and weigh less than these average figures.

**Intelligence.**—One hundred and two successful businessmen—salesmen, salesmanagers, and executives—obtained scores on an intelligence test ranging from 27 to 174: median, 106; interquartile range, 88 to 128. "In terms of the army intelligence scale, 54 per cent of these men would be rated A; 29 per cent, B; and 17 per cent C+ or C."[1] As 4.1 per cent of enlisted men in the army received an A rating, 8 per cent received B and 40 per cent received C+ and C,[2] it is evident that these businessmen are markedly superior to the average enlisted man in this respect. The combined ratings of five judges as to the relative success of the 102 businessmen correlated −.10 with intelligence scores. The conclusion from these meager data is that business leaders have in most cases intelligence well beyond that of the average man but that among men of such high intelligence other factors than intelligence determine success.

President Gifford of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company has published data on 3,806 college graduates who are employed in the Bell System, indicating that those who stood in the upper third of their class in college earn markedly more than those from the lower third (20 per cent above median as compared with 20 per cent below median of group). Those who stood in the upper tenth of their class in college earned 55 per cent above the median. One interesting detail of this study is that there was very little difference in salaries received by these groups until after five years' service; from then on, there was a steadily increasing difference up to 30 years' service.[3] Substantial achievement in nonscholastic activities in college is associated with a 20-per cent greater salary than the median of the entire group after 25 years' service as compared with a 10-per cent smaller salary for those with no achievement in this respect in college. "On the basis of this evidence alone," Bridgman concludes, "it seems that scholarship is a rather more significant factor than substantial campus achievement."[4]

**Traits Listed by Craig and Charters.**—These authors interviewed "a large number of workmen and high administrative officials to

[1] BINGHAM, W. V., and W. T. DAVIS, "Intelligence Test Scores and Business Success," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1924, **8**, 1.

[2] "Psychological Examining in the United States Army," *Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences*, 1921, **15**, 679.

[3] GIFFORD, W. S., "Does Business Want Scholars?" *Harper's Magazine*, 1928, **156**, 671–674.

[4] BRIDGMAN, D. S., "Success in College and Business," American Telephone and Telegraph Company, 1930.

inquire into the difference between minor executives who are successful in supervising their subordinates and those who are not. From the long list of differences secured, it was easy to see where poor executives make their worst mistakes. On the basis of these mistakes a list of questions was made up and used in personal interviews with more than 110 successful executives . . . particularly successful in the work of 'handling men.'' '[1] Their general summary statement follows.

Any organization has two responsibilities which are exceedingly real. Its members want the greatest material reward with the least psychological sacrifice. If it is to get their maximum cooperation, the group must see that they are satisfied.

This involves, first, being a successful organization. It must be aggressively managed, and intelligently controlled, so that the material rewards will actually be greater than the individual members could have secured alone.

Second, the organization must pay attention to its members as individuals and see that they do not become overwhelmed by the machinery and the methods which the organization must employ in accomplishing its purposes. Only in the degree to which it makes the group-life bearable is its own existence justified.

Although these obligations are really those of the organization as a whole, the actual discharge of them devolves upon those who are in authority. It must be obvious that everybody's business is nobody's business, and that unless the leaders recognize these obligations as their own, no attention will be paid to them.[2]

To accomplish the first objective the leader must possess four specific traits.

First, the leader must know more about the aims and the working policies of the group than his members. This means that he must be able to do the work of most of them, although of course there will be some specialists whose technical skill in the task before them is greater than his can possibly be. And he must be able to perceive the relationships between the different subdivided tasks, and their relative significance in terms of the major objectives.

Second, the leader must see that his followers do not falter. . . .

Third, he will need to train them in constantly better methods of doing their work. . . .

Finally, for all of these tasks he must have a greater store of nervous energy and good health than most men. . . .

In discharging the second responsibility of the group to its members, that of minimizing their sacrifices, three traits especially are indispensable to the leader.

First, he must be concerned for their private welfare. . . . One writer has gone so far as to suggest that 'no man can lead who does not love the men he leads.'

Second, since he stands in somewhat the position of a presiding officer over their relations to him and to each other, he must exercise fairness. . . .

Third, the best leader of any group is he who is keenly sensitive to the thoughts and feelings of his followers, and who can express those thoughts and feelings for the group. He is their representative before other groups, and they will not trust him if he cannot represent them accurately.

[1] CRAIG, D. R., and W. W. CHARTERS, *Personal Leadership in Industry*, pp. vii–viii, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1925.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

Briefly, then, the leader must have intelligence and skill, forcefulness, teaching ability, and strength; and he must be kind, fair, and sensitive to the feelings of his followers.[1]

**Traits Listed by Kingsbury.**—This writer "attempts to give a description of the competent executive, in terms of his responsibilities" in order to "see what kinds of ability seem called for."

I. A competent executive is one who can make plans, *i.e.*, plan enterprises, programs, organizations; grasp each problem and define it clearly, both to himself and others; collect or devise abundant suggestions looking toward its solution; evaluate these for his own situation; combine partial solutions into a well-coordinated total; adapt the available means to the end desired; *i.e.*, make plans which are not only admirable, but practical.

To do these things, apparently, one needs two general kinds of ability:

1. A wide and thorough understanding of his own business and of fields and facts related to it;
2. A good grade of intelligence; *i.e.*, capacity to analyze and reorganize the products of experience, to adapt to new situations, to solve intellectual problems.

II. A competent executive is one who can direct people in carrying out these plans, *i.e.*,

direct the execution of plans;

evaluate accurately the abilities, traits, and motives of others—whether subordinates, co-executives, competitors, customers, etc.;

make sound decisions promptly, for subordinates to act upon—also a part of planning;

have these delegated responsibilities properly discharged; enlist and maintain full cooperation of subordinates and associates;

discover and avert or minimize friction points and sources of conflict, both inter- and intra-personal.

To do these things apparently necessitates another type of general ability and a particular set of character traits:

3. What may be called loosely, "social aptitude," *i.e.*, interest in and understanding of people, skill in judging the signs of motive, ability, and character, and sagacity in putting such knowledge into use;
4. Certain more or less generalized, dynamic qualities, which we designate variously as decisiveness, drive, persistence, aggressiveness, forcefulness, etc.[2]

**Consolidated List of Traits from Several Authorities.**—The following list of 20 characteristics is based upon the writings of Bernard,[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

[2] KINGSBURY, F. A., "Psychological Tests for Executives," *Personnel*, published by American Management Association, 1933, **9**, 124–125.

[3] BERNARD, L. L., "An Introduction to Social Psychology," Chap. XXXIV, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1926.

Craig and Charters, Creedy,[1] Houser,[2] Kingsbury, Mann,[3] and a report of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.[4] Anyone possessing all of them in considerable degree would be a "great deal of a man," if not a superman, in the opinion of the writer; but that seems to be what is in the mind of some when they describe a leader. The 20 characteristics are

1. Personality, prestige, ability to command respect and confidence.
2. Forcefulness, enthusiasm, energy, enterprise, initiative, perseverance.
3. Definite aim or purpose.
4. Ability, intelligence, imagination, originality, versatility.
5. Foresight, planning, organizing ability.
6. Decisiveness.
7. Technical mastery of ways and means to be employed.
8. Willingness to receive criticism, suggestions; responsiveness to current events; courage to face reality.
9. Capacity for organizing groups, to delegate work properly, persistent follow-up.
10. Self-confidence, independence of judgment, courage, (but not so much self-sufficiency as to lead to aloofness and indifference of others).
11. Sociability, friendliness, sympathy, appreciation, personal interest in subordinates.
12. Self-control, cheerful and even temper.
13. Ability to persuade and to carry into execution; to overcome prejudice and conservatism; to develop teamwork; to call forth the best efforts of the men; to develop self-confidence.
14. Respect for freedom and initiative of subordinates.
15. Intellectual and moral integrity, impartiality, sense of fair play.
16. Sense of humor.
17. Good disciplinarian; ability to praise wisely and reprimand effectively; ability to inspire confidence in himself; absence of bullying, bluster, and excessive love of power.
18. Good judge of character; ability to pick right men.
19. Ability to train and develop subordinates.
20. Faith.

Before an adequate list of traits can be prepared we must know far more than we do today as to what a leader does. When such job analyses have been made,[5] it will certainly be evident that different kinds of leaders will have different lists of duties and accordingly it

[1] CREEDY, F., "Human Nature in Business," London, Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1927.

[2] HOUSER, J. DAVID, "What the Employer Thinks," Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1927.

[3] MANN, C. R., "What Does a Leader Do?" *Educational Record Supplement*, January, 1928, **9**, No. 6, 6.

[4] "The Recruitment and Selection of Personnel Suitable for High Administrative Positions," *The Human Factor*, 1936, **10**, 18.

[5] See p. 504 for discussion of some of the difficulties involved in such a procedure.

will be necessary to postulate different lists of traits for these different kinds of leaders. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that different leaders in the same type of work use different procedures to a considerable degree and so achieve success by the use of varying combinations of traits.

Aside from the capacity to lead men, one of the most important of all capacities in a leader is that of coordination of the activities of all members of the group. This calls for the ability to see the whole organization and its several parts in correct perspective. The task reminds the writer of that involved in driving sheep across country. All day long the main body progresses toward the goal, but at any moment there are stragglers that must be rounded up. The leader must concentrate on one activity after another of the total assemblage of activities as the need arises and promptly direct each in the direction of the ultimate goal.

## CONTROL OF THE GROUP BY MEMBERS

As an introduction to the topic of how leaders control a group, consider how the group may be controlled without a leader by the members alone. Such control may be accomplished both passively and actively.

**Passive Control by the Group.**—Every individual is controlled to a very great extent by the approval and disapproval he receives from his fellows.[1] In every group there are fairly definite customs, conventions, and opinions which are accepted by all as the standard of behavior. These do not remain static but slowly change, some more rapidly than others. When the change is rapid enough to be noticed, it occasions a great deal of interest, since practically all must adjust themselves to the new order. Such phenomena are called fashions, styles, fads, crazes. The strength of all these changes lies in the dread of being considered old-fashioned, out-of-date, and the pleasure of being looked up to, as in the case of style. Such control by the group is not through external compulsion but because the members of the group conform of their own accord to what all accept as the thing to do. In many respects the only law that governs is that of public opinion; it is more important to have good public opinion than it is to have good legislators, because public opinion is what governs the legislators.

Restriction of output by employees is an example of group control. Mathewson investigated the often-repeated statement that deliberate restriction of output was characteristic of union, but not of nonunion men, by working in a variety of nonunion plants. He found restriction

[1] See p. 95.

widespread; managers as a rule did not realize the extent to which output was deliberately curtailed by the men. He gives five causes: first, fear of being laid off when the job is finished; second, direct pressure from fellow employees—"Take it easy, buddy, there's no hurry"; third, personal grievances, dislikes, hard feelings against the management, and discouragement; fourth, futility of trying to earn more since there is a definite limit to what management will pay; and fifth, because of orders from the bosses, who do not want their superiors to see men hanging around idle, or to have a layoff, or to have the central office investigating cases of excessively high earnings.[1]

The fact of membership in a group affects the quantity of work done. There is a general tendency among the slower workmen to work faster when in the group than when alone, whereas the faster workmen are more liable to slow up. Quality of work is not so affected, except that superior individuals do markedly superior work, especially of a qualitative nature, when freed from the influence of the group.

Because of this tendency for individuals to conform to the standards of the crowd, the crowd is the greatest enemy of personality. The aristocrat, the high-brow, the expert, make others feel uncomfortable. They differ from the crowd and must be compelled to conform, just as a few years ago every woman with bobbed hair made long-haired women feel there was something wrong with them. Martin believes there is less opportunity for men to become superior to their fellows in a democracy than under a dictatorship, because the dictator can control only a few activities, whereas the crowd can force all to conform to its many standards.[2]

**Active Control by the Group Membership.**—Members of a group ordinarily control by electing leaders who in turn manage the organization. Here the members control indirectly by electing and recalling the leadership. The writer knows of no case where the members of a group have exercised control without leadership for any considerable period of time. Two examples may be given where employees were given unusual opportunity to participate in the affairs of the business.

After many years of operation of the Filene Cooperative Association in Boston, in which these department store employees had been given much encouragement to handle affairs of interest to them, Filene concludes the average employee does not desire a voice in management. One employee is quoted by him as follows:

[1] MATHEWSON, S. B., Restriction of Output among Unorganized Workers, New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1931.

[2] MARTIN, E. D., "The Behavior of Crowds," Chap. IX, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1920.

