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PSYCHOLOGY IN ACTION



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PSYCHOLOGY IN ACTION

by

JOSEPH CLAWSON

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1947

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Second printing.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEDICATED

TO

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

Preface

HUMAN BEHAVIOR is one of the most complicated puzzles on earth. No machine, no plant, no constellation in the heavens presents such a tangled mass of facts as do the mind and actions of man. For a flash of lightning, a draught of cold air, the slight raising of an eyebrow, an odor of perfume, a light touch, or a spoken word which would have no effect on the movements of an automobile might have drastic effects on a man. Learning how to control a man, therefore, is vastly more complicated than knowing how to operate a machine.

Some genuine advances have been made through the amassing of detailed observations of behavior, but no coordinating principles similar to those of physics, chemistry, or the other advanced departments of science have as yet emerged. The present book attempts to provide these principles and link together the known facts in an understandable whole. It has four principal distinguishing features:

First, the book consists primarily of thumbnail case studies embodying what is known about and what has been done with human psychology so far. For today as never before there is available a great body of tested data showing how the principles of using and changing human nature are being employed by successful, practical dealers in psychology. Their experiences have waited invitingly in the records of advertising, publicity, propaganda, salesmanship, public speaking, labor relations, teaching, and social psychology. There is also a mine of wisdom in the records of law, journalism, diplomacy, politics, entertainment, religion, plotting of novels and radio serials, economics, history, philosophy, child psychology, love, and friendship.

Even Adolf Hitler's experiences added to the data, for his methods were sound enough to convert millions to his peculiar philosophy. "What is war," the Führer asked Hermann Rauschning, president of the Danzig Senate, early in 1933, "but cunning, deception, delusion, attack, and surprise? What is the object of war? To make the enemy capitulate. Why should I demoralize him by military means if I can do so better and more cheaply in other ways?" One of the ways to which he referred was propaganda.

One may object that all these fields cover a huge territory. That is the point of the book. It is urged that the moving force and common denominator in all these fields is human nature, that the lessons learned in one field can be applied to the problems of another. In short, there is a universal

psychology which controls all human actions regardless of the time, the place, or the persons involved. So the psychology of advertising may be discussed almost in the same breath as the psychology of romance, and the actions of a South Sea Islander share paragraphs with the behavior of an American businessman.

Second, the cases and successful appeals are arranged according to the principles they have in common, and these common elements are unified in a new theory of psychology—the theory of "value-situations."

Third, it is pointed out how to recombine the elements and apply them to daily problems which arise in the contacts of individuals and groups.

Fourth, an elastic, practical formula unites these principles of behavior in a complete, interlocking system of psychology. The formula embraces all the phenomena and brushes aside none.

These features of the book resemble the steps taken in analyzing a natural product chemically, then producing it from new materials under new circumstances.

The purpose of the book is to help the general reader understand, stimulate, teach, and change other people. In these ways he may aid or control them.

Why should he learn to do these things? War, for instance, is a social sickness. It can never be conquered except through understanding, stimulating, teaching, and changing the human nature of millions. This can be done. No race, nation, or social group is inevitably warlike. Children are especially plastic. Re-educating a dangerous population has much in common with breaking one's child of a bad habit, or selling soap over the radio.

It is hoped the reader will find this book a valuable and exciting adventure in psychology.

J. C.

Personal Acknowledgments

THE AUTHOR gratefully acknowledges the encouragement and constructive criticism he has received from his friends, Professor Hadley Cantril of Princeton, Dr. Donald V. McGranahan, John C. Grover, and John Mundt, while writing this book.

He is also indebted to John Caples for numerous tested cases in advertising collected and discussed in his book *Advertising Ideas.* These served as an invaluable springboard into other practical cases of applied psychology.

Finally, he owes deep thanks to his father, Clayton W. Clawson, and to Professor Gordon W. Allport, who together created in him a love of psychology.

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PSYCHOLOGY IN ACTION

SECTION ONE

CHAPTER I

What Psychology Can Mean to You

WHILE A TRAVELER was in downtown New York one hot summer day, he saw five live models putting on a bathing beauty show in a department store window. As he stood there, two thousand people crushed against the window front to watch the girls stroll up and down wearing the latest styles in bathing suits. This show cost the store only $20, yet it brought about the sale of more than a hundred bathing suits.[32] *

His next stop was in Cleveland at the famous firm of Jack & Heintz, Inc., which was producing $84,000,000 worth of airplane starters and automatic pilots a year for the United States Navy. There he received the startling information that each worker was voluntarily operating eleven and a half hours a day for seven days a week, yet the factories were producing more war materials per square foot of floor space and per worker than any other factory in the United States, at a record-breaking low cost. Absenteeism was almost nothing.[46] "Why?" he wondered.

During his next stop, at the University of Iowa, he was invited by John McGeoch to witness a fascinating and significant experiment in the psychological laboratory. The purpose of the experiment was to measure in actual figures how much one kind of fear could speed up the accomplishments of a group of students. In the first half of the test, the experimenter merely asked a subject to learn a blind alley maze, which he was to trace, blindfolded, with a metal stylus pencil. The experimenter gave him no reason why he should learn the maze, and offered no reward or punishment. Whatever desire, if any, happened to be present in the subject's mind at the time, therefore, determined how fast he learned the maze. While he was learning it, the experimenter recorded the number of trials and errors he made.

* Superior numerals are used throughout the text to direct the reader to items in the KEY TO REFERENCES, pp. 275 *ff.*

In the second half of the test, the experimenter did use an incentive. He administered a mild electric shock at the end of each blind alley of the maze, thus punishing the subject whenever he made the error of entering it with the metal stylus pencil. This experience taught the subject that quick and accurate learning was to his benefit, since slow learning was always punished with a shock. As a result, after numerous students had been tested, the actual records of the experiment showed that this fear incentive decreased by 50 per cent the number of times required to reach the end of the maze.[9]

Rather interesting stories. But what have they to do with one another? They all took place at different times. They were scattered all the way from New York to Iowa. One of the events could be classed as a window display, another as an example of good personnel policies in a large war industry, and the last as a scientifically controlled experiment in a college laboratory. Yet there actually is a common thread which runs through the three stories and connects them firmly. That thread is human nature. Each of the stories is a real-life illustration of the successful handling of human psychology—psychology in action. It is a thread which it is hoped you will find so intriguing as to follow it throughout the remainder of this book.

It will take you into many fields of human activity which have long seemed to be worlds apart, fields such as entertainment, advertising, diplomacy, personnel relations, religion, teaching, the training of children, even love, friendship, and other personal relationships. You may object at first that this covers too large a territory. But that is the very point of the book. It will be seen that human nature is the fundamental structure of all these fields, common to all of them, deeper than all of them.

Not only that, but it is not a different kind of human nature which is involved in each of the different fields. There is not one psychology that applies to advertising, another that explains religion, and still another that controls labor relations. The principles which control people's behavior in one field are the same in all fields.

MISADVENTURES IN PSYCHOLOGY

Why is it important to follow the thread of human nature which we have picked up? It is because the three stories just told show only one side of the picture. They indicate what happens when the rules are obeyed. But when the rules are violated, trouble begins. Faulty human relationships cause husbands and wives to begin thinking about divorce, contribute to slacking on the job in offices and factories, to personal feuds, bloody strikes and lock-outs, crime waves, mutinies, and yes—even wars like World War II.

In the midst of the war production effort one manufacturer remarked, "The most critical shortage today is not oil, rubber, steel or ships; it is not

even manpower. It is the intelligent management of men." Perhaps he had in mind such cases as that of the arrogant foreman who was asked how he received a new employee. This man answered, "I jest stand there and stare him down, to kinda show him how dumb he is."

"And then?"

"Then I turn and spit."

Or perhaps he was thinking of foremen who play favorites, pass the buck, or make an error and have the audacity to bawl out a worker for it. Such men create hatred and resentment, and lead to a high labor turn-over.

The blame, however, lies just as often squarely at the door of the top managers of industry. The management of a large airplane plant, noted for its heavy-handed labor relations, complained to the War Manpower Commission on the large number of newly hired women workers who quit.

"What has been your analysis of the reasons for these terminations?" the Manpower Commission inquired.

"Reasons! We are not keeping records of women's whims! We are building Fortresses!" replied the representative of the company.

The management often permits working conditions in the factories to fall far below standard. By so neglecting the human factor, it brings about a sharp reduction in the workers' efficiency. Unnecessary fumes, overheating, poor ventilation, excessive overtime, inadequate food or food of poor quality, and long waits for crowded transportation are annoyances which are not uncommon. Workers are often heard to say things such as this: "They ran the ventilation plant for the first time in over a year last week when the Navy inspectors went through."

As these things happen every day in private industry, it is small wonder that the hastily assembled wartime armies and navies should suffer from the same clumsiness of inexperienced leaders. A well-informed commentator, Hanson Baldwin, stated in the *New York Times* that poor leadership was a major cause for weaknesses in morale, in training, in matériel, and in tactics in the armed forces. The deficiencies in leadership, evident to some extent in all branches of the service in American and Allied countries, were particularly evident in company and battalion officers, from second lieutenants and ensigns up to majors and lieutenant commanders. Too many became puffed up with importance and false pride; too few comprehended the one absolutely indispensable requirement of leadership—care of their men. This caused many unnecessary casualties in action and a weakening of the whole fabric of the fighting armies. Although the top command of the United States Army quietly weeded out many failures in the higher brackets, these measures could hardly hope to reach down in a short time to the hundreds of thousands of lower officers poorly trained in hurried courses.

Likewise, the annoying privileges and arbitrary powers over daily routine which are handed to noncommissioned and petty officers with no training in leadership bring about emotional crises which take the heart out of the ordinary seaman and private.[98, 16, 95, 69]

STEPPING UP ACCOMPLISHMENT

What message do these stories hold? They show above all that it is bad business *not* to look after the interests of the personnel in any organization, and good business to do so. The Golden Rule is not maudlin sentiment but hard-headed psychology. It has been proved in thousands of war plants that the human approach is also the approach which results in maximum production.[16]

Indeed, such startling surges of accomplishment which can be brought about by the use of incentives indicate that most people in America are working far below their real capacities. Leuba found he could raise the level of accomplishment among school children by as much as 52 per cent with rivalry for a candy reward.[9] The experimental evidence shows that few people learn or accomplish as much as they can, even in a single capacity, while what they do learn or accomplish is rarely done as fast as possible. What appears to be an absolute hereditary limitation is often a point beyond which they are not sufficiently motivated to go.[85] Arthur Schopenhauer, writing around 1818, recognized this. He said, "The understanding of the stupidest man becomes keen when objects are in question that closely concern his wishes."[78] What passes for stupidity is often lack of interest.

The task is one of freeing people's sleeping energies. This fact alone holds forth magnificent possibilities of human development. For it is incentives which produce interest. And it is the powerful team of interest, intelligence, and physical strength which contributes far more than any other separately measurable set of characteristics to the achievement of success in life.[9] Raising the last two, physical strength and intelligence, is a long, slow process, but one can bring about immediate and often striking results by arousing interest with incentives. For this reason attention in this book will center almost entirely on motives like desire and fear and the ways of manipulating them in other people.

DEEPER STILL

Then these principles may in turn be used as searchlights to clarify the fearful murkiness surrounding our greater social problems. What about the

coming crisis of our capitalistic economy *versus* Russia's revitalized communism? The 1930's made us ask ourselves, "Are these depressions and strikes and poverty merely flaws which have worked their way into our system of free capitalistic enterprise? Or could the whole system be fundamentally at odds with human nature? How do we know that capitalism is the best economic system?"

Until we Americans know whether our economic arrangement is based on the laws of human psychology, we may be constantly improvising, fighting on blind faith, and suffering from a gnawing suspicion that perhaps we are defending an empty shell. Is it not so?

And what about war, the greatest of all problems in human nature? Every day someone gloomily predicts, "Of course, there will be another war in twenty years. It's inevitable. It's human nature." Indeed, a public opinion research center found that by April, 1944, 59 per cent of our citizens had already come to believe that there would be another war within fifty years.[68] Sometimes the war would be with Russia, sometimes with Germany, sometimes with Japan. And maybe they were right. *Is* there something fundamentally wrong with human nature, so that we shall always have wars?

When we have answered that question, we shall know how to answer the next: How should aggressor nations such as Germany and Japan be controlled? Should we crush them so they could never rise again, or should we attempt to salvage them? This is not a scholarly question for the college professors to mull over alone. This time the average man and woman must know the answer—perhaps not the technical details, but certainly the broad principle of whether or not these countries should be smashed. If our answer is wrong, we may pay the price again in life and blood.

But no matter how the military terms of the peace turn out, our entire civilization must expect to be shaken to its foundations. Not only our armies, but everything else is in question: capitalism, Christianity, democracy, law, individual equality, human kindness. We must scrutinize each of these traditional ideals and ask again and again, "Is our solution psychologically sound?" Psychology gives us a lens through which we can look and understand and plan.

The solution will have to be in harmony with human nature, which consists largely of our motives. No wonder that James R. Angell, formerly head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Chicago and later President of Yale University, in 1935 urged concentration on the study of motivation as the greatest present concern of civilization. He had seen the storm clouds gathering, and declared that the science of psychology and human relations had never been more important from the point of view of

the needs of the world than it was then.[80] Only four years later one of the most terrible wars of history broke out. He had spoken too late.

THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS

There are several obstacles to solving the riddle of motivation, however. One is its high complication. But one of the worst of all is the public's prejudice as to what human nature is—a misconception which has even filtered through to our national folklore. "Leopards," said Ambrose Bierce, "speak of changing their spots; optimists speak of improving human nature." His opinion is a fallacy at least 2,300 years old. Plato expressed the same idea when he asked why utopias never succeed in establishing themselves. Men, he said—and he seemed to mean all men through all time—are greedy, competitive, and jealous. They become bored with what they have and envious of the possessions of others. This leads them to bitter rivalry and, finally, to war.[66]

Prominent people in modern America make the same observation; the human nature they see appears universal, eternal, and hereditary. A widely read foreign correspondent asserts in a book that the German people's "racial concept of superiority is not directly related to Hitler. It is in their blood." [88] It will be seen, presently, that the concept of racial superiority, the "instinct" for rivalry, and the love of war are actually no more inborn or eternal than the way we part our hair.

Certainly we know that human nature has changed in some countries. Why not in the Germany of tomorrow? In contrast to our present-day ways of living, consider the cultural flowering which occurred around 1600 in England, when Queen Elizabeth, William Shakespeare, and Sir Francis Drake were alive. A man had to carry a sword or dagger with him at all times, ready to kill or be killed. A popular sport was "stone the cock," and sailors could be flogged by their officers till their bones gleamed white.[71]

These cruelties were the human nature of the day, yet they have been rejected in most of the civilized nations of today. Still greater changes of some kind are unquestionably in store for us in the future.

Human nature does change, then. Something makes it change. What? Often it is war, like the French Revolution or even World War II. The Allied bombings of Germany and the grinding up of German boys on the battlefront may have helped to change German nature, just as a mother's spankings teach a boy not to steal nickels from his grandma's purse. It takes time to learn, but each spanking helps to shape the child's character.

The question becomes not whether human nature can be changed, but how it can be changed with the greatest speed at the lowest cost. War is too

high a price to pay, because other ways are available. Those methods are discussed in this book.

A CAUTION

One day the obstacle of prejudice as to what human nature is may be overcome. In this book, the forbidding complication of behavior may be reduced to simpler terms.

We may hope to learn much about how to tap the highest levels of people's enthusiasm, ingenuity, and efforts. Yet because of the very energies which psychology is capable of unleashing, it possesses possibilities of good or evil hardly dreamed of in the physical sciences. For the history of human affairs gives us every reason to believe that perhaps the most dangerous explosive ever discovered by man is man himself. One idea in one person's mind may cause upheavals in millions of lives. Hitler's dream of a world-conquering master race showed how true this is.

In all honesty, one must put the brakes on his enthusiasm for psychology at still another point. It is not a cure-all. It is not an Open Sesame to success, making skill and knowledge unimportant. It does provide the broad strategy for meeting day-to-day problems, but the detailed tactics are still the domain of the technician, the artist, and the student. A psychologist can say that beauty is a quality which tends to make a woman popular in American life, but he cannot give her the beauty. He can say, "Tell a joke," but he cannot indicate just which joke to tell.

You are invited to strike up an acquaintance now with one of the most fascinating and practical of all the new sciences, the science of human motivation. It is a branch of social psychology. Without expecting miracles, you may hope to benefit in four definite ways. You may learn how to understand, how to stimulate, how to teach, and how to change other people.

CHAPTER II

The Nature of Human Nature

POPULAR SUPPOSITIONS concerning "human nature" have become an integral part of our folklore, old wives' tales, family legends, cracker-barrel philosophies, and political pronouncements, so imbedded in our culture that anyone wishing to clear away the debris for a fresh start must view the task with misgivings. Yet we must know what human nature is before we can learn how it may be put to work and how it may be changed.

Fortunately, psychologists have made a discovery in recent years which is proving to be perhaps as important in solving the riddle of motives as the theory of atoms was in analyzing and controlling chemical reactions. That discovery is the "value." It is the building brick of which human nature is constructed.

To make this discovery part of our own daily kit of tools, let us start at the beginning. It must be realized that a person's every action is the result of some definite cause or causes. People do not "just do" things for no reason at all. Even though they may understand only hazily the full implications and purposes of their actions, this does not alter the fact that they are impelled by some force to act, think and learn. Human behavior is purposive.

Let us see how a cause lies behind every action by selecting some individual at random and following his actions through, step by step. For example, let us watch the girl on the street-car, sitting ahead of us, who has just looked at a slip of paper in her hand and rung the signal buzzer. She alights at the corner of F Street and Elm and we follow her off the car. Has something caused her to do what she is doing now, or is she "just doing it"?

She is pretty, blond, about twenty-two years old, and carries a pleasant expression on her face as she waits in the street car safety-zone for the autos to pass. Then, with two or three quick steps and a skip, she reaches the sidewalk, pats back the wisp of hair which a gust of wind has blown across her cheek, and threads her way across the sidewalk through the stream of pedestrians. She walks into Liggett's Drug Store.

"Hello, Ed," she says to the young man standing in Toiletries. "Do you have any Dr. Lyons' Tooth Powder?"

When she was dressing this morning, she noticed her can of tooth powder

was almost empty, and made a note on her Saturday afternoon shopping list. But behind the mere fact that her supply is almost gone, is there some deeper reason why she asks for tooth powder?

Probably three immediate reasons have influenced her, which we could verify by asking her—provided we were close friends. She wants to keep her teeth white and sparkling. She wants her breath always to be fresh, and she regards cleanliness of her teeth and mouth as hygienic requirements for protecting her health. Yet there are even deeper reasons. We can confirm their existence when we see she always brushes her teeth before she goes out on dates. Fresh breath and white teeth add to her physical attractiveness and her chances for romance. These are the deeper explanations.

The girl is therefore not doing things "just because." She has definite reasons; her actions are the results of specific causes. Every step she has taken from the time we saw her look at a shopping list until she walks out of the drugstore with the package of tooth powder in her hand has been purposive.

We have seen that at the bottom of each action, as illustrated by a typical case, there is always a cause. The cause is always some situation involving a "value." The values which determined the young lady's trip into a drugstore were physical attractiveness, health, and romance. She wanted to win, to preserve, or to improve these valuable things. On still other occasions, her behavior may be quite different. It may be determined then by the desire to acquire food, fame, fortune, popularity, artistic pleasure, or religious consolation; it may be ruled by the desire to keep her property, her friends, and her job; or she may dislike wasting time. Such values are the forces which control the behavior of criminals, devout churchgoers, babies, druggists, preachers, typists, butchers, and everyone else. They control you and they control me. Other people's lives and ours may be explained entirely in terms of the effort to acquire or to keep these things we hold dear. Values are the essence of human nature. They are the mainsprings of all behavior.

WHAT IS A VALUE?

We have reduced every item in human behavior, every goal, every desire, every ideal, every fear, every end in life to one common denominator: the value. This is the first step toward understanding what is at the bottom of people's actions. But what is a value?

It can be defined in this way: *A value is whatever is wanted.* It is the object of a desire or a fear. "Motive" is the name of a desire, and "value" is the name of the thing desired. Imagine a small boy standing beneath an apple tree, looking up at one apple, unconsciously licking his lips and glancing at the trunk of the tree to see if he can climb it. Hunger is his motive,

and an apple is the object of his motive. The apple is therefore a value. So it is that we may take many of the motives of which we speak in daily conversations and match them up with the values toward which they are directed, for example:

Motive	*Value*
love	sweetheart
greed	money
ambition	power, or fame
hunger	food
conservatism	property, customs, etc.
fear	life, money, health, or any other value

There is no limit to the number of values a person may have. Hungry Jimmy may have as many as a tree has apples—or more. At the same time, however, he can have only one or the other of two fundamental motives: one is the desire to get the value, and the other, the desire to keep the value. As we shall see, these motives masquerade under countless names, which vary according to the values involved. The diagram on page 11 will help to express this idea.

In fact, when we look at them closely, we see that these two fundamental motives—getting and keeping—are really one and the same. For a motive is like gravity. It draws the person toward the value when they are separated, and holds them together when joined. We know that gravity is always the same; the only things that vary are the objects which it draws together and holds there. A motive, likewise, is always the same; the only things that vary are the values to which the person is drawn and held. So the force which draws the lover, and the force which draws the planet, behave alike. But let us come back for more about motives later on. So far we are concerned only with values.

A value, then, is whatever is wanted. But why is it wanted? It is wanted because it is a means to some end. And why is the end wanted? Because the end is in turn considered a means to another end. It does not matter whether the value is actually a means to an end or not—just so the person thinks so. If he thinks, rightly or wrongly, that it is a means to a desirable end, it is worth something to him. It has value. And that is where the name "value" came from.

This being the case, a value may be either a physical thing or a way of doing things. Physical things like shoes, automobiles, and rabbits' feet are values because they are means to ends; the shoes keep one's feet warm and dry during the winter, autos provide transportation, and rabbits' feet are believed to bring good luck.

Ways of doing things are values too, because they, too, are means to ends. For instance, a knowledge of musical harmony is a value because it is a means of composing a symphony. Religion is a value because it points the way to living a full and happy life and enduring suffering. A chemical formula is a value because it can be used to produce a medicine such as sulphanilamide or penicillin.

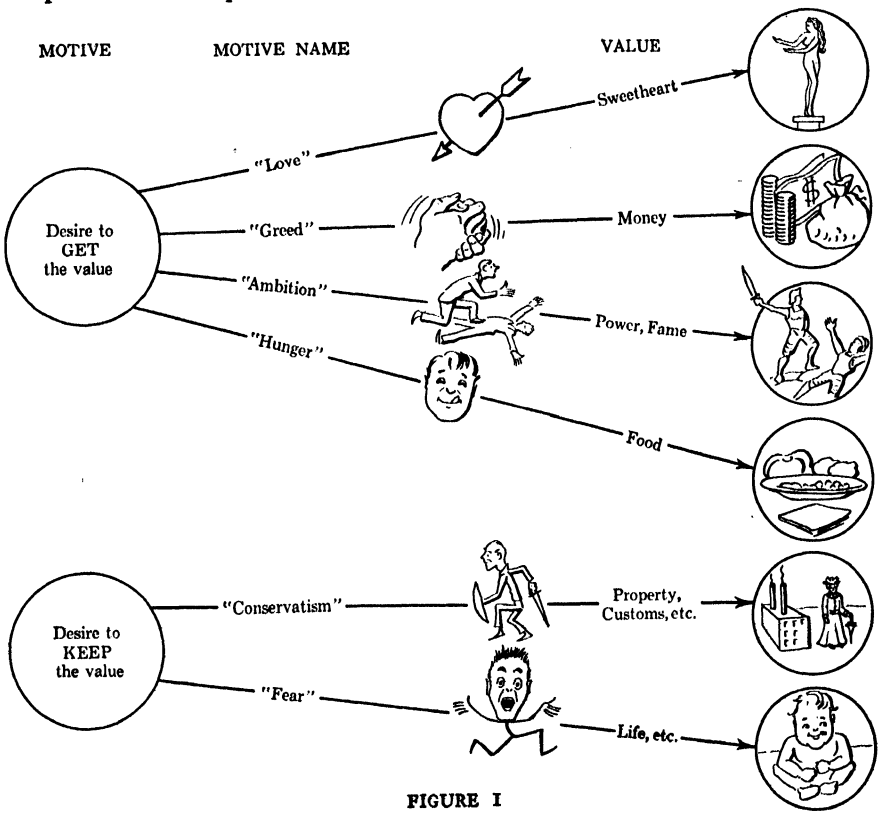


FIGURE I

The simplest ways of doing things are often expressed in the axioms which we were taught from childhood onward:

"A penny saved is a penny earned."
"Honesty is the best policy."
"Initiative brings advancement."
"Success is won by 2 per cent inspiration and 98 per cent perspiration."
"Clothes make the man."
"The man with a smile is the man worth while."
"It takes money to make money."
"The church is the hospital of the soul."
"Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast."
"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

Values may in reality be highly complicated objects, such as a turbo-supercharged airplane engine, or complex systems of knowledge, such as biochemistry. For all are means to ends. But psychologically speaking, a value is simple. We may constantly think of a value as something which is as tangible, physical, and simple as an apple. Like an apple, it may be acquired, damaged, or used.

This is relatively easy to see in the case of money. It is already physical, tangible, and simple in form. The idea, however, holds just as true for generosity, a sense of humor, a belief in Christianity, or a knowledge of civil engineering, despite the fact they are complicated and non-physical. Psychologically, they are all simple. They are values.

Some of them seem at first glance to be ends in themselves, but this is only a superficial appearance.[2] A young boy, for instance, learns how to box in self-defense, whips the neighborhood bully, and continues boxing for the fun of it. He has accomplished the original end for which he learned to box. Is this, then, an end in itself? No, it is not, because he does not keep on boxing for no reason at all. He boxes for a new reason. He does it to keep fit, to stay in with a group of athletic friends, meet his physical training requirement in high school, or win recognition in the interscholastic boxing matches.

A value may therefore serve a *new* end, but never *no* end. When it ceases to serve any end at all, it ceases to be a value. The person loses interest in it. He no longer cares to use it, no longer fears that it may be damaged. A five-year-old boy screams when his toy soldiers are broken or taken away from him, but he may just laugh when he reaches the age of fifteen and accidentally crushes one of them.

A value, we see, is always a means to an end, and the end is in turn a means to another end. The values are thus connected with other values in a long chain of means and ends. Each value, each link in the chain, is connected with the value behind it and leads to the value ahead. Each value is a means to a means to a means to a means to a means to an end. The values do not exist in isolation, like picked apples. They show a living relationship to other values, as one apple is related to others growing on the same tree. No value stands completely apart or exists separately.

For instance, a mail order advertisement which has been successfully selling courses in Pelmanism, a mind-training course, for many years, tells how a small sum of money will purchase a course in Pelmanism, which will train the student in will power and concentration, which will help him raise his income to a high figure (perhaps even $20,000 a year), which will enable him to purchase a suburban home and provide his wife and children with the good clothes, good food, and travel they desire, which in turn will win

him their love "as only the comforts and pleasures of life can do." This chain of means and ends is suggested in the following diagram:

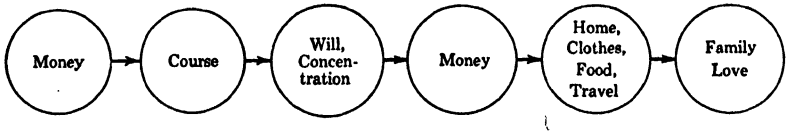


FIGURE 2

None of these values is really wanted for itself. It is wanted as a means to the next value. There is a definite pleasure, of course, in reaching each goal, just as there is satisfaction in reaching each milestone during a long hike through the country. But it always leaves another pleasure yet to be enjoyed—the pleasure of reaching the next milestone.

There is no final satisfaction, no end of desire, no cessation of activity, until the ultimate values are reached. These ultimate values are the physical values of life, health, sex, physical comfort, and certain others. The person strives to acquire, use, and protect them. He unquestioningly eats, sleeps, drinks, breathes, takes exercises, swallows medicine, and guards against all kinds of accidents, cuts, and bruises—in short, he does everything possible to avoid pain and to keep his body functioning properly. But he not only avoids physical pain; he actively seeks physical pleasure. He finds it, for example, in agreeable stimulation of his senses by music, art, good food, laughter, and kissing.

These ultimate goals stand at the end of the road, beckoning the striver on. But like all goals, they are reached only now and then. By far the greatest part of a person's time is spent acquiring the means to these great ends—in thought, social mixing, work, and recreation. Even when the ultimate goals are reached, the process is not finished, for they must be satisfied again and again. Desires and fears are constantly being renewed. In this way man is kept continuously on the go.

While we have said that values are linked together in an unbroken chain of means and ends, the picture now becomes more complicated. The values are related not only in a chain but in a network. This is because one means can serve several ends, and one end can be served by several means, just as there are usually several roads leading into every town and several roads leading out of it on the other side. Tooth powder, for example, is a means which leads to at least three ends: sparkling white teeth, fresh breath, and good health. Popularity, on the other hand, can be reached by way of several means, such as a ready smile, generosity, wealth, friendliness, etiquette, sense of humor, compliments, and good sportsmanship.

However, it is a rare person who thinks out the whole chain or network of causes and effects which are involved in his actions. He is usually aware only of the few values involved in the immediate situation.

The constellation of values which he perceives in this immediate situation consists of the "cost value," the "means value," the "goal value," and often a "further value" and "tie-in values." These are represented in the diagram below:

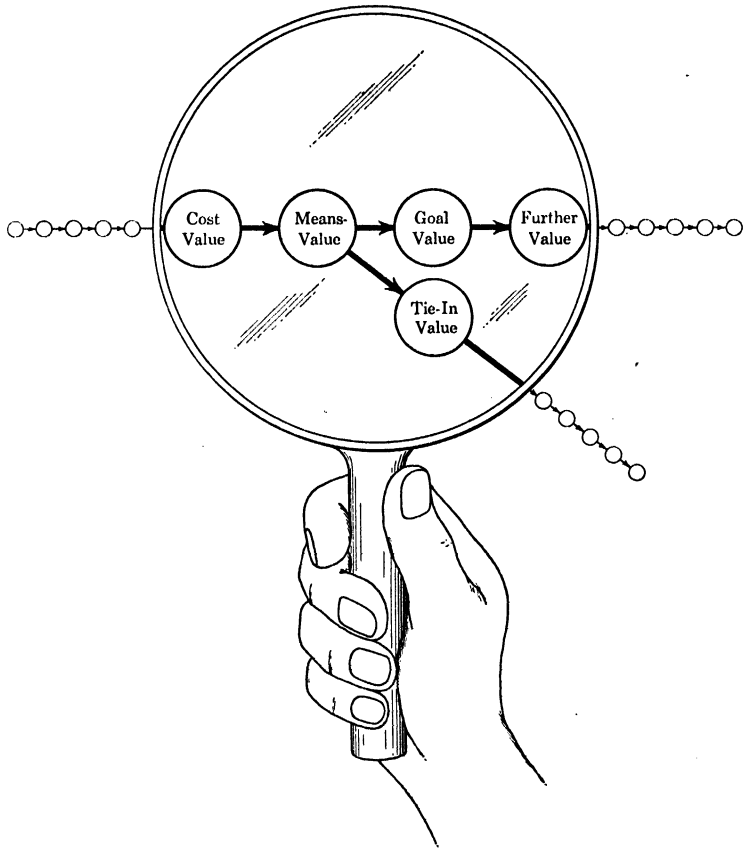


FIGURE 3

The diagram shows how the other values in the chain drop out of focus. Indeed, there are many occasions when the person is not aware of a tie-in value or a further value. At such times he merely sees the cost of his action, the action, and the goal he wishes to reach. The cost value is simply a means to the means value, which is a means to the goal value.

Such a family of related values is discernible when a mother lays down an early-to-bed curfew for her teen-age daughter, who is just beginning to go out on dates. (For illustration see Figure 4.)

As a *cost,* the girl loses many pleasant hours of entertainment, dancing, and joking because she has to leave so early for home. This is distasteful and annoying.

The *means value* is the rule of leaving at 12:00 P.M.

The *goal* of all this is to maintain her good reputation.

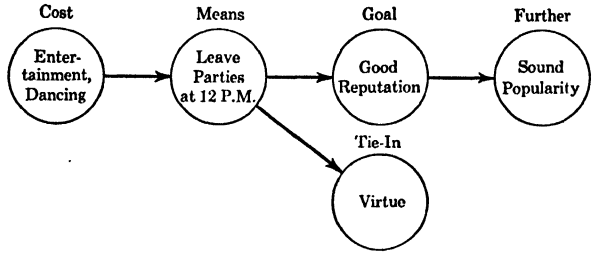


FIGURE 4

A *tie-in* which is also served by the same rule is virtue. An early curfew not only preserves her reputation, but protects her morals. When a girl has to be home shortly after midnight, she has less chance to drink and pet.

There is also a *further value* that is served; it is the goal value which serves it. A good reputation leads to popularity in a set of nice young people and attracts eligible boys of the right sort.

When the girl's attention is focused on these immediate considerations, she does not or cannot see the hazier values in the distance to which these values lead. It is nevertheless true that sound popularity, to continue the chain, leads to romance, the romance to marriage, the marriage to physical satisfaction, and the physical satisfaction to children.

As a person gains or re-establishes possession of each of the values in the chain, the focus or "immediate situation" shifts. This is somewhat like walking beside a wooden fence through a heavy fog. One can see only the few fence posts which are nearest to him. Those behind are lost in the fog, and those ahead have not yet come into sight, although they are just as definitely present as if they were visible. Then, as one walks farther, his field of vision shifts. The posts he could see a moment ago are lost in the dimness behind, and those which at first were too hazy ahead now come into sharp focus.

We may illustrate this shifting focus on the immediate situation by the case of a girl receptionist who pays $30 tuition fee to take a night-school course in shorthand and typing. Her employer has promised her that this will win her a position as his private secretary at $15 a week more pay than she is now making. With this extra income, she will be able to purchase a new spring outfit. She is woman enough to hope and wise enough to know that the new outfit will set off her beauty. If she proves to be a "knockout"

in the outfit, the good-looking young accountant who has shown an interest in her may invite her out. As with the young girl who has to leave parties at midnight, the dates may lead to romance, the romance to marriage, the



FIGURE 5

marriage to sexual satisfaction, and the sexual satisfaction to children. That is the chain she might see consciously if she were to think out the whole series, step by step.

At any moment, however, this girl's attention cannot take in so vast a sweep. It is focused on the values in the immediate situation. This constellation of values and those which follow it as she progresses are shown in the diagram below. The first value-family which she sees in the immediate situation consists of the tuition fee she pays (this is the cost), the course in

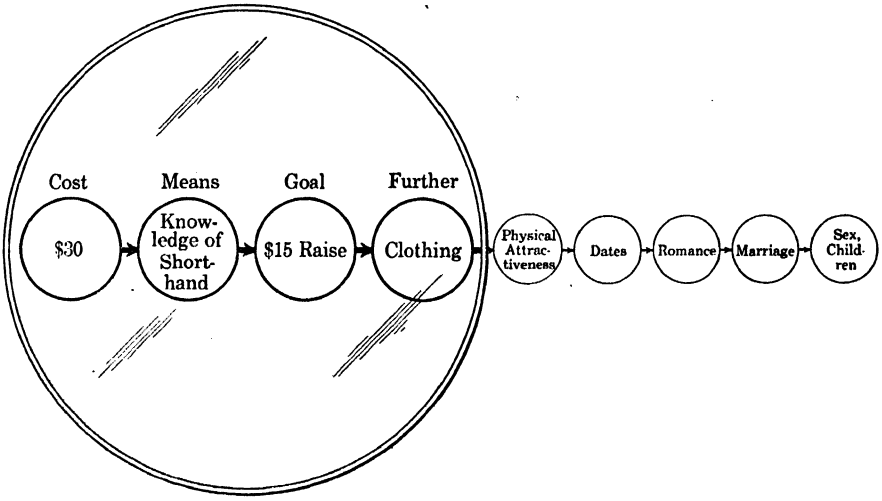


FIGURE 6

shorthand (which is the means), the possible salary increase (her goal), and the new spring outfit (a further value which can be reached). She already has the money to pay the tuition fee; the immediate thing she wishes to do with the money is to take the course. This identifies the means value.

When she pays her $30 tuition fee, the focus shifts to the next immediate situation, and the $30 drops out of her consciousness. She masters the course, and it becomes a possession of hers; all she has to do at the moment is to

collect the increased weekly pay. The diagram which illustrates this shift of attention shows the knowledge of shorthand as a "cost." Naturally, it is not a cost in the sense that she has to give up any of the knowledge to obtain the extra $15 a week. But calling it a cost will serve to remind us that she actually has to spend a little time and effort in making the knowledge lead to an increase, if only the time and effort of showing her boss that she can take shorthand. Since the $15 increase is now hers, she can use it as a means to the next closest goal, the purchase of the outfit; and she can easily look ahead and dream of the physical attractiveness it will lend her. In this

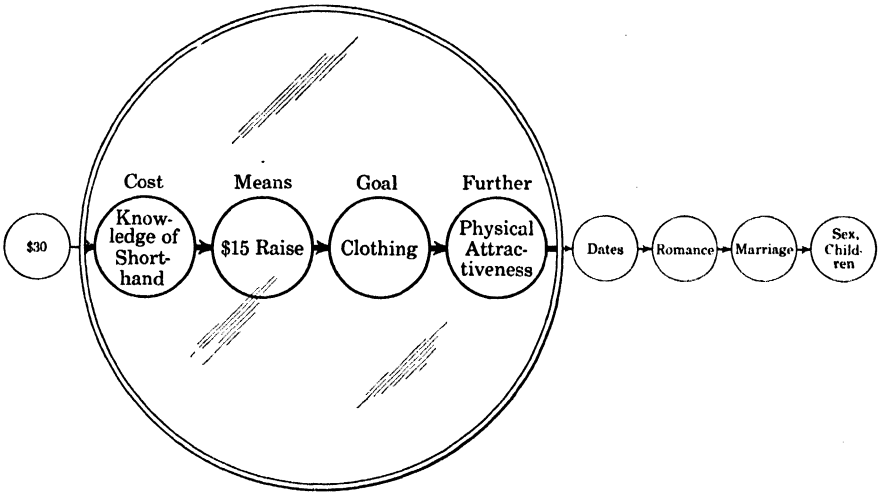


FIGURE 7

focusing of attention, the course is the "cost," the $15 weekly increase is the means, the outfit of clothing is the goal, and the physical attractiveness is the further value.

We shall follow the shift of attention only one step farther. As the extra money starts coming in regularly, the girl's attention shifts to the third value-family. Of course, it overlaps the second, since one value has been dropped behind and one added ahead, as shown in the diagram. The thing she needs to obtain in the immediate future is the new spring outfit, which is thus the means. The physical attractiveness is therefore just next door, and it is not unrealistic for her to look forward to the added popularity and dates, some perhaps with the accountant, which this will bring her. Here the value-family consists of the extra income (which she pays as the cost), the outfit (which is the means), the physical attractiveness (goal), and dates (the further value).

After that, the focus will go on shifting along the chain of values, record-

ing her progress from one value to the next. The links in the chain remain unchanged. The only thing that actually changes is the focus of attention. New links in the chain come into view as old ones pass into vague forgetfulness. All along the way there is overlapping.

From this typical case we may generalize. The particular values which constitute the family group vary with each shift in the focus of attention, but the relationships of the values to each other within the group are always the same: cost value, means value, goal value, further value, and sometimes a tie-in value.

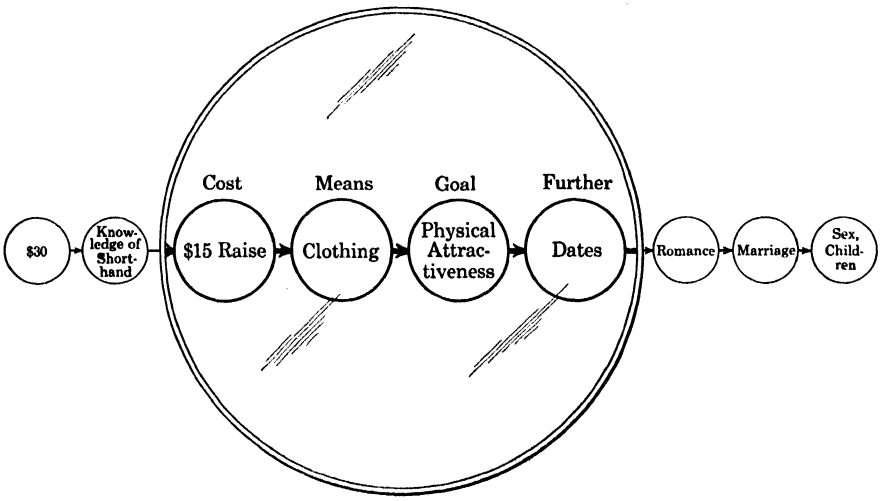


FIGURE 8

It must be remembered, however, that the mere existence of four or five joinable values does not necessarily guarantee that they will become actually joined in the respondent's mind. They do not automatically link themselves together, for there are too many other possible connections.

It is like a telephone system, in which all the telephones in the directory are linked by wires but where no one can call another person until that particular connection is plugged in. The girl in our story will not spend her $30 for shorthand unless something turns her attention in that direction. She could just as well spend it on drapes for her apartment or a week-end skiing in New Hampshire. What is it that plugs her in to the shorthand idea? In this case, it is her boss's promise of higher pay.

Moreover, she must be convinced that shopping shortages will not make it impossible for her to buy the spring outfit, convinced that the outfit will make her more attractive, convinced that it is physical attractiveness that will induce the accountant to ask her for a date, convinced that dates will lead

to romance, and so on. In other words, she will be plugged in to a certain line by something that secures her interest and her conviction. The methods of accomplishing these tasks are extremely important and will be discussed later. Here we mention them only as "coming attractions."

When the stimulator convinces a person of a connection which was not realized before, he has taught him something. He has inserted a value. It is only the physical values that are instinctive; the values by which they are served must always be learned, and so must all the values which serve the values. In other words, *all social behavior is learned.*

This is true in America, Japan, Germany, Borneo, and all other countries in the world. Not one item of man's social behavior, community organization, language, religion, or business philosophy is carried in his germ-cell. His human cultural heritage is not biologically transmitted.[7] It is learned.

Man differs in this respect from ants and other "social insects," so called because they live in swarms. Nature was taking no chances in the case of ants, and committed the entire pattern of their social organization to their instinctive behavior. Even though a queen ant, for instance, were removed from her swarm and placed in a solitary nest with no opportunity to learn from other ants, she would faithfully reproduce every detail of the nest and demonstrate typical "ant nature" in all questions involving sexual behavior.[7]

Man depends much less on instinct and more on learning. Literally starting from scratch in social behavior, community organization, morality, and personality, he is able to learn the customs or values of the society in which he happens to be raised. "All over the world, since the beginning of human history, it can be shown that peoples have been able to adopt the culture of peoples of another blood." [7]

The reason we get the impression that certain traits such as competitiveness and aggressiveness are parts of human nature that are universal and unchanging is because we make our observations only in Western civilization. Due to more or less accidental sequences in history, this civilization has spread itself more widely than any other culture ever known, standardizing itself over most of the globe. Hence it traps us in the fallacy of believing it to be hereditary and universal.[7]

Therefore it is difficult, if not impossible, to say what is instinctive or universal in human behavior by observing only one country or by sitting down in an armchair and looking within ourselves. We must go beyond the bounds of America; indeed, we must go beyond the bounds of Western civilization as a whole, to observe the customs of tribes and societies historically as little related as possible to our own and to one another. Since Western civilization throughout the course of centuries has spread its vast network over tremendous areas, primitive cultures are now the one source

to which we can turn. Only by observing them can we see what is local and what is universal in human nature.[7] Fortunately, we know today as never before the values of other societies.

A few observations of these societies will serve to clear away the rubbish which for so many centuries has obstructed our view in questions of social psychology. Especially must we dispel the illusion that human nature is fixed, inborn, and inevitable. We shall see that human nature has changed, that it varies among different countries, and that it is being changed every day.

Why will these exceptions show that human nature changes? Because exceptions do not merely prove (test) rules. They destroy them. If a juggler were tossing baseballs into the air and one—just one—of the balls were to remain suspended in the air, it would completely disprove the law of gravity. The same is true of the human "laws" of combativeness and competitiveness. They can hardly be inborn, hereditary, or inevitable if there are any communities or nations whatsoever in the world which lack them. Consequently, those explanations of custom which derive our whole economic scheme from human competitiveness, modern war from human combativeness, and all the rest of the ready explanations which we meet in every magazine and modern volume, have for the anthropologist a hollow ring.[7]

One of the finest of all clean-up jobs in the social sciences has been done and is still being done by the people known as "cultural anthropologists." One of them, Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, chose three primitive societies to show that many of the things we assume to be inevitable in human nature are completely absent from some societies. One of the three was the society on Dobu Island, lying in the d'Entrecasteaux group off the northern shore of eastern New Guinea; another was that of the Zuñi Indians in New Mexico; and the third was that of the Indians who lived on the narrow strip of Pacific seacoast from Alaska to Puget Sound, on the northwest coast of North America.[26]

One of the most striking of primitive societies is the Dobuan. Some of the customs in that community, such as cutthroat competition and extreme pugnacity, are exaggerations of our own; but it is only a coincidence that we and they share these customs. Other traits are definitely crimes or moral turpitude in our society. On the isle of Dobu, the suspicious, surly, hateful, lying, thieving, double-crossing, promiscuous, passionate, jealous, adulterous person is the ideal character. These traits are what we have been calling values. For those natives, they are the customary ways of living. They are the means to their own peculiar ends.

The Dobuans are a people who have a "human nature" strikingly different from our own, with the exception of some overlapping here and there. There-

fore, the social traits they exhibit cannot be hereditary, universal, or unchangeable. They are not laws of human nature. They are learned.

Is this just an isolated case? It is not, for examples can be found in quantity in other societies. Competition for private property is an interesting case.

The Zuñi Indians live in an almost propertyless, cooperative society. Ruth Benedict, who lived for many months among these Indians to study their customs, reports that all the traditional arrangements in Zuñi tend to make wealth play as small a part as possible in the performance of their rituals. Even though ceremonial objects are recognized as personal property and attained by the expenditure of money and effort, they are free to be used by anyone who is qualified to handle them. The tabus are not property tabus. Membership in a clan which possesses a large number of ceremonial prerogatives outweighs wealth in importance, and a poor man may be sought repeatedly for ritual offices because he is of the required lineage.[7]

The Kwakiutl Indians of the northwest coast of North America go to the opposite extreme, according to investigations among them made by Professor Franz Boas. All the motivations they recognize center around the will to superiority. Their social organization, their economic institutions, their religion, their rites of birth and death, are all channels for its expression. There are two means by which a Kwakiutl chief may achieve the victory he seeks. One is by shaming his rival by presenting him with more property than he can return with the required interest of 100 per cent; this is the custom of the "potlatch." The other is by destroying his own property.[7]

And now, what about war? Is it to be found everywhere, as an expression of an inherited biological urge? The answer is a resounding no. First of all, it is an error to suppose that all peoples agree in condemnation of taking life. In the matter of homicide, some societies, like our own, believe that the individual killer is guiltless if his nation has severed diplomatic relations with his victim's nation; in some societies it is customary for a man to kill his first two children; in others, a man has the right of life or death over his wife. And still others urge young people to do their duty of killing their parents before they are old.[7]

Individuals in certain other societies, however, are entirely unable to conceive of a state of war. Rasmussen was met with utter blankness when he attempted to explain the practice to Eskimos, who could picture one man killing another but not great armies fighting to the death. The Eskimos could not understand an individual killing as "bad," for with them it was bad only when it failed; and they could not understand mass killings at all. The Mission Indians of California listened with an abysmal misunderstanding to Ruth Benedict's explanation of warfare for "principles." The only comparison they could draw was with an alley brawl.[7]

On the other hand, there are some societies in which no one can conceive the possibility of a state of peace. To them, this would amount to admitting that the enemy tribes contained human beings rather than vicious and contemptible man-beasts. By definition, the excluded tribe does not rate in the category of human beings even though it may be of the same race and culture as its enemy.[7]

The Japanese *of Japan* also possess values opposed to our own. Yet these people are not born with such traits of character. They learn them. We know this to be true because young people of pure Japanese blood who have been born, raised, and educated among Americans in American communities, with minimum contact with their elders' culture, have different traits, ideals, and habits from the Japanese raised in Japan. Despite purity of blood, the longer they are away from Japan the more Americanized they become. Many people in the United States, among them Joseph C. Grew, our prewar ambassador to Japan, can testify that most Japanese-American boys and girls have been truly absorbed into our communities and are neither "inscrutable" nor "treacherous." Many fought voluntarily in the United States Army against the allies of their distant relatives in Japan. They had learned the American values.

The same is even clearer in the case of Germans whose families have lived in America for several generations. Though their blood be as German as their great-grandfather's, their way of life is thoroughly American. The whole United States, indeed, is composed of foreigners. The customs of our citizens whose families have been here for more than one or two generations are thoroughly Americanized—neither Czechoslovakian, Greek, Turkish, Swedish, Irish, nor Venezuelan. Many of the values of the older nationalities were brought here, of course, but they long ago became part of the national heritage and are now being shared by all citizens regardless of blood. Each child absorbs these values from his family, teachers, preachers, and playmates through the process of learning. The customs are not carried in their bloodstream nor in the germ-cell of their parents. They do not inherit the ability to write shorthand; and in the same way, the desire to compete, fight, or pray is not to be found "in their blood."

We may conclude that Japanese nature can be changed, because it is being changed every year in the Japanese who live in America. And what many Americans broadly consider *human* nature can also be changed. Only the physical traits, such as blue eyes, slant eyes, and dark hair, can never be changed through the process of learning.

We have seen that all human beings in the world have roughly the same physical values, which constitute the only universal "human nature." All people eat, sleep, breathe, drink water, digest their food, avoid extremes of cold and heat, indulge under certain conditions in sexual relations, and have children. All of these needs are categorical imperatives in the preservation of the individual and of the race.

As far, however, as personality, morals, ambitions, and social fears are concerned, the differences among individuals within a nation can be startling. The greatest differences are found between people of different sex, occupation, age, and income.

Women's interests in America are markedly different from men's interests. Women build their lives around such things as fashions, religion, personality, happy marriage, art, interior decoration, and cooking recipes, but men prefer sports, science, politics, business, and war news.

A person's occupation is almost as important as his sex in determining what he wants to read about. According to a reader-interest survey made for public libraries by Douglas Waples and Ralph W. Tyler,[99] skilled workers in the industrial area of Ohio want to read about aviation, electrical and mechanical inventions, and the labor market. Vermont farmers, by contrast, do not find these topics interesting; they are strongly attracted by discussions of plant life, rural problems, and prices. All these subjects interest them because they are means to their own ends. They are rural values.

Age also plays an important role. Girls under twenty-five are much more concerned with love stories, styles, and complexion soap advertisements than are women over fifty years of age.

People's financial standings also affect their interests. Well-to-do women, for example, are more interested in fashions than are poor women.

But even within a single individual, values are not of the same strength at all times. In the short run, one value may bob up and down, while in the long run it may disappear completely, to be replaced by others.

A case will show us how a value may vary in the short run and in the long run. A woman aircraft worker, named "Betty Jackson," age forty, was sound asleep at 5:12 A.M. on January 16, 1941. In her the value sleep was active, pacifism was dormant. At 11:50 A.M. of the same day she mailed off a contribution to "World Peaceways," for she was vitally concerned over the danger that her eighteen-year-old son would be swept up in war and killed. Here her pacifism was active. This was a short-run change from the early morning.

Let us move ahead exactly a year to 11:50 A.M., January 16, 1942. The

United States was then at war, and the scar of Pearl Harbor rested immovably on her mind. Disarmament, to her, was no longer the road to peace, and the pacifism she had once supported was gone completely. This was a long-run change. The entire value had disappeared. In its place had risen the new value of military victory; and every time she checked out an engine part from the stock room she felt she was contributing to it.

THE PATTERN OF VALUES

Since every process or thing or idea which is a means to an end is a value, the list of values in any culture is long and complex. But in America, with its complicated social and technical civilization, the list becomes almost endless. In the United States, it would be an understatement to say there are literally millions of values, as we have defined them. Every person, animal, thing, group, or physical characteristic; every formula, idea, axiom, habit, law, custom, skill, character trait, dogma, or hobby; every mental ability, physical sense, opportunity, process, experience, condition, action, relationship, service, or position; and every emotion, attitude, interest, or superstition which is believed by anybody to be a means to an end is a value.

Fortunately, this galaxy of values may be drawn into a semblance of order by dividing them into basic, cultural, personal, and special values. These terms indicate layers of values which are grouped roughly on the basis of their order of development in the individual, the extent of their public acceptance, and their fixity against change.

Hobbies and individual interests may be lumped into one heading, that of "personal values." The few people who accept them follow them fervently, but they are not widely standardized like the cultural values or the basic values. The woman who is accused of not collecting stamps or the man accused of not cultivating rare orchids is not likely to feel insulted. The values are merely personal.

Then every highly specialized action, minor decision, or trifling thing may be grouped under the single heading of "special values." Among them we would include the commuter's knowledge of whether to push a button, pull an emergency cord, or notify the conductor in order to stop the train at his particular station. Here also belong such highly specialized values as the doctor's knowledge of penicillin treatments, or a Saturday morning Superman serial for youngsters playing at the Roxy Theater in Grassville, Me. These minor values in human nature will be noticed but seldom heard from in this book.

Now let us eliminate both of these groups of values from consideration. That leaves us with the basic and cultural values, which are standardized

and common to us all. Using only them, the list drops sharply until it contains hardly more than a hundred values.

The basic values lie at the heart of human nature. These are the physical or biological values, and include such things as food, air, water, and sex. Every person is born with these values, though some take time to mature; and even though someone were to be raised in the forest by an untutored Tarzan he would still be ruled by them. The most civilized men share these instincts with the most backward savages.

Animals obtain these values simply and directly. A dog, when he is hungry, finds food and eats it. He does not buy it. He does not ask permission. Nor, to be accepted in local doggy society, must he hold his paws in a special position, wag his tail with a flourish, or chew with his mouth closed. When he feels like gobbling, he gobbles.

Man, however, is a social animal, guided by cultural rules. Whenever he takes what he wants by force, he is arrested and told by the judge that he has "stolen" bread, "trespassed" on someone's property, or committed "robbery," "homicide," or "rape," as the case may be. He has violated the cultural rules. A football player cannot grab the ball, run up and down among the spectators in the grandstand, bash his opponents over the head when they get too near, or bite when he is tackled. He must play by the rules of the game, both in football and in his personal life.

This latter group of values, the "rules of the game," are known as cultural values. They consist of "thou shalt nots" and "thou shalts," of customs, habits, ideals, wise ways of doing things, and other social formulae. All of them are means to ends, and all of them are learned. Their main characteristics are three: they are learned, rather than instinctive; they are simple methods or things which can be understood and used by everyone, rather than being complicated special values such as formulae in civil engineering; and they are accepted and followed, at least outwardly, by everyone in the community. Let someone, for instance, accuse a woman of indulging in immoral sex relations or charge a man with dishonesty, and the insult is likely to be avenged with violence.

As regards any value, it is difficult to say how many people's devotion it commands. As a group, the basic values are the most widely sought, used, and guarded. Then come the cultural, then the personal, and finally the special values. This difference is suggested in the bar graph on page 26.

Food is a value to all people. They cannot live without it. It is basic.

Virtue is an ideal, but not always an attainable one. Those who fail usually make every attempt to appear successful. Hence the devils pose as angels and at least pay lip service to the ideal. This is a cultural value.

A few people are devoted, heart and soul, to the collection of rare stamps or the growing of orchids; while other people are amused at them for following a "fad." These are personal values.

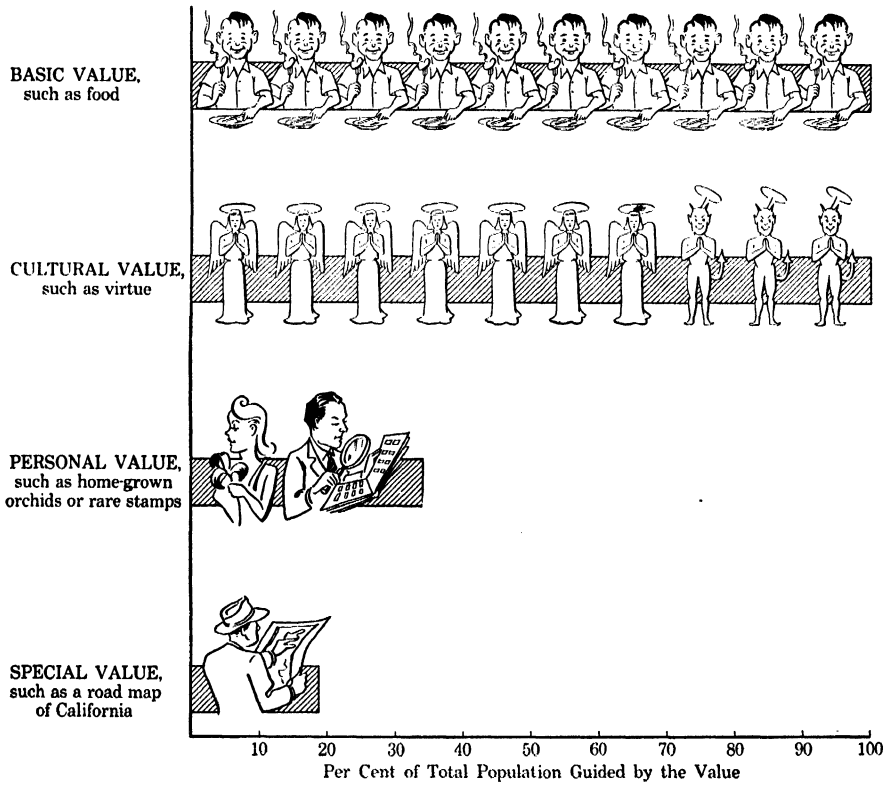


FIGURE 9

Again, a California road map may sometimes be needed urgently in order to take a certain tour, but for the population as a whole it touches the lives of only a few people a small part of the time. It is a special value.

When we approach an actual meeting and acquaintanceship with the values which make up American human nature, however, we shall find it more convenient to classify them in another way. Just as a department store does not group its articles according to their ages, but according to their similarities, we shall make our division among physical, economic, political, intellectual, social, religious, and general values.

Physical values include such things as food, sleep, sex, music.

Political values include such goals as victory, power, fame.

Economic values include money, employment, property.

Intellectual values include science, education, intelligence.

Social values include generosity, popularity, sense of humor.

Religious values include such ideals as Christianity, faith, and peace.

General values include time, freedom, and ego, for they may serve any other group of values.

Every person exhibits at least a few of the values in each of these headings, but the emphasis varies from one person to the next. Napoleon, for instance, was dominated by the political or power value, John D. Rockefeller made himself master of economic values, Albert Einstein deals in intellectual values, and Jesus Christ represents the highest devotion to social and religious values.

In the next chapter we shall pick our way through the forest of values by dividing them up this way.

We have traveled far and fast since our introduction at the beginning of this chapter to the nature of human nature. Let us look back a moment and recall the steps we have taken so that we shall feel more secure on the road which lies ahead. The steps we have taken are these:

1. A person's every action is the result of some definite cause or causes.
2. The cause is always a situation involving a value.
3. A value is whatever is wanted.
4. A value is wanted because it is a means to an end, which is in turn a means to another end.
5. The values are thus related in a chain or network of means and ends.
6. The individual, however, rarely sees the whole chain at any one time; he is only aware of the several values involved in the immediate situation.
7. His focus on the immediate situation shifts along gradually as he gains or re-establishes possession of each value in the chain.
8. The small family of values involved in each immediate situation must be somehow linked together. This is usually done by showing how they lead to one another.
9. All values are learned—and thus all social behavior is learned. Only the physical values are instinctive. Yet even the methods of expressing the physical values must be learned carefully.
10. Only by the study of values existing in many different nations can a knowledge be obtained as to which values are universal, inherited, unchanging parts of human nature and which ones are varying, learned, and changeable.
11. Even within one nation, there are great differences in values among people of different income, sex, occupation, and age. In fact, the values held by the same individual vary from one time to another. Where in peacetime can we expect to see such news items as this? *Time* magazine reports[97] that in June, 1944, a Dixon, Calif., newspaper ran this want advertisement.

Owner of a truck would like to correspond with a widow who owns 2 tires. Object matrimony. Send picture of tires.

12. The list of values in any culture, and certainly in America, is extremely long, since every process, thing, or idea which is a means to an end is a value. For simplification these values may be divided into the levels of basic, cultural, personal, and social values roughly on the basis of their chronological development, degree of universality, and the difficulty of altering them.

13. The list of values may also be grouped according to similarity. These groups are the physical, economic, political, intellectual, social, religious, and general values.

The principal American values, as utilized in successful advertisements, sales talks, political campaigns, publicity releases and other sources, can now be appreciated for their tremendous influence on people's behavior in this country. We shall turn to them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

The American Way of Life

OUR WAY OF LIFE consists of our values. These may be classified as physical, political, economic, intellectual, social, religious, and general. Not all of the groups, however, are of equal importance. This is shown by tested advertisements.

One hundred outstandingly successful advertisements, as proved by actual tests, were analyzed to determine which values were most often featured as inducements to action.* The groups in which these values fell are indicated in the following bar graph:

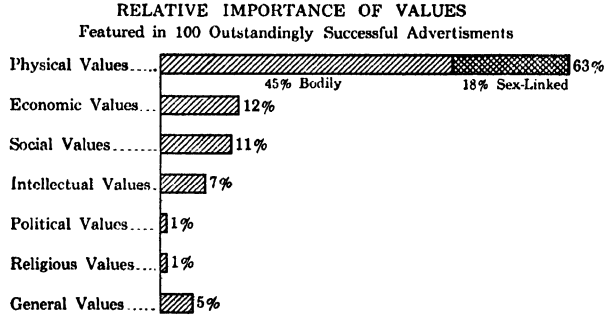


FIGURE I

The relative importance of the values as indicated in advertisements, of course, cannot be accepted as representative of the emphasis placed on the different groups by Americans in all fields of behavior. These findings can be

* These advertisements are exhibited in John Caples' book, *Advertising Ideas*, New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938. The Daniel Starch organization, on whose findings his selection of magazine and newspaper advertisements was based, conducted monthly sample interviews all over the United States with people who had read one of eleven leading magazines during that month. These magazines were *Saturday Evening Post, Liberty, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, American, True Story, Collier's, Time, McCall's, Woman's Home Companion,* and *Cosmopolitan.* In this way they compiled tables as to which advertisements were the best-observed, which were the best-read, second-best-read, and so on. Caples supplemented these with various mail-order advertisements which had produced an extraordinarily large number of coupon inquiries or actual orders. Wherever mention is made in this book of some advertisement which was "best-read," "best-observed," etc., the source of material has been John Caples' book.

nothing more than suggestive. To take one case, sex is known to be a widespread and intense value, yet the limitations of advertisements prevent their featuring this value itself.

Revealing conclusions can nevertheless be drawn. As a group, the physical values are far and away the greatest drawing cards among all our motives, as reflected in the advertisements. For 63 per cent of all values featured in the one hundred outstandingly successful advertisements were physical values. Even when non-physical but sex-linked values such as physical attractiveness, popularity, romance, marriage, and family are omitted, the physical values were featured 45 per cent of the time. Economic and social values ran a weak second and third at 12 per cent and 11 per cent, respectively. The way in which the values are classified will be discussed later.

An important observation must be made concerning certain values; this means forgetting for the moment the question of the groups into which they fall. By far the most frequently featured separate values were: money (10 per cent of all featured values), physical attractiveness (10 per cent), health (9 per cent), and taste (8 per cent).

Under physical attractiveness, the attention of readers was called to the methods of preserving or enhancing the attractiveness of their skin, clothing, figure, nails, breath, and perspiration. Under health, reference was made to tooth decay, hangovers, frayed nerves, infection, skin diseases, cancer, heart trouble, dirt, and colds. Taste was prominently featured in advertisements for foods or beverages.

Since the physical values enjoyed such overwhelming predominance in the advertisements, we shall discuss them first.

THE PHYSICAL VALUES

Above all, it should be remembered that the fundamental force which endows all kinds of values with their power of attraction is the dual principle of pain-avoidance and pleasure-seeking. This is perhaps the most fundamental of all rules in the psychology of behavior. Every value we acquire gives us pleasure, even if it is only mental pleasure. Every value we lose causes us pain. This hedonic principle was known to the ancient Greeks. Values may change, but pain-avoidance and pleasure-seeking of some kind go on forever.

The most direct and compelling pains and pleasures we feel are those which arise from the satisfaction or damage of physical values. These physical or biological values are universal as well as permanent. The humblest savage must breathe; the mightiest monarch must sleep. This was true 10,000 years ago, and the truth continues undiminished today.

The so-called "instinct of self-preservation" is generally the strongest and most compelling of all the motives. Life is the value it is designed to protect, and any threat to human life will at least arouse interest; this is true even when it refers to the lives of other people. For example, the best-read color-page advertisement in one issue of *Collier's*, as determined by sample interviews all over the United States by the Daniel Starch organization, showed a woman in a nightgown, flashlight in hand, examining a gas jet.* The headline and subhead read:

WHAT WAS THAT HISS OF DOOM IN MRS. BARTON'S ROOM?

A Snake? Escaping Steam? Some Creature of the Dark? More Swift and Sure than any of these, Death Lay, that Night, at her Fingertips.

This advertisement for Eveready flashlight batteries [13] quoted the woman's testimonial letter telling how near she came to being blown into bits, as she would have been if she had used the matches at her bedside to investigate the hissing sound. The sound was that of escaping gas.

Various surveys and questionnaires reveal that health is another of the great values in everybody's life. A $25,000, two-year survey made by Chicago University and the United Y.M.C.A. Schools showed that it was first choice as a course of study for adults.[14] Merrill Goddard, editor of a great mass-circulation magazine, *American Weekly* (distributed with the Sunday Hearst papers), listed health fads as one of the sixteen topics which most interested his millions of readers.[32]

Energy ranks near life and health as one of the strong values of human existence. There is an old saying that "Men are as lazy as they dare be, and some are damned bold." Hence the success of appeals which emphasize how easy and convenient it is to use some product or join some movement. This appeal of least effort accounts for the rapid acceptance of inventions such as the gasoline gauge for automobile dashboards, light portable typewriters, and miniature radios which can be easily carried to the bedroom, the beach, or the mountains.

The idea of least effort accounts for the success of a General Electric advertisement which was the best read "ad" in a recent issue of *Saturday Evening Post.* It displayed an automatic electric mixer and an automatic toaster, exclaiming, *"TAKE IT EASY!* Let these two G-E Aids save your strength and keep you young." [18]

The next group of physical values involves the senses with which we are endowed. These are the senses of sight, sound, smell, taste, touch, balance, bodily motion, and internal organic changes. Again the drive is to avoid pain

* This advertisement is reproduced facing page 18.

and seek pleasure for these values, in addition to using them as the means of acquiring and protecting other values. For instance, sight is one of our most precious possessions, since it is a means of detecting useful or dangerous things at a distance. We do all we can to avoid damage to the eyes; we also seek visual pleasure. We find it in contemplating beauty as expressed in paintings, architecture, sculpture, ballet, natural scenery, pretty faces, etc. Even redesigning a weighing scale so it will be beautiful attracts more customers, and hanging little red curtains costing altogether ninety cents has increased the sales of $5,000 houses.[32]

A beautiful natural-color photograph of a modern living room, furnished by B. Altman & Co. of New York and photographed by the well known commercial photographers Bruehl-Bourges, was the principal "stopper" in the best-observed color advertisement in a recent issue of *Time* magazine. The headline told how "The Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company presents MAGIC WAYS TO MODERNIZE WITH PAINT AND GLASS."[13]

The sense of bodily motion refers to the perception that muscles, tendons, and joints of the body are moving. A person satisfies this value by dancing, marching, playing football, taking exercise, or running down a windy, grass-covered slope for the sheer exhilaration of bodily motion. He is damaging this value when he sits in a cramped position or remains confined in bed.

The sense of internal organic changes, like balance and the sense of bodily movement, records situations which are happening within the body rather than without. A message is flashed to the brain when something goes wrong with the stomach, kidneys, heart, sex organs, glands, and other internal organs just as surely as the eyes send a message when an enemy is seen approaching. Realizing that one is hungry is a perception through this sense. It can be pleasantly stimulated by breathing clean air after choking in a smoke-filled chamber, by eating, by quenching the thirst, by kissing a member of the opposite sex. It can be disturbed by faulty elimination or sluggish circulation.

Sex is such an important organic function that it deserves special mention. Here we are interested not in the abnormal but in the normal expressions of this value. Man and woman must not only preserve their own lives, but must join in sexual union to create new life. Life and sex are thus twin values which perpetuate the race. But sex is not a value which may be enjoyed casually, for historically it usually has raised problems of supporting and protecting the offspring. As a result, an elaborate set of hurdles and rituals has been erected in America and in most other countries. A series of steps, each of them a value in itself, has been developed leading up to and beyond sex. Each is a means to the next value in the succession.

The first step on the path is taken when a person encounters a member

of the opposite sex toward whom he or she is attracted physically. After that, he or she (particularly she) becomes concerned over her own physical attractiveness to that person. For in America, men are mainly attracted in the first instance to women who possess facial beauty, while women are more drawn to men who exhibit physical strength and vitality. Yet even men must be careful about good grooming. Consequently, there has sprung up a multitude of commercial products dedicated to safeguarding and increasing the physical attractiveness of men and women. Among them are Vaseline Hair Tonic, Sunbeam Shavemaster, Pepsodent Tooth Powder, Arrow Shirts, Tek Tooth Brushes, Kreml Hair Tonic, Lifebuoy Health Soap, Maybelline for the eyelashes, and Wheaties for energy, not to mention reducing belts, patent medicines, streamlined corsets, rowing machines, diet books, whole-wheat bread, and non-fattening foods to keep the figure slim.

Closely allied with physical attractiveness are the values of fashion, dress, glamour, and youth. Along with manly strength go the customs of masculine initiative and feminine passivity in making the first advances and arranging dates. In the courtship which follows, the two young people become acquainted with each other's personalities and stimulate each other by various approved bodily contacts, such as those involved in dancing and kissing. Even when these boy-girl contacts are second-hand they attract interest. An advertisement in *Collier's* attracted attention by showing an Agfa Film photo of a good-looking young man carrying a pretty girl in his arms across the rocks of a woodland stream.* According to reader surveys, this was the best-observed advertisement in the magazine.[13] Man carrying girl, like embraces and kisses, is one of the steps in the succession of thrills wrapped up in the sex value, a succession which begins with appreciative smiles from a member of the opposite sex and carries through to marriage, sexual relations, and parenthood. The value is acquired by others, yes, but the circumstances are attractive and pleasant enough by proxy to win the reader's interest. In this case it is then eased over into an interest in Agfa films, since the photograph is a sample of the difficult deep-shadow-and-bright-sunlight snapshots which can be taken with Agfa.

If the youthful attraction found in embraces continues to grow, it may lead to the important stage of romance, the object of which is the sweetheart value. Other values which play important roles in the love chain are premarital virtue, popularity with the opposite sex, engagement, marriage, faithfulness, honeymoon, and sex. Divorce and the use of artificial birth-control devices have in recent years surged forward in the public's acceptance, and have a profound effect on the marital arrangement.

According to some sociologists, the recent spread of the last-named value

* This advertisement is reproduced facing page 19.

is one of the most revolutionary developments in man's social relationships since the beginning of civilization. Socially, the full effects of using artificial birth-control devices promise to be more far-reaching and profound than those produced in business by the invention of the steam engine. These sociologists say woman is now achieving a new independence because she is able to undertake pregnancy when and if she chooses. By-products of the new independence may include a reinterpretation of the older values of chastity and faithfulness.

The newlyweds' love for each other is soon enlarged into the love of home and family. Family love means the love of father, mother, sons, and daughters for one another. Very strong among these crisscrossing bonds of affection is the parents' love of babies and children. Babies are not merely the by-product of sex; they are also the object of a positive urge in their own right.

President Roosevelt recognized this concern for the welfare of our children in his opening message to Congress in the first week of January, 1940, after the arms embargo had been lifted. To justify this measure, he drew a picture of the world that Americans and their children might otherwise have to contemplate some day:

> We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone—even though today we are a great and very powerful nation. We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems. We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children will lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship a god imposed by a military ruler, or forbidden to worship God at all; if the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts—the daily news of their own and other nations—if they were deprived of the truth that makes men free. We must look ahead and see the effect on future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.[44]

But strong as the value of parental love for children may be here, it is an error to identify it with human nature the world over. What we often assume to be an "instinctive" maternal love of children takes on the familiar shading of a Western value when we look for it among primitive tribes such as the Arapesh, who go even further than we in the care and protection of infants, or among the Mundugamor, who go to the opposite extreme. The Arapesh mother is almost constantly fondling and caressing her infant; she takes it wherever she goes, sleeps in close contact with it, and nurses it whenever it cries. The Mundugamor mother, in contrast, keeps hers in an uncomfortable basket, suckles it only when it is unmistakably in need of milk, never fondles

or caresses it, always sends it out to fend for itself at the earliest possible time, and treats it in general so harshly that only the strongest survive.[9] The Hindus drowned their baby daughters in the Ganges River, and the Aztecs sold their children into slavery.

After the parents' love for their children, the next most highly emphasized value within the family is the child's love for its mother. Mother's Day has become a national institution, with the blessing of the candy manufacturers and the florists' associations. The best-read black-and-white advertisement in one issue of *Collier's* appeared just prior to Mother's Day. It was a Florists' Telegraph Delivery Association advertisement with the headline, "May 10th is Mother's Day . . . remember her with FLOWERS-BY-WIRE." [13] The high readership of this "ad," as with some already mentioned and many still to be noted, was proved in a nationwide reader survey. Wise politicians also show their devotion to this highly charged value. W. Lee O'Daniel adopted the song, "The Boy Who Never Got Too Old to Comb His Mother's Hair," as a theme in his successful campaign for the governorship of Texas.[55] Occasionally even father receives a little attention. When at last Huey Long, the Louisiana dictator, allowed his wife and children to be interviewed by the newspapers, the family praised him as a good father and husband.[10] This was a political asset to him.

When there is no adequate expression for this family love, the person is often found turning to substitute objects. Hence an affection-starved wife devotes herself to a lap dog. This fondness for animals has been listed by Merrill Goddard as one of his sixteen sure-fire interest-getters in mass-circulation magazine stories.[32] In those cities where there are zoos, the zoos attract millions, according to visitor counts, with an average of one visit every four months for every person in the city. Most of the visitors are adults with no children. Boothby Kugler put two lion cubs in the show window of his restaurant in Philadelphia, and drew such a crowd it took a police line to hold the people back.[31]

It should be mentioned, parenthetically, that we have included such values as animals, courtship, engagement, divorce, and home among the physical values not because they are necessarily physical in nature but because they are so closely linked to the sex value.

Moreover, every value should be considered as a separate unit. The classifications are merely convenient methods of grouping them for understanding. The relationships of values, like apples, can be most clearly seen when they are still on the tree, it is true; but the apple, not the relationship, is what the person wishes to consume.

In the numerous outstandingly successful advertisements which we have mentioned, it was observed that the physical values, as a group, outranked economic values as a group. The biggest single drawing card, however, of all values featured in these "ads" was money. It falls in the economic group of values.

The economic values are closely related to the physical values; in fact, they are often the means to physical ends. Money, for instance, is a means to food, clothing, and shelter. In the economic group, the emphasis falls on immediate utility in everything, with especial insistence that everything be useful in making money. Thus, the person with an economic attitude would say, "Honesty is the best policy," not so much because it was ethical as because it was practical.

Any list of economic values which are most highly capitalized in America would have to include money, employment, and capitalism, and give at least grudging recognition to the custom of ostentatious display.

Experience in contests has shown that money is the most attractive prize that can be offered; for almost any other prize which might be awarded could usually be purchased with money anyway. Cash, for instance, is a better prize than a book, since the winner may convert his money into a rifle, a new suit of clothes, a book, or whatever else he wants most at the time. In other words, money is the common denominator into which almost all other values can be converted. Like time and energy, it is an extremely versatile value. But the supply of time and energy is limited and they cannot be given as prizes, as can money.

Ostentatious display of some kind may be said to exist in all societies. In the modest Zuñi society a man displays his disdain for worldly possessions by not displaying his worldly possessions. The modest, retiring Christian, who prays in private, displays his Christianity by not displaying his Christianity. Praying in the open street would show lack rather than possession of Christianity.