It would take their time and take them away from their jobs, and so make it harder for them to get along in their own line. Take a salesperson, a cashier, or a buyer; they have to be on their own jobs every minute. They are expected to be at their posts, and it is hard enough as it is for them to get away from their tasks to attend meetings, conferences, and such things, even on store time. The employee can't stand the pressure of having too much to do in too short a time.[1]

The Columbia Conserve Company has been for seventeen years an outstanding example of an employee-owned and -managed concern. Sixty-three per cent of the common stock is owned by the employees. "Self-government has been extended to cover all aspects of management. It includes the financial, sales, and production policies; the products to be made, the machines to be bought; the hours to be worked; the wages to be paid; and the discipline of fellowworkers. . . . It is the only case known to us in which all discipline and management policies have been left to a council of workers."[2]

Balderston summarizes his reactions to the venture in the words, "It is our feeling that the experiment succeeded, although the company almost died."[3] Certain conclusions may be drawn.

One is that worker participation in management can be applied to a wider range of subjects than generally considered feasible, but that employees cannot safely be given full responsibility for discipline, nor be permitted to interfere with the administration of activities with which they are unfamiliar. Moreover, the experiment indicates rather clearly that the more democratic the conduct of affairs, the more serious is factional strife created by differences in background and objectives. In this case, the disruption of the group is in part traceable to business adversity, and in part to a small group of iconoclasts who had joined the organization (smooth talkers and lovers of controversy).[4]

It is to be noted particularly that the company was small and was led by a capable executive and that it was due to his ability that receivership was prevented by the securement of a loan of $120,000. He remarked in a letter

We went altogether too far in our experiment in complete employee control. . . . I do not know of any attempt made in the past to place one group of people in legislative, executive, and judicial control. . . . I have come to the conclusion that there is probably one responsibility which cannot safely be left to the decision of all the workers in council, namely, the responsibility for discipline. . . . I am convinced that technical problems of all kinds must be handled by one or a very few individuals. I am entirely in favor of acquainting the rank and file with these

[1] FILENE, A. L., "A Merchant's Horizon," pp. 152–153, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

[2] BALDERSTON, C. C., "Executive Guidance of Industrial Relations," p. 39. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

problems for the purpose of educating them in business management and thereby developing new technicians from the ranks, but the final decision in cases of disagreement about technical matters must remain with those technicians who are most competent to handle them.[1]

In the case of producers' cooperatives, foremen have often been selected by the men in their departments. Tead reports that

. . . the consensus of this experience has not on the whole been favorable to securing the requisite shop discipline and to maintaining necessary standards of efficiency in production. . . . The inevitable demand in economic organizations where work *is* work, is that the leader shall be administratively responsible to his followers only in the last analysis and not in the hour by hour contacts of his executive function.[2]

These and other experiences of similar nature make clear that collective bargaining and democratic control in industry do not imply surrender of essential management perogatives. The directing of operations belongs to management and all groups naturally expect the leadership to function as such.

## HOW LEADERS INFLUENCE A GROUP

Cooley raises the question,

Does the leader then, really lead, in the sense that the course of history would have been essentially different if he had not lived? Is the individual a true cause, or would things have gone on about the same if the famous men had been cut off in infancy? . . . The answer to these questions must be that the individual *is* a cause, as independent as a cause can be which is part of a living whole, that the leader does lead, and that the course of history must have been notably different if a few great men had been withdrawn from it.[3]

It is easiest to see this in the case of the inventor who creates a novel combination. Once the parts have been fitted together in the new form, others imitate and society's storehouse of knowledge is enlarged. Similarly, whenever anyone transforms his imagination into something concrete, it becomes the property of all eventually. The leader, whether planner or executive, brings forth new conceptions and new aspirations and makes use of them. In this way the leader influences the group profoundly in every conceivable way. The leader must not allow too great a gap to come between his thinking and that of his followers, else they will be unable to comprehend it or to sympathize with him. It is here that many reformers fail—they are a generation ahead of their time and so have little influence upon the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[2] TEAD, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31.

[3] COOLEY, C. H., "Human Nature and the Social Order," p. 321, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

masses, although they may start a movement which others receive the credit for finishing.

The leader carries on activities that the follower does not have the time or the energy or, usually, the ability to practice. For example,

> The rank and file of labor has been, for the most part, too ignorant, too weary from its daily toil, and too long trained in subserviency, to take the initiative in improving its lot. Massed together in its place of employment and often in its living quarters, it may have some dim conception of grievances and of common interests; but these need to be crystallized and given form. Labor must have leaders, whether they be blatant and self-seeking demagogues or honest and discreet men imbued with enthusiasm for the cause.[1]

The leader influences the group because of the intensity of this belief in his cause. Le Bon writes,

> The arousing of faith—whether religious, political or social, whether faith in a work, in a person, or an idea—has always been the function of the great leader of crowds, and it is on this account that their influence is always very great. Of all the forces at the disposal of humanity, faith has always been one of the most tremendous, and the gospel rightly attributes to it the power of moving mountains. To endow a man with faith is to multiply his strength tenfold. . . . The intensity of their faith gives great power of suggestion to their words. The multitude is always ready to listen to the strong-willed man, who knows how to impose himself upon it. Men gathered in a crowd lose all force of will, and turn instinctively to the person who possesses the quality they lack.[2]

Because of the leader's personality and accomplishments, he has prestige. In other words, his public looks up to him for what he is and what he has done, and because they are so dominated they follow him all the more easily in what he proposes next. Much of the authority of the leader emanates from this source of willing acceptance of him by the crowd.

Finally, the leader motivates his followers in all the ways which have been discussed in Chaps. XIV and XVI on Motivation and Propaganda.

Because the leader's hold upon his followers is so largely based upon sentiment, it is usually futile to attack him by showing that his program is faulty. His followers want to believe in him and what he stands for and they are very loath to accept another's estimate of his program. The only practicable way to defeat him is to destroy confidence in him. The present political attack upon Dr. Townsend by showing that he and his lieutenants are profiting personally from the movement is far

[1] CATLIN, W. B., "The Labor Problem," pp. 341–342, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.

[2] LE BON, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–120.

more likely to impress his followers than any statistical proofs that the $200 pension for all over sixty-five years of age is not feasible.

### WEAKNESS OF A LEADERSHIP SYSTEM

The typical political leader is a fighter for power. Kent writes,

> What men like these get out of being boss is gratified political or personal ambition, public honor or position and the sense of power. To most of his type a real love of the political game plus the selfish motive is behind their desire to be boss and stay boss. It stirs their blood, gives them a thrill, and often, when they have money and leisure, an interest in life without which they would languish.
>
> The successful machine politician who comes up from the ranks is first of all a fighting type. His whole life is a fight. He has to fight to win his place, and he has to fight to keep it. Every campaign is a fight, and as he goes up the political ladder his fights get bigger and bigger, harder and harder. It can be emphatically stated that no boss ever really landed who would run away from a fight. Whatever else they lack, they all have courage—and they are all able to take punishment as well as give it. Politics teaches them many things—and that is one of them.[1]

To succeed, the politician must have friends who are indebted to him, hence patronage and the spoils system; at least the leader's followers must profit, and profit can be secured only at the expense of the general public. This loss is not merely in the form of graft and perquisites but in waste from sheer inefficiency.

The business proprietor owns his business and therefore does not have to resort to patronage to maintain his authority—it rests upon the right of private property. Because of this situation he has too often had little consideration for his followers—if they didn't like it they could get a job elsewhere. Houser reports,

> A sense of social responsibility was rarely found among executives governing small or medium-sized organizations. Marked evidence of such consciousness is appearing more and more, however, among the administrators of the large industries. But even the expressions of these executives usually reveal only hazy conceptions and vague emotional attitudes. Seldom does one discover a vital sense of obligation coupled with a real understanding of motives and methods which will make such an attitude truly effective.[2]
>
> It is customary to think of the business man as seeking profits in money. This is true but far oftener than we realized the chief desire has been authority, power, and not more money; or more money has been sought to buy more power. An analysis of the policies of many a business will demonstrate that the leader was seeking greater power not net profit or the policy would not have been continued after it was known to be losing money.[3]

[1] From: "The Great Game of Politics" (pp. 78, 81) by F. R. Kent, copyright 1923, 1930, 1935, by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc.

[2] HOUSER, J. DAVID, What the Employer Thinks. p. 107, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1927.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 93

The leader of union labor is much in the same position as a political leader. He must have power to remain in control. To secure this power he must have the support of his membership. This means he must continually give them what they want—more wages, shorter working hours, and other perquisites. If an employer acceded to every demand of union labor, the labor leader would have to find new demands very shortly or go out of office—there would be no reason for the members to pay dues if they were not going to get something in return. One of the reasons the A. F. of L. has opposed government regulation of hours and wages, compulsory arbitration and, until recently, unemployment insurance and old age pensions has been that these were demands that the labor leader needed to be fighting for personally in order to impress his membership. The struggle between employer and employee is twofold: first, a struggle over the share of profits to be paid labor; second, a struggle over who shall have power in labor matters—the employer, who pays the wages, or the labor leader, who has the membership fees and votes.

The political, labor, and business leader must have power to become a leader; he must necessarily continue to seek power to hold and expand his position. The public generally accepts all this. When a newspaper called attention to the excessive speed at which a governor was driven on the highway, accompanied by motorcycle officers, the writer found very few citizens who saw anything wrong in it. Wasn't he the governor? Wouldn't anyone who was governor do the same thing? When the board of supervisors had voted that no traffic tags should be "fixed," we find one of the members of that board objecting when the chief of police refused to fix his tag!

The weakness of the leadership system lies in the fact that the crowd must have a leader to accomplish its purposes; the leader must have power to carry out the program; but once in power there is no good system for controlling the leader when he uses his power for himself and not for his group. The leader can be repudiated when conditions become too bad, but this is seldom done except under the banner of a new leader. During the interval, much harm may be experienced. The reformer in politics may clean up some of the ills produced by his spendthrift predecessor, but he is practically never reelected because he devotes his time to developing efficient procedures instead of building up a political machine. Conditions are changing and followers are demanding that their leader's power shall not be used at their expense.

The best corrective of the leadership system lies in the education of present and future leaders so that they will have a broad understanding

and intelligent sympathy and interest in social conditions. Society has never yet succeeded to any degree in changing the attitudes of men by law and regulation. This can come only from within. Man's desire for approval and dread of disapproval is, however, so great that even dominating leaders are affected and, as society makes clear what it desires, the leader may find more pleasure in using his power for the benefit of humanity than for himself alone.

# CHAPTER XXX

## MORALE

Morale is keeping ourselves "body and soul and our environment, physical, social, industrial, etc., always at the very tip-top of condition. . . . It implies the maximum of vitality, life abounding, getting and keeping in the very center of the current of creative evolution; and minimizing, destroying, or avoiding all checks, arrests, and inhibitions to it."[1]

Hall has defined morale in terms of a single individual. The more usual definition has reference to the state of mind of individuals who are members of a group. Thus, Tead defines morale as "that attitude which results from the mobilizing of energy, interest, and initiative in the enthusiastic and effective pursuit of a group's purposes." "Each worker can be interested in his own job, and morale still be poor. It is only as he is interested *in his relation to the organization* that the morale factor begins to develop."[2]

The morale that Hall has described is what all of us longingly desire; the morale of Tead is the acme of organizational efficiency.

Morale may be thought of, then, as the good health of an organization. It implies: first, an effective organization; second, good health in the members of the organization individually; and more particularly, third, good relationships among the members. The first two are necessary antecedents to the third, for without a good organization there will be unnecessary conflicts in authority and without good health of individual members there will be unnecessary weariness, despondency, and faultfinding.

Organization has reference to the way in which the parts (the matériel and personnel) are interrelated so that the objectives of the group may be accomplished. Because this is so, organization determines what may be done. But whether nothing will be done (because of a strike) or the activities will be carried on sullenly or enthusiastically is dependent upon the desires of the personnel, their morale. The better the organization, the more efficiently can the activities be per-

[1] HALL, G. S., "Morale," p. 1, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1920.

[2] TEAD, O., "Human Nature and Management," p. 173, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929.

formed; the better the morale, the more enthusiastically will the activities be carried out.

Good morale means that each is interested in his fellows and goes out of his way to help them because all are imbued with a spirit of zest to accomplish the task and attain the desired goal. Without proper organization, however, good morale will not secure worth-while results and will disappear as the members realize the futility of their efforts. The two are interdependent. When we think of morale we necessarily imply good organization and healthy members, but we especially have in mind good healthy relationships between individual members.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF AN ORGANIZED GROUP

The characteristics of an organized group are especially emphasized by considering an unorganized group first.

**The Unorganized Group.**—The assemblage of many people at one place—each going about his own private affairs without reference to the others—does not constitute a crowd in the psychological sense. "But let a fire engine come galloping through the throng of traffic, . . . and instantly the concourse assumes in some degree the character of a psychological crowd. All eyes are turned upon the fire engine; the attention of all is directed to the same object; all experience in some degree the same emotion, and the state of mind of each person is in some degree affected by the mental processes of all those about him. . . . The essential conditions of collective mental action are, then, a common object of mental activity, a common mode of feeling in regard to it, and some degree of reciprocal influence between the members of the group."[1] Of these three the "exaltation or intensification of emotion is the most striking result of the formation of a crowd, and is one of the principal sources of attractiveness of the crowd."[2] A panic, lynching, race riot, welcome to Lindberg, are examples of unorganized crowds or mobs, in which many people act simultaneously in a very similar manner because they are imbued with a similar emotional excitement under the same environmental conditions.