The American custom allows us to display our worldly possessions openly, but without the excessive egotism of the Kwakiutl Indians of the northwest coast of North America. It is customary for members of our wealthy leisure class to display their jewels, expensive automobiles, and expensive wives to the public, to distribute largesse to the multitude through charity, to destroy property, and to indulge in conspicuous waste.[7, 74] "Keeping up with the Joneses" and "keeping up appearances" are national preoccupations. George Clark illustrated this value in his cartoon entitled "The Neighbors." A husband and wife are shown in a hotel room, with the wife washing some things in the

wash-basin. She says to her husband, "Close that door. Do you want that bell-boy you tipped fifty cents to see your wife doing her laundry?" [18]

POLITICAL VALUES

Political values, according to tests made by Allport and Vernon, are more interesting to men than to women in America. To go further, men are more interested in political, economic, and intellectual values, while women's interests incline heavily toward social, artistic, and religious values.

What is a political value? Is it merely an interest in politics and elections? It will not mean simply that in this book. Political values will refer to power and everything which enhances the dominance of one person over his fellow men.

These particular values were at their peak in nineteenth century America, during the vigorous, expanding era of the frontier; now many of them are being tempered by diminishing necessity and a new emphasis on social, artistic, and intellectual values. Still, the Horatio Alger ideal looms up behind these values, for this energetic American type has not yet passed from the scene.

The eventual end in the political cause-and-effect chain is the enhancement of the self. The group is merely an extension of the self based on common interests. These two values are served through power, government, high status, prestige, and public acclaim. Leading to these attainments is victory in competition and conflict, while victory, in turn, is largely acquired through such values as force, ambition, leadership, aggressiveness, strength, vitality, courage, singleness of purpose, initiative, individualism, self-sufficiency, perseverance, optimism, efficiency, and resourcefulness. Democracy provides an opportunity for the expression of these qualities, and luck lends a welcome helping hand to their success. Complicated and intangible though many of these values may be in reality, their psychological meaning to an American is simple and tangible. It will always help to think of them as resembling apples, which can be acquired, used, or damaged.

In America, a man's or woman's happiness is singularly wrapped up in his personal importance and expressed in a swelling, sensitive vanity concerning the simplest and most tangible embodiments of himself. Among these are his name, birthday, and physical features. The name is a sensitive nerve-point which sums up the whole self in a word or two. Goode and Kaufman report in their book *Showmanship in Business* that sales managers have found a particularly stimulating contest reward is to fly over the factory a flag bearing the winning salesman's name.[82] Bodily and facial features of the prospects also played the leading role in one of the highest direct-mail re-

sponses ever recorded. When the first street photographers snapped the strollers in candid poses and handed them addressed coupons, 90 per cent of the people photographed mailed in the coupons with 25 cents for their pictures.[82]

Family love and patriotism are among the commonest variations of the devotion to the group. We feel patriotism or loyalty not only toward our nation and family but toward our college, school class, economic class, social class, home state, and home town. The group is simply an extension of the self based on common interests. Loyalties change when the community of interests changes. Thus American criminals, who in time of peace could be found preying on law-abiding American citizens, surprisingly turned to aiding them loyally when a foreign aggressor nation attacked the country. In May, 1942, the arrest of six men for counterfeiting defense stamps was announced in the New York press. Information leading to the arrest of these counterfeiters was furnished government officials by members of the underworld who had been approached by counterfeiters to act as buyers of the stamps at cut-rate prices. The underworld, so the news article relates, felt its patriotism had been slurred, and with patriotic fervor it cooperated with the police in a roundup of the counterfeiters. The members of the famous "Purple Gang" of Detroit were especially helpful in their cooperation with Federal authorities.

When we speak of power which bolsters the self and the group, we refer to the ability to get things done the way one wants them done. This comprehends economic, spiritual, social, family, or governmental power as well as leadership or any other way of controlling people. With personal wealth the executive may hire, fire, praise, reprimand, promote, and demote employees, destroy competitors, construct great dams and electric systems, invest or foreclose. Archbishops, armed with spiritual power, may save thousands of souls, mold the moral codes of millions, and command the humility even of presidents and emperors. The "best families" wield a social power and exhibit a clannishness which at times supersede mere wealth. Politicians, judges, legislators, generals, and admirals wield the power of government and political patronage, shaping the destinies of a nation. And leaders of whatever type exercise a psychological power that commanders often demand with futile roars.

However, this power value in America is feeble beside what it was in Nazi Germany, which took over almost without change the ideals of Friedrich Nietzsche, who asked: "What is good? All that increases the feeling of power, the will to power, power itself, in man. What is bad? All that comes from weakness." [21]

The will to victory is the golden link in the chain of power values. We

see it mirrored in the eyes of the man engrossed in competition and conquest. In our dynamic civilization it is a rare person, man or woman, boy or girl, who is satisfied with merely possessing a value such as health, physical attractiveness, athletic skill, or money sufficient to provide the necessities of existence. No; he must possess the value to a surpassing degree within his group or suffer discontent. He must be the fastest runner, the most beautiful, the most popular, the champion boxer, the industrial prince, the greatest man. The desire for transcendent possession rather than simple possession is a function of the competitive culture in which we live.

Wherein lies this victory? How may it be obtained? One answer is force. Nietzsche, herald of the Nazi philosophy, cried, "Live in a state of war." But in America, war is not a first goal; it is a last resort. Listen to the words of Cordell Hull, who reminded us of this fact in the midstream of World War II:

Throughout the ages two lessons have remained unlearned. The first is that man's innate striving for freedom cannot be extinguished. . . . The second lesson is that liberty is truly won only when it is guarded by the same watchfulness, the same courage, the same willingness to fight for it which first secured it. Repeatedly throughout history free men . . . have believed the bully and the gangster could be reformed by reason and justice or be defeated by passive resistance. And so they have been surprised and unprepared when the attacks have come again. . . . We Americans are fighting today because we have been attacked. We are fighting, as I have said, to preserve our very existence. We and the other free peoples are forced into a desperate fight because we did not learn the lessons of which I have spoken. . . . International desperadoes, like individual bandits, will not abandon outlawry voluntarily. They will only be stopped by force.[38]

The firm, aggressive personality that is applauded in twentieth century America as a means to dominance was also effective in the England of 1605. Sir Francis Bacon clearly counseled the quality of underlying hardness in his advice for achieving worldly success:

Above all, nothing conduces more to the well-representing of a man's self, and securing his own right, than not to disarm one's self by too much sweetness and good-nature, which exposes a man to injuries and reproaches; but rather . . . at times to dart out some sparks of a free and generous mind, that have no less of the sting than the honey.[6]

Some other values leading to victory deserve a word or two. Our devotion to sports and admiration of size are accompanied by a strong emphasis on physical strength. More people in peacetime listen to major heavyweight boxing matches on the radio than listen to radio chats of the President. They jam the Rose Bowl and other athletic fields all over the United States to

watch football games, track meets, baseball games, swimming meets. These spectator sports often step aside, however, for participator sports. The New York Central Railroad carried 72,000 passengers on special trains to play in the snow of New England one winter season.[31]

Vitality is no less prized than athletic skill and strength. Mickey Rooney's movie career was built in part on this popular gift. He bounded over the furniture like an excited puppy who could hardly keep from twisting himself in two from sheer bodily exultation. The schoolboy, the debutante, and the great politician buy Wheaties in hope of acquiring vitality. Young college girls are also influenced by it in voting for schoolmates running for campus office.[8, 58] Would-be dictator Huey Long always "walked as fast as most men run," [19] and Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland was a "veritable cyclone in action." [59] Jim Farley showed "amazing energy." [41]

The man who faces necessary danger shows heroism; when he seeks danger for its own sake it is adventure. Both cases require courage, which is highly valued in America. Remember the swarm of airplanes and babies which were named after Colin Kelly, who at the very beginning of the war dive-bombed a Japanese warship and blasted it out of the water. Note that the best-read page advertisement in one copy of *Saturday Evening Post* presented animal-hunter Frank Buck in an exciting continuity strip entitled, "I CAPTURED 22 WILD ELEPHANTS." [13] He and his helpers built a kraal and risked death to capture these prizes for American circuses.

Individuality is also part of the power chain. Even when it is true, if someone says, "You're just like all the rest," it is considered a personal slur. "Being different" is a goal. However, we must know what conformity is before we can appreciate individuality. A rule is not a rule if no one observes it, and cultural values are not cultural values if no one conforms to them. It is hardly surprising, in this light, that Robert Lynd should identify the fear of being different as the dominant motivation in Muncie, Indiana, which he called "Middletown," the more or less typical American city.

Most Americans conform studiously or at least pay lip service to the values of sobriety, honesty, morality, and etiquette, yet they are attracted to people who violate the code mildly by getting a little "high" at cocktail parties, taking "souvenirs," indulging in slight amorous indiscretions, or crashing the gate at private parties. Are these contradictions to the rule of conformity? Not at all. For breaking one value, such as morality, is conforming to another —individuality. Individuality is channeled for expression along certain approved lines, such as music, art, advertising ideas, clothing styles, personality quirks, and hobbies. It is also worth noting that cultural anthropologists who have studied numerous modern and primitive societies inform us that in no society do all the members completely conform. All have their unusual types.

The social values appear to be sweeping aside with growing momentum the competitive values which reigned in our country during the nineteenth century. These are the values which reflect the love of doing things with and for other people, and are perhaps an essential cement in a collective age. Those which reflect the love of doing things *with* other people include such values as friends, personality, sophistication, teamwork, cheerfulness, spontaneity, and entertainment. The other group, aimed as a whole at doing things *for* people, includes generosity, public service, warm-heartedness, fair play, honesty, and patronage. Of course, there are many others.

Friends are among the most highly prized values in American life. Popularity is the possession of many friends. The wildfire success of Dale Carnegie's book, *How To Win Friends and Influence People,* gave eloquent testimony to the public longing for friendships. Within the first three years after its publication in 1936, the book's sales reached 943,134 copies, a record for non-fiction works. It is still going strong and it was even reported among the best sellers in wartime Germany.

By sophistication, we do not refer to the classical meaning of false wisdom. We accept the everyday meaning of real wisdom in social life, which is also known as "savoir faire," polish, diplomacy, good manners, etiquette, tact, understanding, or ease. The sophisticated person has "been around." He possesses an understanding and mastery of the values needed for smooth social sailing.

Cheerfulness and smiles are values which attract others to us when we display them sincerely. Charles Schwab, the great industrial magnate, said that his smile had been worth a million dollars to him.[14] What is more, a cheerful disposition is one of the qualities which young men and women admire and require in the people they will consider as life partners. This is reported by Joseph Kirk Folsom, writing on family problems.

Entertainment is a great social value. It is the theme on which comedy, spirit of play, jokes, laughter, and a sense of humor are but variations. Entertainment blots out for the moment our cares and ambitions. It provides a release from tension in the physical motions of laughter. That is why advertisers sponsor radio programs featuring Bob Hope, Charlie McCarthy, and other comics; for when people listen in for the fun, they hear advertising plugs worked into the fabric of jokes and kidding. The entertainment attracts, the advertising sells. The regime of Huey Long, the Louisiana "Kingfish," was described as the "Laughing Dictatorship."[19] Lincoln's funny stories are legendary, and the best way to locate Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House was to listen for a hearty laugh.

People are expected, in our country, to show they are warm-hearted or "human." They must be willing to make allowances for the weaknesses of others. Katharine Hepburn, in the motion picture "Philadelphia Story," played the part of a beautiful, idealistic girl who judged too harshly not only her sweetheart but her father too. When the latter became involved in a brief scandal with a chorus girl, her mother forgave him readily, but the daughter did not. On this, the father said he had seen a growing tendency in her for years; she lacked "an understanding heart." At this the girl burst into tears and turned away, sobbing, "That's an awful thing to say to anyone." He had accused her of lacking humanness—an especially serious charge against an American woman. For in our culture, humanness, like kindness and affection, are expected to be found among the feminine traits.

Charity is a negative deed; it alleviates suffering. "Patronage" is our word for the positive deed which cultivates another person's abilities and enables his personality to flower. It is not to be confused with a patronizing or condescending attitude, nor with political patronage as handed out by a successful candidate. It draws the hidden capabilities out of others. President Roosevelt in his "Rendezvous with Destiny" address praised the virtue of charity, saying it was ". . . in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity, literally translated from the original, means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves." [19]

INTELLECTUAL VALUES

Whereas 63 per cent of the values featured in the one hundred outstandingly successful advertisements were physical, 12 per cent economic, and 11 per cent social, the intellectual values hobbled in at a weak fourth with 6 per cent. It would be a mistake, however, to accept this rank as final. It is a commentary not upon the relative insignificance of intellectual values in our culture, but upon the fact that advertisements, by their commercial nature, are biased in favor of values which can be easily purchased with money. Food, for instance, must be purchased daily, but on many occasions knowledge never sees money. Money is one of the most versatile of values, but it will not buy everything.

In general, the broadly intellectual person is preoccupied with observation, reason, and the discovery of truth. He wants to know the cause and effect of everything. Such an attitude was shown by the mathematician who heard a Beethoven symphony and commented, "Beautiful, but what does it prove?"

What are the intellectual values? The list includes knowledge, science,

news, intelligence, creativeness, practicality, language, mental discipline, education, and travel, to mention a few of the more important ones.

To begin with, "knowledge," as the old adage says, "is power"—power to acquire values and protect them. The oldest and greatest school of knowledge, of course, is the university of hard knocks. Fortunately, it is not the only source of knowledge. If it were, everyone would have to begin his life at scratch and learn by tiresome trial-and-error the same old lessons that the cavemen's children were learning 10,000 years ago. A vast body of knowledge has been pyramided up over the lifetimes of billions of people over thousands of years; it has been preserved in writing, in the minds of teachers, parents, and friends, as well as in machines and other material things which are the practical results of all this know-how.

Knowledge may relate to the acquisition or protection of any type of value, whether it be basic, cultural, personal, or special; or whether it be physical, political, economic, social, intellectual, religious, or general. It may be the means to beauty, food, property, language, health, physical attractiveness, life, beverages, friends, mechanical engineering, electrotherapy, psychology, typewriting, shorthand, or novel writing.

Closely related to and sometimes synonymous with knowledge are information, truth, curiosity, oddity, and mystery. Curiosity is simply the desire to possess knowledge. Science, which is becoming a near-religion with some people, is exact, organized, concentrated, and applied knowledge—knowledge in its purest form. Centuries ago, St. Thomas Aquinas taught that where science ends, faith begins. And as science spreads its arms, converting more and more of the unknown into the known, the ancient scope of faith diminishes. Science has dethroned the barbaric gods, one by one, by explaining the natural phenomena of lightning, earthquakes, and reproduction. Clement Wood went so far as to describe the scientific invasion into religion in this way: "Faith, said the Christians, can move mountains; and, for all their faith, the mountains stood still for two thousand years, until science came in with its steam shovel, and at last the mountains moved down to man." [103]

As science provides the most exact information, newspapers and the radio furnish the most recent information. One can adjust himself to life's problems better if, like a mariner, he knows his exact position at every moment. Forewarned is forearmed. Hence the high valuation placed on news. Letters from home provide us with the latest information about the members of our family.

Because of his practicality, the proverbial "hard-headed businessman" is ready to condemn reformers and innovators as being "impractical dreamers," "starry-eyed visionaries" with ideas that are "theoretical," "impractical," and

"unrealistic." He asks, "What is this new gadget used for?"—"Is it useful?" —"Is it practical?"—"Will it work?"—or "Is it the real thing?" Indeed, our acceptance of practicality seems so natural to us that it is hard to conceive of the Samoan view. The Samoans strive for artistic results rather than "right answers," even on intelligence tests. They are being practical in their own way, but for a different end. Then wherein does the distinction lie? To an American, being "practical" means there must exist a connection between the means and a material end, such as money, employment, manufacture.

Before we can solve a problem by logical thought, we must gather and digest all the data. That is why education is such an important value. Travel is another form of education, wherein a person collects new experiences, facts, and ideas which were not readily available at home. Thus it becomes a value. Advertisements have exploited this value by showing pictures with foreign settings in order to sell anything from liquor to transportation. The best-observed one-page advertisement in an issue of *Collier's,* according to a survey, was a Hiram Walker advertisement entitled "Dutch Treat," showing a young Dutch couple, with windmills in the background, presenting a glass of Canadian Club whiskey to a young American traveler.[13]

RELIGIOUS VALUES

Religiousness does not mean merely going to church. Whoever seeks a unity of meaning and a cosmic purpose in life is essentially religious. In contrast to the intellectual values, many people detour around knowledge to rest their religious belief on faith.

Havelock Ellis suggests that religious conversion is the joyful organization of an emotional relationship to the world conceived as a whole.[23] The entire personality is turned in the direction of that one great value, as a scatter of steel filings is brought into line by a magnet. Often this means an almost wholesale scrapping of other values which conflict with the new unified purpose. For this reason, there must be an extreme intensity of belief and desire to bring about such a wholesale abandonment. It can occur only when the convert believes his new religion is so valuable in attaining the other goals of life and the after-life that it offsets the values which he must forego or destroy to follow it.

Although comparatively few people experience actual conversion of this sort, the majority of citizens of the United States accept Christianity as a value and follow its rules more than they realize. Among the central values held out by the Christian religion are immortality, suffering and self-denial, the brotherhood of man, the Golden Rule, peace, morality, modesty, faith, and reverence. Another group of values which has achieved an in-law relationship

to the Christian tenets includes emotional stability, moderation, self-control, ritual, and dignity.

Because the last of these values is so important when one appears in the public eye, Fiorello La Guardia, spitfire atom mayor of New York City, would make no attempt to be comical, for all his emotional tricks of temperament and his sense of humor.[81] When some psychologists were investigating the reasons why students at one woman's college voted for some classmates and not others, they found that "silliness" and "affectation" were listed frequently as their reasons for rejecting certain candidates.[8]

GENERAL VALUES

Highly important but impossible to classify under one or another of the foregoing headings are the general values. They are a blanket spread over all the other values indiscriminately. Time, for example, may be used to serve physical, political, religious, social, intellectual, or economic values. It is needed to eat, to participate in sports, attend church, see motion pictures, learn chemistry, or earn money. This is also true of the other general values, ego, freedom, transportation, and communication. Personal values and special values may also serve various purposes.

One of the most famous but least understood of all values is the ego, the task of which is to control automatically all of a person's values. To appreciate its deep-lying importance, we must go back to the meaning of value.

The employment of brute force, the tooth-and-nail struggle for existence, the survival of the fittest—in short, the process suggested by Darwin as the dynamic element in animal evolution—is a risky, painful, disappointing, and wasteful process at best when applied to the gathering of food, self-preservation, and winning of a mate. Civilized man has adopted values such as money, education, and physical attractiveness to lighten his burden and decrease the risks in these vital lines. These values, let us say, are like farm equipment which a wise farmer uses to help him raise bigger crops with less effort and risk for himself.

Productive though the values are, few people can clearly see the long chain of means and ends which justify their existence. Even if they could see it, cold logic would not be enough to make them seek, use, and protect such values a half-dozen steps removed from their real desires. Their foresight is fogbound by the complexity of existence; their attention is limited to the small constellation of values involved in the immediate situation. They are therefore like horses which cannot see ahead to the final purpose of pulling a plow, but must be controlled by fear of the whip or hope of alfalfa in the near future. In this way, a child's parents, teachers, preachers, and playmates

impose on him a discipline of rewards and punishments which helps to guide him through his formative years. But these controls are exercised from without. They cannot hope to accompany the individual wherever he goes, always advising, scolding, punishing, and rewarding him. Something closer is needed to keep him on the path of devotion to the values he has learned. An internal policeman is needed, and that policeman is the ego. For the ego is the agent which actively enforces at all times the love and fear of God, of society, of family, and of oneself. Values need it for their protection and guidance as a plowhorse needs a driver.

Because of the ego's existence, the normal person is constantly measuring how high he stands in each value. When his self-esteem is low his ego suffers; when it is high his ego expands pleasantly. But his self-esteem may be high on one value and low on another. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., for instance, would have rated himself high on the ability to earn money, but his biographers tell us that speeches were his shaky point, his pet vanity. As a result he showed a hunger for compliments on his speeches and a sensitivity to criticism of them. Like a boy with a missing tooth, he paid more attention to the gap than to all the values he did possess.

Once the ego has impelled a person to estimate the degree to which he possesses each value, it whips him forward if he stands low, reins him in if he is overdoing, and rewards him if he is doing just right. In fact, an ego is attached to each value and often blinds a person to his own failings, so as to spare him the pain of dropping in his self-esteem.

When a strictly raised girl commits some indiscretion, her self-esteem drops and her morality ego suffers. Her conscience hurts her first; but if she does not mend her ways, it will be society itself that punishes her. She may be dropped by her circle of friends and her chances of marriage diminished. A puny young man looks in the mirror at his flat chest and narrow shoulders and his self-esteem drops. This makes his ego suffer, and the pain whips him into taking body-building exercises. If he does nothing, however, it will be society, not just his ego, which will punish him. When he goes to the beach the attractive girls will ignore him and devote their attention to the broad-shouldered athletes. The ego sounds the warning bell for danger, which may be either a physical or a social danger.

Hence, we may picture the ego as being a small pilot value attached to every other value.

Time, money, and energy are three values which almost always enter into the cost of acquiring or protecting other values. We have mentioned energy as a physical value and money as an economic value. Now consider time.

Nature, like a good communist, has provided everyone with an equal income in hours and minutes. When a person loses time, as he does in prison,

it is no simple loss. It frustrates and deprives him in turn of many other values which he might have acquired or protected during that period.

Hence the almost universal appeal of time-saving devices. Faster automobiles and planes, shorter courses of study, simpler methods of doing things, are all capable of freeing one from the performance of routine, time-consuming tasks and allowing him to devote himself to things he considers more important. One advertisement for the Sherwin Cody course in grammar has been repeated time and again for almost two decades, and still retains its selling power. The subheading proclaims: "Only 15 minutes a day required to improve your speech and writing."[18] This time-saving aspect of the course has a time-tested appeal.

As the ego measures roughly how we stand on every value, the clock and the calendar measure precisely how much time we have in which to acquire, enjoy, or save our values. They bring us up with a start when they show we are wasting time and have hardly enough of it left in which to accomplish our purpose. They also tell us when to go to bed if we want eight hours of sleep. Thus the clock and calendar are mathematically accurate and almost infallible egos which specialize in the sensitive gauging of how we stand on the value time.

Freedom, like time and money, is a means to almost all other values. It indicates the absence of hindrances that would prevent our striving for whatever we wish. It provides the opportunity to win our goals. Secretary of State Cordell Hull rededicated the value of freedom in his broadcast of July 23, 1942, which was entitled, "The Challenge of the War—and Afterward":

> Within each nation, liberty under law is an essential requirement of progress. The spirit of liberty, when deeply imbedded in the minds and hearts of the people, is the most powerful remedy for racial animosities, religious intolerance, ignorance and all the other evils which prevent men from uniting in a brotherhood of truly civilized existence. It inspires men to acquisition of knowledge and understanding. It is the only real foundation of political and social stability.
>
> Liberty is more than a matter of political rights, indispensable as those rights are. In our own country we have learned from bitter experience that to be truly free, men must have, as well, economic freedom and economic security—the assurance for all alike of an opportunity to work as free men in the company of free men; to obtain through work the material and spiritual means of life; to advance through the exercise of ability, initiative and enterprise; to make provision against the hazards of human existence.

Transportation and communication are values which also serve almost any other kind of value. We may take a subway, for instance, to work in Manhattan (economic), to 125th Street and Broadway to attend Riverside Church (religious), to Sixth Avenue and Fiftieth Street to be entertained by

the Radio City Rockettes (social), to a dentist's office to have a tooth filled (physical), to Columbia University to attend a class in chemistry (intellectual), or to Madison Square Garden to attend a presidential campaign rally (political).

Personal values fall under a blanket heading which covers values highly cherished by certain individuals. Such values include stamp-collecting, orchid-growing, reading Philo Vance detective novels, studing Eighteenth Century rococo art, raising pure white collies, modeling animals in clay, dancing swing music every night at the Roseland Ballroom, curing children of stuttering and other speech defects, or weaving colored rugs on the Digger Indian style. Each of these values is accepted by only a few scattered individuals in our culture, but nevertheless produces quite as much enthusiasm in the person who possesses them as the cultural and even the physical values do. A man's hobby or personal interest is more truly himself than a value he has passively or obediently adopted into his code, such as voting a straight Democratic ticket. His hobbies, like his name, his birthday, and his photograph, belong to him and express him far more eloquently than the values he shares with others.

Finally, we may take note of all those other minor and unemotional values which are means to ends but enjoy neither the widespread acceptance nor the intense devotion characteristic of the basic, cultural, and personal values. These are the special values. Under this heading we may wave off the hundreds of thousands of highly specialized means which make modern life so complex. We only wave them off, however, in order to emphasize the more fundamental nature of the other values. It will be seen that the rules which apply to basic, cultural, and personal values apply with equal force to the countless special values. The purchase of a certain ticket to a certain movie theater on a certain night may be assigned in the perspective of history to a minor place in comparison to the same person's fear of execution at the hands of an enemy firing squad. Nevertheless, the rules which govern the arousal of the special motive are the same as those which activate the great fundamental motives.

We have now arrived at the end of our bird's-eye view of the values which constitute the American way of life. These are the things by which we live. These are the magnets which draw us forth into unexpected exertions and bind us in fierce loyalties. These are what ultimately make us tick. We have observed a few of them rather carefully to gain an idea of what different kinds of values exist. The list, filled out more completely, will be found in the appendix, starting on page 271.

Yet without applying on these values the principles we will discuss next, nothing would happen. We should never be actually galvanized into activity nor torn by emotions. The values would remain inert, and so would we.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER IV

Human Nature in Motion

WE COME NOW to the "value situation," which constitutes the heart of a new way of psychological thought. It should provide an ampler conception of social psychology, a first step toward a basic theory which attempts to tie all human behavior together into one psychological system. Wherever no situation exists, there is no behavior; and wherever behavior occurs, there must exist a situation. The situation is the only force which moves man off dead center. It produces the motive, and the motive moves the man. Creating and presenting a situation to a person is thus like stepping on an automobile's self-starter. The self-starter turns the motor over, the motor takes hold, and the car proceeds on its own power.

The value-situation, like the value, provides a sweeping simplification of our data. At the present time there is a whirling, flashing nebula of motives, values, emotional reactions, and intricate behavior patterns which seems both to dazzle and confuse us, obscuring the simple plodding in our lives from cause to effect—from cost to means to goal to further value, on and on. This striving for goals is the clear melody running through the crashing symphony of our lives, and the blending of tones, the shades of meaning, the complicated harmonies, and the counterpoint are only variations on the theme. Constantly the variations weave back and forth about the theme, but behavior is always controlled by the underlying value-situation.

But this plodding from cause to effect—from cost to means to goal to further value—is possible only when the person is in possession of each of the values in the chain. A person desires possession in order to use that value to attain and remain in possession of the next value in the cause-and-effect chain. Although one value *can* lead to the next, the person must possess the first one before he can use it to acquire the second value. Possession of every value is therefore the goal of all activity. Human activity has the immediate goal of attaining and remaining in possession of all values.

Since possession is the goal toward which behavior is directed, it follows

that the respondent—the person responding to an appeal—is motivated to act, to do something, whenever he realizes that he stands in any situation other than possession. He uses all the values he possesses to acquire or protect the value he does not yet securely possess.

What are these other situations which can step on a person's emotional self-starter and cause him to do all the things he does? Including possession in its proper order, we find that there are ten fundamental value situations, which are—

1. Possible acquisition
2. Possible frustration
3. Frustration
4. Acquisition
5. Possession
6. Possible loss
7. Possible rescue
8. Rescue
9. Loss
10. Lack

These situations do not occur in isolation, nor do they ever come to a complete end. There is a constant circular flow from one to another. This may be represented in a diagram, Figure 1, showing a small boy's changing ownership status of an apple. The boy's ownership of the apple is shown passing through all the ten situations which we have enumerated. This progression of situations is followed not only by apples but by complicated, intangible values such as religion, education, capitalism, morality, and friendship. Any value may fall into any one of the ten situations. Indeed, no matter what value is considered, its ownership status may be located at one point or another in this wheel of situations.

The wheel also represents a fixed order of occurrence in time which, once begun, must continue until either possession or utter hopeless lack is reached. The change must always take place in the directions of the arrows in the diagram; apparently no change contrary to the arrows ever occurs. Consequently, the history of a person's ownership status for any value may be plotted around this wheel. The arrows, not the numerals, in the diagram indicate the order in which the situations may follow one another. The numbers have been arbitrarily assigned.

In this sequence, it will be seen that there are two relatively "stable" situations, possession and lack. These are the same as having and not-having. Once lack of a value changes to possible acquisition, the sequence must be followed until lack is again reached or possession is attained. In the same way, whenever possession slips to possible loss, the turning of the dial must continue until it has either swung back around to possession or slid all the way

START TODAY! YOU CAN WIN $100,000.00 FIRST PRIZE

ENTER NOW! FIRST WEEK'S PUZZLES REPRINTED ON THIS PAGE!

Puzzles 1-6
FIRST WEEK'S SERIES

Each of these puzzles represents a familiar name. The solution, or name represented by each puzzle, can be found in the list of names printed below that puzzle. Fill in your solutions on the Entry Form in the lower right hand corner of this announcement.

PUZZLE No. 1



WHAT NAME DOES THIS PUZZLE REPRESENT?
The Correct Solution is in the Following List

Washington Irving	Jack London
John Ringling	Mark Antony
Roscoe Arbuckle	George Washington
Oscar Wilde	Sir Walter Raleigh
Noah Webster	Robert Louis Stevenson
William Pitt	Robert Browning

PUZZLE No. 2



WHAT NAME DOES THIS PUZZLE REPRESENT?
The Correct Solution is in the Following List

Charles Dickens	Stephen Decatur
Mark Twain	Rudyard Kipling
Texas Guinan	Carrie Nation
Charles Lamb	Israel Zangwill
Anne Pavlowa	William Penn
Geoffrey Chaucer	Robert Browning

PUZZLE No. 3



WHAT NAME DOES THIS PUZZLE REPRESENT?
The Correct Solution is in the Following List

Thomas Carlyle	Warren Hastings
Hiram Walpole	Amerigo Vespucci
John Stuart Mill	Oliver Cromwell
Pierre de Coubertin	Johann Strauss
Christopher Columbus	Benjamin Franklin
Percy Shelley	John Quincy Adams

PUZZLE No. 4



WHAT NAME DOES THIS PUZZLE REPRESENT?
The Correct Solution is in the Following List

Henry Clay	Pocahontas
Wiley Post	Walter Raleigh
Diamond Jim Brady	James Oglethorpe
Leif Ericson	Russell Sage
Thomas Jefferson	Robert Fulton
Arthur Conner	Thomas Meighan

PUZZLE No. 5



WHAT NAME DOES THIS PUZZLE REPRESENT?
The Correct Solution is in the Following List

Carson Mather	Franz Schubert
Stephen Foster	King Canute
Harry Houdini	Juliet Capulet
Jane Austen	Robert Smirke
George Washington	Jeanne Eagels
Patrick Henry	Nicolai Lenin

PUZZLE No. 6



WHAT NAME DOES THIS PUZZLE REPRESENT?
The Correct Solution is in the Following List

Mildred Fillmore	William Shakespeare
Jeanne d'Arc	Robert Burns
Daniel Defoe	Admiral Dewey
Jesse Monroe	Henry Ward Beecher
Percy Shelley	Eugene Field
Rudolph Valentino	George Eastman

ENTER THIS CONTEST

Here's How You Win $100,000.00 First Prize

TODAY, while you are reading these words, make up your mind to win $100,000.00—ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS CASH—First Prize in this contest of skill.

It's easy to give yourself this opportunity. Today is an ideal time to enter. Everything you need in order to enter is included in this announcement.

A $100,000.00 fortune, sufficient cash to bring you financial independence for the remainder of your life, can be yours as First Prize in this contest, a contest in which you do not depend upon luck or guesswork, a contest in which you will have your own SEPARATE AND INDIVIDUAL FILE. And your ENTRY will be safeguarded and protected, and available for your inspection for comparison with any other winning entry at the conclusion of the contest. Have you ever before in your life had such an excellent opportunity to win great wealth?

You win in this contest by solving a series of puzzles each week in accordance with the rules. EACH WEEK, for 15 weeks, a series of six puzzles will be offered for solution. The contest has been in progress for one week. Thus, to enable you to start now, we are today reprinting all 6 of the first week's puzzles.

There is nothing hard to understand, nothing complicated about this contest. Follow these 3 suggestions, and put yourself in line to win a cash fortune of $100,000.00

1st... READ THE RULES! Find the name represented by each of the 6 puzzles printed on this page. Below each puzzle is a list of names. Find your solution for each puzzle in the list below the puzzle. FILL IN your solutions on the entry form provided in this announcement.

2nd... Send your entry to OLD GOLD CONTEST, P. O. Box 9, Varick Street Station, New York, N. Y. Mail your entry any time between now and Midnight of the coming Saturday. Immediately upon receipt of your entry, the 2nd week's puzzles will be mailed to you and your name will be placed on our mailing list to receive further puzzles as issued.

3rd... In this contest, each weekly series of solutions is to be accompanied by 3 OLD GOLD yellow package wrappers or 3 hand-drawn facsimiles. Thus, when sending in your entry, enclose 3 OLD GOLD yellow package wrappers or hand-drawn facsimiles.

Remember! *Read the Rules.* Solve the puzzles NOW. Make up your mind to enter TODAY. You have until Midnight, Saturday night, to obtain your wrappers (or prepare your facsimiles) and mail your entry.



1,000 CASH PRIZES . . . $200,000.00 IN AWARDS

FIRST PRIZE . . . $100,000.00

2nd Prize . . . $30,000.00 **3rd & 4th Prize (each) $10,000.00**

5th & 6th Prize (each) $5,000.00 **7th & 8th Prize (each) $2,500.00**

9th & 10th Prize (each) $1,500.00 **11th & 12th Prize (each) $1,000.00**

10 Prizes (each) $500.00 **28 Prizes (each) $250.00**

50 Prizes $100.00 each . . . $5,000.00 • 100 Prizes $50.00 each . . . $5,000.00 • 800 Prizes $10.00 each . . . $8,000.00

THE RULES

1. OLD GOLD'S PUZZLE CONTEST is open to everybody with the exception of the employees of P. Lorillard Companies and the advertising and sales promotion agencies.

2. A group of not less than 10 puzzles, which will become increasingly difficult as the contest proceeds, will be offered for solution. Each puzzle will represent or be some definite easy certain clues which will convey the idea of a name. The name may be that of a person, band, song, movie, city, state or nation. The solution of each puzzle will be found in a list of names printed in the advertisements in Headlining Newspapers with the exception for solving the particular kind of puzzle.

3. OLD GOLDS will pay a First Prize of $100,000.00 and one other cash prizes in grand total of 1,000 prizes aggregating $200,000.00 to the one and only one correct list of solutions to the puzzles received from contestants through out the country and accepted upon the basis of these rules and who in all other respects complies with Official Rules.

4. The puzzles will be issued in sets—one in weekly series of six, and contestants are asked to solve and submit solutions EACH WEEK. The 1st Week's Series of 6 puzzles bears the release date of Monday, Dec. 1, 1937. Each Monday, for fourteen additional weeks, there will be another weekly series of six puzzles released. Contestants are asked to submit solutions to puzzles during the week following release date of each series. In submitting the solutions for any certain series, a contestant is privileged to submit solutions for preceding series. Thus a contestant entering the contest during the 2nd week should submit both the 1st Week's Series as well as the 2nd Week's Series and a contestant entering during the 3rd Week should submit both the 1st and 2nd Weeks' Series as well as the 3rd Week's Series, and so on. All series should be numbered in accordance with Rule No. 7.

5. Contestants are invited to send in their solutions EACH WEEK, in series of six. The various current weekly series of puzzles, together with Entry Forms, may be obtained FREE at any place OLD GOLDS are sold, or puzzles and ENTRY FORMS may be clipped from newspapers, magazines, handbills and sales promotion literature.

6. Duplicate solutions will count. Do not decrease your solutions. Just solve the puzzles and send in your solutions. Duplicate solutions will be given the same rating as the first and in case there are contestants tied before any prizes are awarded for a tie-breaker submission, that is, if two or more persons tie in submitting the correct solutions to all of the puzzles, then the first two or more prizes will be awarded to them and those two or more prizes will be awarded in the order of merit as the judges may determine. The second group of puzzles will be used as tie-breaking puzzles, the second group of the 6-puzzle puzzles to be awarded by a letter or facsimile received. In event a second tie-breaking group of puzzles is necessary contestants eligible to more than will be required to accompany their solutions to the second tie-breaking group of puzzles. Address all letters to: OLD GOLD CONTEST, P. O. Box 9, Varick Street Station, New York, N. Y. Postmarks of the Post Office of Old Gold Cigarettes in the U. S. are accepted as a factor at the Old Gold Contest." Only in case of ties and entering prize submissions to the second tie-breaking group of puzzles have been received will the procedure set forth herein be considered, and in that event prizes will be awarded as the judges may determine. Duplicate prizes will be awarded in the event of ties.

7. To qualify for a prize, the contestant is required to accompany each prize or duplicate with three Old Gold yellow package wrappers or three reasonably accurate hand drawn facsimiles of same. Contestants are required to make their solutions to each puzzle in each series as neat as possible. Any contestant is privileged to enter more than one complete set of puzzles, but each entry must be submitted on a separate official entry blank or entry "A", etc. Each entry will be judged on a unit. No contestant is eligible to win more than one prize, the highest prize to which any individual entry entitled by its merit.

8. Upon entering the contest and by the submission of solutions to the puzzles, the contestant agrees that the decision of P. Lorillard Company in all matters pertaining to the conduct of the contest, the acceptance of submissions, the making of awards and the interpretation of the rules and of these rules shall be in contestant shall be final and conclusive. The P. Lorillard Company will withhold an individual fee for each contestant, but will not be responsible for submissions or communications unduly delayed, or lost in the mail either from or to the contestant.

9. Each weekly series of solutions together with 3 OLD GOLD yellow package wrappers or facsimiles as specified in Rule No. 7, should be addressed to: OLD GOLD CONTEST, P. O. Box 9, Varick St. Station, New York, N. Y.

Be sure you have familiarized yourself with these rules. Read them over again and then solve the puzzles.