McDougall sums up the psychological character of the unorganized or simple crowd as follows:

> It is excessively emotional, impulsive, violent, fickle, inconsistent, irresolute, and extreme in action, displaying only the coarser emotions and the less refined sentiments; extremely suggestible, careless in deliberation, hasty in judgment, incapable of any but the simpler and imperfect forms of reasoning; easily swayed and led, lacking in self-consciousness, devoid of self-respect and of sense of responsi-

[1] McDougall, W., "The Group Mind," p. 33, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

bility, and apt to be carried away by the consciousness of its own force, so that it tends to produce all the manifestations we have learnt to expect of any irresponsible and absolute power. Hence, its behavior is like that of an unruly child or an untutored passionate savage in a strange situation, rather than like that of its average member; and in the worst cases it is like that of a wild beast, rather than like that of human beings. . . . [1] So when we hear of minor outrages committed by a crowd of undergraduates or suffragettes, a knowledge of group psychology will save us from the error of attributing to the individuals concerned the low grade of intelligence and decency that might seem to be implied by the deeds performed by them collectively.[2]

All authorities express a very low opinion of the behavior of a crowd. The danger in crowd action is extreme emotionalism; the incompetency of such action is due to lack of reasoning. The tendency is for the unorganized group not to face facts but to accept any attractive solution without consideration.

The customary procedure of organizing a crowd by electing officers, adopting a constitution, and appointing committees makes it possible for the concerted action to be truly effective. Such an organization necessitates delay in action, as proposals are submitted to committees for their recommendation. Two important things are thus accomplished. The ablest and most expert minds have opportunity to influence the committee deliberations, so that recommendations represent, on the whole, the best thinking which the group can render. Second, the delay prevents the emotionalism of the members from dominating the whole program. All this tends to prevent an organized minority from putting through their proposals before the majority can wake up and realize what is happening. It is most natural for a reformer, absolutely certain he is right, to damn the constitution because it prevents him from getting what he wants. It is much better in the long run for the reformer to have to convert a majority to his point of view, even though reform is delayed for years, than it is to live in a system which can be "reformed" very easily by all manner of minority interests.

It is to be noted that as soon as the worst features of group action are eliminated by the formation of a deliberative organization, control and guidance pass very largely into the hands of leaders. As pointed out in Chap. XXIX on Leadership, the leader is "selected" by the group because it is believed he will lead the group to the desired goal, and he is continued in office as long as this belief is substantiated. In this very fundamental sense, control is maintained by the group. But the actual direction of affairs emanates from the leader, subject to very

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

little modification by the whole group. This is true until the group commences to question the leader's fitness and a rival leader appears on the scene.

**Organized Group.**—The principles of efficient organization are, briefly, as follows:—

1. *Objective.*—The objective, or objectives, should determine the organizational set-up. Consequently, every element in the organization is to be judged as good or bad, depending upon how it contributes to the accomplishment of the objective, or objectives, of the group.

2. *Differentiation and Specialization of Functions.*—Like functions or activities should be grouped together and each such group of functions assigned to a different subordinate. This provides a clean-cut division of responsibility and authority and a minimum of friction.

3. *Leadership.*—Planning and execution should be provided for by a line-and-staff organization. In the line only a few subordinates should report to any executive and no subordinate should report to more than one superior.

4. *Coordination.*—The primary concern of the chief executive is the coordination of activities. In a large organization all manner of devices are necessary, such as liaison officers in the army, staff executives, committees of all sorts, etc., in addition to detailed statistical reports and accounting statements.

5. *Provision for Serious Consideration of Proposed Changes.*—(Discussed above.)

6. *Continued Reorganization.*—A perfect organization is never attained. The objectives of the organization gradually change. New procedures are continually being discovered and put to use. Both of these necessitate revamping of the organizational structure. In addition, it is seldom that the capacities of a man exactly fit the functions assigned to him. There results a continued shifting of men to fit functional requirements and a rearrangement of functional groupings to fit the men assigned to perform them.

7. *Morale.*—The less perfect the organization, the greater the difficulty of achieving efficiency by operation of the organization. When there is good team-work every man goes out of his way to help his fellows, thus taking up much of the slack not provided for in the organizational setup. A surprising degree of efficiency can result therefrom.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF MORALE

Although good morale is dependent, as we have seen, upon good organization and individual members in normal health, it is peculiarly

a phenomenon that arises from the relationships which exist among the human beings within an organized group. There are two sets of relationships here. First, there are the relationships between the leader and each of his followers; second, there are the relationships between each follower and every other follower (see lines of relationship in Fig. 75 connecting the group leader F with his five followers, S, T, U, V and W). If the leader has five followers, there are five relationships of the former type and ten of the latter; if there are ten followers there are ten relationships of the former type and forty-five relationships of

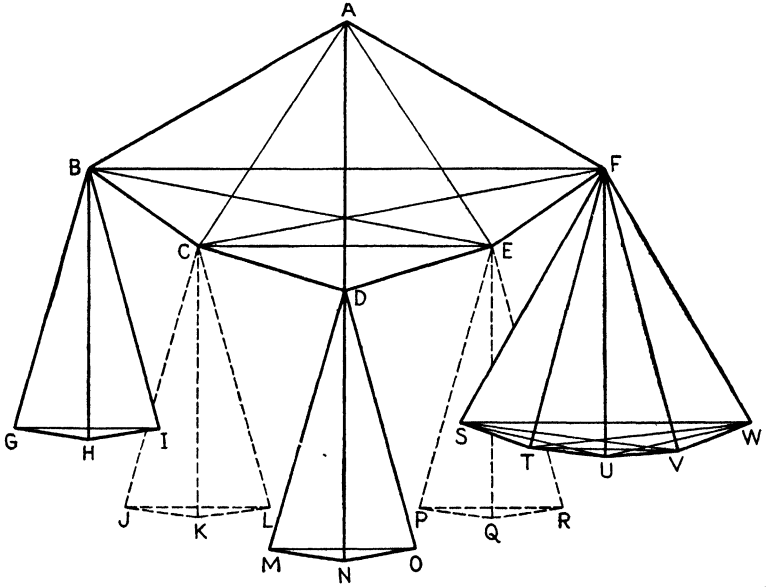



FIG. 75.—Showing relationships between leader and followers and between each pair of followers; also how morale in a business with five departments is organized.

the latter type. An organization chart makes clear the relationships between the leader and his followers. But there is nothing to indicate the multiplicity of relationships which must exist among all the pairs of individuals who make up the group, constituting the phenomenon of morale.

**Relationships among Members of Group.**—The relationships which constitute morale are not abstract relationships but concrete human contacts; they are man-to-man relationships in which each man stimulates the other and is stimulated in return. Five characteristics of these relationships should be noted.

First of all, the more friendly the relationships between members of a group, the better the morale. If the common laborers engaged in

digging a ditch are regaling each other with good-natured stories, the morale is much better than if they dislike each other and are sullen and unfriendly in demeanor. Under the best of such circumstances there is here very little morale in the true sense.

Second, the more interested the members of a group are in a common purpose, the better is the morale. So our ditch-digging group may be transformed into an efficient working force with high morale if there is a cave-in and one of them must be extricated. Then their relationships are all primarily in terms of uniting in a common endeavor which they all eagerly endorse.

Third, the more the members of the group accept the leader as one who is believed to be skillfully directing their efforts toward the accomplishment of their common undertaking, the higher is the morale. The emphasis here must be placed upon the mental state of belief—the members believe progress is being made toward the desired goal and that the leader is responsible for that progress. Unfortunately, there are many examples of fine morale in organizations where the leader is actually incompetent and little or no progress is being made. Eventually, however, this position is perceived and the morale is shattered or a new leader is selected in whom there is hope.

Fourth, the more the members know each other, what each is doing, and appreciate that what is being done is helpful in achieving the common purpose, the better the morale. It is on such a basis that each is able to distinguish between the members of the group and outsiders. It is on such a basis, furthermore, that each is able to gauge the progress that is being made; and without realization that progress is being made, there is no morale.

Fifth, the more each member knows that he, personally, is contributing his share to the total program and that others also know that he is doing this, the better the morale. In other words, wherever there is an inefficient worker, particularly an indifferent worker, there is a weak link in the chain of human relationships that together constitute good morale.

All of the above five characterizations of the human relationships within a group which lead to good morale are most likely to occur when we have the following conditions. First, a common purpose; second, a leader; third, "continuity of existence of the group"; fourth, "the existence of a body of traditions and customs and habits in the minds of the members of the group determining their relation to one another and to the group as a whole"; and fifth, a "condition very favorable to the development of the collective mind of the group, though not

perhaps absolutely essential," *i.e.*, "interaction (especially in the form of conflict and rivalry) of the group with other similar groups."[1]

**Effect of Size of Organization.**—From the standpoint of good organization, the larger the group the more imperative it is that it shall be divided up into subgroups and that each subgroup shall have its own peculiar function to perform (principle of differentiation and specialization of function, page 582). Division of the organization into small units is also essential from the standpoint of morale. The more members there are, the greater is the difficulty of each knowing all the others and what they are doing; also, the greater the difficulty for the leader to keep in contact with each member. Likewise, the larger the group, the more imperative it is that all in each subgroup shall be performing tasks that are somewhat similar, so that both members and leader may appreciate what each is doing. The science of both organization and morale is, consequently, to divide up the work and assign it to fairly homogeneous subgroups which may function as units.

Morale must be viewed, then, as a phenomenon primarily of small homogeneous groups. Under unusual circumstances it appears in large groups as, for example, among citizens in a country at war. But it is not easy to achieve such a sense of solidarity in a large group, particularly a business concern employing thousands of men.[2] The diagram in Fig. 75 indicates how a large organization may have good morale. First, morale may be developed within each department, shown in the relationships among B, a department head, and his three subordinates, G, H, and I; and among F, a department head, and his five subordinates, S, T, U, V, and W. Second, morale may be developed among A, the superintendent, and his five department heads, B, C, D, E, and F. Third, morale may be developed among the major executive and all the superintendents (including A) who report to him.

We have, then, morale within each department and to a lesser extent between departments because of the influence of the depart-

[1] McDOUGALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–70. See also CREEDY, F., "Human Nature in Business," pp. 165–181, London, Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1927; TEAD, O., "Human Nature and Management," pp. 173–183, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929; and DENNISON, H. S., "Organization Engineering," pp. 37–47, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931.

[2] Occasionally the president of a business, possessing unusual leadership ability, establishes with the rank and file of his organization such personal relationships that there results genuine morale between him and his men. This is comparable to the morale that may exist, in the political realm, between a people and a popular king, dictator, or president.

ment heads who are tied together in a morale relationship. When good morale is so established, there is in addition the tendency for members to extend their feeling of loyalty to some extent to every unit which they know to be a part of the entire organization. But this tendency is actually quite restricted, because the members of any one department do not know very well the members of other departments, what they are doing, and how what they are doing contributes to the welfare of the whole. Even in a university, the faculty show loyalty to the institution, but far more loyalty each to his own department and, where the interests of the two are diverse, they nearly always support the cause of their own individual departments.

It has been customary to consider that the key to good morale is the foreman in the shop or department head in the office of a business concern. As far as morale within his own group is concerned, this is quite true. He can do more than anyone else to see to it that each employee is performing a worth-while task in an efficient manner. He can also do much to prevent unnecessary friction between individuals and to build up a pleasant, harmonious atmosphere in the group. It must be realized, however, that unless the foremen are themselves members of a morale group under their superintendent, they will feel little responsibility for developing morale which will extend beyond their own group, and too often will not concern themselves very much about developing morale within their own group. Consequently, it must be recognized that the key to the morale of the entire organization is the president, and that if he sets the right example and establishes the right relationships among his own immediate followers and demands that such relationships be established all the way down through the entire business, it will be done. Unfortunately, many executives, as well as foremen, have given little attention to this whole problem.

The problem confronting the group leader is fourfold: (1) improving the relationships among the members of his group; (2) improving the relationships between himself and each of his followers; (3) improving the character and personality of himself and his men, for the only solution in many cases to (1) and (2) must come about from a change in the men themselves; and (4) improving the relationships of himself and his men with other individuals outside the group. Many interrelationships may be improved by simple instruction; others can be developed only after extensive training in technical matters. Still other relationships are dependent upon real changes in personality. Because we have little understanding of what to do in such cases, we usually discharge the offender, which in most cases results only in

substituting a new unknown personality problem for one that was at least partially comprehended. It must be remembered, too, that every individual is a member of many groups besides the one under consideration; it is futile to expect that he may be reformed so as to play a perfect role in that organization so long as he is badly adjusted in his home, his lodge, his union, or any other outside group.

## CONTROL BY DISCIPLINE OR MORALE

What is done is determined by the objectives of the group and by the organizational setup to accomplish the objectives. Once a man is assigned a job in a business organization, most of what he does is determined by the recognized ways of doing things—recognized by himself and by all the other employees with whom he comes in contact. One has only to try to change recognized procedure if he would realize what a very potent factor it is. The form and nature of an organization and the customs and ways of doing things in that organization are the primary factors that control what members of the organization do.

How things are done is another matter. Here we have reference to whether the employee or executive does anything at all and, if so, whether he does it sullenly or enthusiastically. Control, in this sense of getting people to do their work, is established through either discipline or morale, or usually by some combination of both.

Discipline is based upon either fear or reward, or both. Here the follower is concerned primarily with some advantage other than that of the primary purpose of the organization. The retail clerk is not working to secure the profit from selling merchandise but to earn a salary or not to be fired; often, in addition, because he is afraid of the foreman, who may "get him" in more ways than one. The employee obeys also because of the reward, primarily of wages, for his services and, secondarily, for many other rewards, some of a rather intangible nature. These latter benefits include: first, the sheer enjoyment of the work itself (contrasted with having to perform other less agreeable work); second, the social approval, or prestige, received; third, the promotional opportunity to greater benefits; fourth, the opportunity to wield power and authority; fifth, the social advantages of associating with the crowd, of living in that community, etc. In addition to all these, there may be additional financial perquisites in the form of group insurance, pension, sickness and accident benefits, bonuses, ownership of stock, and the like. All these combine to influence the worker very considerably and will continue to do so, regardless of

whether he works under the present capitalistic system, or under a socialistic or a communistic regime.

All authorities are agreed that motivation by hope of reward is far superior to that by fear of loss. The latter inhibits, causing the individual to cringe, to go slowly so as not to make a mistake, to watch his superior so as to dodge punishment. In such a frame of mind learning is retarded, there is no spontaneous throwing of oneself into the task to be performed.

Control through morale arises from the desire of the members of an organization to accomplish the purpose held jointly. They accept the leader as one who is striving to accomplish that same common purpose and because they do so they obey his commands.

De Tocqueville, the master mind of democracy, tells us that "whatever exertion may be made, no true power can be founded among men which does not depend upon the free union of their inclinations." Is not this the essence of cooperation? Does it not mean that reliance upon power, force, secrecy, hero worship, autocratic method must give way to open double-track channels for the free flow of facts, knowledge, hopes, aspirations, wisdom? Does it not mean that if we are to have true efficiency and harmony in the employer-employee relations, managers and workers, or their representatives, must exercise, not superior force but a right; that authority must rest upon proved worth and wisdom; that obedience must increasingly be rendered, not to a man but to improved industrial law and to justice? And will not the problems of production—waste elimination and all the rest—be most constructively observed, analyzed, interpreted and most safely directed along cooperative lines at the points *where they arise and by those whom they most directly affect*?[1]

Although control by discipline and morale can be distinguished, it is a mistake to suppose that only one or the other is present in a particular organization. The truth of the matter is that both are usually present to some degree. Once a leader is recognized in any group, obedience to his orders naturally follows. In emergencies there is no time to explain and followers must obey, whether they understand or not. The same situation inevitably arises in complex organizations where it is impossible to make common laborers or privates in the army or ordinary citizens understand the procedures they are ordered to obey. In building the eight-mile bridge across San Francisco Bay it would have been impossible to teach each workman the why of many of his duties. Only a well-trained engineer could appreciate the involved mathematical calculations upon which each detail was based. Possibly the best example is that of discipline aboard ship. Here the captain is responsible for the safety of the passengers, the

[1] Discussion by H. C. Metcalf of "Scientific Management and Organized Labor Today" by GEOFFREY C. BROWN, *Bulletin of Taylor Society*, June, 1925, **10**, 148.

crew, the ship, and its cargo. The captain's word must be law. This is so completely recognized that even though the owner is aboard the captain remains the supreme authority. Refusal to obey is mutiny. If the captain rules wrongfully or unjustly, he may be held accountable when the ship reaches port. But while at sea he is master.

In many cases where control by discipline seems to be predominant, employees show unmistakably a genuine interest in carrying out the purposes of the organization and often seemingly take as much pride in its accomplishments as do the leaders at the top.

## MORALE WORK

To increase the efficiency of machines, sand can be removed from the bearings and they may be oiled. Similarly with human beings, anything that causes annoyance, irritation, worry may be eliminated, and situations leading to pleasantness fostered. There are innumerable things that can be mentioned in this connection, such as handling complaints, provision of good drinking water, clean toilets, soap and towels, medical care, recreation facilities, mutual aid association, legal advice, loan fund, cafeteria, etc. A survey in 1934 showed that the following procedures were carried on by 40 per cent or more of 233 companies: first aid, 87 per cent; physical examination, 72 per cent; group life insurance, 70 per cent; regular sanitary inspection, 68 per cent; mutual benefit association, 57 per cent; nursing service at plant, 57 per cent; cafeteria, 53 per cent; sick benefit, 53 per cent; death benefit, 50 per cent; accident benefits, 48 per cent; athletic teams, 48 per cent; suggestion system, 44 per cent; social affairs, 43 per cent.[1]

Just as machines have to be repaired and improved, so it is also necessary to improve the human beings that operate them. Regardless of how ideal the working conditions, the worker will not long continue satisfied unless he feels that he is making progress. Specific training on the job, designed to improve his capabilities or to prepare him for promotion, is very valuable in this connection. Interesting him in more general education functions in the same direction, whether it is a course in history or public speaking, or merely the use of the library. Aiding him in the proper use of his income, through the use of budgets, thrift programs, home-ownership, investments, is another way of contributing real help and building him up to be more of a man. Development of recreational and social facilities in the community should also be included under this heading.

[1] WALTERS, J. E., "Effect of the Depression on Industrial Relations Programs," *National Industrial Conference Board, Bulletin*, 1934.

The most important thing in improving morale is to recognize and treat employees as human beings. Greet them when they come in; give credit when due; show disapproval, when it is necessary, in private; take an interest in their activities. The writer has never forgotten a hurried trip through a plant with the superintendent, because it was so apparent that the employees were glad to see their superior officer, although he spoke only to an occasional man. He did call out to one, "Is it a boy or girl?" and waited to hear the news. And he suddenly darted several aisles out of his way to greet an employee just returned from two years at a tuberculosis sanitarium. Such personal relationships cost the company nothing and are worth more in building morale than are programs costing thousands of dollars. But they require that the executive shall actively interest himself in his men. Unfortunately, many executives are too immersed in their work to remember the workers.

The indiscriminate introduction of so-called welfare activities, copied from competing organizations, is not any more likely to develop good morale than the haphazard squirting of oil is likely to reduce friction in the machinery. And just as oil squirted in the wrong places will cause annoyance and loss, so the introduction of many welfare activities irritates employees who see money spent on things they do not want instead of upon things they really desire. What is needed in this connection is intelligent understanding of the working situation from the employee's own viewpoint, followed up by judicious introduction of activities which will reduce irritation and increase friendly relationships. The more employees have a hand in such undertakings, the more likely the undertakings will really fill a felt need and pay for themselves in improved working conditions and greater efficiency.

**Union Labor Opposition.**—Why has union labor been so bitter against welfare work? Many years ago Mr. Gompers speaking before a Senate Committee called it "Hell-fare" work.

> What the workers want is less charity and better wages and laboring conditions. The direct purpose of this welfare work is to alienate and prevent the workers from thinking in terms of organization for self-protection and mutual welfare.
>
> In its essence the criticism of the workers is that welfare work is an expression of benevolent autocracy, while they are struggling for more democracy; that it breaks up any unity of action; and while it makes life pleasanter for the few, it often consigns the great mass of workers to the necessity of living under hard working conditions.[1]

[1] From: "The New Industrial Unrest" (pp. 138, 145) by R. S. Baker, copyright 1920 by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc.

At least two explanations may be given for this opposition. Some employers have developed welfare work because of love of the limelight, the pleasure of being looked up to by employees and the general public as one who does more for his men than the average employer. American workingmen, however, do not want charity, they object to paternalistic features, they resent the smug complacency of a boss who introduces welfare features with a flourish for the world to see, when he does not show in his daily behavior any real interest in them.

Other employers have installed welfare work as a means of combating union labor. They give their employees more advantages than the men can get in unionized plants, thereby keeping them from joining the union. Naturally, labor leaders denounce such programs for they are very largely powerless to compete on such terms. They are, moreover, ever ready to point out that such a program puts the workmen in the position that the men dare not at any time assert their inalienable rights, *i.e.*, join the union.

It is probable that at the beginning of the movement welfare measures were very seldom adopted in order to secure increased efficiency. Experience has shown that efficiency is increased thereby, provided that the program is introduced with due regard to the susceptibilities of the workmen.[1] At the present time the best defense of morale work is that it is inaugurated as an efficiency measure. Workmen understand a boss's interest in increased profits and do not resent a welfare program inaugurated on that basis. They may, however, still choose to join a union or resort to other measures to obtain still more for themselves.

The employer seems to be in a position where he is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't. If he gives his employees wages and nothing more, he is viewed as reactionary; if he gives his employees medical care, group insurance, pensions, etc., he is paternalistic and a foe of democracy.

The above dilemma arises because, although morale activities have increased pleasant relationships within the business organization, they have not affected very greatly the fundamental element in morale—the development of a common purpose. Mr. Gompers' criticism

[1] The employees at the White Motor Company requested, about 1919, that all the welfare work be discontinued and that the money so spent be paid in increased wages. When the actual figures were posted on bulletin boards, determined by outside accountants, the employees voted overwhelmingly to continue the welfare work. Its cost of $138,419 amounted to only eight cents a day per employee. For this they received medical service, contributions to their amusement fund, death benefits, wages when on jury service, cafeteria run at a loss of $66,860, and many other advantages. Data from publication of White Motor Company, 1920.

clearly has reference to this weakness of welfare work. It is not, however, at all clear to the writer how the organization of men in unions will bring about the development of a common purpose throughout a business organization.

### THE HAWTHORN EXPERIMENT[1]

Further light is thrown upon the nature of morale by an investigation at the Hawthorn plant of the Western Electric Company. This was originally designed to determine the effect of changes in working conditions upon efficiency. Certain discoveries very soon caused the investigators to concentrate their attention upon the attitudes of the employees, see page 462.

The production of five women operators was carefully recorded while they were still working in a large room with 200 women. They were then moved to a small room and their production again recorded while they continued working under the same conditions as formerly, except for the change from large to small room. Following a five-week period, the test group was taken through twelve periods of varying lengths. In each period some change in working conditions was introduced, as for example, two five-minute rest periods, two ten-minute rest periods, six five-minute rest periods, lunch supplied; work stopped at 4:30 P.M., work stopped at 4 P.M.; Saturday morning off. Commencing with period twelve, these favorable working conditions were done away with, so that period twelve was identical with period three. Subsequent periods included certain favorable working conditions but not so many as in period eleven. The significant finding is that production increased steadily week by week and kept on increasing after the favorable working conditions were removed. The explanation for the 25 per cent increase in production must consequently be sought for in some factor or factors aside from improved working conditions, such as rest periods, shorter working day, free lunches, and the like, for when these were removed there was no decline in the steadily improving production record.

It is important to note in passing that the results of many extensive investigations regarding working conditions are challenged by this single study at Chicago. More favorable working conditions have been substituted in such studies for less favorable conditions and the

[1] PENNOCK, G. A., "Industrial Research at Hawthorn"; PUTNAM, M. L., "Improving Employee Relations"; and MAYO, E., "Changing Methods in Industry," in *Personnel Journal*, 1930, **8**, 296–332. MAYO, E., "The Human Effect of Mechanization," *Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association*, 1930, **20**, 156–176. MAYO, E., "The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization," New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933.

result noted in terms of production. But such investigations did not include the further step of replacing the more favorable with the less favorable working conditions. Consequently, all conclusions that this or that change in working conditions increases production by so much are to be challenged, for in this Western Electric investigation the favorable working conditions were finally removed with no decrease in production. Actually, there has been increased production throughout the entire period.

What explanation can be advanced, then, to account for this 25 per cent increase in production? Three factors have been suggested as explanations, namely: "relief from cumulative muscular fatigue," "change in the pay incentive," and "improved psychological attitude toward the work." The first two explanations have been disposed of on the grounds that careful investigations show no evidence of such cumulative muscular fatigue, and second, that similar results were obtained from another group of employees where no change of wage incentive was introduced. As no other explanation has been advanced, it seems necessary to conclude that the increased production is "due mainly to changes in mental attitude."