ENTER NOW! BY USING THIS ENTRY FORM

OFFICIAL ENTRY FORM

OLD GOLD CONTEST Date _____

P. O. Box 9, Varick Street Station, New York, N. Y.

The following are my solutions to puzzles 1-6 in

(GIVE NAME)

1. _____	4. _____
2. _____	5. _____
3. _____	6. _____

I enclose herewith 3 Old Gold yellow package wrappers or 3 hand-drawn facsimiles in accordance with the rules.

(GIVE NAME IN FULL)

Mr. _____

Mrs. _____

Miss _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Submit the solutions as indicated on this Official Entry Form, by Midnight of the coming Saturday, or earlier if you choose.

PLEASE *PRINT* YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS

Old Golds staged a nation-wide contest with huge money prizes and increased cigarette sales. See page 63.



I don't care if he does drink Borden's HEMO—what will the other horses say?

Copyright, 1942, The Borden Company

Humiliating a horse is one way to compliment a cow. See why this is true on page 95.

down to lack. Indeed, even lack is none too stable, since possession is the only real goal of human behavior.

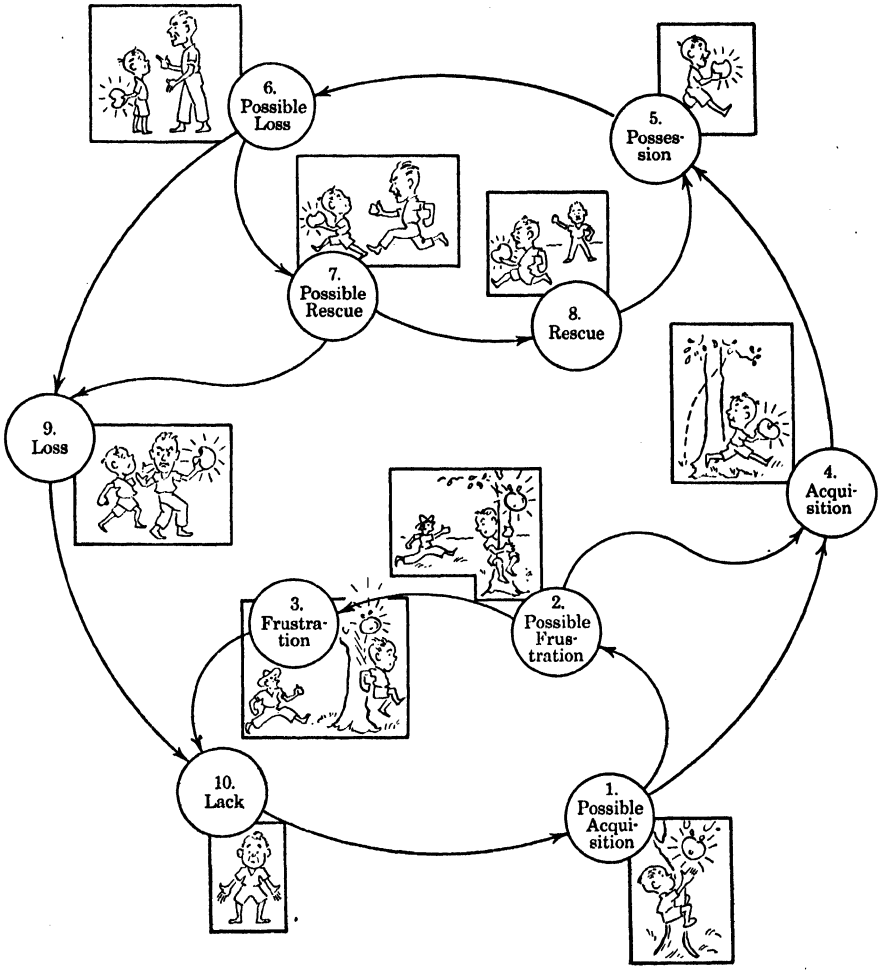
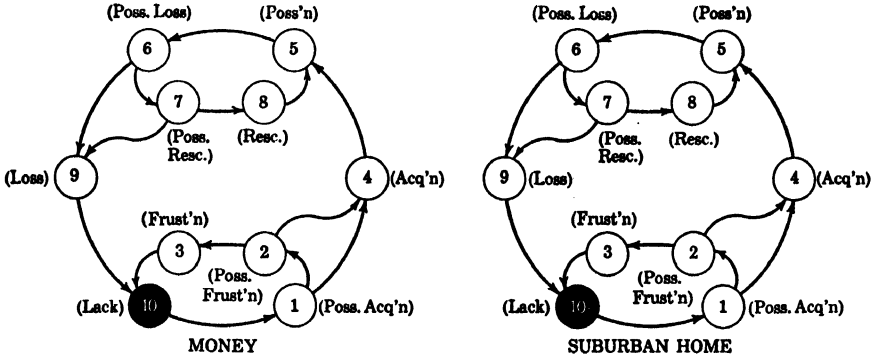


FIGURE 1

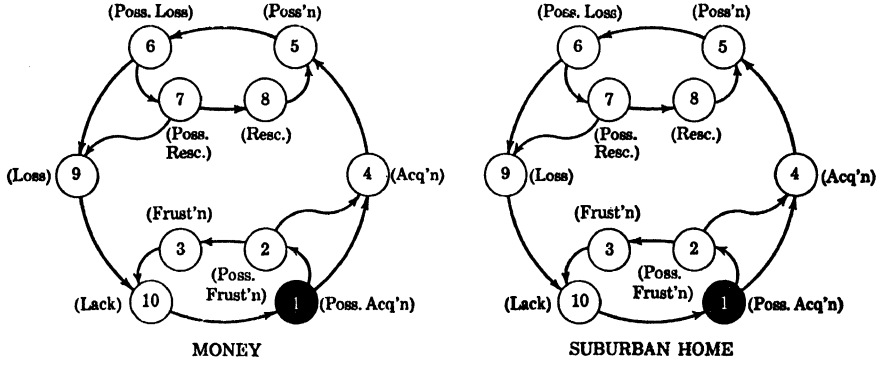
Suppose you, the reader, would like to own a suburban home, but lacked the money with which to purchase it. The situations for these two values, suburban home and money, are lack in both cases, as suggested by the black circles in Figure 2 on page 52. This situation is clearly unsatisfactory. So the problem at the outset is how to get the money.

Next, let us suppose that you were offered a job paying twice your present salary. You would see the possibility of acquiring both the money and the house. This pushes the ring of situations off dead center for both of the values, and arouses hopes of acquisition, as suggested graphically in Figure 3.



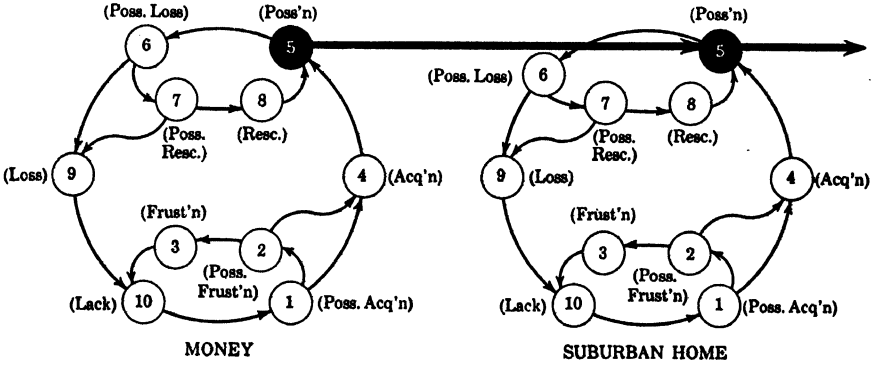
The Problem

FIGURE 2



Hope

FIGURE 3



Success

FIGURE 4

Then at last, after you have worked diligently for several years, you find you have accumulated enough money to purchase the house, you settle the deal, and move in. The final situations for these two values—possession in both cases—can now be shown in Figure 4.

The ultimate aim was to manipulate all the values in the value-family into the situation of possession. As each of them is acquired or protected, thus establishing possession, it may be used to acquire or protect the next one. Thus, when money reaches the stage of possession it may be used to turn the dial around to possession of the suburban home; the possession of the latter makes it possible for the person to provide a more comfortable home for his children, to entertain business guests, and to elevate his social prestige.

The plodding from cause to effect in this way is possible only when the person is in possession of each of the values in the chain. If he possessed all values in every chain, he should be able to race from the most remote special value to the deepest basic value in the chain like a bolt of lightning passing through a closed electric circuit. Actually, only a fraction of the values for which we yearn are ever in our possession at any moment. Some we lack, some we risk losing. These are unsatisfactory situations. We cannot utilize the values until we have twirled the situation dial so that it registers "Possession." This closes the circuit and lets the current pass, so to speak, to the next coupling, where the dial must in its turn be twirled around to "Possession."

Since only a fraction of the values for which we yearn are ever in our possession at any moment, the world is therefore composed of have-nots, the hope-to-haves, the possible failures, the frustrated souls, the winners, the haves, the possible losers, the hope-to-escapes, the rescued, and the losers. It is true that, from a technical or legal standpoint, either a person possesses a thing or he lacks it. Psychologically, however, the steps lying between possession and lack are of great importance. For it is when a value lies in one of the intermediate situations, such as possible acquisition, possible frustration, possible loss, or possible rescue, that a person is spurred to the greatest activity. More action happens in between than at the stopping points in the wheel of value-situations.

Certain significant conclusions will be drawn eventually from the brief preview of the new value-situation concept which we have just offered. Situations, from the evidence gathered, appear to apply not only to every value in the American pattern of values, but to every individual in every field of activity. Thus the values may vary but the principal method of controlling them does not. That principal method of control is the value-situation.

These comments may give a false impression that this is a distinguishing characteristic of American culture and that it does not apply to other cultures.

The evidence is strong, however, showing that self-interest, or the magnetic attraction to the situation of possession, exists in every culture and every civilization. It is not the value-situations but the values which differ.

It is true that some social scientists have pointed out the Zuñi Indians as an example of a people whose acts "are singularly without personal reference," but here again it is the values which are different, not the motivations arising from the situations. Let us take an interpretation concerning the Zuñi made by Ruth Benedict:

> The Zuñi people . . . devote themselves to the constituted forms of their society. They sink individuality in them. They do not think of office, and possession of priestly bundles, as steps in the upward path of ambition. *A man when he can afford it gets himself a mask in order to increase the number of things "to live by" in his household, and the number of masks his kiva commands.* [Italics ours.] He takes his due part in the calendric rituals and at great expense builds a new house to entertain the kachina priest impersonations at Shalako, but he does it with a degree of anonymity and lack of personal reference that is hard to duplicate in other cultures. Their whole orientation of personal activity is unfamiliar to us.[7]

Unquestionably the values of the Zuñi Indians are different from ours; but it is nevertheless a fundamental rule that these people experience the same desire to achieve possession and avoid loss of their values that we do. The same underlying situations set them in motion. The Zuñi strives to acquire a mask, and in doing so demonstrates that he is attracted to possession. Valuing a mask, it is true, seems unusual to our minds. But for the Zuñi it serves the all-important religious and ceremonial ends, instead of the commercial ends which would be more familiar and seem more compelling to us.

The Zuñi also builds a new house, we note, to entertain the kachina priest impersonations, remaining anonymous and self-effacing in this generous act. But this too follows a pattern of self-interest, interpreted in the broad psychological sense. By this we mean that anything which benefits or pleases a person at any time or in any way serves his self-interest. For by his quiet purchase and donation of the house he demonstrates, if only to himself, his possession of a value capitalized in his culture—that is, religious self-effacement. There would be shame if he openly made his deed known, just as there would be shame if he proposed himself for office. For by so doing he would be violating, or showing lack of, the values of his culture.

In the light of these views, it seems superficial and misleading to dramatize existence in America as a struggle between self-interest and unselfishness. Yet D. W. Brogan does this when he holds that the political machines "can only be overthrown by the action of a majority of citizens who think it worth their while to sacrifice, to that end, their party prejudices and, if neces-

sary, their private interests, and it has been proved almost impossible to command either, or both, of these conditions." [11]

The real struggle of good city government against machine politics is a struggle between immediate self-interest and long-run self-interest. In the short run a voter may acquire or protect his money, property, or political job by voting for the machine candidates. On the other hand, voting for a reform candidate may lead to lower taxes, better police protection, stimulation of local industry, and beautification of scenery which in several years may make the city much richer and happier than it could become under the machine administration. Good government is a selfish investment in the future.

The situation of possession thus attracts and holds a person like a psychological magnet, whether he be American, Japanese, Dobuan, or Borneo bushman. His values may vary, but the situations which bring them up do not. These are common to all men. They are universal characteristics of human nature.

The value-situation uncovers great untouched possibilities. The human organism is an engine so constructed as to convert motive power, through the mind, into action. But while the organism is a turbine designed to handle a cataract of this motive power, it actually receives a trickle of incentives so small that it would hardly turn a water wheel. The resulting lack of interest should not be mistaken for lack of ability.

Let us see how we can turn the full power of motivation directly onto the person to develop his tremendous unused capacities. The major source of power is the value-situation, to which we now turn.

CHAPTER V

Possible Acquisition

WE SHALL BEGIN circling the situation ring at the point of possible acquisition. This should not be taken to mean that possible acquisition is more important than the other situations, nor that the circular flow begins here. It is simply a convenient starting point.

Values are mainly brought out, or activated, by the value-situation, which is joined by various other elements to make up what we shall call the "appeal." First comes the value-situation (along with the dramatis personae and other aspects), then the value-balance, the methods of securing acceptance of the means, and finally the specific instructions for action. These appeal elements unite to touch off all motivation.

THE VALUE-SITUATION

When we speak of a situation, we do not refer only to a true or accurate situation; for it is what the respondent *thinks* the situation is that counts. If the respondent believes he stands in the situation of possible acquisition, that is where he stands psychologically, even though he may be wrong in fact. That is what determines his actions. The place of possible acquisition in the wheel of situations is indicated by a dark circle in the diagram on page 57.

Probably no complete list showing all the different ways of drawing a situation to the respondent's attention could or should be made up, but we shall make an attempt to touch on the more important presentations. These presentations are merely different ways of indicating what the situation is.

Possible acquisition, for instance, may be simply presented in words, actions, or pictures. If a boy is seen sneaking up on a watermelon, it is a case of possible acquisition presented in action rather than in words.

The mere opportunity to observe, meet, chat with, and associate with an important personage or with some other value is a possible acquisition. Such was the case, already mentioned, when five live models put on a bathing beauty show in a department-store window, wearing the lastest styles in bathing suits. The display's attraction for the onlooker was the opportunity of ob-

serving pretty girls. Several years ago Marshall Field's, the large department store in Chicago, secured Amelia Earhart, the famous lady flier, for a personal appearance in the sports costume section. Mrs. Marcella Burns Hahner, head of the same store's book department, also invited the most talked-of authors to lecture in her department and to autograph copies of their books for the customers.[82] In both cases, customers came in droves to see these celebrities and later purchased large numbers of sports costumes and books.

Often the mere display of a value tells or reminds a person that it is obtainable. In using this term "display," we should think of more than just

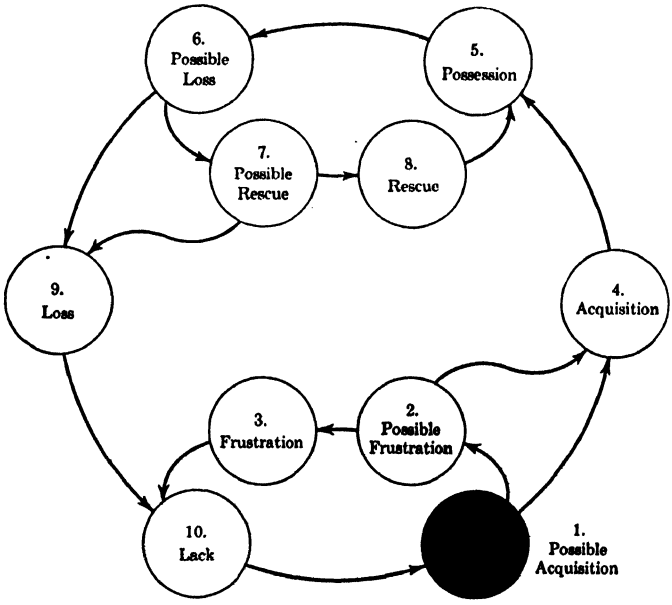


FIGURE I

visual display. We should extend its meaning to cover the display of values to our other senses as well, so as to cause the respondent to see, hear, smell, touch, or taste the value. One may also display a value by describing it or by merely making it the subject of discussion.

Woman's adornment and exhibition of her body in an attractive manner is one of the most frequently and widely used of all displays. The feminine arsenal of displays includes a low bodice, short skirt, sheer hose, artistic make-up, slim waistline, stylish hair-do, high heels, and tasteful color combinations in her clothes. At the beach, the open-at-the-middle bathing suits reveal even more soft flesh. Occasionally, a young man notices that when the pretty girl on whom he is calling takes a seat on the divan, her skirt slips up

by accident a shade above her knee. This voluptuous display holds him in an exhilarated state of constant awareness.

This is no charge against the girl either of immorality or of carelessness. She may be sublimely unconscious of the technique. Skirts of one length or another come to her as the style, and she accepts them. But the effects they have on men, though not necessarily planned by her, are nonetheless real. The feminine styles which display her body in an attractive way are the result of the experience of the race, handed down by her sex from one generation to the next for untold centuries.

When a person finds the prospective pleasures of a value somewhat vague, the stimulator may help him visualize enjoyment by putting him in the situation. A preview of the satisfactions which Community Chest contributions could bring to others was furnished in the best-read advertisement in a copy of *Collier's* magazine. The advertisement consisted principally of photographs. One showed an old woman being registered by a social worker, another depicted a nurse supervising a day-nursery breakfast, another pictured several doctors performing an operation in a clinic, another showed Boy Scouts laughing together as they tied knots. This preview in pictures was accompanied by a preview in words: "Pictured above are some of the hopeful, human dramas made real by your local welfare organizations. . . . The money you contribute will send a visiting nurse up a tenement stairs, equip a playground to weed out crime and help character to flower, find a good home for a homeless child, assist a shattered family in getting a new start. Help them to hold on to *hope*. Give with a generous hand." [13]

Like displays and previews, promises simply mean to the respondent that the value can be acquired. It is another presentation of the same situation. Doob tells us that it was the long list of Nazi promises which proved most inspiring to the German people, for these promises were made with a stolid assurance which suggested they could not fail.[20] The nature of the promises varied according to the particular audiences involved. Appealing to the Junkers, the Nazis promised military expansion and ruthless suppression of communists and trade unions. Appealing to the middle class, they promised economic security and a higher standard of living through extension of old-age pensions and confiscation of war profits. To the poor, they promised state-financed education of gifted children. To young men, they promised early marriage; and to Storm Troopers they promised civil service standing and prestige. The Nazi party, in other words, promised to be simultaneously all things to all men.[12]

Is an opportunity to show possession of a value the same thing as the possibility of actually acquiring a value? Certainly the chance to show one's knowledge is not the same as acquiring knowledge. Then is it all right to

talk of the chance of showing off here? Yes—because of the ego, the pilot value which accompanies every other value. When a person sees an opportunity to show possession of a value such as intelligence, he also sees possible acquisition of the ego value. He sees the chance of acquiring credit for possession. Of course, he takes pride in his accomplishments as they occur, but his pride is most strongly fortified when those accomplishments are recognized and applauded by the public. That is why the chance to show off is another case of possible acquisition.

Members of almost any American audience want to be in the spotlight, win applause, receive public recognition for effectiveness and success in dealing with problems and things. They cannot always be content with watching the speaker or movie star express himself, show his capabilities, and receive plaudits. These second-hand thrills are not enough to keep the average person contented.

Many organizations recognize this desire to show off one's attainments and good points; holding it forth as bait has caused customers and converts to flock to them in thousands. These people are hungry for self-expression. Some organizations even go so far as to provide the prospective customers with foolproof tasks in which there can be no slip-up. Then they cannot help but appear in an effective and successful light. As a result they will not hang back timidly, or go away humiliated by failure. American Can took the audience onto the stage at the Chicago Fair and let people make tin cans by pressing a button.[32] Visitors packed the Socony-Vacuum exhibit at Rockefeller Center to press a button and see the *Normandie* leaving Cherbourg.[32] One automobile dealer put a car on a turntable which moved when observers touched a little red spot on the show window.[31] Pressing a button, after all, is a "set-up"; it leaves little risk of failure and furnishes the audience with a chance to play a part in the operation.

We need not remain in the glittering halls of commerce to see how strong the appeal of audience-participation is. A small-town newspaperman, Charlie Mosteller, has been teaching Sunday school once a week for forty years. He is still one of the most popular teachers. Others usually give up in despair when their teen-age pupils whisper, tickle each other, and refuse to listen to the lesson. Whenever Charlie Mosteller takes over, however, the incorrigible class becomes attentive and polite from the first day. In fact, the children usually insist on having him from then on as their teacher. How does he weave this spell over them?

He simply asks them questions—questions of fact and principle. "Why was Job punished by God? How was he punished? When a person has bad luck, does it always mean he has sinned in some way?" Instantly, the children begin thinking up answers, vying with each other to supply the best answers

and shine before the other boys and girls. Asking instead of telling is Charlie Mosteller's secret. He gives them an opportunity to show how much they know, and it is this opportunity which attracts them to the class. He does not tell them the lesson, like a big pitcher pouring its contents into passive little pitchers; he induces them to help develop the thought of the lesson. In this way not only does he win their attention and interest, but the conclusions at which they arrive are their own. Ideas of this sort are more likely to be recalled than facts learned by rote.

Another slightly different manner of indicating possible acquisition is the conditional offer of a value. It is clearly stated in such a case that the respondent will acquire a goal value if he will sacrifice the cost value. Salesmen have found it advantageous to make these offers as sales clinchers. They may offer the services of company demonstrators for sales promotions, a trial offer for a quick order, or a sale on consignment (in which the buyer has everything to gain and nothing to lose). Simmons tells us that all of these techniques have worked wonders in closing sales.[82]

Likewise, the morale of troops in battle is heightened by the conditional offer of medals, citations, and promotions. In May, 1942, the Federal government took steps toward rewarding heroes of war. The President's executive order read as follows:

> By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, it is hereby ordered that an air medal with accompanying ribbons be established for award to any person who, while serving in any capacity in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard of the United States subsequent to September 8, 1939, distinguishes or has distinguished himself by meritorious achievements while participating in an aerial flight. . . .
>
> No more than one air medal shall be awarded to any one person, but for each succeeding meritorious achievement justifying such an award a suitable bar or other device may be awarded to be worn with the medal as prescribed by appropriate regulations. In the event of a posthumous award the medal, bar, or device may be presented to such representative of the deceased as may be designated in the award.

The incentive pay systems put into operation in many war production plants were also based on the conditional offer of acquisition. An earlier stage of incentive pay, the Bedeaux plan, had been condemned because its piecework system led to the union-hated "speed-up" and the sweatshop. Workers would increase their rate of production, but management would soon set a new time schedule in which they were paid the old amounts at the new production level. Detroit's Murray Corporation (formerly producers of auto frames and parts) was one of the war production firms which quieted union fears of the speed-up and at the same time cashed in on the psychological

advantages of incentive pay. The firm induced its U.A.W.-C.I.O. local to select five union men to take a nine-month time-study course and help work out new time schedules.

Shifting war schedules, however, made the usual incentive plan unfeasible, because permanent time schedules could not be worked out. To overcome this difficulty they developed a simple, effective system. On every plant operation the normal production rate, based on the time studies, was declared to be 100 per cent. If the workers as a group managed to push production above 100 per cent, wages were increased correspondingly, while if they fell below, the wages remained at 100 per cent. At the same time, they set a ceiling of 125 per cent so that production would not become unbalanced and cause layoffs.

According to reports, the results were amazing. The workers quit loafing, fast workers taught their techniques to slow workers, production increased 16 per cent, and hourly wages rose from an average of $1.05 per hour to $1.25 per hour; at the same time, the unit costs of their products (parts for jeeps, army trucks, and other military equipment) dropped sharply. By the eighteenth month of the war, the firm had already come near the 125 per cent ceiling.

Thus, the 100 per cent figure solved the problem of complicated and changing production schedules. The union time-study men solved the problem of the sweatshop by not letting piecework rates be set too low. And since workers were rewarded in groups, rather than individually, they cooperated to raise their group production, instead of relapsing into personal rivalries and animosities. The more work the group performed, the higher was its remuneration. The incentive pay plan clearly said, therefore, "Your group will receive 12 per cent more pay if you produce 12 per cent more materials." [93]

COMPETITION

One of the dominant aspects of American civilization, and perhaps its most distinguishing feature, is its strong emphasis on competition. We have already seen that competition has become a value, or a way of doing things. Fundamentally, however, it is another way of presenting the situation of possible acquisition. To this must be added a sprinkling of possible frustration, for the outcome is generally doubtful. Some contestants will acquire, while others will be frustrated; but who will acquire and who will be frustrated is uncertain. Therefore, every contestant faces both of these situations at the same time. The greater emphasis in his mind falls on possible acquisition.

When a person competes to prove himself the strongest, fastest, most beautiful, wittiest, most intelligent, wealthiest, longest sitter on flagpoles, longest

marathon dancer, engraver of the smallest stamp, first to enter the baseball grandstands at the start of the World's Series, or the farthest spitter, he is, psychologically speaking, striving for the value victory. He is striving for distinction—for some claim to recognition which will set him apart from and above the rest of humanity. If he wins, he also satisfies the ego value.

But is this competitive striving a good thing or a bad thing? We can best answer that by asking, "What does competition accomplish?" Investigations show that rivalry will increase children's and adults' accomplishment in mental work by 50 per cent or more, especially when a prize is offered in addition to simple victory.[27]

In the commercial field, the increased accomplishment resulting from competition has been proved over and over. The 500 employees of Pacific Huts, Inc., in Seattle, worked so fast producing prefabricated wooden igloos for United States troops in Alaska that they appeared to be dog-trotting. Moreover, their absentee rate was only 1.5 per cent, compared to 8 per cent at the vast Boeing Aircraft plant nearby and 4 per cent for the region. They rarely resigned, and they stuck to their jobs like leeches. Yet their average pay of $1 an hour was considerably lower than the pay in Seattle shipyards.

Frank Hobbs, president of the corporation, attributed his happy labor relations to two main factors. One of them was personal contact with the men. The other was competition. The men worked in competing teams on parallel production lines, so that when one was absent he not only crippled his team's record but fell to a lower team position when he returned.[91]

Competition has thus produced an unquestioned increase in performance, but the increase is, first, not evenly spread among all the competitors, and second, not evenly spread among all types of performance.

In the first place, it appears that those who have already come near to realizing their full capacities before the contest improve the least during the contest, while those with the greatest amount of unused capacity are the most stimulated. Rivalry produced a 71 per cent increase in the performance of the lowest quarter of a group of children, while the highest quarter increased only 34 per cent, according to the experiments of Leuba and Hurlock. Younger children improve more than older children. Girls improve more than boys. Inferior children improve more than children of superior intelligence. And much of what has been observed concerning children applies as well to adults.[27]

In the second place, improvement may be great in the contest traits but it is likely to be slight in traits which are not required to win. Working in the presence of co-workers, which is competitive in nature, brings about an increased speed of work, especially when the work consists of muscular performance. At the same time, the originality and quality of the work suffer if

careful discrimination, judgment, and thoughtfulness are involved.[30] That is, when the emphasis falls on quantity and speed, quality drops. In a similar way, when the emphasis is placed on quality, with no crowding time-limit, the contest results in better quality but a smaller amount of output.

Despite these limitations, competition is one of the great incentives to improving our performance in America. We may ask now, "What prize should be offered in the contest?" From all appearances, the range of prize values is extremely wide. For instance, the Dreikorn Bakery in Holyoke, Massachusetts, a city of about 56,000 population, sponsored a popularity contest in which every breadloaf wrapper turned in counted for a certain number of votes. In one day, 59,000 wrappers were received, or more than one wrapper for every inhabitant of the town![31]

Some years ago, Old Gold cigarettes conducted one of the largest contests ever staged up to that time and produced a large volume of immediate sales, using as bait a first prize of *$100,000,* with 999 secondary prizes ranging from $30,000 down to $10. The contestants had to purchase cigarettes and then match cartoons with the names of famous people whom they represented.*

Again, the simple pleasure of victory appeared to be the only special prize offered by the firm of Pacific Huts, Inc., where workers competed on parallel production lines.

Popularity, money, and victory only suggest the wide range of values which may be given as contest prizes. Actually almost any value in the constellation of basic, cultural, personal, and special values could be the goal of a contest.

Closely related to competition is conflict as a presentation of possible acquisition. Whereas a contestant faces possible acquisition and possible frustration when he is competing, a person in a conflict faces possible acquisition and possible loss. Advertisements and motion pictures which feature conflicts have succeeded in arousing intense public interest. More or less typical of these is the best-read half-page advertisement which appeared in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post.* It presents the story in the form of a comic strip entitled "Bachelor Days."

A young boy says to his groaning uncle, "I'm so sorry you feel bad, Uncle Tom—where does it hurt?"

"In my head, Junior—it's suffering from last night's party."

Junior, on hearing this, draws out his slingshot and marble, pops his Uncle Tom on the head, and inquires innocently, "Is that where it hurts, Uncle Tom?"

His uncle roars after him in wounded rage and corners him atop a

* The announcement reproduced facing page 50 is typical of those which appeared during this contest.

curtain rod on the bathroom shower. The boy, hoping to avoid a spanking, recommends Bromo-Seltzer. "Wait a sec, Uncle Tom—Dad keeps BROMO-SELTZER in the medicine cabinet. He says it's the best thing for headaches—I'll get you some."

A little later, they merrily walk out en route to the circus, with Uncle Tom's headache and grudge completely gone.[13]

In other words, the story begins with Uncle Tom's loss of the value comfort, in the form of a headache. Greater loss is added when the boy shoots him in the head with a marble. The next situation changes to possible loss, this time for the boy, who stands in danger of losing comfort through a spanking. He escapes the loss, however, by recommending a means which helps his uncle acquire (regain) his comfort.

Conflict and competition are the very essence of politics. From the very first, Franklin D. Roosevelt dramatized his career in the White House as a perpetual battle against tyrants, thieves, and evildoers, with the public, of course, fighting on his side. He spoke of fighting the economic royalists in his "Rendezvous with Destiny" address in 1936, and in a Fireside Chat entitled "We Have Just Begun to Fight" pointed out, "They hate me, and I welcome their hatred." He spoke of "fighting for freedom," and of "waging a great war for the survival of democracy"; and time and again he employed such belligerent phrases as "fighting a crusade" and "the American people are in a mood to win." Naturally he always pointed out that this battling was all necessary to gain peace.[72, 73] The foregoing phrases are taken from his pre-war utterances; of course, his later addresses included a still higher concentration of militant phrases.

But throughout these contests and conflicts, we should not forget our central point. Contests and conflicts are simply presentations which emphasize one underlying situation—possible acquisition.

Possible acquisition also arises in the case of a value which has been lost, but is regainable. Medical care, for example, enables a patient to regain his health. The best-read black-and-white page advertisement (according to nationwide interviews) in one issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* carries the welcome news in its headline that "MANY CANCERS ARE CURABLE." This is a way of saying, "Health is regainable." The copy enlarges on the point: "Medical experts state that many cancers can be cured if discovered and treated in time—but time is the all-important element. Cancer in its early stages can often be destroyed by radium and X-rays, or removed by surgery." [18]

Physical attractiveness can also be lost and regained. Losing fat, in our culture, amounts to regaining physical attractiveness. But this is only because in America a woman's slimness is identified with beauty; in certain African

tribes, the roly-poly girl wallowing about in billows of fat is regarded as the ideal of beauty. She would be the tribal warrior's pin-up girl.

Welch's Grape Juice, on the other hand, has been sold largely through the appeal to American women's desire for slimness. One particularly successful sales-building advertisement for the product carried this headline and subhead: [18]

Here's the Amazing Way
Tests Have Proved to
LOSE UGLY FAT
an average of
7 POUNDS A MONTH
without suffering
a hungry moment
—and without taking strenuous
exercises or drugs . . .

The use of the word "lose" in the advertisement should not obscure the fact that losing fat means gaining, or regaining, physical attractiveness.

Religions all over the world hold forth hopes of regaining lost values so dazzling that they enable millions to find the will of their gods even in catastrophes. Christians are assured that faith and good works will have their reward in Heaven—in the life after death. When a person's loved ones die, his misery is assuaged in part by the comforting hope of rejoining them in paradise. Lost fortunes, lost health, and lost pride, almost all may be regained.

Even if the actual value which was lost cannot be won again, some other value may be acquired to compensate for the loss. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus pronounced the Beatitudes, which at bottom were assurances of reacquisition of happiness. "Blessed are they that mourn," He said, "for they shall be comforted. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." [36] Happiness, comfort, and self-respect, in other words, would be restored.

Boiling each of these situation presentations down to its essence, it has been found that the one thing which remains is the possibility of acquiring some value. The heart of the new interpretation of human behavior has thus been touched. The value-situation is the motivating force, and may be presented in many different ways.

Only a few of these ways have been mentioned, yet there are many others. A stimulator also implies possible acquisition when he says a value is new or obtainable for the first time, that acquisition is still possible, that some kind benefactor may be planning to give you the value soon, that you are invited to accept the value, or when he confesses that acquisition is possible, inquires

what you would do with the value if you acquired it, or contrasts the hopes of acquiring with your fears of failing to acquire the value.

There will be different presentations in each of the other nine situations; some of them will run parallel to these we have mentioned.

SUPPORTING ASPECTS

Important as it is, the value-situation must be supported by other aspects. They do not need to be given any express notice, but they must be in good working order, like the legs of a chair, or the appeal will stand in danger of collapsing.

Let us turn our attention to the first of these, the dramatis personae, properties, setting, and time. If perhaps these terms sound a bit theatrical, it will be remembered that drama itself consists of a series of psychological situations.

A person's reactions to possible acquisition may be materially affected, for instance, by the identity of the expected beneficiary, who is the most important member of the cast. One's greatest interest arises, of course, when he himself is involved. Yet he tends to react as if the situation involved him personally when it concerns his loved ones, friends, allies, and others who have much in common with him. In contrast, should the expected beneficiary be an enemy or competitor of the respondent, he would probably react in the opposite manner. Instead of showing pleasant expectation and cooperativeness, he may react with bitterness and hostility. Then there is an intermediate case. If the probable beneficiary is someone toward whom he feels entirely neutral, such as a stranger living in a distant city, his reactions will scarcely pass the interest stage, and will be neither pleasant nor unpleasant in tone.

These considerations lead us to a significant distinction. The roles of the dramatis personae in the situation may be designated as those of (1) benefiary (or victim, in the case of loss); (2) benefactor (or depriver, in the case of loss); (3) stimulator, (4) respondent, and (5) all others.

Now, there has been no objective measuring device which we could use to determine the psychological nearness of these characters to one another, but one is needed; for as we have seen, a person does not respond in the same way toward acquisition by an enemy as by a loved one, nor in the same degree toward acquisition by an unknown person as by himself. However, each of the characters we have mentioned may be classed as (1) the respondent himself; (2) his loved ones, friends, allies, and identifications; (3) neutral others; (4) competitors, and enemies.

Each of these types of people is step by step farther removed from the respondent. In short, we have a rough measuring device. It will help us meas-

ure how far apart in affection the beneficiary, benefactor, stimulator, respondent, and others are from one another.

So we have now a situation relationship and an objective relationship. These distinctions are destined to be of great consequence in the various situations which we shall explore later. Everyone coming within range of a situation may be classified somewhere in both of the headings. Then the nature and intensity of his behavior will be better understood. For instance, we may expect the most intense reaction when the beneficiary is to be the respondent himself, and much less of a reaction when the beneficiary is to be some neutral other person about whom the respondent cares nothing.

Most successful appeals provide some clear indication as to who the beneficiary is, whether or not the other members of the cast are mentioned at all. For instance, the headline of a Book-of-the-Month Club advertisement says, "NINE PLAYS by Eugene O'Neill, FREE—For Your Library." [13] By using the word "your," the advertisement indicates that the respondent (the reader of the advertisement) is to be the beneficiary.

We may pass on to glance at another class of beneficiary, the identification, who is not as close to the respondent emotionally as a loved one or friend. The best-read advertisement in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* was built around the headline.

GIVE
AMATEURS A CHANCE
MORE
Every Bag of Chase &
Sanborn *Dated* Coffee You
Buy Helps Another Amateur

The advertisement showed in rotogravure style the photographs of several amateur entertainers performing. There was a little girl playing the piano with a doll in her lap, with newspaper-style copy under the photograph relating personal highlights about her, headed, "Success at Nine." There was a slender man, thirtyish, standing in front of a microphone giving barnyard imitations, with a subhead reading, "Hobo to Road-Show Star." The photograph of a striking brunette facing the mike was captioned, "Penniless Orphan Becomes Popular Blues Singer," while another photo showed a flagpole painter playing his harmonica by remote control through a two-foot length of rubber hose.[18]

Who were these performers in relation to the people who read the advertisement, listened to the radio program and purchased coffee to help them out? They were not glamorous, polished, professional entertainers. They were not relatives, friends, or even acquaintances of more than a fraction of the millions

who listened in. They were everyday people: an orphan, an ex-hobo, a steeplejack, a nine-year-old girl. What sort of person could have been more common? Here, in fact, was the reason for the intense interest that was centered on these amateur contests. The possible beneficiaries were identifications of the listeners, who might have exclaimed, "Why, that's someone just like me!" Much the same thing happens at the motion pictures, where the moviegoer unconsciously identifies himself for the time being with the hero or the heroine and becomes emotionally absorbed in that person's adventures, failures, and conquests.

Another vital member of the situation troupe is the benefactor. If he is an important person, attention may be turned toward him first of all, and later shifted over to the message of the appeal. This was the case in the best-observed two-thirds page advertisement in one issue of *Time*. The illustration showed Fred Astaire, smiling and top-hatted, over the announcement, "FRED ASTAIRE Goes On The Air!" Although a subheading stated that "Packard presents a versatile star to radio's millions," [13] it was Fred Astaire who actually produced the audience's entertainment.

In addition to beneficiary and benefactor, every acquisition must have a setting. It must take place, geographically, somewhere. So a Sears Roebuck window display during football season showed men's shoes against a background of college football stadia.[82] This display suggested that the shoes were especially appropriate for wear at football games. The football background seemed to suggest, in addition, that the time of the acquisition would be in the fall of the year.