Many items of evidence are advanced by these investigators in support of their conclusion. They write:

> A relationship of confidence and friendliness has been established with these girls to such an extent that practically no supervision is required. In the absence of any drive or urge whatsoever they can be depended upon to do their best. They say they have no sensation of working faster now than under the previous conditions, and that their greatly increased production has been accomplished without any conscious effort on their part. Comment after comment from the girls indicates that they have been relieved of the nervous tension under which they previously worked. They have ceased to regard the man in charge as a "boss." Specific and individual studies which were made prove for these girls what you know about yourself—that you can work more efficiently in a contented frame of mind than you can when your mind is in a turmoil of worry, fear or discontent. You don't know exactly what it is that makes you produce more; neither do these girls. Yet they have a feeling that their increased production is in some way related to the distinctly freer, happier, and more pleasant working environment.[1]

These investigators conclude that: "Amount of sleep has a slight but significant effect"; rest periods increase productivity; home conditions and outside influences have a distinct relationship to performance; but "the mental attitude of the operator toward the supervisor, and working and home conditions is probably the biggest single factor governing the employee's efficiency."

> So the provision of an impartial person to observe changes became itself the greatest change, and has led to a complete revision of the Company's conception

[1] PENNOCK, G. A., *op. cit.*, p. 309.

of supervision, and of its method of training supervisors. Whereas supervisors have generally tended to be talkers and "drivers," those who get the best results from their workers, are found to be good "listeners," whose conception of improvement rests upon betterment of working conditions rather than the application of spurs or incentives to the workers.[1]

**Obsessive Thinking.**—Mayo explains much of the inability to work efficiently to obsessive thinking. "The individual is unable to control his reflective thinking—he is obsessed by certain ideas which seem to him to have a 'compulsive' power of establishing themselves in his preoccupations even though he believes such ideas to be irrational and untrue."[2] This condition results from an organic unbalance, as fatigue, or from a social conflict where he is unable to adjust himself adequately. "If he cannot adequately 'think through' the situation to amended action, he will proceed to 'overthink' his situation in terms of false alternatives." Under these conditions "he will suffer a diminished power of quick adaptation to actual situations, especially the social; he will be unable, for the time being, to prevent himself from thinking in an exaggerated and distorted fashion about himself and other people."[3] The example is given of a young girl suffering from stern parental control and unable to live as other girls do and to make her own friendships. When she left her home her production rose, only to fall again when she returned home. Her inability to adjust herself in her home kept her mind occupied while at work with obsessive thinking.

Mayo furthermore emphasized that

there was no great evidence of that "deadening" effect of machine minding or routine work which literary critics commonly suppose to be the chief problem of a mechanical age. . . . But many "conflicting forces and attitudes" were "working at cross-purposes with each other." . . . Somehow or other, no effective relationship between 'the worker and his work' had been established.[4]

**"Release the Brakes."**—If an automobile is being driven at 20 miles per hour with the brakes partly set, the speed can be increased in two ways: first, by consuming more gasoline; second, by releasing the brakes. The latter procedure is, of course, superior, since less gasoline is used and there is less wear and tear upon the mechanism. All normal people have far more stored-up energy than they need for ordinary work. Figuratively speaking, they do not use it because

[1] MAYO, E., in *Proceedings, American Economic Association, op. cit.*, p. 171.

[2] MAYO, E., "The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization," pp. 107–108, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119.

they have their brakes set too tight. Every experiment with which the writer is acquainted, which reports increased production as the result of some change in working conditions, makes clear that the workers were less fatigued under the new conditions than before. In the Hawthorn experiment there was a decrease, for example, of 80 per cent in absences, with increased interest in work. In these cases the increased production is secured with less effort because evidently the workers were "releasing their brakes" rather than trying harder. "Brakes are set" when the individual is not adjusted, when things are going wrong, when there is fear, dread, worry. It makes relatively little difference whether the occasion is on or off the job, the individual continues to wrestle with the difficulty and, while doing so, is unable to let himself go at whatever else he is trying to do.[1]

The significant thing in the Hawthorn experiment is that efficiency can be materially increased by eliminating fear of the foreman and by causing the worker to believe the management is seriously interested in improving working conditions. The increased production was not the result of employees' consciously striving to do more; rather, it was the result of decreased stress and strain, a "releasing of the brakes," which freed their minds of obsessive thinking so that they unconsciously attended more easily and naturally to their work. We have here the phenomenon of more work with less effort—the essential characteristic of morale. Of course, this is not a brand new discovery: many a manager has sensed this in the past and made use of it by trying to know his employees personally and to take a genuine interest in their welfare. But never before has this principle of sound industrial relations been so clearly and strikingly demonstrated.

## HOW FAR IS GOOD MORALE POSSIBLE?

After considering the characteristics of morale, it is most appropriate to inquire as to how far good morale is possible in a business organization. Several considerations need to be taken into account in attempting to answer the question.

**Selfishness.**—An able executive, noted for his fair treatment of employees, once confided in the writer, saying "If business men were content to limit their profits to 16 per cent there would be no need of a personnel department." The desire for more and more and more makes it impossible for many business executives to lay their cards on the table and work out with their employees a program of mutual

[1] A good illustration of "brakes being set" is given in the quotation from McDougall on p. 133.

advantage. Until employees can be given positive assurance that their efforts will be rewarded, they will naturally not exert themselves.

It is, of course, a fair question as to whether business executives are more selfish than employees. A student who has worked several summers as a section hand and common laborer in construction gangs for a railroad reported that on several occasions he had heard his fellows admit the company treated them more fairly than they did the company.

To state that undue selfishness is one basic obstacle to good morale is merely to recognize that all men are inherently selfish and that morale is essentially a condition in which men forget to some extent their own petty desires in order collectively to achieve a larger good.

Dennison[1] has called attention to the mental attitude called sportsmanship as one that has considerable potential significance in this connection. A sportsman is out to win but at the same time he desires to win only by complying with all the rules and regulations applicable to his game, following not merely the letter but the spirit and meaning of the rules. Furthermore, the sportsman enforces the rules upon himself, whether the umpire is present or not. If all managers and all employees were sportmen in work as in play, there would be no problem of morale.

**Is a Common Purpose Possible?**—How far can the employees in a large business organization ever become vitally interested in the major objectives of the company? Is it possible for the rank and file in the Ford Company really to care how many automobiles are manufactured or how much profit is made by their sale? Is it possible for mail carriers to be vitally concerned about the major objectives of the Post Office Department? It is difficult to suppose that the average employee can ever grasp the intricacies of the entire program with which the chief executives are concerned—many employees haven't the ability, many others haven't the necessary training and experience.

At best, a leader must always contend with ignorance and inability of his followers to comprehend his plans and with conflicting points of view—some germane to the group objective, some really opposed to it. It is the leader's task to unify the group in terms of some common objective, to draw the membership together more closely as he arouses still greater enthusiasm in the project, outlines in more detail the whole program, assigns the tasks to be performed, and initiates action.

Today we are faced with the theory that there is an insurmountable gulf between labor and capital and that the interests of laboring men as members of a nation-wide class of wage earners are more permanent

[1] DENNISON, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–47.

and fundamental than any interests which can arise through accidental association with some particular concern. This must be granted for all those classes of employees who are constantly shifting from employer to employer, such as migratory agricultural laborers, longshoremen, common laborers, to a large degree building construction tradesmen, and many others. All such can have no particular loyalty to the company for which they are now working, since they have no assurance of any permanent connection. On the other hand, there are many business concerns, both large and small, where employees have been continuously employed for a long time and have good assurance that they will be continued so long as they perform efficiently. It is only here that one may hope to find good morale. But even here, how far can there be a common purpose, possessed by all members of the organization?

When we know more about this subject, it is quite likely we shall find that human beings can become enthusiastically excited about a common project but that they cannot maintain such emotional interest for very long; furthermore, that the projects which will appeal to a large group are fairly simple ones and that the mass of men can never be really interested in the intricacies of coordinating the operations of a large business or of a state or national government. But all individuals can become interested in the operations with which they are personally concerned. If the above suppositions are true, it means that morale must ordinarily be a phenomenon of a small, fairly homogeneous group. Good morale in a large organization will consist, then, of good morale in each operating unit, plus a reasonable degree of friendly interest in each group for the other groups with which they come in contact.

**Lack of Leaders.**—Many executives are surprisingly ignorant and inefficient. Many of these owe their position to inheritance of wealth or promotion because of personal friendship. Every foolish and useless order issued by an executive of this type militates against good morale. There is no joy in working under or with such men.

A census would probably show a shortage of capable leaders. Whether men can be developed for such positions is unknown. It would seem that there are enough men of high intellectual attainments who could be taught efficient performance in roles of leadership; but whether there are enough such men who also have the personality qualities desirable in a leader is the real question. As between the efficient but grim, unemotional man and the inefficient but genial enthusiast there is no doubt but that the former in the long run will accomplish more. His followers may not like him or get any great

pleasure from working for him but eventually they will know where they stand and respect him. The latter will be liked, but his mistakes will destroy confidence and eventually the business. The ideal leader is, of course, the man who plans intelligently and directs in such a way as to make his men enthusiastic followers.

**Control through Ownership, Not Function.**—The executive who is not a good leader is very apt to control through ownership, not function. This always militates against the development of good morale.

It is customary to assume that control is based upon ownership. To a very great extent the man with money does control. So we think of the single individual, the partners, or the stockholders of a corporation owning the business and hence controlling it. It is not recognized so often, however, that each consumer controls the business by buying or not buying its product. Each purchase must be viewed as a vote of confidence and an order upon a manufacturer to produce. The general public also controls business through the exercise of governmental regulation. The owner of a business must, accordingly, render worth-while service to his customers and to the public at large or he will eventually fail because of lack of their support. Only within limits is it true that control of a business rests upon ownership of it; outside those limits, that control depends upon service to the public. The real control must be in terms of the functions the business is supposed to perform within the limits set by society. This is a new conception that is rapidly gaining acceptance.

Ownership is obtained not only by purchase but through continued use. The squatter gains title if he lives upon a piece of land for so many years. In some states the teacher secures permanent tenure to her position if she holds it for three years. Workmen come to feel that tools or machines they have used for a long time are theirs; similarly, they feel they have a right to their job. Promotion by seniority is an expression of ownership not only in one's present job but in the one next above it in rank. There is no objection to the efficient employee "owning" his tools, or the superior teacher "owning" her position, or to the promotion by seniority of the best available man. The objection arises to all these conceptions of ownership when the individual does not perform properly the functions of his position.

Function rests first of all upon the common purpose, or objectives, of the organization and, second, upon the structure of that organization. In starting a business a plant is constructed and men are employed so as to accomplish the desired end. Once the matériel and personnel, the structure, are set up, they in turn determine what

can and cannot be done, just as the structure of the arm at the elbow makes it possible to bend one's arm so as to move the hand toward the face but not backwards. The functions to be performed in a business are thus an expression of its structure, which has been set up by the leader to accomplish the objectives. As no structure is ever perfect and as objectives change from time to time, it is necessary for the leaders constantly to remodel the structure. But at any given time, the existing structure determines the functions or activities to be performed.

Possession of a job automatically carries with it the right to perform the job as it is prescribed by the total structure. Thus, today a workman may possess the right to order materials, secure tools and blueprints from the storeroom, and operate a given machine, but not to order his fellows about. Tomorrow, as foreman, he gives orders to his former colleagues. His source of control comes from the structural setup and the recognition of its implications by all about him.

Ordinarily, a man controls by virtue of both ownership and function. He possesses the job and he acts in terms of the structural situation. Only occasionally do we have a clear-cut case of control by function alone, such as arises sometimes in an emergency when a subordinate assumes control. In a case of this sort the owner fails to size up the structural situation and to perceive what activities should be performed, and so he is superseded. There are in business, however, far too many cases where an executive or a workman is controlling very largely through ownership and failing to do what the structural setup obviously requires.

The great advantage of functional control is that it is so largely impersonal. All those around a given man can sense what he is supposed to do and they realize that if they were in his position they would be expected to do likewise. In turn they feel the pressure of the total situation upon them and act because it is expected—it is their own job to do just that. When taken to task by a superior for a failure, they realize that all others—the superior and their fellows—recognize that they have failed to do what all expected would be done.

**Conflict between Scientific Management and Morale.**—Scientific management has contributed much to industry in the way of increased efficiency and reduced cost, but it has often failed to accomplish what was expected of it. One of the primary reasons is the large extent to which the human factor has been ignored. Men's jobs—which they felt they owned—have been suddenly reorganized or taken from them. Naturally, they didn't try very hard to cooperate. As Robert B. Wolf said many years ago, "No matter how skillfully the manage-

ment determined the one best way, it ceases to be the one best way, if the workman does not want to do it that way."