Besides knowing the identities of the beneficiary and the benefactor, the properties to be used, the setting, and the time of the situation, a person will also fail to react properly unless he is sure of the ability of the benefactor to give the value, and the cause, reason, or justification for the acquisition. Likewise, he must have a belief in the truth, sincerity, or accuracy of the total situation as he perceives it; he is more moved if the emotions of the cast of characters are presented as part of the appeal; and he must have the will or determination to find and adopt a means of acquiring the value.

Consider the respondent's confidence in the ability of the benefactor. Many people derive their confidence and hope from the attitude of their leader, who has the power to dispel their fears and worries by a display of serene confidence during the darkest hours. The Duke of Wellington danced at the Duchess of Richmond's ball in Brussels until the last moment the night before the battle of Waterloo, at a time when even the position of the enemy was in doubt.[100] His unconcern reassured his followers and gave them new strength, setting an example which carried a silent message that the enemy was unable to conquer them.

Again, if there appears to be no reason or cause for some especially attractive offer, one little chink will be missing from the structure of the psychological appeal and it may topple without accomplishing its purpose. The respondent wants to know, "What's in it for him?"—that is, for the benefactor. If there appears to be no plausible reason, an ulterior motive may be suspected. Consequently, when Camay sponsored a large contest with a first prize of $1,000 every year for the rest of the winner's lifetime, it explained the reason why it was offering this valuable reward: "We offer you this wonderful opportunity because we want you to try Camay, the world-famous beauty soap." [18]

A soldier, advancing through Belgium, came across a dead German whose gold watch had slid out of his pocket and lay invitingly on the ground, begging to be taken along as a souvenir. The possible acquisition was apparent, but the soldier also suspected it might be a "booby trap" that would blow him into eternity if he touched it. He passed it by. The same American would also have rebelled if he had felt some new acquaintance was trying to "work psychology" on him by passing insincere compliments. He might have wanted to believe, but he would have known better. Thus the respondent must have confidence in the truth, sincerity, or accuracy of the situation as he sees it.

As for the emotion, people in the audience at a motion picture begin to weep over the young husband who has just died, not when he dies, but when the grief-stricken young wife learns of his death and bursts into tears. Depicting the emotion of some person involved in a situation is a much more effective device for reproducing the same emotion in the respondent than merely presenting the situation to him. As the poet Horace said centuries ago, in *Ars Poetica,* addressing himself to actors and writers, "If you wish me to weep, you must weep first"—*si vis me flere, primum tibi flendum.*[21]

The same is true of other emotions such as weeping, laughter, and desire. The best-observed and best-read advertisement in one issue of *Good Housekeeping* is one for Johnson & Johnson Baby Powder, consisting of a continuity strip showing twin babies in different poses. The baby boy, seeing his twin sister puckering up to cry because of a prickly sweater, says, "Wouldn't a few shakes of our slick, smooth Johnson's Baby Powder be just the thing?" In the next photograph, the baby sister has returned to a happy smile, while the baby boy claps his hands over his mouth in an ecstatic gesture, twinkles at the reader, and gurgles, "Some for me, too? Oh, how nice! I just love to feel that soft, slippery powder going all tickly down my neck. Let's not have it just at bathtime—let's have it often! Then we'd never cry!" [18] In this way, the advertisement pictures the children's discomfort and then their pleasant anticipation, by means of their facial expressions and imaginary words. The babies are to be the beneficiaries of a few shakes of the baby powder.

Finally, even when a person recognizes the need and availability of a value, the appeal might still not be translated into action unless he has the determination, will, or the get-up-and-go to do something. Kentucky mountaineers and Peruvian Indians, for example, are renowned for their lackadaisical way of regarding the events of life.

For a more complete list of the presentations and supporting aspects, you may find the analytical outline on pages 259 to 262 helpful.

CHAPTER VI

The Value-Balance

THE COMPLICATED QUESTION of motives revolves not merely around whether an incentive exists, but also around how much exists. An incentive leads to action, but a larger incentive brings greater and quicker action.

We have already seen that the offer of a reward of a chocolate bar raised the performance of school children 52 per cent above the usual level. But introducing several incentives, such as candy, a definite goal, rivalry and praise, has increased the performance to 65 per cent over the usual. A student will work harder for a large scholarship than for a small one; an adult will exert himself more for higher pay than for lower pay. Even a baby chick will learn a simple maze more effectively when he sees a reward of six grains of boiled rice than when only one grain can be won.[9] Likewise, the deprivation of food, plus infliction of pain, plus deprivation of water has brought about quicker learning than when only one of these needs was brought into play. In a similar way, a long deprivation of food brings about more activity than a short deprivation.

It is necessary, however, to go deeper. Almost never does a person face a choice which possesses 100 per cent advantages and no disadvantages at all. The two are mixed together, and to arrive at a decision they must be balanced. Net value is constituted by the balance of satisfactions minus the dissatisfactions of our desires.

A simple alternative faces the merchant who is purchasing supplies. When he buys toilet soap from the wholesaler at 39 cents a dozen cakes, and resells it at $1 a dozen, his profit is *61* cents. However, if he could use the same 39 cents to buy medicinal tablets which he can resell at $1.50, he would have a profit of *$1.11*. As a result, he chooses the medicinal tablets; they lead to a greater goal value. The balancing which goes on in his mind may be represented in Figure 1 on page 72.

In such a case the choice is simple, for a money cost is matched against a money gain. It involves simple addition and subtraction. In our daily lives, unfortunately, we are required to balance non-mathematical values such as entertainment, pride, and efficiency against one another. A young man, employed in New York, finds that he has his evenings free. Shall he take a night-school course at Columbia University, or shall he go out on dates? His alternatives may be shown by Figure 2 on page 72.

On both sides he sees advantages. The course of action which he finally chooses will depend upon the weights he assigns to the different values. If the choice is about even, he will waver. If the balance inclines sharply in one direction, he will act.

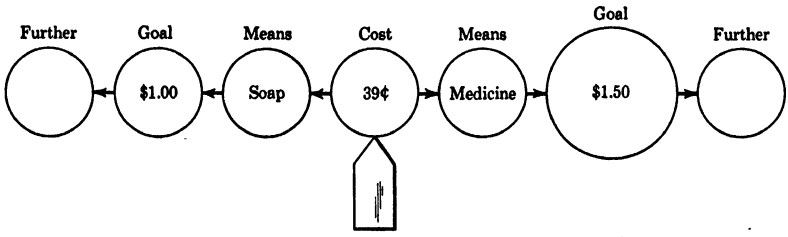


FIGURE 1

In order to simplify our diagrams in the remainder of the book, we may telescope all of the alternative values on the left side of the scales into one member of the value-family, the cost. The result of this simplification, in the

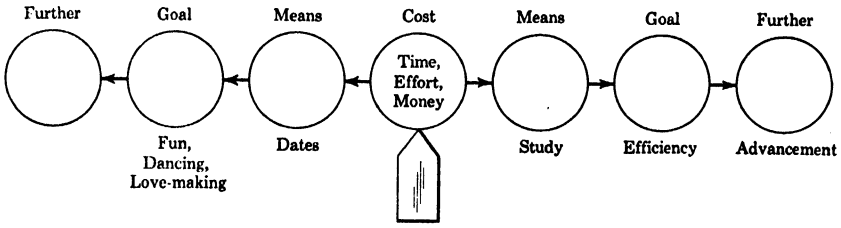


FIGURE 2

case of the boy wavering between studying and going out on dates, would be as follows:

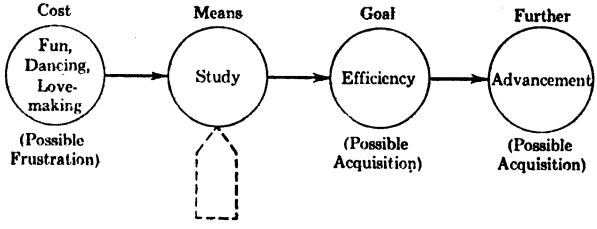


FIGURE 3

His choice to study or not will depend on whether efficiency and advancement carry more weight with him than fun, dancing, and love-making.

School children are taught that such a balancing is arithmetically impossible. They are told that one cannot add cows, marbles, and a plunge in the old swimmin' hole. Yet this is precisely what the children, and their parents too, must do every day in making decisions. They must assign some worth to every value and carry out an informal balancing. This may be impossible in arithmetic, but it happens constantly in psychological behavior.

In short, people choose the course of action offering them the greatest net gain, or profit. This kind of profit motive is apparently in operation in all people, everywhere and always. Whenever the goal value plus the further value plus the tie-in value, all added together, exceed the cost value, the proposed means will probably be accepted. The problem of the would-be influencer of human behavior therefore depends largely on how well he can inflate the apparent gains and lower the apparent costs of the actions he suggests.

But a balance once arrived at does not remain fixed. The relative weights of the advantages and disadvantages seesaw up and down over a period of time; and when the cost value becomes heavier or the goal value lighter, the means value becomes less and less urgent. In times of great national danger, for instance, the goal value to be protected is so valuable that most citizens are willing to pay a high cost in sacrifice, innovation, and adjustment to new ideas. But when the menace of the enemy diminishes, or prosperity returns, they grow weary of the efforts they have been making and their zeal for change subsides.[28] "It isn't worth the trouble any more," they sigh, and turn to other interests. In short, the goal has dropped to a balance with cost, and their striving comes to an end.

It should be noted that when we are balancing the cost value against goal, further, and tie-in values, the only thing that counts is the weight of the values involved; their situations have nothing to do with it at this point. As we shall see, one value in the value-family may stand in a situation of possible acquisition, another in possible loss, another in frustration, and others in still other situations.

There are two ways of tilting scales .One is to increase the weights on one side; the other is to lighten the weights on the opposite side. This is done psychologically when the goal, further, and tie-in values are inflated to their maximum apparent worth, as well as when the cost value is minimized. A third method combines both techniques and is perhaps the best of all. We will discuss the technique of increasing the gainable values first, then the technique of decreasing the cost value, and finally the combination of these methods by comparing the gains with the losses.

A good football coach knows that the quickest way to produce a great backfield man is to start with a good one. In the same way, a practical psychologist begins by selecting a value which is great in its own right, a value which people want regardless of his product, and then shows how his product gets that. He starts off with a great initial advantage when he shows that his product will help acquire or protect such powerful values as a person's health, money, or physical attractiveness.

He can emphasize the importance of a gainable value, for example, by saying it is so great that everyone should have it. The best-read advertisement in one issue of *Collier's,* appearing in the marriage month of June, bore the headline, "What Every Young Bridegroom Should Know." The copy talked of financial security and Investors Syndicate.[18] If every young bridegroom should know these facts, the reader of the advertisement will reason, they must be exceptionally important.

Then there is much to be said for bringing in the numerous or important further values to which the gainable value leads. This makes it seem even more desirable. Every idea or product is a link in a long chain of means and ends, but the respondent's attention is fogbound. He sees only the members of the value-family involved in the immediate situation. Indeed, he may not even take all of these into consideration if his attention is not specifically called to them. As a consequence, merely to mention the existence of the goal, further, or successive values has the same psychological effect in the person's mind as if those values were created. It brings them into focus for him. They are loaded into the value scales when their existence is realized; if their existence is unrealized they are practically useless. This principle has considerable importance for the everyday psychologist, for it costs him nothing to call attention to these values and it profits him much.

Modern advertising and publicity men have come to realize this principle only through a gradual process of evolution. Goode and Kaufman recall[31] that an early stage in advertising was the simple affirmation, the rooster-crow, the boast that "we have the best goods." This turned people's attention toward the means value. The next step was to emphasize the "effect on the user of using our goods," which drew attention to the goal value. Now advertising has reached the stage of emphasizing the "effect of the effect of using our goods," and turns the spotlight on the further values. Gillette blades advertise, for instance, that they give clean shaves which get good jobs. Clean shaves are the goal, good jobs are the further gain.

It is still comparatively rare to find a modern advertisement which follows the chain as far as the further value and even continues on to successive

values. Yet this is done in one famous advertisement, which first appeared in the middle 1920's and still retains its selling power. It is an advertisement for Pelmanism, a course in mind training. It states the cost is a mere 3 cents for an inquiry stamp, the means is Pelmanism, the goal is mental discipline (such as concentration and memory), the further value is a $20,000-a-year income, and this in turn leads to successive values such as a home in the suburbs, good clothes, an automobile, travel, family devotion, and financial independence in old age.[13]

It is true that the reader of the advertisement could probably sit down and figure out by himself that improved ability to concentrate and to remember things would lead to all these gains, but the average reader does not stop to think things out in this way. As a result, these extra gains do not even exist for him. But mentioning them reminds him that they do exist, and increases his interest as much as if they had actually been created by the "ad" writer.

TIE-INS

The tie-in is one of the most effective presentations in the entire technique of value balancing. If one selects any large number of successful appeals from advertising, publicity, salesmanship, propaganda, politics, teaching, or other behavior-influencing fields, he will certainly remark upon the large percentage of appeals which use the tie-in principle.

Though barely recognized in academic social psychology, this presentation has been highly developed in the commercial field, where men's livelihoods depend upon discovering and exploiting every possible device for increasing sales. As in the early development of chemistry and physics, the practical men have discovered, and the tardy psychologists have shuffled along later to explain. But whatever its stage of development or its field of use, the reader is urged to remember that the tie-in is nothing more nor less than a device for attracting attention and, even more important, for loading the value-scales in favor of a "yes" response.

It comes into play usually when the goal value is not considered worth the cost. Something must be done to increase the advantages, or gains, or psychic income, so as to offset the psychic outgo. Some years ago the makers of Listerine mouthwash were faced with such a problem. Sales were low. The product was being sold as a mouth disinfectant for hygienic purposes, that is, to protect the health value, as indicated in the slightly slanting diagram, Figure 4, on page 76.

The management concluded that it must find a new sales angle on which

to capitalize if sales were to be increased. The motto finally hit upon was this: "For Halitosis—Use Listerine."

Advertisements in the ensuing sales campaign pointed out that, "Due to conditions frequently existing even in normal mouths, everyone is bound to have an offensive breath at some time or other. Fermentation of tiny bits of

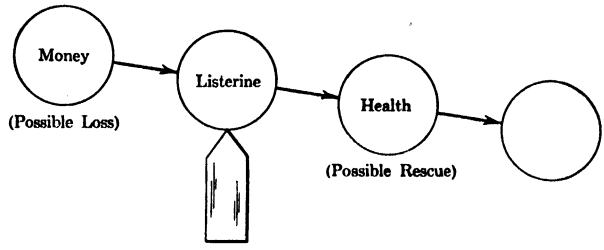


FIGURE 4

food is one of its principal causes." Certainly unpleasant breath would cancel out a great deal of a person's all-round physical attractiveness. But the problem was not allowed to stop there. Halitosis, as an advertisement character named Hartley came to realize, always caused acquaintances to sit as far away from him as possible, cut his calls to a minimum, and deliberately dodge him.[18] Listerine came forward as the means of protecting his physical

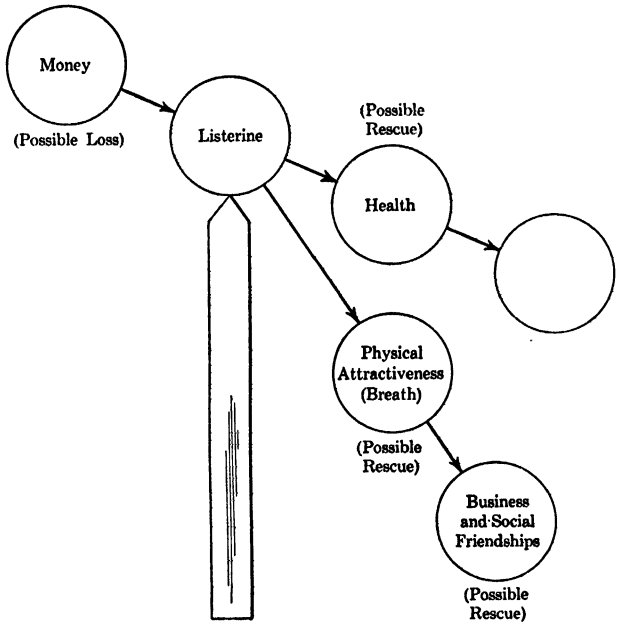


FIGURE 5

attractiveness (pleasant breath), which in turn was the means of protecting business and social friendships, as suggested in Figure 5, on page 76.

Saving physical attractiveness and friendships, when tied in to the usual advantage of protecting the health, provided enough extra weight to tilt the value scales sharply in favor of Listerine. Sales shot up.

"But," you may ask at this point, "how will I know with which value to tie in?"

It is a fair question, and an important one. First, what tie-in values have been used most successfully by the experts? A review of 122 tie-in values appearing in a large group of tested appeals in advertising, salesmanship, publicity, propaganda, and politics shows that the following types of values were most often used as tie-ins: Physical values, 41 per cent, of which almost one-half were sex-linked though not actually physical in nature; social values, 26 per cent; political values, 13 per cent; intellectual values, 7 per cent; economic values, 7 per cent; religious values, 1 per cent, and general values, 5 per cent. So 41 per cent of all the values used as tie-ins were physical or had their origins in physical values. The second most important group consisted of social values, which were used 26 per cent of the time.

Disregarding the groups for the moment, the individual values most often employed as tie-ins were:

Entertainment	20 per cent
People	11
Money	9
Food and accessories	8
Member of opposite sex	8
Nation	7
	63 per cent

These six values were used in 63 per cent of all the tie-in cases! Of course, this does not mean that we must limit ourselves to the values named, since their principal usefulness is in advertising; but the list does contain clues as to which values can be used with great effect as tie-ins.

In one case, an Army colonel in Hawaii tied in the value play to sell the youngsters of his area on the idea of wearing gas masks. Within only a few months after he put it into operation, the Territory was far on the road to achieving its goal of a mask for each of its 50,000 youngsters. How did the colonel do it?

Colonel George F. Unmacht, the Hawaiian Coordinator for Civilian Gas Defense at that time, had been looking for something that would temporarily protect very young children from poison gas until they could be removed to a safer area. He set the women volunteers stitching together

sacks which, when impregnated with gas-resistant chemicals, could be pulled over the children's heads and tied tightly at the bottom.

But a difficulty presented itself. How could the children be induced to have their heads thrust into sacks? They would hardly appreciate the need of gas masks to protect their lives, nor even realize what the risk of death meant. The goal value life, in short, was not strong enough in these children to offset the discomfort of the gas masks. Extra weight was needed to tip the value scales.

The Colonel, thinking in practical terms, hit upon an idea as to how this problem could be solved. He directed the volunteer women to pull out the corners of the sacks and stitch them up to resemble rabbit ears. Then he secured from Hawaiian hospitals a supply of old X-ray negatives, washed clean and transparent with acid. These made windows for the front of the "bunny masks" so the children could see through them. With these slight changes in the gas masks, the value scales tipped sharply; the masks had been made to serve an additional purpose, that of play.

Within a few weeks, *Time* Magazine reports, Hawaiian moppets had become so eager to play rabbit in their new masks that parents had to be asked to lay the bunny masks safely away for a real emergency.[90] This tie-in may be represented in the following diagram, showing how the psychic gain of the gas mask was increased:

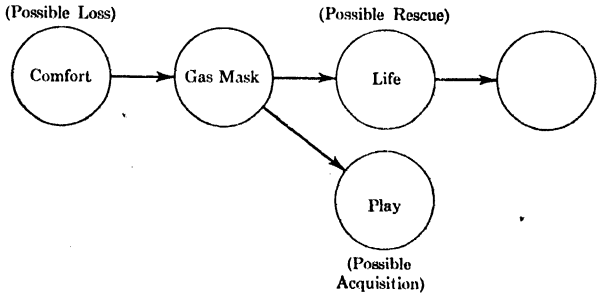


FIGURE 6

Using the same device of a tie-in, an advertiser sponsors an entertainment program featuring Jack Benny or Bob Hope. While the listeners are tuned in he sandwiches in a short plug for his product; sometimes he even weaves a plug into the actual dialogue of the entertainers. Propagandists during World War II experienced considerable success in attracting enemy and friendly listeners to their radio broadcasts by offering music, comedy, drama, and news. The principle was the same. In the early days of the war, Dr. Goebbels, for instance, baited his propaganda trap with Brahms, Wagner,

Beethoven, and Bach. After each selection the announcer would break in: "Germany is the most peace-loving country on earth. In the last three centuries England has waged 144 campaigns, France 89, but Germany only 39, of which 14 were against Austria and 16 against Bavaria, to establish the unity of the Reich."

It was harder for the British to attract German listeners, for those who broke the law against tuning in to short-wave programs were playing hide-and-go-seek with the Gestapo. Consequently, the English had to tie in top-notch entertainment to overbalance the dangers of listening. They offered plays such as "Alice in Blunderland" and "The Shadow of the Swastika," the latter patterned after "The March of Time." But the overwhelmingly attractive morsel in the British bait was the daily announcement of the names of Germans captured in action. German families whose sons and brothers had been reported missing would listen to London broadcasts for days, even weeks, as the British doled out the names sparingly, eight or nine a day.[44]

One of the outstanding examples of the tie-in during recent years was William Jack's personnel policy in the firm of Jack & Heintz, Inc. Through this technique he multiplied his workers' war production and scored one of the outstanding successes on the wartime home front.[91] First, a word about his striking success. His firm received the Army-Navy E pennant; was included in the Army Air Forces' "Quality Control Classification A list, denoting complete approval"; turned out, according to unofficial estimates, more war production per worker and per square foot of floor space than any other factory in America; sold airplane starters to the Navy for 75 per cent of the price the Navy had been paying for a comparable starter; produced automatic pilots at twice the rate and 65 per cent the cost of a similar pilot being made by the firm that originated them; and had a waiting list for jobs which at times was as high as 34,000. Absenteeism was virtually nil (compared to other plants, where it often ran as high as 10 and 15 per cent), and the plant turned out its airplane starters, gyropilots and other flight instruments at the rate of $84,000,000 worth a year. The workers themselves voted to operate on a two-shift basis, with an 11½ hour working day for each worker seven days a week!

How was the tie-in principle used to bring about such amazing results?

Let us get the flavor of the policy, so well preserved in *Life* Magazine's description of the Jack & Heintz methods, which will also provide an exercise in picking apart the values and situations which were brought into play.

(Bill Jack's) managerial technique . . . embodies many of the qualities of college football, a health farm, More's Utopia, a revival meeting and bingo. After a week or two in this atmosphere, the average new worker has the

ecstatic, somewhat stunned look of a Father Divine follower. In this interval he has been told that he is not an employee, but an "associate." He has been given a complete physical examination, including a mouth X-ray, and bad teeth have been pulled or filled. He has a $2500 life insurance policy, a $2500 accident policy, a health insurance policy covering his family, and a minimum guarantee of $25 a week for eight weeks if he gets sick.

He has a new pair of $15 comfort shoes, and two sets of coveralls with his first name embroidered over the right breast and "Jahco" over the heart. He has free laundry service. He has been eating nutritious hot lunches, topped off with vitamin pills; and he can amble over any time and have coffee and doughnuts on the house, drinking from a cup with his name embossed on it. If he gets tired he is encouraged to stop work and go to the steam room for a Turkish bath and massage. If an old-timer feels the need of sunshine and a real rest, he and his wife can take a free two-week vacation—in winter at Honeymoon Isle, a resort off the west coast of Florida, or in summer at Harbor Island in Lake Huron's Georgian Bay.

At work he hears music all day long, and can request his favorite songs. If he wants to sing, he can sing; if he wants to smoke, he can smoke. On his birthday he will get congratulations from his associates over the public-address system and a rousing recording of "Happy Birthday to You."

Furthermore, he probably has more cash in his pocket than ever before in his life. Jack & Heintz's hourly wage rates (there is no piecework) start at 85 cents for women, 95 cents for men. Whereas most war plants work three eight-hour shifts and a six-day week, the associates voted last year to operate on a two-shift basis, with an 11½ hour working day seven days a week. They have just one day a month off—the last day—when the plant closes and all the associates gather at a huge banquet given by the company in Cleveland's Public Auditorium.

With this working schedule, they roll up an enormous amount of overtime at time-and-a-half rates, and the lowliest apprentice earns about $400 a month. On top of this, an associate gets a $50 "production bonus" every few months if the plant has met its production quota. At Christmas he can look forward to a plantwide bonus which last year averaged $300 per man, along with a basket containing a fifteen-pound turkey and assorted delicacies.

All of these incentives were tie-ins to the *means* value, which consisted simply of high efficiency and steady attendance at the job. The underlying goal value, of course, was increased production of war materials, which in turn would lead to the protection of the nation, as indicated in the diagram on page 81.

Now let us boil the story down. The values which composed the value-family were as follows:

Cost values:

Health (possible rescue of this value through physical examinations, X-rays, dental care)

Energy (possible rescue of this value through nutritious lunches, vitamin

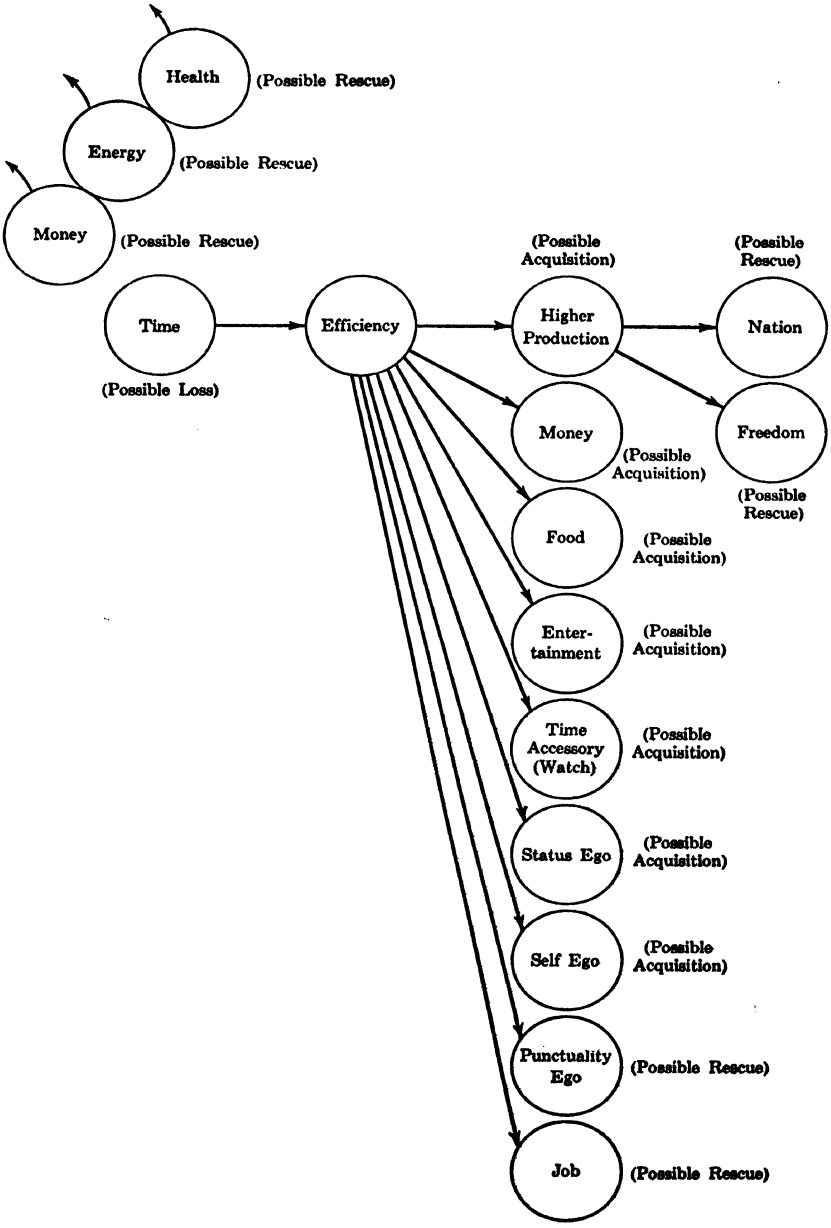

Health
(Possible Rescue)
Energy
(Possible Rescue)
Money
(Possible Rescue)
Time
(Possible Loss)
Efficiency
(Possible Acquisition)
Higher Production
(Possible Rescue)
Nation
Money
(Possible Acquisition)
Freedom
(Possible Rescue)
Food
(Possible Acquisition)
Enter-tainment
(Possible Acquisition)
Time Accessory (Watch)
(Possible Acquisition)
Status Ego
(Possible Acquisition)
Self Ego
(Possible Acquisition)
Punctuality Ego
(Possible Rescue)
Job
(Possible Rescue)

FIGURE 7

pills, coffee, doughnuts, comfortable and durable shoes, Turkish bath and massage, music, and permission to sing and smoke)
Money (possible rescue of this value through overalls for work, laundry service, and life, health, and accident insurance)
Time (possible loss, since time is spent in any kind of work)

Means value:
Efficiency (including steady attendance)

Goal value:
Increased production (possible acquisition of this value)

Further values:
Nation, freedom, etc. (possible rescue)

Tie-in values:
Money (possible acquisition was the situation)
High starting wages (85 or 90 cents per hour and up)
Time-and-a-half for overtime, with lots of overtime due to the 7-day week, 11½ hour day for each worker
$50 "production bonus" every few months for meeting quotas
Plantwide Christmas bonus averaging $300 per man
Food (possible acquisition of 15-pound Christmas turkey and assorted delicacies, also a monthly banquet)
Entertainment (possible acquisition)
Fight tickets
Vacation in Florida or at Lake Huron
Time accessories (possible acquisition)
Watch
Status ego (possible acquisition)
Known as "associate" rather than "employee"
Feeling of personal responsibility for meeting quotas
Self ego (possible acquisition)
Name embroidered on coveralls, embossed on drinking cups
Personal birthday congratulations over public address system
Punctuality ego (possible rescue)
Derision of fellow workers for arriving late, as expressed in the "wolf call"
Job (possible rescue)
Notification by fellow workers to reform or get out if inefficient or tardy

All of these goal, further, and tie-in values were reached through the single means value of efficiency of each worker. If he slacked down, he would lose his job, and all the benefits which his efficiency had been bringing him would cease to flow in.

These great gains, of course, were not natural results of the workers' efficiency. Usually a worker can expect to receive only his stated wages plus a

certain amount of overtime, but little else. Bill Jack's technique was to provide an artificial connection between efficiency and these extra benefits simply by giving them.

One's first reaction on reading of these extraordinary methods used by Bill Jack might be to ask, "But aren't all these bonuses and so on terribly expensive?" The answer is that they are. However, the gains they bring are overwhelmingly greater. It is the net gain that counts. It takes values to make values. As a result, the Jack & Heintz company, far from being a high-cost producer, held a record of enormous output at low unit cost, which is what counts either in helping win a war or in making a business succeed. Tying in so many extra values as it did, the technique threw an overwhelming weight into the "yes" side of the appeal scales.

It is vital to note that the single means value, efficiency, placed the worker in two different but desirable kinds of situations, one being possible acquisition (of money, food, entertainment, etc.), while the other was possible rescue (of nation, punctuality ego, job, etc.). In value-balancing, it is seen, therefore, that it does not matter in which situation a tie-in, goal, or further value falls. What counts is the total weight of the values, irrespective of their situations. Naturally, none of the values would be included in the value-family if they did not in the first place stand in some situation which could be controlled by the single means value.

There are many logical excuses which can be used for tying in one value to another. One of them is the analogy. It points out the common elements between the tie-in and other members of the value-family, as suggested in the following diagram:

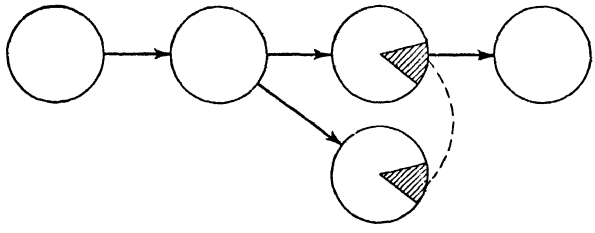


FIGURE 8

Ethyl Gasoline secured attention for its product by tying in with a June wedding through a double analogy. "Just Married," reads the crude lettering on the rear of a snappy roadster decked out with ticker tape and old shoes. A radiant young bride and groom are talking to the gas station attendant, and the groom says, "From this day forth—nothing but Ethyl for me!" This was the best-read of all petroleum, automobile, and automobile acces-

sory advertisements in a June issue of the *Saturday Evening Post,* according to the Daniel Starch organization's surveys.[13]

First, the gasoline and the girl had achieved the same degree of popularity with the same person, and he had given them both a 100 per cent monopoly on his loyalty. Second, the girl and the gasoline had same-sounding names. Common words and common events constituted the double analogy.

Other justifications for using a tie-in attraction are the integral relation such as exists between an automobile and its beautiful appearance, the unrealized or concealed relation such as existed between the bunny masks and the children's lives, but not realized by them, and the universal relation, such as might exist between Camay soap and a $1,000-a-year prize for the remainder of a contest winner's life. Money is a value of such wide appeal that it can be tied in to almost anything else with no questions asked or eyebrows knitted.

Lest confusion creep in, let us return for a moment to basic principles. It is hoped the reader of these words will rivet his attention firmly on the simple fact that a tie-in has no purpose whatever except to attract attention or to add weight to the value scales, thereby increasing total incentives. All of the tie-ins we have discussed have served these two ends. But increasing total incentives is in turn uniquely devoted to making action more certain and intensive. Action is assured and intensified by one main condition—the preponderance of incentives over drawbacks. Goal, further, and tie-in values, taken as a whole, must outweigh the cost value. The tie-in helps make this possible.

Thus, selecting a great goal value, saying that it is so valuable that everyone should have it, reminding a person that it leads to numerous or important further values, and tying in other values to increase its weight are a few of the ways by which the apparent weight of the gainable values can be increased. Other ways are by saying the value is greater than formerly, greater than when other means are used, greater than those acquired by other people, or that it must be enormous, judging from the high cost paid for it. One might also indicate that it is scarce or rarely obtained, or that the demand for it is huge. All these methods tilt the scales toward a "yes" response.

DEFLATING THE COSTS

We turn next to the ways of achieving a favorable tilt of the value scales by decreasing the apparent weight of the drawbacks, disadvantages, or costs. When someone, perhaps Mark Twain, said, "Men are as lazy as they dare be, and some are damn bold," he expressed the idea that least effort or least

cost of any type is preferred by men in whatever they do. The laborer wishes to make his task easier. The manufacturer wishes to minimize his raw material, labor, rent, interest, and other costs. The young man with a limited income wishes to keep down the cost of his dates. The president of a nation at war wishes to protect his country's interests with a minimum loss of young men's lives, taxpayer's money, and war materiel. In view of these facts, the practical psychologist who wishes to maximize the chances of a person accepting his suggestions should minimize the apparent costs of his doing so.

Of what values does cost consist? In general, almost any value in the entire galaxy may enter cost as a possible loss or a possible frustration. A large number of "low-cost" appeals sponsored by commercial houses have been examined, and it was found that they made reference to 116 different cost values. Of these 116 cost values, 26 per cent were "money," 24 per cent were "time," 16 per cent were "physical energy," 12 per cent were "mental energy," and 22 per cent were other values.

Outside the commercial field, it is probable that money would play a smaller part. But regardless of the field, it appears that money, time, and energy are by far the most frequently used values which enter into cost.

This should not be surprising. All three are versatile values which lead to many others. When a person spends 50 cents on a movie ticket, he must go without all the values he might have purchased with the same money. When he spends three hours at the movies, he must skip all the other things he could have done in the same time. When he uses up his physical energy playing basketball, he has less energy for dancing; and when he studies into the late hours reviewing for a difficult examination in geometry, he can hardly relax by translating Virgil. Having exhausted his mental energy for the time being, he should go dancing, take exercise, telephone his girl, or listen to the radio.

Besides money, time, and energy, physical comfort is a cost which frequently must be paid. One may experience physical discomfort in specific organs of the body, such as the eyes, ears, nose, throat, stomach, skin, nerves, lungs, and so on. Whatever reduces these discomforts lessens the disadvantages of an appeal. Hence a noiseless typewriter reduces discomfort to the ear, a "never-a-hungry-moment" diet of grape juice avoids discomfort to the stomach, a soap without a scratch or piece of grit protects the comfort of the skin, a cigarette which does not upset the nerves or shorten the wind reduces discomfort to the nerves and breathing, and illustrations with explanatory copy immediately beneath them save eye movements.

It makes little difference whether the cost value falls in the stage of the

solicitation, the original cost of the means, the middleman expenses such as packing, transportation, and distribution, or the operation and upkeep costs. Every expenditure, from the first moment of the solicitation to the last moment of use, is included in total psychic cost.

Many costs may enter at one time into the total cost. This is silent testimony to the necessity of using weighty goal, further, and tie-in values to offset all these drawbacks. At the same time, the stimulator should make his attack directly on the costs, making an effort to reduce them in the respondent's mind.

Salesmen for Hoover vacuum cleaners were surprised by their increased success when they quit trying to sell "electric sweepers" and began talking "less backaches," "labor-saving," and "ease."[102] The same *get-rid-of-work* idea was the appeal in the headline of the best-read half-page advertisement appearing in a copy of the *Saturday Evening Post,* reading, "TAKE IT EASY! Let these two G-E aids save your strength and keep you young."[13] These aids, an electric mixer and an electric toaster, were shown in large photographs.

There is no black magic in these cost-reducing appeals. They are as simple and yet as effective as the boxer's rule to lead with his left and guard with his right. Some other cost-shrinking expressions, simple but proven to be effective, are:

"Easy installment payments,"
"No money down," "free trial," "sale,"
"Convenient," "quick," "easy operation,"
"No obligation,"
"Pleasant method," and
"Learn at sight, without teacher, at home."

Another unexpected but effective way of minimizing the cost is to say it is really a gain! Propagandist Adolf Hitler, who recognized the demoralizing effect on his followers of opposition, torments, and insults from their acquaintances, advised his organizers in *Mein Kampf:*

> Any man who is not attacked in the Jewish newspapers, not slandered and vilified, is no decent German and no true National Socialist. . . .
>
> Every Jewish slander and every Jewish lie is a scar of honor on the body of our warriors. . . .
>
> When these principles enter the flesh and blood of our supporters, the movement will become unshakable and invincible.[34]

He was not creating anything new, however. This psychological device had already been perfected by a far greater master of motivation almost two thousand years before. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus said:

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

This is to mention only one or two of the tested methods for hammering down the cost into insignificance. The same effect may be achieved by showing that the cost is smaller than when other means are used, by suggesting that it is worthless or never even existed, that it would be wasted otherwise, or that it is small in relation to the buyer's total resources. One may also take pains to insure that the offer is made so that the person's ego is not hurt by obeying, as it would otherwise enter as a cost.