It still remains to be seen whether extreme functionalization of jobs with detailed control by a planning board is the best way to obtain efficiency. It seems so temporarily in most cases. But the ultimate cost may be very great in lowered morale and resentment, with resulting demand of employees to regain the lost authority functional to their jobs by resorting to union control of the situation.

So far the management has given only "superficial attention to the worker's contribution or lack of contribution to the increased yield" and made little effort to bring "the worker to feel that he can freely give his best efforts without incurring penalties." Despite scientific management, Mathewson states that "underwork and restriction of output are greater problems than overspeeding and overwork:" "the overspeeded worker is largely a myth."[1]

There is here a very serious conflict between two different approaches to the securing of efficiency. Scientific management has meant functionalization of planning and the assignment of it to a few specialists. Morale calls for spontaneous efforts on the part of each man. Seemingly the more the specialist does, the less interest workmen have in their work. So far employees have turned out more production under the direction of specialists but the evidence is clear that on most jobs they are not doing what they could, if they wanted to. An integration of the conflicting interests here might possibly be accomplished by transforming the specialists in planning from "dictators" to instructors or coaches coupled with a change in the entire working environment, whereby the men themselves have a worth-while incentive to seek improved efficiency.[2]

**Conflict between Executive and Union Leaders.**—The union leader must keep his job and that necessitates certain policies which are not in harmony with the objectives of the business. It is possible for management to cooperate with the union leader to such an extent that his position is assured and so he can cooperate in turn with the management's policies to a very great degree.

The experience of Hart, Schaffner and Marx is a good illustration of employee cooperation through collective bargaining with organized labor. Here the union under the brilliant leadership of Sidney Hillman

[1] MATHEWSON, S. B., "Restriction of Output among Unorganized Workers," New York, Viking Press, Inc., 1931.

[2] For a thought-provoking discussion of this subject see R. S. Uhrbrock, "A Psychologist Looks at Wage-incentive Methods," American Personnel Management Association, May 24, 1935.

cooperated with the company in studying working conditions and rates paid, resorting to time studies to determine the relative difficulty of the jobs. Much of the detail of operation reverted back to the workmen, while management was freed correspondingly to concentrate upon developing new methods and processes. Conflicts between the company and the men were settled by an independent arbitrator.[1]

The union-management cooperation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company is another outstanding case where the active interest of the men has been secured through a collective bargaining agreement which goes far beyond the ordinary scope of such agreements. Here "representatives elected by the various crafts meet with those appointed by the management to consider suggestions for improving methods and equipment, thereby improving the service rendered to customers and reducing the cost of operation."[2] The success of the program is undoubtedly due in large part to the fact that President Willard, a former union man, is a real leader. He has remarked that the program "is little if anything more than an earnest determination on the part of each to deal honestly, fairly, and sympathically with the other, at the same time making use of such agencies or methods as seem most likely to secure the results mutually desired."[3]

On the other hand, cooperation between union leaders and management is conspicuous by its absence in some industries, with resulting open warfare, each striving for more power. In many other industries there is far more conflict than appears on the surface. In still other companies employees are not unionized. What is the best setup?

When management will not or cannot give employees what they want and believe they can get, collective bargaining is available as a weapon presumably under union leadership. Seemingly, the better managed business organizations can give, if they want to, more advantages to their employees than they can get elsewhere. But even this will not be sufficient, for many American workmen prefer less pecuniary rewards if they can secure those psychological advantages represented by the word "rights." The far-sighted business manager will not *give* extra advantages to his men but will provide a place where they and he together can secure more and more for all.

Whatever the solution to such conflicts, they will not be solved immediately, according to those who have had personal experience with

[1] "The Hart, Schaffner and Marx Labor Agreement," 1920, See also BALDERSTON, C. C., "Executive Guidance of Industrial Relations," pp. 103–120, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

[2] BALDERSTON, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

the problem. "There will be an underlying suspicion for one full generation after employers, for the most part, have been square and wise. The tales today's workmen heard their fathers tell at the supper table set their subconscious attitude."[1] Owen D. Young similarly emphasized that time is needed to accomplish reforms he hopes may come, when he said in 1927,

> Perhaps some day we may be able to organize the human beings engaged in a particular undertaking so that they truly will be the employer buying capital as a commodity in the market at the lowest price. . . . I hope the day may come when these great business organizations will truly belong to the men who are giving their lives and their efforts to them. I care not in what capacity. Then they will use capital truly as a tool, and they will be all interested in working it to the highest economic advantage. . . . Then we shall have zest in labor, provided the leadership is competent and the division fair. Then we shall dispose, once and for all, of the charge that in industry organizations are autocratic and not democratic. Then we shall have all the opportunities for a cultural wage which the business can provide. . . . Then we shall have no hired men. That objective may be a long way off, but it is worthy to engage the research and efforts of the Harvard School of Business.[2]

[1] H. S. Dennison, quoted by O. Tead and H. C. Metcalf, in "Personnel Administration," p. 428, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933.

[2] YOUNG, O. D., Address at the dedication of the Harvard Graduate School of Business, 1927.

# APPENDIX

## FIVE SALES INTERVIEWS

### SELLING A SET OF REFERENCE BOOKS FOR USE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

Salesmen selling this set of ten reference books in their house-to-house canvass are instructed to obtain the names of parents and children from school teachers as far as possible. They are emphatically told to wait until they get inside the home before commencing what follows, and that while giving the introductory talk they are not to have a prospectus in hand or lap.

The sales talk they are expected to memorize and use is as follows:

*Opening Remarks.*—Mrs. Smith, the mothers are being visited at this time in a movement to make the schoolwork more effective under the new methods of teaching.

You may have noticed that the schoolwork today is very different from what it was in *your* school days. (Give prospect opportunity to comment.) We find many mothers who do not understand what our teachers are trying to accomplish and do not, therefore, know how to give necessary cooperation in the important task of education.

When you and I were in school, Mrs. Smith, our studies were principally memory work—"learning by heart" as we used to say. But the aim of the earnest teachers today is to stimulate the pupil to think rather than to memorize, to investigate, to get information through his own efforts. With this purpose in mind the teachers assign subjects for investigation, compositions to write, questions to answer. You probably know something about this supplementary or project work, as it is called.

But, unfortunately, Mrs. Smith, the teachers have had much trouble with this work for a great many years. Pupils who are assigned topics to look up, return to school and say, "I couldn't get the information—mother was too busy to help me," or "mother doesn't understand the new methods."

Now, as a matter of fact the teachers have had much trouble in trying to get Walter to help himself. They do not want you to help him.

The difficulties encountered with this important phase of the schoolwork were discussed by teachers throughout the country and finally an organization known as the Home and School Education Society was formed to study the situation and to devise a remedy for the trouble.

About two hundred teachers were chosen to prepare lessons in all the grades from the kindergarten to the last year of high school. They have worked out a wonderful chart plan which is proving a blessing to mothers, teachers, and pupils. Under this new plan, the pupils get their research work quickly, effectively, and lastingly. It has proved such a splendid success that we want every mother to know about it.

But I can show you more quickly than I can tell you about it. I have a great number of mothers to see today, and I can stay only a few minutes.

Under this new plan, the pupil is greatly assisted by pictures. Pictures, you know, Mrs. Smith, make a vivid and permanent impression on the child's mind and enable him to understand much more quickly.

Take the study of geography, for example: You know the pupils are required to learn, among other things, the products and industries of the different states and countries. In your day and mine, Mrs. Smith, we simply repeated these facts over and over until we had committed them to memory, then we went to school and recited, and then—we forgot all about it. And I feel sure that if you were called upon now to name the industries and products of any state you could not do it because you did not receive a lasting impression under the old way of learning.

But under this new picture-chart plan, the pupils learn with one fourth the effort you and I put into our work and they learn in a way they don't forget.

*Demonstration.*—Let us suppose the lesson for tomorrow is on Michigan, and Walter's class is told to come prepared to name the industries and products of Michigan, and tell just where in the state they are located. He can turn to his picture-chart—(Produce your prospectus and open instantly to the graphic on Michigan)—and find here a presentation of the information he must learn.

Down here (indicate) he sees a picture of the automobile, and in the lesson that goes with this chart (turn momentarily to page 1835) he learns that three fourths of all the automobiles in the world are made in Michigan. Here (indicate) he sees the salt represented and here (point) he sees the furniture of Michigan. Here (indicate) are the grains and here the fruits (point) and vegetables (point) of Michigan, including the celery and the sugar beets (point).

Over on this page (indicate) Walter sees where these various products and industries are located. He sees that celery (point) comes from down here, sugar beets from here (point) and copper, iron, and lumber from up here (indicate).

(It is of the utmost importance that you follow implicitly the instructions given as to the time to produce your prospectus. Don't get it out before the point indicated and don't let it be seen before that point. Don't even think about it before that point.)

*Closing the Sale.*—(This plan should be followed closely. The various steps in this closing talk are arranged in a definite, scientific sequence to compel action):

1. You will understand now, Mrs. Smith, how important this plan is in its relation to schoolwork and how much it means to Walter. I know you will be pleased to learn that these lessons are being placed in the homes of our boys and girls on such easy terms that the poorest and humblest may have them as well as the rich who have thousands of dollars invested in helpful home libraries. In fact the terms of sale are just what you would expect to pay for the rental of the lessons if you could rent them for your home.

2. The lessons have been bound in a strong and durable binding so they can stand the wear and tear of constant use.

3. The teachers who had this work in charge decided to offer the lessons in three bindings to meet the different conditions of home finance and to let the mothers pay for them on any terms they desired—to permit the mothers to

name their own terms so that every home might have the educational opportunity and advantage which this plan provides, so that even a poor washerwoman's children may have the same home opportunities as the rich banker's sons. (Produce stretcher.) This is the way they would appear in your bookcase or on your library table.

4. You see there are ten volumes. These first seven volumes (fold stretcher to show only first books) contain the reference material arranged alphabetically so that Walter can turn quickly to any subject on which he needs information. If, for example, the history class is asked to get something on the Monroe Doctrine or the Punic Wars he will turn to this volume (indicate) or this. Or if it is some character in history, such as Charlemagne, or Socrates, or Napoleon, he finds them alphabetically just like the names in the telephone directory, and he finds the information given in a style that interests him and develops his self-reliance. The last three volumes (fold stretcher to show only Study Guides backs) are called Study Guides. Here Walter will find outlines of study, suggestive questions, and many special departments which guide and systematize his research work in these other volumes. He does not need to bother mother about his lessons—he does not have to go back to school and offer an excuse.

5. These three Study Guides volumes correspond to the three divisions of a child's education—Volume VIII (indicate) is devoted to the needs of the child before school begins; Volume IX is for the child in the grammar grades; and Volume X is for the high school studies—the sciences, literature, commercial law, and so on.

6. Mrs. Smith, we are arranging for the delivery of these lessons now. We are taking the names of mothers who are interested in education and who are willing to cooperate in an effort to improve the schoolwork. I don't believe there is anything you can put into your home that would mean so much to Walter in his present studies and his future life. These lessons make a wonderful companion for your children. They stimulate their interest in school, change drudge work into delightful home study, broaden their knowledge, and develop self-reliance and independence.

7. The complete set just as you see it here is delivered to you on a small initial payment, and you can pay the balance in monthly payments just as you please. The library buckram binding is only $39.50. This is a strong and durable binding containing exactly the same lessons and illustrations as the bindings that cost more. You can name your own terms—you can pay at $10 a month or $8 or $5 or even as little as $3 a month, which means only 10 cents a day. In this binding the initial payment is made as low as $3.50.

8. (Explain the other bindings and terms.)

9. (Show the loose-leaf service certificate and explain.)

10. (Show the monthly Service Bulletin and explain.)

11. (Show picture of the set illustrated in large circular.)

12. Here is a good picture of the complete library just as it would appear in your home. Isn't that attractive? Wouldn't you have been delighted with such a help in your school days? Some mothers have said it made them feel like going back to school again. Here is the way we arrange this. You select the binding you like. The library will be delivered within a few days. A small initial payment brings you the entire library which will be delivered within a few days with all shipping charges prepaid. You can arrange the remaining payments as you please.

(If mother seems undecided, go back to your prospectus for five minutes of additional demonstration before showing her the subscription blank.) 135

**Analysis of This Sales Interview.**—The opening remarks of this sales interview are devoted to arousing in the mind of the mother the desire that her children should get their lessons better in school. Such a want will be intensified by the mother, herself, as she realizes that Johnny is not doing so very well, that Mrs. Brown's boy has just jumped a grade leaving Johnny behind, etc. The negative aspect will be supplied spontaneously and so, also, the positive aspect—the dream of great success for each of her children. (Both of these could be touched upon more than they are, to advantage.) The obstacle must be supplied by the salesman, for the mother does not appreciate just why her children fail to do their work because of the lack of proper reference books; then and only then is the mother interested in the books for sale. And the more strongly she wants Johnny to catch up to Willie Brown, the more interest the books have for her. Not that she cares a rap about the books themselves, but she comes to see that they may make it possible for Johnny to do better in school.

### SELLING A GASOLINE PUMP TO A HARDWARE DEALER

This presentation appeared in the October, 1923, issue of *Sales Management* "Warming Up the Buyer Who Justs Sit There and Lets You Talk," by J. D. Rauch.

The prospect was owner of a large, new, brick hardware and general store. To Bowman, the salesman, everything about the place bespoke thrift and progressiveness. The sidewalk in front was wide and clean; in fact, the place had an inviting appearance. The windows were full of articles of the highest grade, including automobile accessories and the best-known makes of tires.

An acquaintance explained to Bowman that the prospect was known to all pump and tank salesmen and had been solicited many times, but that he was dead set against such equipment from the standpoint that the profits from the sale of gasoline would not pay for the time and trouble of running out to the curb to run it.

Upon entering the store Bowman noted clean stock of the best grades, all neatly arranged, but no customers. The proprietor was large, good-natured, thrifty, evidently catering to the farmer trade of a large and prosperous community.

"Don't get up!" said Bowman, "I'm only after a little information. I was attracted by your display of such-and-such a tire in the window, and because I use that particular make myself and find them superior, I was just curious to know how many you sold a week. I'm not in the tire business so you need have no fear." He said he had not had very much success, although he had sold a few.

Bowman's account of the resulting interview follows.

"Well, that's too bad," I said, "if you could only get a chance to tell every farmer who drives into town what you and the rest of us know about that tire, you'd be busy selling tires every day. Why don't you put a hitch rack out in front?"

Of course, he thought I was "nutty," but that remark seemed to arouse his interest. You see he had what I term a "negative personality," so he must be approached from a negative angle.

"Sure," I continued, "a hitch rack. I take it that you learned the merchandising business in a large general store. It did a prosperous business, too, and held the biggest trade in the community. And you also had the biggest hitch rack in town in front of that store, so as to get all the teams possible to stop there."

That must have awakened some fond memories, for he got up from his chair and started to talk about that store, and I kept bringing up the importance of that hitch rack. Finally he admitted that without that hitch rack they could not have held their trade.

"Well," I said, "how can you expect to get and hold that same trade today without a hitch rack? The only difference is that they drive automobiles instead of teams, so your hitch rack should be one or more large, attractive gasoline pumps out there in front."

He shied a little from force of habit, but I told him I was only suggesting it to him as a common-sense, profitable idea.

He said he never had looked on it in that light, and there had been so many salesmen call on him to sell him a pump that he had formed a real antagonism toward them, but that the next one who came along he would surely look into prices, etc.

Well, he bought a large outfit from me. I didn't sell it—he bought it with the hitch rack idea in his mind. I only sold him the negative idea.

**Analysis of the Sale.**—The unsuccessful salesmen had tried to sell the hardware merchant in terms of his want for additional profit from selling gasoline. But the merchant did not want extra profit sufficiently to keep running out to the curb to attend to customers. Once having made up his mind on that point it became practically impossible to sell him in terms of the usual sales talk. Bowman appealed to a much stronger motive—not more additional profit from selling gasoline, but the greater profits from selling his regular line of hardware. The key to this sale was the clever emphasis on an obstacle to success which was immediately appreciated by the merchant. Once the gasoline pump was identified with the valued old hitching rack, the dealer was sold.

The following was prepared at the writer's request by W. E. Lange, then Research Assistant of the Bureau of Personnel Research, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

### SELLING SOAP TO A RETAIL GROCER WHO HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY CARRIED THE SALESMAN'S BRANDS

Mr. Lange had just returned from an extended trip in which he has accompanied, one after another, some two dozen salesmen as they called upon 500 retail grocers. He had had in this way an excellent opportunity to study the sales tactics of these salesmen who were

selling an established line of soap products. Mr. Lange made the following preliminary observations:

The salesman calling upon the average retail grocer today has probably been preceded by half a dozen or more "knights of the grip" and most likely, before the day closes, will be followed by an equal number. The retail grocer trade is being intensively worked and the mere sight of a salesman frankly bores the dealer.

The "happy-go-lucky" salesman of yesterday with his ready smile, his hearty handshake, and his fund of stories can no longer get orders. His former "all-sufficient" tools, the price list and order book are woefully inadequate. His wonderful personality, even the dealer's friendship for him, seem to get him nowhere. He is rapidly discovering that he must use *real salesmanship* or else "fall by the wayside." That group of salesmen selling soap to the retail grocer is probably experiencing the truth of these remarks in the bitter school of "hard knocks" more forcibly than any other group.

Competition in the soap business is very keen and every day finds the grocer approached with some special deal on a brand of soap or soap powder of which he has never heard, but which, on paper, will yield him a fancy profit. The salesman handling an established line of soap products, who has been preceded by such a proposition, must use real sales tactics to sell his line of goods. In addition to this type of competition he must meet real competition from other established brands.

To sell the grocer, an elaborate sales talk cannot be used. His time is too valuable. The salesman must size up the dealer accurately and then drive home to him, in a concise sales talk, the quality of the goods, the customer goodwill he will build by handling these goods, and the profit in the goods.

*The Sales Interview.*—Driving through the central part of Georgia the salesman suddenly noticed a new store. "Hello," he said, "there is a new store. I must call on the proprietor and see if he needs any of my goods." Stopping his car, he got out and entered the store.

The store was typical of the extreme South. A small building of rough, unfinished, and unpainted boards housed a couple of hundred dollars' worth of groceries, tobacco, candy, etc. A glance at the shelves disclosed the fact that the dealer's supply of soap was extremely low. A few bars of a competing brand of laundry soap and a couple dozen cakes of a cheap violently colored brand of toilet soap constituted the entire stock.

The dealer proved a young chap in the early twenties who evidently had had but little previous grocery experience. The site he had selected for his store seemed a logical one, and as he had no competitors, he was a good prospect.

"How do you do?" said the salesman. "My name is Brown. I am with the Blank Soap Company."

"My name is Perkins, Mr. Brown."

"I am glad to know you, Mr. Perkins. I suppose you know the products our company handles—Royal soap, Excell soap, K N soap powder, etc. I am here to sell you these products direct."

"What do you mean by direct?"

"I mean that we sell these products direct from our warehouses to you. I am not selling through the jobber. Selling products direct to you, we eliminate expense, sell to you cheaper, and give you better service in the way of

quick delivery and fresh stock. We will deliver to you, freight prepaid, an order as small as two boxes. However, I always like to write up a five-box order because it means a saving of almost $1.25 to the dealer. Our terms are very liberal also. If you pay your bill within ten days, you may deduct 2 per cent as discount, otherwise our terms are cash at the end of thirty days."

"I don't believe I need five boxes of soap, Mr. Brown."

"You don't have to take five boxes of one kind of soap. You can make up any assortment of five boxes and get a reduction on each box."

"I couldn't use five boxes of your products."

"You are getting pretty low on soap. You have only a few bars of laundry soap on your shelves. You'll need some soap soon."

Reaching into his sample case, the salesman drew out a cake of Excell soap, unwrapped it, and handed it to the dealer.

"Here is a fine cake of soap. That soap has been on the market longer than you and I have been on this earth, and it is still selling well. It sells especially well in this part of the country. Selling soap like that at 5 cents, you are making a good profit for yourself and also giving your customers a fine value for their money. Just now we have a special deal on Excell. We give one case free with five cases, or a half a case with two and one-half cases. This makes the price very low to you. Let's figure what it costs you per cake!"

Getting out a pad, the salesman started to figure before the eyes of the dealer, the dealer meanwhile following with interest.

"The five-box price is $4. With each box you get twenty cakes of soap free. Four dollars divided by 120 equals 3⅓ cents. As a 5-cent seller this soap will make you a profit of 1⅔ cents per cake, or 50 per cent on your money. In other words, you will make $2 on an investment of $4. Can you beat that? These profits are not paper profits. Excell will sell for you because you are giving your customers as much value for a nickel as you now give them for 7 cents when you sell that laundry over there on your shelf."

Going to the shelf, the dealer picked up a cake of the competing laundry soap and then compared its size, weight, color, and odor to the corresponding qualities of Excell. He then said, "I will take two boxes."

"Mr. Perkins," said Brown, "I can't give you a good price on only two boxes of soap. Let me write you down for two and a half boxes and you will receive half a box free; then let me write you down for two more boxes of some other of our products."

"I can't handle five boxes. I am just starting in business, and I can't tie up much capital."

"You won't tie up your capital. Your account will be carried for 30 days and in that time you will have practically all of the five boxes sold. Do you have any calls for a high-grade toilet soap?"

"No, I don't; my customers are all colored and they want these fancy perfumed soaps."

"Well, how about washing powder? You haven't got a bit. I bet you have calls for washing powder. Here's a powder you ought to sell, K N. It's the biggest 5-cent seller on the market and yields you a nice profit of 1½ cents a package. Let me add two boxes to your Excell order and give you advantage of the five-box price."

"All right, send me the five boxes."

Brown sized this dealer up accurately and sold him, despite the fact that he seemed to be a reserved and non-committal individual. By comparing the quality of his goods to that of the competing brand, by stressing the consumer goodwill that the dealer would build by handling his soap, and by showing the dealer the profit in black and white, Brown sold the dealer and gained another customer for his company.

### SELLING THE DEALER MORE THAN HE WISHES TO BUY

Many salesmen find it difficult to sell to a woman. Women buyers evidently do not worry Smith, as may be judged from the following sale:

Entering a small store in the factory district of one of the great industrial centers of the country, Smith greeted the proprietor, an elderly Jewish woman.

"What can I do for you today, Mrs. Abrams?"

"How much is White soap?"

"White soap costs you $4.75 in five-box lots and $5 in single-case lots."

"What! Why I only need two boxes and yet your five-box price is higher than the chain store's retail price. I bought ten cakes from a chain store the other day for 45 cents.

"You can't buy soap at that price now. Soap has gone up. It now costs you 6 cents at the A. & P."

"That K. Q. store across the street is still selling ten cakes for 45 cents."

"They may be, but they will soon raise their prices. The A. & P. stores act as a barometer for all the chain stores. When their prices go up, the prices of all other chain stores go up."

"When I need soap, I am going to buy from the chain stores and not from you."

"Suppose your customers find that you are buying from the chain stores. How will it look?"

"I won't let them find out."

"You can't buy enough soap from the chain stores. Besides their prices are already up or will be up in a day or so."

"No, I won't buy from you."

"Here's something you can sell, Mrs. Abrams—K N powder."

"I don't want any, I've got some other powder on the shelf."

"Yes, but you haven't got much left. K N is a better value for the money, and a quicker seller. Let me weigh one of those packages. Do you see what it weighs? Now, see what K N weighs, at least 2 ounces more. Let me order you some. You can take the discount and make money on these goods. You also need some Royal soap. Let me put you down for two boxes of White soap, two boxes of Royal soap, and a box of K N powder.

"I'll figure out the cost for you on this pad. Two boxes of White soap cost you $9.50, two boxes of Royal soap cost you $8.50, and a box of K N costs you $3.50. That is $21.50 in all. Take your discount and it is $20.47."

"Why should I pay for the soap right away when it takes me two months to sell it? I don't make any money that way."

"You'll make money on this order. You get $12 for your White soap, $10 for your Royal soap, and $5 for K N powder. That is $27. Your profit is $5.93."

"I'll take two boxes of Royal soap and a box of White soap, if you will sell them to me at the five-box price."

"I can't do that, Mrs. Abrams. It would not be fair to other small dealers. Besides my job wouldn't be worth anything if I did that."

"Then I don't want anything from you."

The salesman started to close his sample case, but just before closing it, he handed the box of K N powder to the woman and said, "You really need this powder."

As the woman continued to handle the package, he said, "A single box of that will cost you $3.75. Your profit will be 33⅓ per cent. It will sell well for you."

"Give me a box."

"You are making a good profit on that powder, but you can make still more. Order two boxes of White and two boxes of Royal and you get the five-box price on all of them."

"I'll take a box of White and a box of Royal and no more."

"Mrs. Abrams, here is the slip on which I figured your profit before. Your percentage of profit is much higher if you buy five boxes. At the single-box price your profit on K N is 33⅓ per cent. At the five-box price your profit is about 43 per cent. Isn't that extra profit worth something to you? Order one box of K N, two of White and two of Royal and you not only get this increased profit on K N but you also increase your profit on Royal and White!"

"I guess I'll take all five boxes then."

"You won't make any mistake in doing it, Mrs. Abrams. You need all of it, and can sell all of it at a good profit."