GOAL VALUE EXCEEDS THE COST VALUE

Now the "large gain" and "small cost" at which we have glanced are extremely flexible terms and are recognized as such by most people. What really interests us is the relation between the two. Is the gain greater than the cost? What is the net gain—the profit? That is the real question. It may be answered in several ways.

For instance, Frank Egner, a successful sales manager, would say, "One idea from this practical new book will repay you over and over again the small cost of the book." [22] People give in to the "gambling fever" because in the same way they compare the huge winnings they might get against the small amounts of money they will lose. A guarantee or a free-trial offer says, "You have nothing to lose. If our product or idea does not help you it costs you nothing." In still other cases, the cost may really be great, but if you can picture the goal as still greater, there is a good chance that the respondent will behave as you wish. Many idealistic men have dared possible death, not because they did not love life but because they loved freedom more. Auto racers willingly accept the risk of injury and death because the prizes they might win are so enormous.

CHANCE

We have reviewed several methods of making the advantages of a course of action outweigh the disadvantages. They are ways of tilting the scales in favor of action. Now we must introduce the vital factor of chance, for chance changes the weight or worth of a value. An insurance prospect does not weigh the monthly premiums against the $3,000 his family will get if he

dies, but rather the monthly premiums against $3,000 divided by the chance that he will die. Even when the odds are somewhat against his taking out the policy, he remembers there is no way of knowing where the lightning will strike; hence he would be wise to have a policy on hand "just in case."

There are several ways of pointing out that chances are the respondent will acquire the value. Most of them revolve around the fact that it has been obtained under similar circumstances by other people or at other times. A person who reads an advertisement for free complete sets of silverware given as premiums for purchases of Gold Medal Flour is tempted to ask, "Do the manufacturers really give these sets of silverware?" Their intention may be inferred from having lived up to their promise on a previous occasion, as indicated by a photograph of a smiling previous winner: [13]

GOT HER SILVERWARE IN "NO TIME AT ALL"—
FRIENDS RAVE OVER PATTERN

"I can't tell you how delighted I am with my set of Medality spoons. My friends simply rave about them—and it seems no time at all since I commenced saving the coupons. Now I am starting to save for salad forks and later on for butter spreaders."

MRS. BETTY GRAY, Portland, Oregon

With these words we take leave of the value-situation and the value-balance. In them we have concerned ourselves with using human nature as it is; we turn now to the actual changing of human nature.

CHAPTER VII

How to Change Human Nature

How is a new value created? How is an old value destroyed? If we can learn the answers to these riddles, we may glimpse an answer to one of the central problems in human affairs. For whenever we change a value in a person's make-up, we change his human nature to that extent. Human nature consists of values.

We know, from what has gone before, that action occurs only in the presence of a situation. Moreover, we have seen that the degree of action is primarily dependent upon the net incentive arising from the balancing of values in the scales. Action, however, cannot take place in the absence of conviction. The stimulator must prove the situation. He must convince the respondent that the cost actually acquires or protects the means, that the means does the same to the goal and tie-in, and that these in turn accomplish the same result on down their own chains of values. Conviction is the link-line between the values of the value family.

By whatever method this connection is established, it is extremely important to recognize that when a stimulator causes a respondent to accept some new means, he has created a new value. He has changed human nature, because human nature consists of values. And when he leads the person to reject some old way of doing things, he has destroyed an old value and again has altered human nature. When one secures acceptance, he establishes arrows between the circles representing the members of the value family. He manufactures the cause-and-effect cement which holds our cultural structure together, as suggested by the thick arrow in Figure 1.

It was apparently such processes of change which, working in reverse, destroyed the Gay Nineties customs of the chaperon and the horse-drawn buggy. We know, anyway, that these values have disappeared almost entirely from the American scene. These same processes account for the difference between values in America, Japan, China, Germany, Russia, Alaska, Tibet, and Tahiti. They account for the constant change of values in every culture, changes which occur faster here, slower elsewhere.

Moreover, these methods of securing conviction or acceptance of a means are just as effective in inserting major new values as communism or a world

government in the structure of values as they are in fastening in new gadget-values such as toothpaste, razor blades, or vitamin tablets. Shifting them into reverse, they may be employed to dislodge existing values, both large and small. Thus a person's whole moral code, bundle of hopes, ambitions, likes, dislikes, and skills are controlled by the methods of teaching what is or is not a means to desired goals.

A value-situation thus gives a man the impulse to run, the value-balance

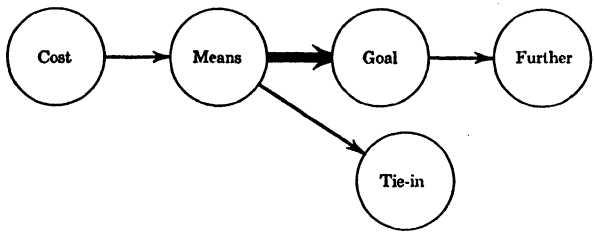


FIGURE I

determines how hard he will run, and the acceptance devices build the goals toward which he will run. These devices are more or less constant, regardless of the particular value-situations involved. Each time, however, the device must be translated into terms of the particular situation. In the present discussion we shall note only those devices which are involved in possible acquisition and possible avoidance of frustration.

ACCEPTANCE OF MEANS (CONVICTION)

First of all, many of our accepted rules and ways of doing things have been acquired simply because they were handy. A child grows accustomed to a certain kind of clothing because that is the only kind available, and eventually becomes fond of it. Ultimately the clothing that the grown man in America wears becomes so habitual with him that no matter how the natives dress in the countries he visits he still wears the white man's costume. In a debate, of course, it might be difficult for him to defend his costume on logical grounds, with its buttoned collars, useless ties, long trouser-legs, cuffs, three buttons per coat-sleeve, lapels, and vest. He did not select the costume consciously. It was the available style, and he accepted it.

One of the striking phenomena in human psychology is the desire to believe, or as more commonly known, wishful thinking. When we merely mention the further value to which a goal value leads, we are using a powerful method of securing acceptance of the means. This is suggested in the diagram on the following page.

If Gillette razor blades are the means we wish to sell to the public, we can mention not only that the blades give good shaves, but that good shaves in turn get jobs. By mentioning the effect of the effect of using the blades in this way we can make the product appear so desirable that the customer tends to believe in it even without any proof. This method is not logical. Its effect depends on wishful or fearful thinking. Yet it often produces acceptance or rejection, even when it flies in the face of facts and logic to do so. But by using it we kill two

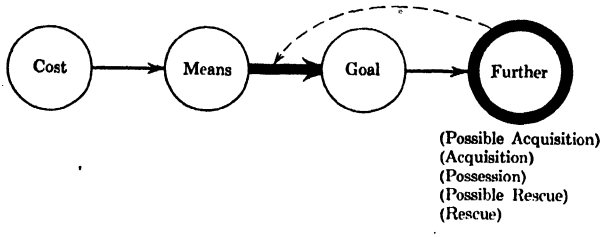


FIGURE 2

birds with one stone. We tend to secure both desire and conviction when we mention all the advantages first.

Experiments by F. H. Lund support this conclusion. He presented various arguable statements to a group of several hundred college and high school students. Every student was given thirty statements, each of which he was to rate on its degree of desirability. The scale ran from −10 for extremely undesirable up through 0 for indifferent to +10 for extremely desirable. Weeks later, they were asked to make ratings on a similar −10 to +10 scale showing their strength of belief that each statement was true.

When all the results were in, the examiners arranged the propositions in the order of rated desirability, with those marked +10 ranked in first place down to those marked −10 in 30th place. Then they did the same with the rankings of belief, and compared the two lists. The similarity between the two rank lists was 88 per cent of perfect! A statement ranked as No. 7 in order of desirability would be ranked as No. 6, No. 7, or No. 8 in rank of belief, but the difference was rarely greater; in most cases the ranking of one statement in both lists was exactly the same.[53, 85] Thus the significantly close connection between desire and conviction was established.

From convictions based on hopes and fears that arise without anyone actively trying to make them appear well founded, we progress to measures intentionally taken by the stimulator to bring about acceptance of his suggestions.

These involve displaying the means together with the goal in such a way that it suggests there is a cause-and-effect relation between them, as well as

simply affirming that the means leads to the goal, using logic, pointing to the skill and experience of the producer of the means, or the high standards set for the means, the easy adjustability of the means to the special requirements of the respondent, demonstration that the means really works, and a guarantee that it will do so.

For instance, a flat statement, without any proof, is often used as a method of persuasion. Elmer Wheeler has developed a battery of "tested selling sentences" which have shown high effectiveness in sales talks. One of these sentences is a shoe salesman's simple affirmation to a small boy client that the moccasins he is showing him are "the kind the real Indians wear, sonny!" [102] After that build-up, the sale has proved to be almost inevitable, even when opposed at first by the boy's mother. There is no proof of authenticity, only a plain statement to that effect.

The same type of affirmation lies at the basis of a modest suggestion that a certain means would work, or in the unspoken praise of a means imparted by admiring gestures, reassurance and counseling of faith in the means, a flat statement as to how to acquire the value, a promise that the means will bring about acquisition, or a statement that the means is outstandingly effective, perhaps even the best in its class, and certainly better than not using the means at all.

Let us look at the case of unspoken praise. Many salesmen have remarked how closely a customer's attitude parallels the salesman's in enthusiasm, frankness, hesitance, and so on. This technique of consciously taking an admiring attitude toward a means is particularly useful in transmitting an impression of the value's worth and effectiveness. Admiration breeds admiration. Give a stagecraft build-up to a product as something extraordinarily fine, something uncommon, and it will produce a mirrored response. Eugene Sydnor, president of the Richmond Dry Goods Company, Richmond, Va., was struck by this technique in a salesman with whom he had dealt frequently.

"In my early buying days," said Mr. Sydnor, "I bought large quantities of cheap work shoes. There was one salesman who succeeded in getting a large share of our business. I'm convinced that the reason was principally the way he handled his samples.

"He would open his bag and take out those heavy, coarse shoes one at a time. He would lift each one gingerly and place it on the desk with loving care. When he had arranged several samples on the desk, he would step back and survey the whole scene with pride; then he would step forward and move one of the shoes a fraction of an inch, as if its exact position were essential to the appearance of the display.

"As the final gesture he would take from his breast pocket a large, obviously expensive silk handkerchief and he would flick imaginary bits of dust from those rough work shoes.

"No amount of talk or persuasion could have enhanced the value of his line as effectively as the genuine respect he showed for the shoes themselves." [87]

The salesman's actions shouted louder than words that the shoes were exceptionally valuable, that they were extremely effective means to their particular end.

Again, the urge to "have faith" reassures, although it offers no proof. A message often seems to spread faster when it does not stop for proof, but drives home over and over again the assertion that it leads to goal values in which the person ardently believes. Historically, the masses of mankind have usually accepted faith in lieu of proof when two factors coincided—big troubles, and a big leader. When one's fundamental values are at stake and there seems to be no means of acquiring or protecting them, he is thrown into a shattered confusion which makes almost any solution look good. Should a high-powered showman like Adolf Hitler or Huey Long happen along at that moment, promising everything if only one will have faith in him, the respondent is likely to swing into the procession.

The readiness to accept a proposition on faith, lacking proof, consequently increases during troubled times. This is more frequently true as one looks lower in the economic scale. But many people, rich or poor, bright or dull, discover in themselves a puzzling restlessness and impatience with the superficial pursuits of living. They look for some movement, some person, some ideal to which they can surrender their problems, something into the wholeness of which they may pour their energies and live for something greater than themselves. They seek a unity and a purpose to animate their lives.[89] As in religious conversion, they seek a oneness which will magnetize and reorient all their values and shape everything toward a simple, satisfying destiny. In his profound book, *The Psychology of Social Movements,* Hadley Cantril shows with forthright clarity the part this played in the recent history of Germany.

But greater and deeper than the convulsive Nazi movement is another that has endured for nearly two thousand years—the Christian religion. Troubled people throughout the centuries all over the world have turned to Jesus, a leader bearing tremendous prestige, and have placed their faith entirely in Him. Even many highly educated people reserve religion as a field in which questions shall be suspended and faith prevail. Great leaders appeal to this desire to place a trusting faith in someone who is strong. History has accordingly reserved an ample page for Buddha, Lao Tse, Confucius, Jesus, Mohammed, Napoleon, Hitler, and Franklin Roosevelt for the blind faith and devotion they have at some time inspired in millions of people.

Stimulators need not confine themselves to affirming that the means will

work. They may assert that it works outstandingly well and make use in true Hollywood tradition of rave-notice words such as "amazing," "stupendous," "colossal," "terrific," "crowning," "marvelous," "wonderful," "gigantic," "incredible," "perfect," "exquisite," "remarkable," "extraordinary," "mighty," "illustrious," "glorious," "majestic," "sublime," "surprising," "striking," "astonishing," or "miraculous."

The word "amazing," to take one case, is one of those advertising words that seem never to lose their appeal.[18] The word and its companions give a build-up to the means and lift it out of the class of common things. An advertisement for the Roth Memory Course features a testimonial, "'How I Improved My Memory in One Evening'—The *Amazing* Experience of Victor Jones." Welch's Grape Juice exults: "Here's the *Amazing* Way Tests Have Proved to Lose Ugly Fat an Average of 7 Pounds a Month." And the Pelmanism mind-training course quotes a testimonial saying, "What magic was it that caused the change in my circumstances? How did I, a $40-a-week clerk, change my whole life so *remarkably*? I can give you the answer in one word—Pelmanism." (The italics are ours.)

Nor does the stimulator need to confine himself to claiming his means is merely "marvelous." He may boast that it is the "most marvelous" thing of its kind. Here he treads in the field of superlatives and uses expressions such as "fastest," "best," "largest," "most ingenious." The best-read advertisement in a recent issue of *Collier's* was a United Air Lines announcement which spoke of its new Mainliners as "Today's triumph in air travel! The fastest deluxe air transport fleet in the world!" [18]

These devices are often effective in bringing about acceptance of a means, but they are nothing but flat statements. They are bare of real proof. In contrast stands the appeal to reason. In recent years, it seems that logical thought has been all too frequently ignored or ridiculed by psychologists and others who ride the avalanche of illogical techniques. We agree that the appeal to reason is not a 100 percent sure-shot action-getter, and that unreasoning emotion too often distorts the reactions. But the appeal to reason has fallen into an unjustified disrepute and neglect. Like a line man on a football team, it plays an important part, is often blamed for failure, and is seldom credited with the glory of success.

Logic is generally used when a product cannot be seen in action or its results displayed. It is a form of verbal demonstration showing that the means must inevitably bring about the goal because it involves principles which the respondent already knows to be effective. The best-observed and best-read page advertisement in an issue of *Collier's* showed a good-looking girl and young man in Jantzen swimming suits loafing near the ship's swimming pool, smiling at each other over the headline, "Jantzen—America's Finest Fitting

Swimming Suit." The second paragraph of the copy gives the reason why the means leads to the goal:

It is not by chance that Jantzen is America's finest fitting swimming suit. Marvelous elasticity is achieved thru an exclusive knitting process—Jantzen-stitch. That is why a Jantzen always fits perfectly and permanently. That is why a Jantzen gently but firmly holds the body in the natural position of youth. To every woman this means a truly surprising degree of figure-control, to men a trim athletic smartness.[13]

All the conviction techniques we have discussed so far have consisted mainly of indirect evidence. In many cases, however, the doubting respondent retorts, "Don't just tell me. Show me!" and the stimulator must answer with a demonstration. This contains real proof. It is as far ahead of logic as logic is ahead of affirmation. The means is shown in actual operation leading to the goal or reducing the cost.

There are two ways of demonstrating that the means works. One way is through real experience, the other through synthetic experience. The real-thing demonstration may involve not only acquisition by others but acquisition by the respondent himself. For when we acquire goals through a certain means, we receive the finest kind of demonstration. Probably no other proof could be so convincing. Having acquired a value through the means, our tendency is to use the means again. The connection has been proved, and we imitate. We may imitate ourselves or anyone else who has found the successful formula.

In a demonstration, the stimulator can show a means in operation under conditions similar to the normal case, or he may choose one of the conditions and carry it to an extreme, implying that the product or idea would work all the better under average conditions. A fountain pen was dropped 20,000 feet from an airplane, then laid on the pavement and run over by a motor truck, and it still worked. Sales jumped immediately.[32] Loose-Wiles salesmen put packages of crackers in dishpans full of water to demonstrate that the packages resisted water and the crackers stayed dry and crisp.[32]

A Borden's advertisement, in a flight of humorous fancy, showed in cartoon form a mounted policeman giving an exaggerated demonstration of the strength he had acquired from drinking Borden's.* Elsie, the Borden cow, was surprised as she strolled along the sidewalk to see him nonchalantly trotting along carrying his mount on his back. The horse, aghast, whinnied, "I don't care if he does drink Borden's HEMO—what will the other horses say?"[75]

Demonstrations under normal conditions are also much used. In a fashion

* This advertisement is reproduced facing page 51.

show, for example, beautiful, shapely models wear the latest styles in clothing, bathing suits, hats, and accessories. There is no exaggeration here of the situations in which the articles are to be used.

A demonstration may not stop at showing that the means works. It may also dramatize the fact that it is superior to other means, superior to not using any means, and superior to former means.

Years ago Thomas Edison routed opera stars about the country to sing arias in public. They would begin singing alone and after a few moments Edison would start his new invention, the phonograph. The singer would then break off and leave the song to be completed by the machine. The similarities, crude as they were in those days, were both astonishing and convincing.

From demonstrations we pass on to guarantees. The fact that a guarantee has been made and the purchase can be cashed in is a convincing point, whether the amount is small or great. A startling guarantee for Hormel Vegetable Soup, widely advertised in 1932, was the pioneer in a new technique of advertising which was imitated by scores of other manfucturers. The headline announced, "*DOUBLE* Your Money Back . . . if you don't say this NEW Home-Style Vegetable Soup is the most delicious you ever bought." In 1932 the depression was still crashing its way downward and thousands of people were going hungry. Would they try to secure food and a profit by purchasing soup and then asking for double their money back? The advertisers felt some apprehension, but their fears were not founded. The ads were tried out first in small towns, then in larger cities. During a six-week sales promotion campaign in Chicago, only twelve women requested double their money back.[13] The company weathered the risk and rapidly built up its sales.

So far we have considered cases where nobody goes out of his way to convince the respondent that the means is effective, and also those in which the stimulator does all the work. There is still another way of convincing a person about a means, and that is to get the respondent himself to take part in gathering the proof. By this we mean offering to let him give the means a trial, giving him a sample of it, sponsoring an official test, quoting expert opinion, or securing testimonials from people who have used it successfully.

Two aims may be realized by inducing a prospect to give something a trial. First, it provides us with an opportunity to convince him that the means leads to the goal. Second, it brings him one step nearer to the actual act of acceptance. It is a way of putting our foot in the door in preparation to wedging our way completely in.

This was the technique employed by W. Lee O'Daniel in his dramatic and successful campaign for the office of Governor of Texas. He urged the voters,

"Go ahead and try me for two years. You can't be any worse off than you have been." [55] They had, he said, everything to gain and nothing more to lose.

In the sample, a typical part of the means is given to the prospect free, with no strings attached, whereas in a trial he receives the whole product and agrees that after a specified length of time he will pay for the product or return it. Sample is superior to logical proof, for it is a real-life demonstration, not an abstract manipulation of words and ideas. Moreover, it appetizes at the same time as it proves.

The buyer for a grocery chain told Ray Giles it was astonishing how often salesmen attempted to sell taste through a logical word description, when a sample was much more convincing. The salesmen for one sandwich spread do not make any such error. On entering a grocery store, they buy a loaf of bread from the grocer, bring out a bread knife, open a can of their spread, and serve him a sample sandwich on the spot.[30] This not only proves that the spread is a means of acquiring taste pleasure, but whets the appetite for more.

The "required sample" is designed to overcome heavier sales resistance. Commercial houses often find that giving away free samples is too expensive and that the public is too apathetic to come and get them. So they sponsor contests with a proviso requiring every contestant to purchase a sample of the product in order to enter. General Mills, Inc., makers of Softasilk Flour, put on a $2,500 prize contest in which the participants had to write the last line for a limerick praising Softasilk. Their sampling the product was reasonably assured by requiring each entrant to mail a box-top from a Softasilk Cake Flour package with each suggested line.[13]

The testimonial, one of the commonest methods for securing conviction, is based entirely on the experience of other people. It is one of the most efficient methods of learning, far preferable to personal experience from the standpoint of avoiding personal risk and cost. It is true that the "school of hard knocks" cannot be entirely replaced, but the school of second-hand experience is much quicker and more efficient. Testimonials carry these second-hand lessons in words, as demonstrations carry the lessons in deeds.

Such learning through the experience of others leads to imitation, since the learner adopts the means used successfully by the other person. Sometimes, indeed, the learner is uncertain as to which particular means brought about the desired effect and imitates the successful person's entire personality and mannerisms.

This origin of imitation has been clearly perceived and explained by Hadley Cantril and Norman Frederiksen:

Imitation occurs when a person, having some particular goal in mind, copies the behavior of other people in an effort to learn methods of achieving that goal. The child will imitate a parent's mannerisms in order to feel grown

up, just as the uncritical student will imitate the language of his teacher in order to appear sophisticated; likewise the raw recruit in the army will imitate the seasoned veteran in order to avoid the enemy's fire. . . .

Imitation is the conscious or unconscious attempt of an individual to reproduce in his thought or behavior the same pattern of thought or behavior that he has perceived in another individual.[9]

This desire to learn from the triumphs and failures of others is reflected in the popularity of biographies, personality sketches, obituaries, and success stories. The best-seller lists usually include some full-length biographies, for the lives of successful people furnish a guide for making money, producing an artistic masterpiece or developing a workable philosophy of life.

A testimonial, of course, carries more weight if the testifier possesses prestige in the field concerned. Those with prestige in other fields do not carry over their prestige into this. After all, a prestige-carrier is a person who has built up a large number of successful experiences behind him; and in this line he may pass his experience along to the respondent in the form of a testimonial. His prestige aids the testimonial for two reasons. Primarily, it is because the respondent believes that he speaks with authority on the question. In the second place, the testifier's prestige partially "hypnotizes" him and inhibits his usual logical processes. In other words, he is rendered more suggestible partly because of authority and partly because of dazzle.

For a testifier to speak with authority, he does not necessarily have to be famous. A charming Wisconsin bride, Mrs. Edward G. Clark, Jr., of Beloit, Wisconsin, is pictured in wedding gown, and gives a testimonial to the benefits of Camay soap for preserving a lovely complexion:

"Camay?—I wouldn't be without it! It's so pleasant to use, so quick in results. Yes, I'm most certainly grateful to Camay." [13]

The advertisement implies, "She uses Camay (the means), which has given her a beautiful complexion (the goal), which has helped her win romance and marriage (further values)." Actually, she only testifies that this "Soap of Beautiful Women" has been indispensable in complexion care. The fact that she is pictured in bridal gown, however, suggests that her Camay complexion has in turn had a causal relation to her marriage. The idea is put across in completely good taste.

We have reserved mass testimonials for separate comment. Their scope begins where the individual testimonials leave off, and runs all the way from the recommendations of two or three people up to a universal testimonial in which "everyone" accepts the means. So far as such a large group's prestige is concerned, it seems to overshadow easily the prestige of individuals, for the large group is society itself. It is also more reliable statistically, since the expe-

rience of one individual may be an isolated fluke which succeeds in spite of the means.

Many psychologists reveal the decided influence of majority opinion in controlling the opinions of individuals.[57, 54] Another psychologist, thinking deeper, rightly observes that it is not just any majority that will bring about a change, for the individual is most influenced by the opinion of the majority in his own world:

> If people are suggestible to majority opinion [in general], why, for example, did they not vote for Landon in 1936, when the widely publicized *Literary Digest* poll showed Landon the choice of the majority? Why do we still have two major political parties in the United States? Why do members of minority groups continue fervently to preach their causes when they know public opinion is ranged against them? Why do new values ever arise at all? Majority opinion is probably effective as a suggestion only when an individual has no clearly structured mental context adequate to interpret a situation and when the majority opinion does not conflict with other frames of reference or ego values. Neither the opinionated, financially insecure conservative nor the more tolerant, wealthy utility executive is likely to accept the suggestion of government ownership and operation of electric power even if the great majority of people should want it.[12]

In short, the respondent who is uncertain in his own mind will accept the majority opinion of those who are loyal to the same values and share the same value-situations. In a debate on government ownership, for instance, the utility executive considers money and property as values. So does the general public. But while the executive faces possible loss of these values, the public envisions possible acquisition through government ownership. So the executive considers the public neither expert nor disinterested, and swims against the stream of public opinion because it seems clearly in his interest to do so.

Nevertheless, the group testimonial does carry powerful conviction when it is aimed at the members of that group. *Time* Magazine proved its popularity to and with the general public through photographs of numerous fingerprints on one copy of the magazine.[31] This amounted to a group testimonial. Macmillan presented astronomical but accurate figures to prove the public acceptance of one of their new books, saying, "The millionth copy of *Gone With The Wind* has just come from the presses."[22] The Delehanty Institute, which operates a private school in New York City, came within a hair's breadth of claiming "universal" acceptance in one of its publicity releases. The story related that 350,000 men and women had been trained in the Delehanty Institute and that, with the exception of one man, every officer of captain's rank or higher in the New York Police Department had received his training there.[104] These testimonials indicated that others had

acquired information, pleasure, or advancement through the means, which was evidence of possible acquisition of the same happy results by the respondent. Thus they proved the situation of possible acquisition by quoting cases of actual acquisition.

ASSUMING ACCEPTANCE OF THE MEANS

Occasionally, when a sale appears to be made, the prospect still doesn't quite say yes. Because of this slip betwixt the cup and the lip, one well known sales manager has observed, "It is a sad fact that a great many salesmen are actually afraid to ask for an order. And if they do not ask for orders, how can they expect to get them?" [82] The question applies just as well to political candidates asking for votes, to a boy asking a girl for a date, or to a preacher asking for contributions to the church fund.

Yet it is seldom wise to ask point-blank for acceptance and run the risk of a showdown with the prospect. Many successful influencers skip the step of inquiring, "Will you?" and ask the next questions: "When, where, and how much?" They conclude, "Now, Mr. Jones, let's get this material moving along to you right away so you will have it when you need it. How many cases can I order for you today?" [82]

Simmons tells how a salesman may work up to this conclusion:

> It is not so difficult to build up automatically to a successful close by the cumulative power of favorable smaller decisions.
>
> On the way through your sales canvass, qualify him for the close with leading questions:—"Which color do you like better?" Or . . . "Don't you think this is the best style?" Or . . . "How many do you need?" Or . . . "What is the best time of the month to make shipments?" Or . . . "In what quantities do you think these should be broken down?" . . .
>
> There is a good deal of virtue in the quiet supreme confidence with which some men put over a sale. . . . As a result, the prospect is more often than not impressed by this positive attitude of confidence and himself becomes impregnated with the naturalness of the decision.[82]

The stimulator quietly goes about asking his prospect about the specifications of the material, the desired delivery date, consignee, destination, and quantity, writes these data in the proper spaces, and signs his own name in the serene assumption that the sale is his. After these preliminaries he takes the final step of the appeal. He lays the order before the prospective buyer, and, using his pen as a pointer, shows him where to sign. Perhaps he presents some last-minute suggestions as to how the product should be operated or where it should be placed.[82] Throughout this process, no question of "Will you?" ever comes up.

The salesman, however, must steer carefully between timidity on one hand

and presumptuousness on the other. If he should fill out the order blank and hand his pen to the prospect for his signature when the latter is still unsatisfied with the appeal, he might give the impression of using high pressure tactics which would spoil the sale. To avoid this, he should look for his cues—a favorable attitude, a receptive affability, keen interest, thorough agreement, questions indicating a lively interest, or wavering coming after positive resistance. Then it is natural to proceed on the assumption that the sale will be made.

This technique is partly an attitude and partly a maneuver. It is aimed at dissolving and resolving a state of indecision. It is an excellent bridge-over to the instructions for action to be taken by the respondent in acquiring the means.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ACTION

Very rarely is an appeal complete which does not provide specific instructions for the respondent as to what he should do. And rarely does an incomplete appeal succeed. The person must know not only what the cost is; he must know exactly how to use it to obtain the means. Knowing, for example, that a motion picture costs 60 cents and possessing that much money will not automatically place the movie at a person's disposal. He must at least know where and when to go.

In short, all of the appeal, the balancing, the convincing and everything else that has gone before must finally be crystallized into action. One psychologist reminds us:

> The first principle for directing the acts and verdicts of the audience is that of indicating specifically and definitely rather than vaguely and generally the precise nature, place, time, and method of the proposed act. . . .
>
> It is in just this spirit that the salesman always has his order book ready and requests the converted prospect immediately to "sign on the dotted line." The advertiser places a coupon in the corner of the page, or is sure to give his firm name, address, or place of business. Revival meetings which succeed provide specific altar directions—"Married men gather at the right of the platform," "All the dentists in the congregation now sing the third verse," "March up the aisle while the choir sings 'Onward, Christian Soldiers.' " [85]

In general, the same ground must be covered in all instructions. They must answer the important questions of

"How much does it cost?"
"What must I do?"
"When?"
"Where?"
"What do I ask for?"

"How much should I order?"
"Who can use it?"
"Who is making the offer?"

This is as true of advertising and salesmanship as it is of directing a high school play, preaching a sermon, or arranging a dinner date.

We can best learn how to answer these questions by observing what the experts and professionals do when they are influencing people's actions. Advertising is one of the most revealing sources of information. One advertisement (page 103) offered bargains in radios at the Davega stores in New York. It illustrates for us many of the more important points in the art of instruction-giving, and is typical of the newspaper advertisements which have helped build Davega's into a large chain of stores in the New York area.[13] In this one advertisement there are nineteen separate and distinct instruction principles employed. These are indicated by circled numbers on the face of the reproduction of the advertisement. The items of information provided were:

How much does it cost?—
"No money down" (1)
"$33" (2)
"Small credit charge" (3)
"Free home trial" (4)
The old radio may be traded in (5)
"$1 a week pays for a radio" purchased on credit (6)

What must I do?—
"Fill in this coupon. Mail" (for booklet and other information) (7)
Check square if a home trial is desired (8)
Radios are guaranteed, so may return and get money back if they prove defective (9)
May give the radio a trial at home (10)

When?—
"Open evenings" (11)
Weekdays (12)
Purchase promptly "while they last" (13)

Where?—
"111 East 42nd St. (Hotel Commodore Building)" and 27 other places listed (14)
"Mail to Davega, 76 Ninth Ave., N. Y. C." (15)
"Or phone CHelsea 3-5200" (16)

What do I ask for?—
"Philco, RCA Victor, Majestic," etc. (17)
Photograph of radio (aids in identifying it) (18)

Who is making the offer?—
"Davega" (19)

1 4 10

NO MONEY DOWN—Free Home Trial

20% to 50% off

19

DAVEGA

30 Store Radio Sale

11 TUBE RADIOS

1937 MODELS
Guaranteed
9
•
PHILCO
•
RCA 17
VICTOR
• •
MAJESTIC
•
GRUNOW
•
ZENITH
•
STEWART
WARNER
•
AND OTHERS
•

$1 6 A WEEK
pays for a radio



The AIRMASTER
Small Monthly Payments
Small Credit Charge

3

1937 MODEL
GIANT DIAL
"EYE" TUNING
WORLD WIDE
FULL SIZE

Manufacturer's LIST PRICE 79.50
While They Last 13

$33 2

(YOU SAVE 46.50)

DAVEGA CITY RADIO

7

14

Hotel Commodore, Ops. City Hall...63 Park Row
Downtown....15 Cortlandt St.
Downtown....63 Cortlandt St.
Downtown....42 Cortlandt St.
Near 13th St...831 Broadway
Empire State...18 W. 34th St.
Times Square, 152 W. 42nd St.
Yorkville....148 E. 86th St.
96th St.....2369 Broadway
99th St.....2598 Broadway
Harlem....125 W. 125th St.
180th St.,
1363 St. Nicholas Ave.
Bronx ...945 Southern Blvd.
Bronx ...31 E. Fordham Rd.
Bronx ....2843 Third Ave.
Brooklyn....417 Fulton St.
(Borough Hall)
Brooklyn 924 Flatbush Ave.
Brooklyn 1304 King Highway
Bay Ridge....5108 Fifth Ave.
Bensonhurst....2085 86th St.
Brownsville..1702 Pitkin Ave.
Jamaica 163-24 Jamaica Ave.
Astoria .. 278 Steinway Ave.
Flushing.....45 Main Street
White Plains...175 Main St.
Newark.....80 Park Place
(Military Park Bldg.)
Jersey City, 30 Journal Square

ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

11

FILL IN THIS COUPON MAIL TO DAVEGA, 76 NINTH AVE., N. Y. C. 15

Gentlemen:
My present radio is a .....
Year purchased .....
How much could you allow me on a trade-in for a new 1937 ..... Radio? 5
I want a ☐ Free Home Trial 8
☐ Free Booklet on the 1937 models
Name .....
Address 16
Or phone CHelsea 3-5200 12

The advertisement does not mention how many each customer should order, since it is presumed the number is one. It does not mention who can use the radio, since it is generally understood that anybody can use it regardless of age, sex, or other characteristics. However, it does cover the most important points.

We have now gone through the main body of the appeal as it is handled in possible acquisition. We have covered the value-situation, the value-balance, conviction as to the workability of the means, and specific instructions. These elements are summarized in the analytical outline, pages 259 to 266. The same elements, presented in different ways, will go into the appeals surrounding the other situations, the next of which is possible frustration.

CHAPTER VIII

Possible Frustration

THE SECOND STEP in the ring of situations is possible frustration. In such a case the respondent's hopes of acquiring something develop a hitch and he discovers he might not obtain it after all. This situation falls in position number 2 in the wheel of situations shown on page 51.

To appreciate better the significance of this situation, it will help to recall that the history of a person's relationship to any value can be traced along the lines indicated by the arrows in the diagram. All situations are temporary way-points in the unflagging attempt to reach and maintain possession. Whenever a person stands or thinks that he stands in any situation other than possession, he is impelled to act. He is motivated to move as straight and fast as possible toward situation number 5. One of these unsatisfactory situations was possible acquisition. Possible frustration may not only be unsatisfactory, it may even be alarming under some circumstances.

In this chapter and those which immediately follow we shall not be so much concerned with unearthing new principles as with illustrating parallel points. The principles will be of undiminished importance. It is only a matter of convenience that has prompted us to take our first foothold in the wheel of situations at the point of possible acquisition. Had we begun with possible frustration, we should have gone into details in that case and pointed out only the more important landmarks in the other situations, including that of possible acquisition.

A forthright expression of the power of possible frustration to command people's interest and develop emotions in them is contained in the time-honored formula for a successful drama:

Act I: Get your characters up a tree.
Act II: Throw stones at them.
Act III: Get them down.[81]

In other words, possible frustration of young lovers' hopes looms up in Act I, appears more ominous in Act II, but is avoided in Act III. In avoiding frustration, they acquire the value, which amounts to the same thing.

The best-read black-and-white page advertisement in an issue of *True*

Story Magazine opens with possible frustration.* The headline begins the story with the words, "Elmont Tries To Put One Over." The cartoon story goes on to relate how Elmont tries to discourage the party stag line by asking his pretty wife, Cutie, to wear her drab gray dress. So far this means possible frustration of her popularity at the dance. But to avoid it she wears Cutex Nail Polish, which offsets her drab dress and attracts a large number of partners.[13] The story thus passes on to actual acquisition.

Many salesmen and advertisers put across their appeals by the do-it-now-or-be-frustrated presentation. That is, they suggest that there is a limited quantity or time in which to acquire the means they are offering. A bargain is a great inducement to immediate action, for it involves possible frustration if not snapped up immediately. A Davega advertisement for radios makes use of this device, saying, "Manufacturer's List Price $79.50. *While They Last:* $33 (You Save $46.50)." [13] It is implied that prompt action is the means of avoiding disappointment.

Other limited-quantity or limited-time urges which have been time-tested in the fire of experience are these:

"Stocks at the factory are incomplete and may soon be depleted."

"The customer may purchase a certain quantity of miscellaneous goods in the lump, but the lot may soon be exhausted." This is the job-lot offer.

"Opportunities for sales in a certain market are diminishing."

"The manufacturing time is long, and it will be necessary to place the order *now* so the goods will be ready when wanted."

"Costs of labor and raw materials are advancing."

"The article can only be sold during one season, which will soon be past."

"The goods can be resold by tying in with certain special campaigns or civic occasions, which have a fixed date."

Simmons and Egner, both successful sales managers, report that these appeals are good incentives to a favorable decision and prompt action.[82, 22]

Frustration is brought about not always through the agency of a person, but often through a combination of circumstances or through the mere passage of time. The best-observed and best-read page advertisement in an issue of the *American Magazine* is appealingly illustrated with the snapshot of a little girl in a swimming suit standing on a raft being towed in a race. The headline and copy tell of possible frustration and name the cause—the passage of time:

The snapshots you'll want Tomorrow—
you must take Today

They don't come twice—those moments we would like so much to keep forever. Children grow up, places change, people forget. Make your snapshots

* This advertisement is reproduced facing page 114.

now, and be sure of them for keeps. And don't take chances—load your camera with Kodak Verichrome Film.[13]

It is hoped that the reader has noticed in this case that presenting the reason why possible frustration can be expected is like presenting the reason for possible acquisition which occurred in a Camay advertisement mentioned in Chapter VII. The cause, or reason, or justification for possible frustration must be understood and accepted by the respondent just as it must be accepted in the cases of possible acquisition, possible loss, and all the other situations. Similar parallels can be found in all the different situations.

The *emotion* of a person about to be frustrated may be added to the situation of possible frustration, just as we saw that the emotion of twin babies about to be given a few shakes of Johnson's Baby Powder was depicted in possible acquisition.

An incident in the comic strips showed the sharp emotion of a man who took for granted the value he could have, until he saw he was in danger of being frustrated. Joy Beaverduck, madcap spoiled daughter of a wealthy manufacturer, had fallen completely in love with the famous comic strip aviator, "Smilin' Jack" Martin, but he didn't like her type. All her attempts to win him failed. One day, in a rebellious pique, she soared off on a glider trip through the mountain passes. A sudden storm arose and her glider crashed. Jack rushed to her, but although he did everything he could to revive her, she continued sinking. The heart had gone out of her for living. At the moment when she appeared to be breathing her last, Jack was suddenly transformed from a scornfully indifferent aviator into a frantic man in love. In his anguish he prayed that she should recover and blurted out aloud that he loved her. This was the emotion to which he was brought by the chance that his sweetheart would be taken away at the very moment she began to exist as a sweetheart. She heard him and recovered. Reader interest soared.