*Mr. Lange's comments on this sale:*

This particular sale was interesting for several reasons. First, because the complaint of the small independent dealers against the cut-rate prices of the chain stores was raised. The salesman was fortunate, at the time, in having an effective comeback—the chain stores had really raised their prices. Generally, the salesman is not so fortunate and must proceed carefully, for he is touching an extremely sore spot of the small retailer. He cannot bluntly tell the dealer that his merchandising methods are most often the cause of the great difference between chain-store prices and his own, nor can he convince the small dealer that chain stores often sell at cost or less to draw business.

All possibility of a sale seemed to have been lost in this particular case. Smith's persistence, however, had its reward. By returning to K N powder after Mrs. Abrams had definitely refused to buy anything, Smith used the proper tactics. Her interest in the powder seemed to be greater than her interest in the soaps, although she needed them all equally. It was logical to assume, therefore, that her resistance could be most easily broken along the line of her interest. Having penetrated her resistance by selling her the powder, building up the order progressively to five boxes became a much easier task.

Selling a dealer more than he wants, or "loading him" as it is sometimes called, is not to be commended unless the dealer really needs the goods. In this case, the dealer was not loaded. Although she had previously never pur-

chased more than a couple of boxes, she always had them disposed of before the salesman made his next call. There seems to be little doubt that with a slightly greater effort she could dispose of one or two boxes more in the same period of time. In selling her more than she wanted, therefore, Smith really did her a service.

## SELLING INSURANCE TO A PROSPECT WHO HAS ALL HE WANTS

In the selling of life insurance, a salesman is more frequently forced to give a complete sales presentation than in the selling of most other commodities. It seems, therefore, appropriate to consider another life insurance sales interview.

This interview was prepared by one of the writer's former students, Paul K. Judson, a San Francisco agent of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company. It illustrates particularly well the theories set forth in this book; at the same time, it is known that very satisfactory results have been obtained through its use.

The interview follows a telephone appointment made after the prospect has received a three-page letter outlining what is a complete life insurance program.

### The Interview.

Salesman: Good morning, Mr. Prospect. I'm Mr. Judson of the Penn Mutual. I'm very glad to meet you.

Prospect: I'm glad to meet you, Mr. Judson, although I'm afraid you're only wasting your time. I'm loaded with insurance, and couldn't carry any more if I wanted to.

Salesman: Then it's a cinch I can't sell you anything. I can't sell you anything you don't want, and I don't want to sell you anything you don't need. But, as I told you over the phone, it's my business to know what all companies and all policies will do, and I may be able to show you how you can get more value out of what you are already carrying. You're married?

Prospect: Yes.

Salesman: Family?

Prospect: Boy and girl.

Salesman: Good for you. What are their ages, may I ask?

Prospect: The boy is six and the girl is four.

Salesman: Both in good health, I suppose?

Prospect: Yes, they're in perfect health.

Salesman: That's fine. Has the boy started school yet?

Prospect: He starts in this fall.

Salesman: It's looking a long ways ahead, of course, but I suppose you are going to send him to college? My boy is looking forward to Stanford but I imagine if California keeps having such wonderful football teams he is liable to decide on California.

Prospect: Well, my boy doesn't pay much attention to football yet, but I want him to go to college, of course.

Salesman (after a slight pause): Mr. Prospect, did it every occur to you that your life insurance might prove to be no protection at all for your family?

Prospect: Why, no. What do you mean?

Salesman: Let me put it this way. The ordinary man thinks when he takes out a life insurance policy that he has solved a problem. He doesn't realize that in giving his wife a certain sum of money to invest he is putting her up against the toughest problem a woman ever has to face. Instead of leaving something which is going to take care of her, he leaves her something to take care of, and in a pitifully large number of cases she loses the money. We paid a Berkeley woman a few years ago a little over $50,000 when her husband died. Now undoubtedly when he bought that insurance he figured something like this: "6 per cent on $50,000 is $3,000 a year, or $250 a month. That will give mother all she will need to keep the family together and educate the children." And she handled the money just the way he expected her to. She didn't buy any oil stock and she didn't squander any of it. She *followed the advice of his business associates* and attempted to complete several of the business enterprises which he was engaged in when he died. They didn't succeed, and she got all that money back into general circulation inside of two years. And his three children will not get the education he planned for them, just because he failed to realize the difference between *life insurance* and *protection.*

Prospect: But how are you going to prevent such a thing? What insurance can I take that will do those things?

Salesman: I'll come to that in just a minute. That man did just what most buyers of insurance do. Instead of leaving his family a structure which would take care of them he gave his wife a pile of building materials and said "Here they are. Now you build your own House of Protection." His wife failed, as most women do, because of the utter lack of experience in this very difficult job.

That experience has become so common that one of the large life insurance companies recently made a survey of the claims they had paid out in cash and came to the conclusion that seven years, at the outside, was the length of time you could expect such money to last. Personally, I don't think that insurance of that sort is worth much.

Prospect: No, I guess it isn't, but I don't know what you are going to do about it.

Salesman: Mr. Prospect, you may be sure that I wouldn't think of coming here and uncovering this problem if I were not prepared to offer a solution, and just to show you what can be accomplished along this line I'm going to tell you very briefly, about my own case. Mrs. Judson and I have four children—boys twelve and five and a girl two years old and a three-months-old baby. I've got some wonderful plans for those kiddies' future. They are all going to college and have every advantage it is possible for me to give them. And it doesn't take much foresight to figure out that those kiddies' dad has got to hustle right along for the next 20 years to come across with the money it is going to take to carry out those wonderful plans. After twenty years Mrs. Judson and I can take it easy. Instead of six of us to support there will be only two, and of course the drain on our finances will be greatly reduced. But I want those plans for the youngsters carried out whether I am here to attend to them or not. And I'm not kidding myself either. The day after I'm gone, and I may well go in the next twenty years, those youngsters will be just as hungry for dinner as they will be tonight. And they'll wear out just as many pairs of shoes. My presence or absence isn't

going to affect their needs or desires in the slightest, and I don't want it to affect their opportunities. So that is the way I have things fixed.

When the "Big Bell" rings for me, Mrs. Judson will receive $3,000 in cash. I figure that will be enough to clean up all expenses incurred at that time—such as doctors' and, possibly, hospital bills, open accounts, etc. I realize that I am figuring rather close on this item, but I believe that $3,000 will be sufficient as a "clean-up" item.

Of course, that doesn't cover the mortgage on the house. I have a $6,500 mortgage on our home and have no present intentions of paying it off. I figure I can use the money to better advantage in other ways. But it is one thing for me to carry such a mortgage, with all the details of refinancing, and quite another thing for Mrs. Judson to have to do so. She won't even see the money which will release the mortgage "if, as, and when" I bump off. The Penn Mutual will pay the money direct to the bank and Mrs. Judson will be left with no bills or accounts to worry about, and a home to live in.

Her problem, then, will be to feed five, clothe five, and educate four, and here is the way I've worked it out. Until the older boy is through college and able to take care of himself, $375 a month. Until the rest of the children have become self-supporting, $350 a month; and then, when she has no one to care for but herself $175 a month for the rest of her life. Now Mrs. Judson won't have to give a single thought to investment conditions. The condition of the money market, of current rates of interest, won't bother her in the least. She knows just how much she will have to live on each month and she knows that the first of each succeeding month there will be a check for a like amount placed to her credit. I will admit that this is not the ideal House of Protection I originally designed, but it is a pretty good compromise, and it has taken a lot of worry and responsibility off my shoulders. If I want to speculate a little on the stock market, which I do now and then, or if I want to buy a new car or indulge in some other extravagance, I have the very comfortable feeling that I am the only one who is taking a chance. So far as Mrs. Judson and the kiddies are concerned, I have all bets coppered. Do you know any other way in the world that I could accomplish this?

Prospect: No, I don't, but I don't see how that is going to help me. I've got all the insurance I can afford now.

Salesman: Mr. Prospect, I don't know that you need any more. I didn't come here with the idea of selling any particular type of policy or amount of insurance. I have no idea as yet what you need. And I would be the last man in the world to suggest dropping of the insurance you are now carrying. But as I said before, it is my business to know what all companies and policies will do, and I have no doubt I can show you how you can transform the materials created by your present insurance into some sort of a structure which will provide a measure of shelter for your family. But first let us figure out the kind of a building we want to erect. The first item, of course, is cash. But how much cash do you figure it would take to square yourself with the world?

Prospect: Do you mean right now?

Salesman: That's about the only way we can figure a thing of this sort, although, if you are contemplating any additional liabilities, they should be taken into consideration.

Prospect: Well, it wouldn't take much of anything to square me right now.

Salesman: That's exactly what I used to think about myself until I discovered that I would always be about a year behind in income tax and state taxes, and that doctors' and undertaker's bills run into quite a bit of money. Then if a man has been sick a month or two there are additional items. What shall I put down for you?

Prospect: Make it $2,500.

Salesman: $2,500. You own your own home, don't you? I suppose, like all the rest of us, you are supporting a mortgage?

Prospect: There is a flat $4,500 mortgage.

Salesman: That takes care of the cash items. Now the youngsters are six and four. May I ask if there is any reason to suppose that your family has attained its maximum size? I ask this because anything I have to suggest will depend on your answer.

Prospect: I hope not.

Salesman: Good for you. Then the next eighteen or twenty years following your death will undoubtedly be the years of heaviest expense for Mrs. Prospect. What shall I put down as a minimum monthly allowance?

Prospect: I haven't the least idea. I never gave this thing any thought.

Salesman: Well, Mr. Prospect, this is a problem that has got to be solved sometime, and if we don't attempt its solution now, Mrs. Prospect may be forced to face it under less favorable circumstances. Remember the idea of this thing is not to provide luxuries. What we want to determine is the least they will need to get along with and have the advantages you want to give them.

Prospect: It's an awfully hard question to decide.

Salesman: I know it is. Would you undertake the job for $150 a month?

Prospect: I would not. They'd have an awful time getting by on twice that.

Salesman: I appreciate, of course, that you would want them to have every comfort, but in constructing your House of Protection the necessities are what we want to provide first. Couldn't they get along on less than $300 a month?

Prospect: Well, make if $250.

Salesman: $250. Now that will take care of the expenses of all three. But after the children are able to earn their own living and Mrs. Prospect has only herself to provide for she won't need so much. What shall I put down as the irreducible minimum for the rest of her life?

Prospect: I suppose about $150.

Salesman: That's very nice. I suppose she could get along very comfortable on less than that if she had to, couldn't she? Remember she will own her own home.

Prospect: Well, you might make it for $100 or $125.

Salesman: I'll put it down at $100. (Draws a line around the figures he has put down and, after a slight pause, says): Here is the blue print of the House we want to construct: $2,500 for last expenses, $4,500 mortgage money, $250 for the first twenty years, and $100 for the rest of Mrs. Prospect's life. Now let's take a slant at the materials we have to work with. (Prospect looks blank.) Your present insurance, I mean.

Prospect: I have $20,000.

Salesman: Good for you—what companies and amounts, please?

Prospect: I have $5,000 in the Equitable, $5,000 in the New York Life, and $10,000 in New England.

Salesman: You certainly used excellent judgment in picking the companies. $7,000 from a total of $20,000 leaves $13,000, or a monthly income over twenty years of about $80. Looks as if we'd have to send out for some more material.

Prospect: Or else they'll have to live on that.

Salesman: Maybe we'd better revise our figures. You will remember that at my suggestion we modified nearly all of your original figures. Can we cut down that education allowance of $250 at all?

Prospect: I suppose we could, but I'd hate like the dickens to do it.

Salesman: How is business, anyway, pretty good?

Prospect: Yes, we've had a very fair year.

Salesman: I forgot to ask your age, Mr. Prospect.

Prospect: Thirty-eight this fall.

Salesman: And Mrs. Prospect?

Prospect: Just three years younger.

Salesman (after some figuring on paper before him): Mr. Prospect, if your income were to be cut down about $75 a month would it force any drastic change in the family budget?

Prospect: No, we wouldn't notice it.

Salesman: Still play golf two or three times a week, could you?

Prospect: Yes.

Salesman: And not worry if you lost an extra ball occasionally?

Prospect: No, I guess not.

Salesman: Mr. Prospect, for that very slight deposit you can bind the materials which you now have into the permanent House of Protection which will give Mrs. Prospect and the children at least the minimum amounts we have decided they will need. Is there any other way in the world that you could use a small portion of your surplus to guarantee these things which mean so much to the family?

Prospect: Does that mean new insurance?

Salesman: It does if you are able to get it. When were you examined last?

Prospect: I took that New England policy about three years ago.

Salesman: Has there been any change in your personal or family history since that time?

Prospect: None that I know of.

Salesman: Dr. Sanborn of our staff is generally free in the afternoons. Can you see him about 3 o'clock today?

Prospect: I'd rather make it about 4:30.

Salesman: That will be fine. I need a little information before you go to him. (Turns application blank over.) What is your first name?

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