The value-balancing, conviction-securing, instruction-giving principles which are used in possible frustration also faithfully parallel those we have seen under possible acquisition. Of course, a few translations must be made to put the presentations of one into the terms of the other. The same is true of value-balancing presentations. In possible frustration, it is important to emphasize the worth of the goal value which may be frustrated, thus magnifying the expected pain. Moreover, the expected frustration appears even greater if the person is made to feel that he will waste a large cost value in arriving at this frustration. This sharpens the anticipated pain and further discourages him from taking steps which are doomed to disappointment.

When we come to the question of conviction, the whole aim of the arguments is to destroy the means value to which the respondent seems to be adhering at present. The stimulator tries to convince him that it can only

result in frustration. Thus, before the actual disappointment occurs, the stimulator warns him away and tries to produce rejection.

In such a case, the story usually opens with the possible frustration of a goal value and the use of a poor means value which causes or cannot prevent the frustration.

Then, using conviction methods, the old means must be removed. The next step after that is to propose a new means. The result is that the goal situation changes back to possible acquisition.

In bringing about rejection of the means, we may utilize passive rejection, denial that the means works, logic demonstrating that the means is ineffective, revelation that the producer lacks skill and experience, a statement that low standards have been set for the means, or that it is not adjustable to the respondent's needs, a demonstration of its inadequacy, an unsatisfactory trial, an unsatisfactory sample, an official test and expert opinion indicating that it will not work, testimonials to its inadequacy, and assumption of a decision against the means. Following this, specific instructions may be supplied as to how to destroy or to avoid using the ineffective means.

CHAPTER IX

Frustration

IN WAGNER'S POWERFUL OPERA *Tristan und Isolde,* one of the most moving episodes occurs when Isolde arrives for a rendezvous with Tristan on the island of his exile. Tristan, still suffering from wounds received in his homeland, watches her ascend the path and pours forth his joy in a song. When she is almost at the entrance to the patio, he is so overcome with happiness that he tears the bandages off his wounds and falls dying in her arms. At this tragic turn of events, Isolde sings the beautiful, sobbing love song, "Liebestod," to express her grief. Operas seldom bring tears to the eyes of New York theater audiences, but shining puddles could be seen that night in the eyes of many a person listening to Kirsten Flagstad as she sang this episode in the role of Isolde.

Isolde, in our new way of describing situations, was looking forward eagerly to the romantic meeting with her lover, but this desire was frustrated forever by his death. Possible acquisition of love was suddenly turned into frustration. This falls in the third position in our wheel of situations, shown on page 51.

As soon as frustration occurs, the victim automatically moves into the next situation, that of lack. This automatic change should not obscure the fact that the two situations are completely separate and distinct, for the respondent's emotions and actions are different in each case. He feels and acts differently after having loved and been disappointed than if he had never loved at all. Whether the experience is better for him is a question for the philosophers, but psychologists would agree that it is more painful. Unsatisfied desire has the nature of pain, and the individual usually seeks to assuage it by satisfying the desire or by turning to other activities. The displeasure is twofold. Every frustration involves both frustration (of the value) and loss (of self-esteem, or ego). It is painful to have the motive aroused and then to find no release for the tension. A person is driven to find an outlet for the pent-up emotion and so to restore his ego.

One of the approved and common reactions to frustration is "compensation in kind." When a person fails to acquire a value, which is a frustration, he may cast about for a better means with which to serve the same end. The

boy who finds that Vitalis does not transform him into an irresistible Casanova may learn to dance, go out for football, or take a fling at crooning.

Instead of making a frontal assault on an obstacle, however, a person may grow tired and take a detour around it. A homely girl sometimes develops charm, and an awakening adolescent wears himself out in wild jitterbugging. It is also possible for a disappointed person to join a church or lodge and immerse himself in ritual and prayer.

A note may also be taken from the motion pictures, which year after year coin millions of dollars selling "sour-grape" and "sweet-lemon" stories to the public. The unhappy young millionaire forsakes his spineless, insincere, wealthy girl friends for a marvelous poor girl and decides that poverty is rather nice after all. This is "sweet lemon." Such an ending does not solve the poverty of the many poor people who sit in the movie audiences, but it lifts their ego. The lemon tastes sweeter, but it is still a lemon.

As for "sour grapes," Edward Arnold, playing the merciless, power-hungry, Big Businessman father of Jimmie Stewart in the motion picture *You Can't Take It With You,* abandons his Board of Directors at the crowning point of his career. He has just had his wealth and power turn sour when his son walks out on him for the love of Jean Arthur. This also leaves the poor man in the audience still poor; but it tells him the value he cannot get is not worth having. This "sour grapes" attitude supplements the "sweet lemon" view. For sour grapes says the value you want but cannot get is not worth having, and the sweet lemon view holds that the condition you are in but do not like has many advantages after all.

If we would understand how these varied reactions originate, it will be worth our while to step nearer and study the anatomy of frustration. Only a few of the possible presentations need be noted.

A story of frustration is related in the *New York Sunday News,*[60] which carries this headline: "IMMORTAL INFANT RETURNS TO EARTH AND HER MOTHER." Under the child's photograph, the copy explains:

> Baby Jean Gauntt, who was being groomed by the Royal Fraternity of Master Metaphysicians for immortality on a diet of vegetables and pure living, is back on prunes.

Here, the readers probably feel, an attempt has been made which was ridiculous from the start. As a consequence the frustration seems both funny and justified.

One of the most frequently used and resultful techniques of the practical psychologist is that of suspense. The story writer, the advertiser, the propagandist, and the dramatist may use it, as Brennecke and Clark suggest:

> Even when the reader knows that the narrator lived to tell the tale, he can

be brought up on the edge of his chair if he can skilfully be made to dread the danger and wonder how it was going to be escaped. Suspense is suggested by the old slogan for success in playwriting, "Make 'em laugh; make 'em cry; make 'em wait." [10]

Once a desire for a value has been aroused, the failure to satisfy it at the time expected amounts to a partial or temporary frustration. This is true of all values, whether thirst, love-making, or information is involved. For instance, curiosity, or the desire for information, is one of the most frequently frustrated motives in the field of commercial psychology. If the desire is awakened, then temporarily frustrated, an increased response is secured. The information may be wanted as a means to an end, or for its own sake. Man is a curious creature whose survival has depended on knowing the whys and wherefores of everything.

A missing item of information—the name of the benefactor, the place, the time, the cause, and so on—will usually frustrate the motive of curiosity. In such a case, the respondent fails to acquire the value, information. When someone asserts, "This kind of stationery will save you money," he makes a straight gift of information. But when he says, "Do you know how this kind of stationery can save you money?" he offers, then withholds, part of the information. But the frustration is not permanent. The respondent knows that by reading further his curiosity will be satisfied. This is exactly what the stimulator wants him to do.

What information should be withheld? Questions should be raised but not for the moment answered as to "Who is the benefactor?"—"Why is he offering or giving this value?" or "What means is being used to obtain the goal?" Two of the items, who and why, were withheld in a Kansas City publicity campaign. Birthday cakes with eight lighted candles were sent mysteriously to prominent people throughout the city, among them the president of the Rotary Club and the Chief of Police. When public curiosity was high, the Chief of Police's office, by prearrangement, had two detectives follow the young lady who delivered the cake; they discovered that she was a messenger of Kansas Service Grocers, who were celebrating their eighth anniversary. The publicity obtained in this manner was supplemented by paid advertising and the mailing of cake photographs to housewives throughout the city.[82] Only by following the news items until the mystery was solved could newspaper readers find out who sent the cakes and why.

CHAPTER X

Acquisition

As TEARS OF SORROW spring from frustration after high hopes, so do tears of joy arise from final acquisition after repeated and painful frustration. Such was the case in the motion picture *Random Harvest,* when the mists in Ronald Coleman's brain at last rolled back and revealed that Greer Garson, the same lovely woman he had married as a captain of industry and statesman, had also been the beloved wife of his amnesia days. Throughout the story the wife was frustrated time and again in her attempts to win his love as his secretary, for he did not remember she had been his wife. Once he almost married another girl, but the haunting gap in his past barred the way in his mind. Even when he married Greer for the second time the fog did not lift.

After years of frustration, she set the stage for his rediscovery of their first home, the one in which they had lived while he had amnesia. This brought the past flooding back and she reacquired his whole love. When the lights of the movie theater went up, it could be seen that many people in the audience had been deeply moved.

A motive is like a stream of water. When a river is allowed to flow peacefully and steadily, as with most acquisition and striving in life, the final satisfaction of the motive produces an emotion that is pleasant but restrained. But let the river be dammed up for a considerable period of time with no outlet, and a great potential energy builds up behind the dam. When the obstruction is finally removed, these floods of energy burst forth and race down their channels, often going out of bounds in their mad release. Desire similarly involves tension, and when it is dammed up, the tension approaches an unbearable strain. If acquisition finally comes to release the tension, the emotions unleashed are surprisingly powerful. We are likely to see the tears of joy overflow, the brain become intoxicated, and the rational processes become weakened.

After a lovers' quarrel, for instance, the tense misery of separation is transmuted into the giddy warmth of reunion. Experience has shown time and again that such reconciliations provide a situation so emotional that virtue may be lost. The mind is numbed by the release of pent-up emotions. In the

same way, water tastes unbelievably good to the thirsty man who finally gets a drink. Of course, such a feeling is, at least to a moderate extent, derived from any acquisition. It is greater, however, when acquisition has been temporarily frustrated.

Such is one reaction to acquisition, which falls in the fourth position in the wheel of situations shown on page 51.

The first three situations which we have studied—possible acquisition, possible frustration, and actual frustration—veered off on a detour, carrying the respondent back to lack. However, the respondent, starting at possible acquisition, may face possible frustration, then overcome it and arrive at acquisition. Or he may pass directly from possible acquisition to actual acquisition, without any possible frustration clouds having gathered to mar the picture.

Although acquisition then passes unhindered and unaided into possession, it involves a distinct set of emotions and actions. One is hardly likely, for example, to find a woman weeping tears of joy over a value she has safely possessed for many years. Yet a satisfaction that has just occurred, as in the movie *Random Harvest,* often produces this effect. Acquisition thus produces an emotion, whereas it is possession that permits the value to be used to protect or acquire the next value in the chain of means and ends.

Various presentations of the acquisition appeal are discussed below, and it will be observed that several run parallel to presentations which have already been mentioned in previous situations.

Mr. Brown, owner of a small metal-working plant in a town of a few thousand inhabitants, has won the devotion and almost the worship of everyone in town. He knows every worker and his family by name and keeps in direct personal contact with them, visits the sick, gives each worker a generous Christmas present, pays the college tuitions of promising boys and girls, pensions old employees, and confers personally with employee groups on all matters of policy.[89] He is thus constantly giving the ego value through personal recognition and solicitude, as well as money and other tangible values. Giving on his part means acquiring on theirs.

Political bosses follow suit. They keep their fences mended with festivals and balls, contributions to charity and campaign funds, paying funeral costs and doctor bills, and helping youngsters in trouble.[59] Salesmen build sales and good will by declining to sell the customer a certain item for his own good, obtaining an earlier shipping schedule for him, giving him tips on sales methods, and providing factory service, shipping or delivery service, business advisory service, or any kind of uncommon personal service. The customers give it back to them wrapped up in orders and more orders.[88]

Giving also seems to be a time-tested appeal in winning a girl's heart. In

our fathers' day, and in our own, a present of candy goes a long way, and so do flowers. There are little gadgets, too, things that are not worth much in themselves but which indicate in a sentimental way that the man is thinking of the girl. A gold chain can be given, with an amulet attached containing a miniature photograph of oneself inside. This serves both as an attractive clothing accessory and as a personal memento. The boy may bring his guitar and sing to her, as they do in Latin-American countries, compose love songs and poems, ask for a photograph of the girl to keep on his desk, or show her a miniature photograph of her which he carries in his watchcase. Praising her, as with sincere compliments on her charm, intelligence, beauty, or sense of humor, also helps. Most important of all, perhaps, one may give her emotional satisfaction in kisses and tender embraces.

A chance to march in a parade with a large group of people is an unusually exhilarating acquisition which combines the physical pleasure of rhythmical movement with the social satisfaction of public acclaim; it provides, above all, the bursting pride of identifying oneself with the strength of the entire group by acting in perfect unison with it. What the marcher loses in individuality he more than gains in a feeling of personal power. Marching to the music of a military band seems to be almost irresistible. Goode and Kaufman claim that more volunteers were put into uniforms by bands than by conscience, uniforms, pretty nurses, and lack of employment together.[32]

Indeed, unison activity of almost any kind has such an effect, whether it be singing in unison, marching in unison, praying aloud in unison, executing football plays in perfect unison, wearing the same uniform as millions of other men, fighting in unison, or cheering in unison at a football rally. All make the individual feel less alone, all weld him firmly into the great and powerful group of which he is a member. The reactions? They are the same as those elicited by almost any acquisition—pleasure, readiness to repeat the performance, suggestibility to the group and its leaders, a sharpened appetite for more, an ego-enlargement, a feeling of personal involvement in the purposes of the group.

These unison activities swell a person's power ego. Probably more common, however, is the expansion of self-esteem which centers on our more personal characteristics such as our names, physical features, birthdays, and the like. When someone shows a person that he is interested enough in him to remember his name he has given him an ego-gift. That is why a hat-check girl gets a better tip when she remembers a man's name, business, or hobby, and asks, "How was the market today, Mr. Wilson?" That is why a person is flattered when someone asks for his autograph. He is pleased to think he is important to someone. A girl may ask her escort to autograph the program of the concert to which he has taken her, a host may ask his friends to sign

the guest book, and a high school girl may ask her chums to autograph her Senior album.

Personal attentions to the workers was the chief clue to the Falk Corporation's fifty-year record of no strikes or management-labor conflicts, a period in which it became the world's largest manufacturer of propulsion gears, some of which were used on the American aircraft carriers *Enterprise, Wasp* and *Hornet.* Neither the CIO nor the AFL was able to establish union locals in the organization because the 3,500 men and women laborers had apparrently come to feel they could get without a union everything that an organization had to offer them. The firm won the two-starred Navy pennant; workers put in as many as sixty-four hours a week, holidays and Sundays included; and there was no absentee problem.

These results could be traced to the contentment of the workers, but their contentment was not due to any lavish bonuses or elaborate pension systems, such as those adopted by the firm of Jack & Heintz. Wages were reported to run about the same as any others in Milwaukee. The worker's happiness and efficiency on the job was largely attributed to the homey, personal touch of Harold S. Falk, their shirt-sleeved president, and his lively, enthusiastic son, Dick, who was industrial relations director. Important roles were also played by two other sons, Harold F., general superintendent, and Louis W., executive engineer.

When a Negro furnace hand or a Polish molder became sick and went to the hospital, one of the bosses found time to pay him a friendly visit. One of the Falks always attended weddings and christenings. When the elder Falk walked through his plant, he not only got a friendly smile from his men, but often heard a "Hi-ya, Harold!" He could call every man in the plant by his first name, and sat down to lunch and friendly conversation with the sweat-stained workers at their machines or in the cafeteria.

His son Dick also promoted an activity program for the men and women of the Falk plant, which prevented them from feeling like nameless cogs in a machine. Instead of turning sour and sulking, or stirring up plant trouble, they joined the soccer, baseball, football, basketball, tennis, softball, and bowling teams; the camera, coin, stamp, dramatic and gun clubs; or the dance orchestra and brass band. Dick wrote with remarkable regularity to each of the 400 men from Falk's who were in the service, and their answering letters began, "Dear Dick," rather than "Dear Mr. Falk." Thus the Falks have set a pattern for industrial relations which is as famous as the product of their machines.[86]

What are the principal acquisitions by the workers under such a system? They are largely ego gains, since big wages or other tangible values are not provided. The managers pay attention to each worker's self—his name, his

health, his wedding, his christenings; they show their esteem and personal liking by noticing these things faithfully. This acquisition of attention gives the same pleasure as do all acquisitions, as well as arousing the hope of possible acquisition of more of the same in the future. The workers are also given a chance to show their athletic and other skills in leisure activities.

Praise, like personal attention, is said to be one of the great undeveloped resources of man. Although it is often clumsily handled, it is a rich vein of psychological gold, for it costs practically nothing to produce, and frequently returns large dividends.

The types of praise are numerous, just as the values which people may be credited with possessing are countless. We may praise a person through compliments, handclapping, stamping our feet, drinking a toast to him, painting his portrait, displaying photos and statues of him in public, and exclaiming, "Attaboy!" He may also be praised through a formal stately address, memorial days, hymns of praise, psalms, personal letters expressing appreciation, book dedications, poetic tributes, inscriptions and epitaphs, testimonials, public resolutions by Congress or other organizations, and the bestowal of titles.[52, 100]

But regardless of its form, if praise is properly conveyed, it is effective in winning friendships and inspiring people to greater efforts. Perhaps this is one reason why Dale Carnegie's book on winning friends and influencing people was so heavily weighted with examples of praise and flattery. It is true that praise is only one technique out of hundreds, but it must be given particular attention. Charles Schwab was paid the staggering salary of $1,000,000 a year because he knew how to hand it out. He has thrown the following light on his secret:

> I consider my ability to arouse enthusiasm among the men the greatest asset I possess, and the way to develop the best that is in a man is by appreciation and encouragement. There is nothing else that so kills the ambitions of a man as criticisms from his superiors. I never criticize anyone. I believe in giving a man incentive to work. So I am anxious to praise but loath to find fault. If I like anything, I am hearty in my approbation and lavish in my praise.[14]

Praise was given for work already done—for skill and intelligence already demonstrated—and it acted as an incentive to repetition.

Adela Rogers St. John turned the spotlight on two other exponents of the art of praise, the much-married Mdivani brothers. These so-called "princes" were able to marry two beautiful and famous screen stars, a world-famous prima donna, and Barbara Hutton, heiress to the five-and-ten-cent-store millions.

The Mdivani charm for women has been among the mysteries of the ages to many. Pola Negri, a woman of the world, a connoisseur of men, and a great artist, once explained it to me. She said, "They understand the art of flattery as do no other men I have ever met. And the art of flattery is almost a lost one in this realistic and humorous age. That, I assure you, is the secret of the Mdivani charm for women. I know." [14]

Praise, however, is too dangerous to be clumsily thrown about. It may prove a boomerang. One successful sales manager advises his salesmen against it, saying that most attempts at flattery are so transparent that they insult a buyer's intelligence. He therefore rules out the practice of letting customers win every game and laughing uproariously at their seedy jokes. He would replace this kind of flattery with a sincere interest in what they are interested in—their businesses.[87]

What, then, is the stimulator to do? Should he flatter, or shouldn't he? The answer seems to be that praise is excellent, flattery is out. Flattery is unjustified praise. It is false. And when the respondent does not believe that the stimulator's remarks are true or sincere, the whole appeal is ruined.

Praise, then, must be sincere. It is an art. Usually there are so many good traits in most people that all we have to do is notice one of the traits and express our admiration of it. In fact, we should not let a good trait go unnoticed any more than we should resort to flattery on traits which do not exist. We may say something complimentary about a person to others who will repeat it to him. We may say something complimentary about others to our listener, praising in him a trait which we know he possesses. We may also praise his qualities and achievements to his face, but it is much better to praise him publicly in such a way that he is not called upon to make an acknowledgment.

It is often also a sound idea to praise a person on his weaker, less recognized points, rather than on those in which he is thoroughly confident. Praising Carnegie or Rockefeller on their business leadership would have been received with yawns. But praise on their household economies or speeches was a different matter. These were their pet vanities, and praise filled a definite need.[100] One should not interpret this to mean we should compliment a homely woman on her facial beauty, for that would appear to be sarcasm, foolishness, or flattery. We can praise her taste in clothing, comment on her beautiful brown eyes and lovely golden hair, or compliment her erect carriage—if these things are true. They are aspects which go to make up the total impression of a woman's beauty.

In order to sidetrack a person from one pursuit into another, however, it is not always enough to give him credit for possessing the desirable value. He must be given a chance to show he possesses the new trait.

Occasionally an employer notices one of his workers is growingly annoyed at having constant corrections made on his work. So the boss sends some of his own jobs over to the disgrunted employee, and asks for his advice and corrections. This wins the employee's forgiveness and restores his self-respect. The employee swings from loss of credit for skill to the opposite situation—recognition of his skill and a chance to demonstrate it.

This technique of giving people a chance to show what values they possess is already being used by many great organizations, including the United States Army, several big railroad systems, the Red Cross, one national political party, the Y.M.C.A., the General Motors Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the American Federation of Labor. They have all demonstrated on the actual firing line of experience that leadership and authority at the top are not enough. Both must be divided and stepped down until every single member is emotionally tied into the whole operation. The top sergeant, as much as the general, must be given an opportunity to lead as well as to follow.[89]

Job Methods Training, a midget course in scientific management, has bypassed the Frederick W. Taylor disciples by making every rank and file worker an efficiency expert. The results of giving the workers a chance to shine are remarkable. Twenty-two "JM" suggestions from workers and foremen in the Picatinny Arsenal showed a rate of saving of 438,000 man-hours per year, and it was calculated that extending these proposals to all arsenals would have resulted in a $30,000,000-a-year saving. To show how good the JM suggestions were, a check-up by Stuart Chase revealed the impressive fact that in one Connecticut war plant 1,249 ideas had been turned in up to the time of his visit. Of these, 463 were in operation, 263 had been discarded, and the rest were pending. Moreover, sixty-five per cent of the proposals made by 250 JM-trained foremen in the Baldwin Locomotive Works were in operation.

The surprising results of Job Methods Training spring from the fact that efficiency methods are taught not only to the foremen but to the workers as well, and everyone in the plant is encouraged and rewarded for figuring out time-saving and money-saving shortcuts. The stimulus of asking them for suggestions is the psychological technique, the steps for improving efficiency are the technical devices.[17]

Even men of international importance are susceptible to the same treatment. Herbert Hoover was given a chance to show his knowledge of mine prospecting methods in a stratagem used by young Paul Leach, a star correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*. The incident occurred in 1928. Leach was unable to start Hoover talking when he was interviewing him on the train, until he happened to make a misstatement of fact on a subject which

Hoover knew thoroughly. After that, Hoover devoted himself for nearly two hours to this young man whom he barely knew. This is all the more remarkable because Hoover at that moment was one of the most important men in the world. He was crossing Nevada en route to the notification ceremonies at Palo Alto, where he was to begin his campaign as Republican candidate for the presidency. Many important guests, meanwhile, were waiting impatiently in his private car to have a word with him. How did the reporter get him to open up?

The young man looked at the dreary waste, with hazy purple mountains in the distance, and said, "This is still the country of the pick-and-shovel prospector."

This was not true, and mine prospecting methods was a subject which Hoover knew thoroughly. He immediately took the reporter up on the remark and stated, "Modern methods have displaced the old aimless prospecting." For over an hour he talked about mining; then the talk switched to petroleum, airplane mail, and half a dozen other things.[100]

Credit for possessing a value may be reacquired, or acquired after frustration. One of the most famous and successful mail order advertisements of recent years gives a case of frustration of credit for knowing French followed by acquisition of credit for the knowledge. The headline sums up the story: "THEY GRINNED WHEN THE WAITER SPOKE TO ME IN FRENCH—but their laughter changed to amazement at my reply." A great deal of satisfaction is radiated in this headline. The other guests deny the man credit for knowing how to speak French and laugh at how foolish he is going to make himself. This is an ego-crushing taunt.

"Fred can't speak French, can he?" I heard a girl whisper to Jack.

"No—he never spoke a word of French in his life," came the answer. "But watch him. This will be funny. He'll probably give an imitation of a hen laying an egg."

But he answers the waiter in perfect French, gives the order quickly and clearly, and converses with him for a moment about his home town in France.

The effect on my friends was tremendous. The laughter stopped. There were gasps of amazement. In order to heighten the effect, I continued for several minutes to converse in French with the waiter. I asked him all sorts of questions—what part of France he was from—how long he had been in America, and many other queries. When I finally let the waiter go, everybody started firing excited questions at me.

"Fred! Where did you learn to speak French like that?" "Why didn't you tell us you could talk French?" "Who was your teacher?" [18]

So from the ego-loss which occurred in frustration of credit for knowing French, this man turns back to acquisition of credit, strongly bolstered by his friends' amazement and admiration. The reader can picture himself in the same situation, dumfounding his friends and winning their admiration. This inevitably raises the question as to how he can do it. By reading on he learns that a home-study course with Hugo's Language Institute is available.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

In acquisition, as in other situations, the manner in which the respondent is affected depends partly on how close he is to the beneficiary psychologically. He is most pleased when he himself or a loved one acquires the value, and is least pleased if the lucky person is an enemy or competitor. He also derives a second-hand thrill from an acquisition in which the beneficiary is someone he likes or with whom he can identify himself. A man and girl in a romantic embrace provide the eye-catcher and interest-arouser in the best-observed black-and-white advertisement which was also the best-read of all advertisements in an issue of *Collier's*. Practically the entire page is filled with the photograph of Leslie Howard and Norma Shearer, dressed as Romeo and Juliet, in a tender embrace, looking into space with starry gazes. The repetition of the word "romance" in the descriptive copy emphasizes the theme:

> . . . Tender, haunting romance that will stay ever fresh in your memory . . . spectacular beauty that will set a feast for your eyes—in the greatest melodramatic romance of all time . . . presented as it has never been before . . . the final glorious flower of motion picture achievement.[13]

In general, the only stranger who can acquire a value without awakening envy or displeasure in the respondent is someone removed from his own sphere of activity, imaginary people whose lives resemble the moviegoer's but who do not enter his real life as competitors. The respondent enjoys seeing fictional or distant characters such as movie stars, photographer's models, and outstanding athletes win great rewards, but it is different when the acquirer is an acquaintance who lives next door. Even acquisition by friends occasionally leads to envy, resentment, and estrangement. Whoever acquires a worthwhile value must remember that he is likely to be the object of both admiration and envy.

The latter reaction need not be regarded as bad in itself. Envy has its beneficial aspect, for it raises the pace of competition and spurs us to greater activity. Whoever the beneficiary may be, acquisition by others serves to focus our attention on the value and to remind us that it is something we lack. With our interest aroused, our first act will probably be to inquire what means

the beneficiary has used to obtain the value. Then we will use that means ourselves.

Now we may turn our backs for a moment on the beneficiary and look for the benefactor. Gratitude toward the benefactor is one of the reactions to acquisition, so many firms have secured wide publicity through public service of one sort or another. Porter Loring, a San Antonio funeral director, donated an iron lung to the city. Stores displayed it, station WOAI bragged about it, the City Health Department kept a nurse officially on duty in front of the store's show window to explain its uses, and more than 60,000 fellow citizens stood there and read the card bearing Porter Loring's name.[31]

A single case of value-balancing in acquisition will suffice. A Pelmanism advertisement, repeated frequently over a period of many years with unabated sales stimulation, carries the headline, "I GAMBLED 3¢ and WON $35,840 in 2 YEARS."[13] It mentions the tiny initial cost and immediately contrasts it with the huge gains obtained. The copy explains that these gains consisted not only of money but of happiness, travel, family affection, good clothes, automobiles, and many other valuable things.

The forms of proof which we see cropping up in situations of acquisition also closely parallel those in possible acquisition because every case of actual acquisition is the best proof in the world that the suggested means will be effective in possible acquisition. An acquisition by the respondent, for instance, acts as a sample which leads to a repeat performance. The beneficiary will use the same means in the hope of winning even more. Suppose he receives a valuable reward after performing good work. This sample acquisition furnishes a strong incentive to continue rendering better and better service.

The recent brilliant rise of the Grant Advertising Agency illustrates this point. We shall let *Time* Magazine tell us how it happened. The first three paragraphs describe the agency's success and its way of working; the last paragraph reveals that incentive pay is the powerful psychological force which calls forth these exertions and accomplishments. *Time* says:

> The success of Will Calloway Grant, 36, of Chicago, is the current sensation of the U. S. Advertising business. . . . Last year [1942] Grant advertising placed $4,500,000 and this year its business will double that. One main reason: Chicago's conservative, rich Cudahy Packing Co. transferred its entire advertising business to Grant. In one recent week Grant's billings jumped $1,000,000.
>
> *The Flying Spearhead.* The Cudahy-to-Grant deal reveals Will Grant's secret. Last year he decided that Cudahy's lush Old Dutch Cleanser business (handled by Blackett-Sample-Hummert) was fair game. He called in all his employees for a session on what was good or bad about Old Dutch—and other—cleansers. Then he got some of his research staff (the mail-room girls

look like Powers models) licensed to sell Dutch Cleanser from door to door, taking notes while housewives scrubbed. He set others to scrubbing every bathtub in the 450-room Knickerbocker Hotel, even did some research on his own hook, scouring a frying pan that his secretary smeared with thick black grease. And his "flying spearhead" (top Grant executives from all offices who move in on a given advertising problem in one place, speed on to the next) flew to Chicago.

From every researcher came an itemized account. Synthesized into one story, they sold Cudahy on using Grant's agency, produced a new slogan: "Old Dutch Cleanser cleans your sink 69 more times than any other cleanser." Whether or not the slogan was statistically accurate, bona fide housewife affidavits in Grant Advertising files stood behind it.

Last week Grant employees greeted each other, not with "Good morning" but with the more-or-less nauseous names they had dreamed up for Cudahy's new oleomargarine (the winner, "Delrich"). *The intense personal interest that every Grant employee takes in Grant's business has a solid foundation: they all get at least one raise a year (some have had six or seven), plus a bonus every time a new account comes in.* [Italics ours.] [92]

Incentive pay alone, as the story suggests, does not account entirely for the Grant agency's success. Technical methods such as the "Flying Spearhead" strategy are quite important. The dollar incentive creates the will to do big things, while Grant's technical knowledge and organizational strategy provide the way. Throughout the present book we are concentrating on the former, without attempting to deny the importance of the latter. Technical know-how of any kind is a highly complicated field in itself, and deserving of full credit for the rich rewards it helps to win.

Finally, there is the fourth part of the appeal. The specific steps used by one person in the actual acquisition of a value may be repeated as specific instructions for another person who faces possible acquisition.

CHAPTER XI

Possession

AT LAST WE COME to the star to which people hitch their spiritual wagons, the goal situation toward which all striving in human existence appears to be directed. All roads in the value-wheel do not lead to possession, but men strive to make them do so. And this is true of every value of the thousands upon thousands which lead us on throughout our lives, ranging from a kiss to *The Story of Philosophy*, a Beethoven concerto, or a knowledge of differential calculus.

Whenever a person finds he is in a situation which is carrying him away from the goal of possession, he struggles to vault back into the routes leading toward it. Thus, when he foresees the possibility of frustration, he tries to avoid it and arrive at acquisition, which passes on to possession. When he foresees the possibility of loss, he exerts himself to avoid the loss by rescuing the value or escaping with it.

So possession is the master situation, but *why* is it? It is because this is the position on the dial of situations which closes the circuit of striving and permits the current of energy to pass through to the next values. Any situation other than possession is an obstruction to the current, for a person cannot use a value as a means to his goals until he possesses that value. He always tries, therefore, to twirl the dial around until it reads "possession" for every value. Then he uses that value to help him twirl the next one around to the situation of possession.

Let us, for a concrete case, say a boy endeavors to come into possession of a college education. When he succeeds in this, he uses the knowledge to help him come into possession of employment, which in turn aids him to twist the salary dial around to the situation of possession. However, he must be constantly tending to these situation dials to keep them all on the mark of possession, just as a machine tender must constantly keep on the alert making adjustments to his gauges so they will give the proper readings at all times.

The position of possession is indicated by the black circle in the diagram on page 124. It will be remembered that men strive most in the direction of the heavy arrows, for those are the parts of the route that are most strategic for them. The arrows lead to, or back to, possession. The row of smaller situ-

ation wheels at the lower part of the diagram suggests that adjustments must be made continuously to keep the values tuned in to the station of possession.

The simplest presentation of the situation is a direct statement or display

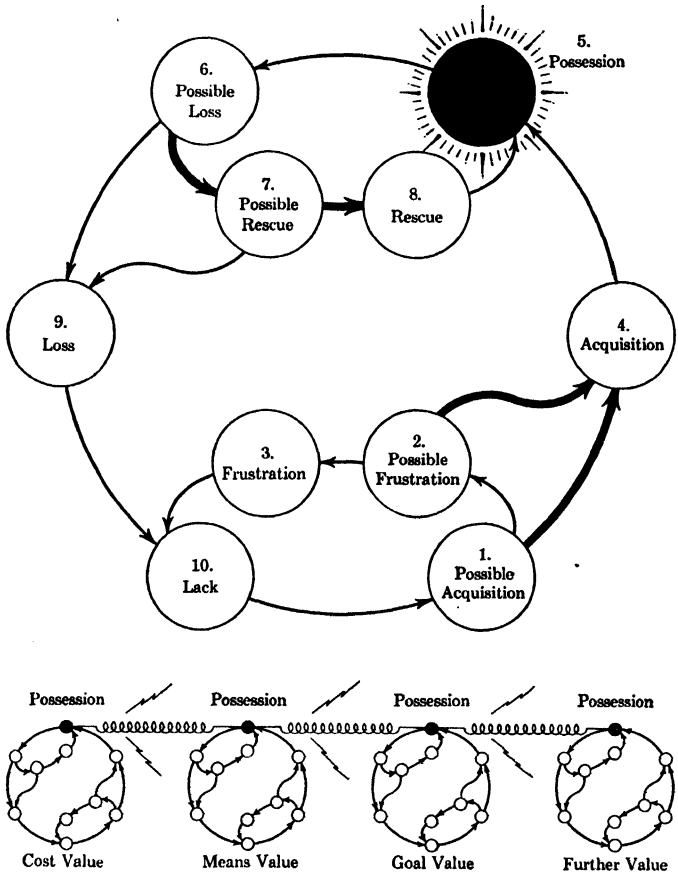


FIGURE I

of possession. A man named Victor Jones, testifying for the Roth Memory Course in a mail order advertisement which was repeated with outstanding sales results for more than fourteen years, begins his story by relating an interesting conversation he happened to overhear in the crowded corridor of the Hotel St. Regis in New York. One man was saying:

"Of *course* I place you! Mr. Addison Sims of Seattle.

"If I remember correctly—and I *do* remember correctly—Mr. Burroughs, the lumberman, introduced me to you at the luncheon of the Seattle Rotary Club three years ago in May. This is a pleasure indeed! I haven't laid eyes

on you since that day. How is the grain business? How did the merger work out?"

The assurance of this speaker—in the crowded corridor of the Hotel St. Regis—compelled me to look at him, though it is not my habit to "listen in" even in a hotel lobby.

"He is David M. Roth, the most famous memory expert in the United States," said my friend Kennedy, answering my question before I could get it out. "He will show you a lot more wonderful things than that, before the evening is over."

And he did.[18]

The copy leads into a powerful sales talk for the memory course. Here Mr. Roth's possession of a phenomenal memory is demonstrated by his using it to recall the details about a man he had met three years before. This narrative introduces the idea that if the reader will use the same means he can reach the same goal, a keen memory. Once he possesses this he can use it, in turn, as Mr. Roth did, to acquire new friends.

Quite fascinating is the psychological principle that is involved when a person shows his similarities to another person. This he does by demonstrating or claiming interest in, fondness of, or possession of the respondent's values, valued characteristics, or value-situations. The importance of this principle can hardly be overemphasized. It penetrates to the very basis of our society, and apparently plays a significant role in many other cultures. Francis Bacon once said that the cue of every leader is to divide his enemies and unite his friends. And it is similarity that is one of the factors leading straight to liking, trust, unity, friendship, and even love. The result is that every member of the similarity group is ready to accept the suggestions and consider the interests of the others who are like him. By unity we mean here simply a feeling of oneness and a readiness to act together. This is, for instance, a highly important attitude among soldiers and sailors.

The close psychological relationship between "likeness" and "liking" seems to have its roots deep in history. Our word "like," meaning resemblance, and our word "like," meaning fondness, are both derived from the same ancient Anglo-Saxon root word. The word is *gelīc*, which in turn is derived from the word *līc*, meaning form or body. With us, just as with those early Anglo-Saxons, we like those who are like us in form, body, dress, customs, speech, and so forth. This word-study suggests that our rude forefathers, centuries and perhaps millennia past, must have reacted in such cases in the same way we do today. A savage looking out from the entrance of his cave 5,000 years ago, or a sentry guarding a castle gate in twelfth-century France, could tell friend from foe by whether he was like him in speech, physical features, color of skin, darkness of hair, height, and manner of dressing. Those who were like him were friends; they were not hostile.

He could trust them and be at ease with them. So likeness and liking went hand in hand.

Mutual liking is what we know as friendship. This latter word, literally translated from the original, means *love*. So the dictionary, etymology, and the history of man lend added emphasis to the close linkage between similarity, liking, and suggestibility.

If similarity is so crucial, what, then, are the traits in which we must be similar? First of all, we must possess the minimum similarities to our respondents; these involve loyalty to the same cultural values and possession of as many valued traits as possible. We should strive to develop in ourselves the qualities most highly emphasized in our culture.

L. H. Moore has investigated the effects of possession of widely admired and desired values on other students in a woman's college. Each junior and senior was asked to choose from the entire student body, which exceeded 1,800 girls, three students whose leadership she would most readily accept and follow. For each of the three leaders a girl named, she was asked to state briefly what characteristics seemed to explain the girl's leadership ability. The attitudes and opinions recorded by the girls as a result of this study indicated that democratic attitudes, vitality, positiveness, friendliness, enthusiasm, sympathy, trustworthiness, and perseverance were the most outstanding traits of the young women who ranked highest as leaders.[58, 8]

These are not mystical or startling traits. They are simply the values our friends like to find in us whether we are leaders or not. Possession of qualities such as a democratic attitude, vitality, and positiveness, for instance, elicits in others the reaction of suggestibility, or readiness to accept our suggestions and leadership. It does not seem to matter how high the respondents rate themselves on each quality. What counts is that they recognize the value as desirable and admirable, even though they cannot or will not acquire it themselves.

But the value possessed need not always be a cultural value, to which, you will recall, everyone pays at least lip service. It may be some particular hobby of the respondent which no one else enjoys. This similarity helps to draw the stimulator and the respondent together. It may even be a personal characteristic, such as drawling ungrammatical speech, a grotesque style in clothing, or unusual facial features shared by stimulator and respondent. What matters is this: these characteristics of the respondent are aspects of a person's self. They are a part of his ego. They are just as peculiarly *him* as his name, photograph, and birthday. So they are values to him, and someone else's similarity in these respects is a bond of friendship, trust, and unity.

If all the foregoing is true, then what happens when the stimulator is different from the respondent, lacking his values? Paul Goebbels seemed to

know the answer to this question. He emphasized dissimilarities in an attempt to create suspicion and disunity among America, England, Poland, and France in pre-Pearl Harbor days. He told American Jews that the Poles were anti-Semitic. In the South of the United States, where timid old maids still looked under their beds for Negroes, he pointed with alarm to the fact that colored soldiers from Africa were fighting in the French Army. But in Harlem, he told the Negroes about the Sudan. He was shocked over the bombing of civilians—when the civilians were natives of India and the bombs smashed down from planes of the Royal Air Force. He was shocked by censorship—when the censors were French. He was scornful of the Allies who failed to pay their World War I debts. He strengthened the suspicions of those who believed that France, supposedly fighting for democracy, was really mimicking totalitarian methods. He obligingly distributed data indicating that England was not democratic either; and at the same time he had other data which indicated that England was *too* democratic.[44] Thus the Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment in Nazi Germany attempted to pry the Allies apart with a crowbar of suspected dissimilarities in values and value-situations. Different forms of government, different races, different economic codes, lack of humanity, and a lack of freedom of speech were entering wedges.

Therefore, unity is highly important and similarity contributes to it strongly. So let us now seek a psychological definition of similarity. Two individuals or groups may be said to be similar when they are interested in or possess the same values and stand in the same value situations.

This unity between two individuals or groups may be measured on the scale previously set up in the discussion of dramatis personae:

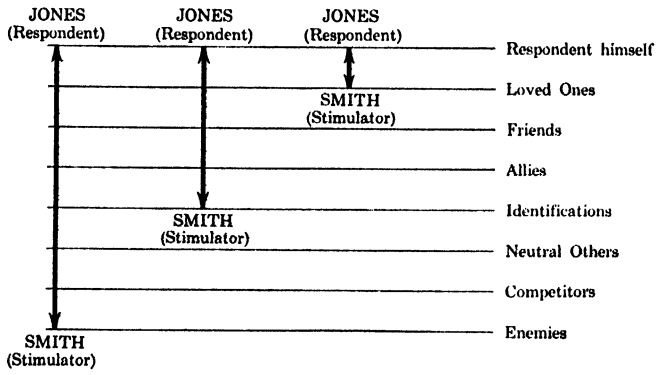


FIGURE 2

If Jones and Smith are dissimilar in the values or value-situations which are of paramount importance to them at the moment, Jones will classify

Smith as an enemy, competitor, or neutral. For dissimilarity means cleavage. But if Smith becomes an identification, Jones will become more suggestible toward him. If he progresses still farther to the position of a loved one (such as a family member), Jones's suggestibility will be even greater. Only when Smith is actually the same person as Jones, however, does suggestibility become complete; then the similarity and the unity are perfect.

Two people or groups of people may be unified by similarity in one value-situation and alienated at the same time by dissimilarity in another. On the issue of prohibition, for example, occurring between the two World Wars, the Germans in rural communities such as Wisconsin tended to unite with voters of the cities who felt the same way toward beer and liquor. But upon other questions they would stand with other rural dwellers against the cities.[70]

We have seen that similarity may go beyond merely aiding identification and produce the closer unity of friendship. We tend to find those for whom our respect naturally develops among the people we know; and from them we generally select as close friends those who have noticeable similarities of interests, tastes, and aims.[89]

Naturally, the kind of friendship which the ordinary man is seeking must be emphatically distinguished from superficial "social forms." These are not friendship. These include cordiality, "diplomatic charm," nodding acquaintanceship, and treatment by impersonal formulas such as "So glad to see you," and "Do come again." These formulas are merely a kind of lubricating oil to enable people in their milling around to get past one another with the least possible friction.

Friendship is not based exclusively on similarity. The three main ingredients are resemblance in personal characteristics, having the same cultural values and value-situations, and mutual giving of values. The first two amount to similarity, or possession of the same valued characteristics. The last is acquisition of values by each friend.

What are the points of resemblance which may be emphasized?

First of all, we possess similarity to someone else when we resemble each other in personal characteristics such as sex, age, bodily and facial features, nationality and race, clothing, language, dialect, or energy, or when we come from the same home town or section of the country, work together on the same job, live in the same neighborhood, or are related to each other by blood or marriage. We are also similar when we share the same cultural values and value-situations. Thus, we may have the same customs, manners, beliefs, attitudes, ideals, ambitions, history, traditions, occupation, friends, personal interests and hobbies, or belong to the same lodge, fraternity, social club, church, young people's society, college club, literary society, labor union,

political party, or service organization (such as Kiwanis, Rotary, or Lions). We are also drawn together by a simple understanding or knowledge of each other's problems, triumphs, defeats, biography, financial standing, philosophy, and manner of thinking about anything, or even by the lack of other distinguishing characteristics, just being "us plain folks," "common citizens," or "men in the street."

We may possess similarity in status, such as in social standing, income, or occupational standing. It makes a difference whether we are both clerks or captains of industry, and even whether we are both amateurs or professionals in our activity. We also resemble each other when we take part in the same activities, such as laughing together, going through a ceremony, playing the same sport, joining in a community sing, marching in a parade, listening to the same music, sharing the same emotion, participating in the same program, or being entertained by the same dances, poems, stories, and movies. Similarity also exists when we have experiences in common, such as being thrown together in a disaster, observing the antics of a drunk in the same street car, or paying the same tax.

With all these chances to be similar, we should not find it hard to establish something in common with almost anyone. The next question is how to bring out these resemblances so they will be noticed.

Here again the range of choice is wide. We may make friendly inquiries of the other person regarding his home town, occupation, hobbies, and the like, so long as this can be done politely and without seeming mechanical, forced, or prying. We may show an interest in his interests and hobbies. When something prevents an actual similarity being established, we can at least show sympathy or admiration for his characteristic. Some similarities, of course, are plainly visible or audible and do not need to be emphasized. A similarity may also be founded on nearness. When we join a fraternity or club, our problem becomes mainly that of "being around." This establishes a new similarity, rather than merely bringing to light an existing one.

Again, we may imitate, adopt, or engage in whatever activity interests the other person. We may dance his favorite folk dance, wear his characteristic costume, or speak his dialect. If he says "jernt," we say "jernt."

No mass leader in American history ever more consistently aped the speech and mannerisms of his following than did Huey Long. He deliberately retained their way of speech, paraded their ungrammatical idioms in the Senate, and made a show of bumpkin manners. He would say, for instance, "Them city slickers who don't want nothin' done for the farmers are takin' us country boys for a snipe hunt." [19]

When politicians display religious piety, either sincerely or otherwise, it cannot be credited to modern inventiveness. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, advised

would-be leaders to show devotion to the gods, saying that an autocratic ruler in particular "should appear to be earnest in the worship of the gods; for if men think that a ruler is religious and reveres the gods, they are less afraid of suffering injustice at his hands, and are less disposed to conspire against him, since they believe that the gods themselves are fighting on his side." [3, 21]

So when Major General Leonard Wood was made Governor General of Cuba, he won friends in that Catholic country by showing understanding and sympathy with its religion. In a Catholic Saint's Day procession he marched in full army uniform down the sun-scorched streets of Santiago solemnly swinging a censer.[82]

Similarity may be used not only to link the respondents to the stimulator but to bind the respondents to one another. One of the greatest things held in common by the largest number of people in the world today, whether they are Chinese, Argentines, Arabians, or Americans, is the worship of one God. Jesus made a mighty contribution to universal unity and peace when he insisted there was one God, and held that the worship of this one God made all men brothers: "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother." [86]

Up to here, we have considered cases of interest in or possession of the same value. Increasingly effective is the possession not only of the same value but of the same value-situation. Weeping together or fighting side by side are examples. War, too, silences internal wrangling and unites the nation. The homeland is threatened, and even the angriest elements feel impelled to rally to its defense. "Stop your talk! It's war!" shouted American newspapers in 1917 [44] and again in 1941.

So much for displaying similarity and other presentations of the situation of possession. Let us glance a moment at some of the aspects which support the situation. Interest may be attracted almost always when we display "neutral others" who are outstanding or typical value-possessors. A famous person's photograph and name, displayed as the illustration and part of the headline, are the eye-catchers in one of the best-selling mail order advertisements ever written. A large photograph of Eugene O'Neill is shown, while the "ad" offers O'Neill plays free to those who join the Book-of-the-Month Club.[18] The advertisement does not owe its initial punch to the offer in the headline so much as to the value-possessor displayed. For O'Neill possesses fame, prestige, and outstanding literary ability.

The value possessor need not in all cases be famous. It is an axiom in the newspaper field that circulation can be built up by including as many local names as possible in the daily paper. One of the most closely read sections in any newspaper is the personal column relating the little business and social

doings of home-town residents. Familiar faces and names are values to the individual, for they are characteristics of his immediate personal world.

Since the principles of value-balancing, conviction, and specific instructions again parallel those already given under acquisition, we need not repeat them.

CHAPTER XII

Possible Loss

IF POSSESSION IS THE STAR to which people hitch their wagons, possible loss is a threat that they may have to unhitch their wagons. The idea is painful. A man, finding he is in a situation which carries him away from the fixed star of possession, fights to get back into the routes which lead to it. He attempts to find some means of escape, some way of rescuing the value. But in the moments before he locates a means, the situation he faces is purely that of possible loss. He has reached position number 6 in the orbit of situations, as shown on page 51.

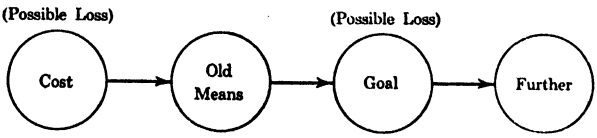
Now that the situation has moved away from possession, which was a relatively stable point, the wheel will not be able to come to a stop until the situation has either returned to possession or arrived at lack, which is the other relatively stable point. More immediately, possible loss may pass either into possible rescue or actual loss, following the arrows.

But possible loss is not just another step in a succession of situations. It is the beginning of a whole new phase—the waning phase—in the orbit of situations into which a value may fall. Up until this point, most of the situations fell on the brightening side of the orbit. The steps taken were principally positive in nature, for they referred to the struggle for possession. Now the phase we enter involves fear, pain, sorrow, and despair. Corresponding to this darker side is the great group of means by which loss may be avoided. Basically, all of the means are negative in character. Like a policeman, they do not help a man to get money, but they do help him to keep it. In this way he avoids loss.

The first step occurs when a person discovers that he may lose a value. This is possible loss. The next step takes place when he seeks and utilizes a means of preventing the loss. This latter step, however, comes under the situation of possible rescue (number 7), because the moment a means of escape or rescue is found or even suggested, the situation ceases to be purely that of possible loss.

Under possible loss we refer only to the possibility of losing the goal, further, tie-in, or successive values. We shall ignore possible loss of the cost value, which occurs even in cases of possible acquisition and possible rescue.

The familiar diagram of an immediate situation, or family of values, will help to make this clear:



FAGURE I

A poor quality fire extinguisher may be useless in preventing a house from burning down. But to this possible loss which it may let happen, one must add the cost of the extinguisher when purchased and the time and energy wasted in trying to use it to stop a fire. Money, time, and energy are all cost values, and they are all possible losses if the inferior extinguisher is to continue to be used.

Should a friend of the home owner suggest some more effective type of fire extinguisher, the psychological picture would then change to the next:

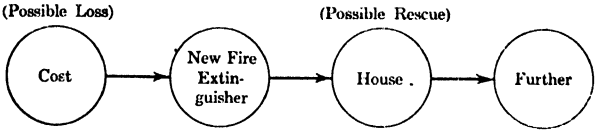


FIGURE 2

Here, of course, the cost of the new extinguisher appears as a possible loss, but the goal value—the man's home—may now be rescued from fire. This more hopeful type of situation comes under possible rescue. The possible cost in such a case is weighed against the value which may be rescued. But as long as the situation is that of possible loss the futile cost of a useless or dangerous means must be *added to* the values which may be lost.

If a possible loss appeal is to succeed, the elements must all be in good working order at all times, whether or not the stimulator calls the respondent's special attention to them in the appeal. For it is to be remembered that counter-propaganda relies on psychological sabotage. Anything it can do to mar the total picture, remove a supporting block from the structure here or insert a joker there, tends to cause the threatener's demands to collapse.

The simplest presentation indicates in a direct way that loss of the value is possible. This fact may be stated, shown, implied, hinted, masked, stated mockingly, or stated the opposite of the way meant. The final effect is practically the same. A clear case arises when the possible victim openly courts

danger. Stunt drivers hired by Blaw-Knox risked their lives to demonstrate the non-skid qualities of a new bridge meshwork on the Cherry Street Bridge in Toledo, and again, five minutes later, by way of comparison, they skidded really dangerously on a nearby wooden bridge paved with asphalt.[81] Considerable public attention was attracted by these daredevil feats.

One of the most successful of all the World Peaceways advertisements, publicized before the outbreak of World War II, displayed a laughing baby boy, rattle in hand, being held high in the air by his proud and happy mother.* In blood-red letters splashed across the photographs of the baby and mother were the prophetic words: "TO BE KILLED IN ACTION." This contrast between a happy domestic scene and an ominous prophecy proved so sharp as to be shocking. In the opening paragraphs of the copy this awful prediction is jabbed home:

He's going to grow up to go to war?

No—he's never going to grow up at all. If another war comes, he and his mother and thousands upon thousands like them are going to "die in action."

"Impossible!" you say. "They're non-combatants." Don't be silly—there'll be no such thing as non-combatants in the next war.

Wide-cruising submarines, and bombing planes will laugh at front lines. Gas—gas so powerful that one drop on your skin will kill you—will not be particular whose skin it touches. There will be no haven, no sanctuary, no safety. *Everyone* will suffer. . . .

This advertisement, at its peak, is reported to have brought in 5,000 inquiries a day for five days. It appeared in *Fortune* magazine.[13]

There are numerous other ways of presenting the situation of possible loss, and all mean exactly the same thing, at bottom. When Wilson & Company writes a letter to its dealers asking, "Will you experience the usual summer slump?" it suggests the possibility of lower profits by inquiring where they will stand.

A burglary insurance letter begins with another presentation:

Dear Sir:

Right now, as you read this letter, a burglar may be putting an "X" mark opposite your name on his "prospect list." [22]

This suggests that the depriver may be planning deprivation right now.

Irene Dunne warns readers of a *McCall's* advertisement, "Don't risk cosmetic skin!" and urges that they use her means of escaping that condition. This is another way of bringing up possible loss. "My complexion care—Lux Toilet Soap—removes cosmetics thoroughly—keeps skin soft and smooth." [18]

A theater manager jokingly threatened his hat-wearing lady customers

* This advertisement is reproduced facing page 115.

with loss of credit for being young or considerate of other people's pleasure. He flashed a notice on the screen saying, "Elderly ladies need not go to the trouble of removing their hats." [81] The women always laughed good-naturedly at this notice—but they always took off their hats, too.

Most of our laws are prohibitory in character and contain a conditional threat of loss unless a proposed means is used or the law obeyed. Again, this is just a variation on possible loss. They say, "Do not violate a certain value or you will be punished." An escape-chase sequence in the movies usually contains ingredients of possible acquisition of love as well as possible loss of life. The spy picture *Night Train* showed the hero and heroine stirred to a pitch of feverish activity in their flight by automobile and canyon-spanning trolley to dodge a member of the Gestapo. And a "danger" or "warning" sign means that some unstated loss may occur.

As we have seen, there is a noticeable difference in people's reactions depending on whether or not the situation involves them personally. In order to get a strong reaction to possible loss, therefore, experienced stimulators frequently go out of their way to emphasize that it is the respondent—and not someone else—who will suffer. This is one of the supporting aspects which determine whether the situation presentation will have its desired effect.

In the pre-war days, Hitler emphasized dangers from abroad, warning that it was not merely the Nazi regime, not merely Hitler and his close colleagues, but the whole German people whom the British wished to destroy. In his speech at Weimar, November 7, 1938, he said:

> We must not lose sight of one thing. Today in France and England the men at the helm are men who certainly want peace. But there are other men who make no attempt to conceal that they want war against Germany. Tomorrow Mr. Churchill may be Prime Minister! And if a British Opposition Leader declares: "We do not wish to destroy the German people, only the regime," it amounts to exactly the same thing, since no one can destroy the regime without destroying the German people! [42]

In the supporting aspects, much attention is given not only to the probable victim but to the depriver as well. In a cartoon which appeared in the *B. Z. am Mittag,* "Messrs. Eden, Greenwood, Cooper, Attlee & Co." are shown tugging on a rope attached to a statue of "Pax" in an attempt to overturn it, while a large arm labeled "Mr. Neville Chamberlain" stretches forward with a pair of scissors to snip their rope.[42] The cartoon this displays the value to be destroyed, the would-be destroyers, and the timely savior.

Look magazine ran an article about German propaganda in which it showed photographs of a large German cannon being fired, with grim Nazi soldiers standing behind it. These, both soldiers and gun, were the instruments of deprivation. As supporting aspects, they added to the fear of loss.

The caption read, "A huge German gun hurls a shell across the Channel. Germany claims her big guns can shoot ninety miles."[48]

To their own people, a little earlier, the Nazi propagandists had already shown photographs of enormous guns being worked on in an English factory, with the comment:

How delighted Messrs. Churchill & Co. would be if it were in their power to put their mad ideas of annihilating the authoritarian states into practice with the help of these giant guns for England's new battleships.[42]

Despite the foregoing, however, if a victim doubts the ability of the depriver to cause loss, the doubt will serve as a joker in the depriver's threat. For this reason, stimulators, when threatening or warning against loss, frequently go out of their way to emphasize the depriver's ability to bring about the loss. It is an important aspect of the situation. Nazi propagandists, frightening neutral countries, proved they were able to carry out their threats, using actual photographs as documentary evidence. *Look* magazine, in an article on German propaganda, has reproduced some of these. One shows an aerial photo of blazing oil tanks at Purfleet on Thames, and proves the accuracy of German bombing. A final photograph, entitled "The Face of War," shows the results of German attacks. Two troop cyclists pedal into a devastated town in occupied France.[48]

Another important element in the total situation is the reason for the possible loss. From it much can be learned. The best-observed color-page advertisement, according to survey, in an issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* consists of a cartoon in which a nurse is shown shooing two carriage-pushing tots across the street and disdainfully turning her back on an approaching auto. The driver slams on his brakes and yells at her. The illustration, together with the headline and nameplate, tells the whole story:

"STOP AND GO" DRIVING IS TOUGH ON GAS—unless your gasoline is especially made for it. . . . SUPER-SHELL.[13]

The appeal begins with possible loss of life by two little girls and a nurse, joined quickly by possible loss of gasoline and therefore of money by the auto driver, due to frequent stops in traffic. The copy explains, "You average 30 stops a day . . . shift gears 60 times a day. Accelerating in 'high' can use up 60% more gasoline than running steadily at 30 miles an hour. . . ."

At times the cause of loss may be in operation unknown to the victim. But possible loss is still the situation. The best-observed two-thirds page advertisement in *Cosmopolitan* is dominated by the keen gaze of a policeman looking out at the reader with that "going-to-give-you-a-ticket" expression on his face and saying:

"That's not your only offense, mister"—

—and then the copper told him . . . told him what his best friends had never had the heart to tell him. It simply stunned Hartley . . . now he understood why people deliberately dodged him . . . why business acquaintances always sat as far as possible away from him and cut his calls to a minimum. Then and there he resolved that never again would he be guilty of an offensive breath.

* * *

The insidious thing about halitosis (unpleasant breath) is that you yourself never know when you have it. And since the subject is so delicate, even your best friends won't tell you.

Due to conditions frequently existing even in normal mouths, everyone is bound to have an offensive breath at some time or other. Fermentation of tiny bits of food is one of its principal causes.

Fortunately this condition yields to the regular use of Listerine as a mouth wash and gargle. . . .[18]

The message of the advertisement, based on the experience of the fictitious man in the story, is this: Anyone is likely to lose pleasant breath at one time or another due to the fermentation of tiny food particles, but it is difficult or impossible for him to know when this has happened. The condition of bad breath may at any time be in operation without his suspecting it, yet it is likely to cause the loss of friends and of business contacts.

German propagandists in the United States during the late 1930's repeatedly asserted one justification for Germany's aggressiveness. According to them, Germany's grievances were born of the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles and her demands from the rest of the world were therefore only fair. She felt entitled to recover by attack what she had lost by unfair treaty. She justified the possible losses to other countries as a punishment for past acts perpetrated by the Allies. By explaining her reasons, the propagandists made her threatened attacks on other countries appear more likely and less rapacious.

At the same time, they held that Germany's acts were justified as preventives of future attacks by the Allies. Their strategy was to repeat in an infinity of ways this argument: "Germans, you are in danger. You must protect yourselves." From the fear aroused by their situation of possible loss, it was but one step to the Nazi argument that "the best defense is an offense."

Trials are a form of legal publicity which turns the spotlight on the reason for a possible punishment by going into all the details of the crime. Sales managers sometimes dramatize the errors of their salesmen in the form of mock trials. Some foolish error or weakness common among the salesmen is declared the crime. The judge is an officer of the firm. The jury is composed of fellow salesmen. The mock "punishment" meted out for the offense may

be a lower income, getting fired, losing the wife's admiration, wearing a dunce cap, or serving a sentence to study the latest edition of the Salesman's Manual to correct one's mistakes. This trial focuses attention on the weak spots in the salesman's armor, which are the cause of sales failures, so that all can see and learn. In facing this mock punishment, the salesman sees a warning of the real losses he may incur if he makes the mistakes in actual selling.

Another thing: When an enemy threatens the respondent, the latter is likely to suspect the accuracy or sincerity of the situation as presented. "Is he lying?" he wonders. For people are generally on the look-out for insincerity, attempts to "work psychology" on them, sleight-of-hand, deception, or any other form of misrepresentation, either by the stimulator or in the apparent circumstances. Disbelief can be a joker in the deck which is sufficient to trump the best aces in a psychological appeal. This aspect of the situation, therefore, cannot be neglected. When someone such as William Dudley Pelley, the American leader of the Fascist Silvershirts around 1940, asserted that the Germans were harmless and the Jews insidiously dangerous, his remarks went largely unheeded by the public, for they knew he had an Axis to grind. They doubted his sincerity, so his warnings fell flat.

When telling about possible loss by someone else, attention may be attracted at the outset by showing the emotion of the victim or others. An advertisement by the Liberty Mutual Insurance Company shows the horror-stricken face of a woman who is holding the car keys in her hand and shouting as her car rolls backward down the hill.* This is her story:

"STOP THAT CAR!" I screamed.

I had parked my car on the hill outside Nancy's house. As I stepped into the walk, I happened to look back. What I saw turned my blood to ice.

My car was running away!

Slowly at first . . . then faster . . . faster . . . careening down the hill like a crazy thing . . . people were running . . . and there was a horrible crash as it jumped the curb and plunged through the plate glass window of a store at the foot of the hill.

Now that I look back on it, I don't know what I would have done were it not for our Liberty Mutual insurance. . . .[70]

So in possible loss, as in possible acquisition and other situations, there is found a multitude of different presentations and supporting aspects, all of which bring up and bolster the underlying situation.

WEIGHING TROUBLES

In the case of possible loss, as in all preceding situations, there occurs a weighing of costs and ends. Here, however, the cost value is not subtracted

* This advertisement is reproduced facing page 146.

from the goal value. It is added to it. For if any means is being employed without changing the situation from possible loss, the means is probably useless or dangerous. Therefore, both the cost and the goal will be lost. So emphasizing either of these values in the family heightens the emotional charge of the appeal and hammers at the useless means which is being used.

First of all, the stimulator will do everything he can to swell the real or apparent worth of the goal. The simplest scale-tipping device is for him to indicate, almost in so many words, that the value which might be lost is great. Then he will push forward the idea that the cost value is also huge, perhaps even greater than the goal value itself. It would then, he suggests, be the lesser of two evils to give up the goal value readily, instead of wasting time, money, energy, and other cost values attempting to save it and then losing it anyway.

One American Fascist magazine suggested through its poetry department the idea that Americans were being forced into a war to save the Jews, and that the Jews were not worth saving:

> Oh, haven't you heard the news?
> We're at war to save the Jews.
> For a hundred years they pressed our pants,
> Now we must die for them in France,
> So we sing the Doughboy Blues.
>
> It's a hellova fate to choose,
> To die to save the Jews,
> But the New Deal busted and left us flat,
> So this war was hatched by the Democrat
> To end our New Deal Blues.
>
> They say that we mustn't lose,
> If we lose, we lose the Jews,
> So shout it into a thousand mikes,
> Though we lose our lives we must save the kikes!
> And sing the Doughboy Blues.[44]

This was from the magazine *Liberation,* which William Dudley Pelley, leading defender of Hitlerism in America, continued to publish even after he officially disbanded his Silvershirts in February, 1940. Its message was that we should spare the lives of our American boys because they were worth much more than the Jews who wanted to be saved.

The cost and goal values which may be lost cannot be simply tossed into the scales and weighed at par, however. If there is a chance that the loss may not occur, then the goal or cost value must be divided by that chance in order to determine its true psychological weight. Chance depends both on circumstances and on calculated intentions of the threatener.

There is nothing more convincing about the chance of future losses than the misfortunes of the past. When the *New York Daily News* headlines proclaimed on May 10, 1940, that Germany had invaded Holland and Belgium, it not only indicated the first steps were being taken toward the destruction of Holland, Belgium and France; it also indicated that the Germans were willing to invade more countries, and would therefore perhaps attempt to make a direct attack on England or even the United States.

Young children often learn this technique of psychological warfare without being taught. Some develop to high perfection the art of being a nuisance until they get what they want. The annoyances are minor deprivations and taken individually would go unnoticed. But when they are repeated time after time, they become a large deprivation. At the same time they indicate the firm intention of the depriver to continue with the deprivation. The victim finally comes to the conclusion that he must either give in or take drastic steps to stop the annoyance.

A psychological student tells an interesting story of a child's successful annoyance campaign:

> I was present at this scene. A mother with a child by the hand was talking to a neighbor on the sidewalk. An ice-wagon drew up beside the curb. The child asked the mother for a piece of ice. The mother said, "No." Then the play began. After a slight pause, the child began again, "Mama, can I have a piece of ice?" No answer. Then, "Mama, can I have a piece of ice?" "Mama, can I have a piece of ice? MamacanIhaveapieceofice?" etc., etc., etc., for ten minutes without pause. No temper, no accent, and no cessation, until finally the dropping water wore away the stone and she got the piece of ice. . . .[63]

The depriver's intentions play an important part in the chance of possible loss, and may be indicated by his words, appearance, attitude, or mood, by steps he is already taking toward depriving, or by the reasons he would have for depriving. Thus, Hitler at Weimar on November 7, 1938, misquoted Mr. Greenwood, Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, as declaring, "I desire that Germany and Italy shall be destroyed." Actually what Mr. Greenwood said was that he should like to see the destruction of dictatorships in Europe.[42]

Displays of anger have often been effective ways of emphasizing threats without having to specify what would be deprived. That is left up to the imaginations of the respondents. Charles Dawes won fame as "Hell and Maria" Dawes with a speech he made before the Senate Committee which was conducting a postwar investigation of wartime expenditures. He allowed them to get in deep with their questions, then suddenly, in a burst of righteous indignation, exposed the stupidity of a hair-splitting concentration on dollars. They were ignoring the importance of human lives, and he exploded, "Hell

and Maria! We were winning a war, not keeping books! Suppose we did lose a few carloads—what of it? We won the war, didn't we? Can't you understand that men were dying under shell fire?" [100] His burst of anger was a small foreshadowing of the public contempt to which the committee members might expose themselves by pushing their probe further. It indicated Mr. Dawes's intention to attack their probe if they carried it any further. The investigation was dropped.

Again, the Nazis suggested that the British did not openly display their intention of attacking the Germans, but hid behind a hypocritical mask of virtue. They were acting innocent but intended to deprive, it was charged.

> They hate Germany because Germany is in their way. Germany and Italy are the great proletarians amongst the European peoples. . . . The plutocratic states . . . do not want any competition. . . . They suppress countries and whole continents, they plunder the very shirts off the backs of defenceless peoples who once gave themselves up without the slightest suspicion of what was in store; all their wealth is the result of such unscrupulous and dishonest marauding expeditions; and then on Sundays they go to church and pray. Some of them are especially pious. Really it makes one sick to see them blubbering in God's house on Saints' day. *They behave before the eyes of Europe like the most harmless and innocent of lambs, but in their hearts they are ravenous wolves.*[42]

Peaceful in external appearance, according to Goebbels, the English were therefore terrible seekers after the destruction of Germany.

REJECTION OF MEANS

The purpose of conviction methods which appear under the heading of possible loss is to convince a person that the means is useless or dangerous—in short, to destroy it as a means. This is the way almost any cultural, personal, or special value may be removed. A value which can be shown to cause or permit loss or frustration has no right to exist any longer in the person's pattern of values.

There are various techniques for convincing the respondent that he should drop a value. An examination will reveal that they are almost exact parallels of the devices mentioned under possible frustration, while being opposites of those listed under possible acquisition. This is because the purpose of methods proving possible loss is to dislodge the old means from the personality structure, while that of proofs of possible acquisition is to insert new ones.

A case illustrating the use of logic to cause rejection of a means will give us the necessary taste of these methods. It appears as a small inset in the best-read color advertisement in an issue of *McCall's*:

WARNING!

"If a soap is strong enough for an ordinary family wash, it's too strong for silks and woolens," warn department stores. "We recommend lukewarm suds of Ivory Flakes." [13]

This part of the appeal uses logic to steer feminine readers away from using an ordinary washday soap (an inferior means) by giving a good reason why it might destroy their silks and woolens (goal values). This argument secures a rejection of ordinary soap for these garments and prepares the way for the acceptance of some other kind of soap. Ivory Flakes are recommended.

As in possible frustration, the specific instructions for action may be confined to a negative urge, "Don't use the old means value." They may also include positive suggestions as to how a person may avoid using the old means, where he can dispose of it, how he may turn it in on an improved model, and so on.

CHAPTER XIII

Possible Rescue

As soon as a situation of possible loss develops, the victim usually begins to look for some means by which he can rescue or escape with his value. The moment he finds a means, the situation automatically switches from possible loss to possible rescue. This is position number 7 in the orbit of situations, shown on page 51.

Eventually, possible rescue becomes either lack or possession. When a person foresees possible rescue, he can envision the star of possession twinkling ahead of him, but he knows the dark void of lack has not yet been escaped.

Once again we shall skip quickly from one presentation to another, since the main purpose is to show that all mean fundamentally the same thing—possible rescue.

A washing-machine salesman points out to a husband that the average woman's working day at home amounts to eight hours and that she spends 240 hours a year—or thirty days—at the back-breaking task of doing the laundry. He then makes a simple presentation of possible rescue when he assures the husband he can rescue his wife from an annual thirty-day sentence at hard labor for only $79.50, the price of a washing machine.[32]

A threat or warning may be considered as either a conditional threat of loss or as a conditional offer of rescue. Actually, it is both, as may be seen in a message which psychological strategists shout by loud-speaker across to the enemy lines in modern war. The strategists may know that the enemy soldiers are hungry and have neither a place nor time to sleep. In such a case they would call, "Surrender and live in a prison camp with good food and comfortable beds! Surrender and save your lives!" This presentation is depicted in the diagram on page 144.

The broadcast offers surrender as a means of saving one's life, and at the same time of acquiring some food, sleep, and comfort. The price is the loss of freedom and the frustration of hopes of victory.

On the surface, this threat or offer of escape appears to be much more attractive than the alternative of defiance. For if one does not surrender he may lose not only his freedom but his life as well. Whether the threat is accepted by the soldiers will then depend largely on two things: their belief

in the enemy's ability to carry out his threat, and their belief that the enemy is sincere and will not take everything—freedom, victory, and life as well—away from them if they do surrender. The elements of ability and chance therefore enter in.

Friendly counter-propagandists may attempt to drive a wedge into the offer at this shaky point of doubt by telling the tempted soldiers about com-

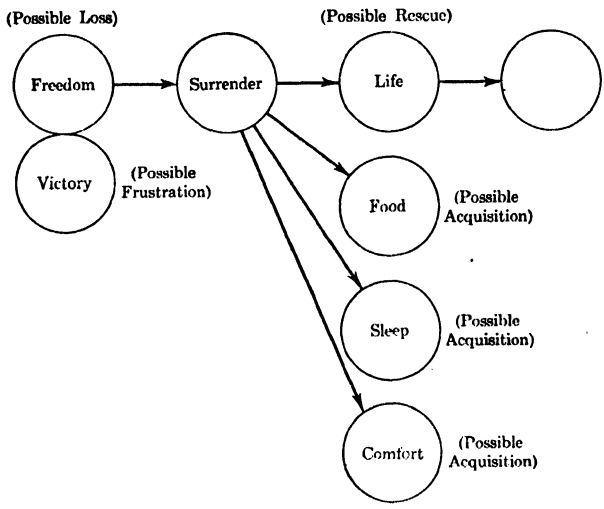


FIGURE I

rades who have surrendered to the enemy and have been tortured, mutilated, and finally allowed to die from starvation and exposure. In this way, the wavering warriors are given every reason to doubt the enemy's integrity.

The underlying meaning of possible rescue remains unchanged whether the stimulator presents it as a prediction, suggests that the respondent is the only person who knows which values might be rescued with the means, urges him to rescue an endangered value, or tells him that he can avoid getting electric shocks while learning a stylus maze, provided he learns fast.

Likewise, in the possible rescue appeal, the stimulator must answer the query, "Who will escape or be rescued?" and he may answer the question, "Who will *aid* the escape or rescue?" These are aspects of the situation which support the presentation. When the United States Steel Corporation, for instance, had none of its product to sell to the general public, it pictured itself as a public benefactor so as to build good will. It pointed out the large contribution it was making to military victory in an advertisement headed:

The illustration which accompanied it was one of Arthur Szyk's famous drawings in color.* Around a huge card table sit a Russian soldier, Uncle Sam, and John Bull; facing them are a Japanese general, Adolf Hitler, and Benito Mussolini. The United Nations representatives hold cards labeled 22, 88, and 20 million tons of steel, respectively, while their Axis opponents are holding cards for 7, 48, and 3 million tons, respectively. Piles of chips lie on the table before each player. Along the side of the advertisement some thirty cards are spread out to show their tips, each of which names an important military weapon into which steel goes. The copy reads, in part:

"We'll outbuild the world in planes. In ships. In tanks," proclaims our government.

And we will, for we have the edge in the basic thing war weapons are made of . . . steel.

Victory will come to the side whose planes control the air . . . whose armies have winning quantities of ships, tanks, guns, equipment on wheels. Things made of steel.

The winning cards are ours to use—if we play them right and if we play them in time.

America *can* outbuild, because we have more steel rolling out of our mills than Germany, Italy and Japan together! (One organization alone—United States Steel—is producing more steel every day than Germany.) . . .[77]

Thus, the advertisement states that steel is the principal war material, and the greatest contributor of steel is the United States Steel Corporation.

A vital element may be removed from an enemy's threat by showing complete confidence, scorn, or lack of fear of his threat. Thus General Sickles' attitude during the Battle of Gettysburg suggested his army's ability to escape defeat. Although wounded, he had himself carried up and down the lines on a stretcher while he smoked and made cheering remarks.[82]

In a powerful nation such as America where few people believe aggressors are strong enough to conquer them, fear propaganda stimulates rather than paralyzes armed resistance and national unity. But in small countries which recognize the aggressor's ability to conquer them, the horrors of the devastation he could wreak are all that is needed to throw them trembling into the giant's arms.

No one used terrorization more successfully than did Adolf Hitler in Austria, Sudetenland, and Czechoslovakia. But it did not work in the United States in 1915 nor in 1940 because the United States was not 8,000,000 people, surrounded by enemies and helpless against invasion. As a result, the German

* This advertisement is reproduced facing page 147.

campaigns of sabotage only made Americans resist Kaiserism and Hitlerism more.[44]

When a nation begins to fear it may lose a war, the country's leaders, big and little, must not allow their followers' ardor to become dampened. They must affirm that this is only a temporary setback which is to be expected now and then, but that the group is able to come back stronger than ever before within a short time. They may tell the citizens that while the would-be depriver boasts of what he will do, the intended victims are actually preparing an overwhelmingly destructive blow against him. Or the stimulator may reassure his respondents that they are able to escape most losses—provided they use a certain means.

Such a message of hope is contained in the headline for a Metropolitan Life Insurance Company advertisement: "MANY CANCERS ARE CURABLE." This was the best-read black-and-white page advertisement in an issue of the *Saturday Evening Post.* It describes the symptoms of cancer, tells what to do if they show up, and offers a booklet with further information on request. This advertisement builds good will, gives hope, and introduces the booklet, which acts as an entering wedge for a sales talk boosting Metropolitan insurance policies.[18]

Mere ability to escape, however, is not always enough if determination is missing. Much of the Nazi propaganda among the German people suggested to them that much could be done through sheer determination and gritting of teeth in typical Teutonic fashion. Dr. Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, gave an address on July 1, 1939, recounting tales of British brutalities inflicted on non-resistant Hindu demonstrators who wished to avoid the unjust salt tax, concluding:

> The philosophy of non-resistance, which is propagated by Gandhi, does not suit us Germans. Our skulls will never be fractured by steel-covered laths without our lifting an arm to protect ourselves. We do not let things get as far as that. We are determined to defend ourselves with our own laths; *and if necessary as a precautionary measure we shall strike to the ground these gentlemen who would like to strike us to the ground*—if they could. The fact is simply this: The English are encircling us and we are defending ourselves against them. That is all.[42].

A person, of course, will be more likely to accept a means if he feels it will cost him very little and rescue a value of tremendous worth. One way of bringing about such a favorable balance of values in his mind, therefore, is to show him that the cost value is much smaller than was formerly thought.

Many Americans, for example, knew the reputation of Federal income tax blanks for formidable complexity. This drawback added to the usual monetary cost of the tax. When millions of new income taxpayers came into

being during the war, these real and reputed intricacies of the reporting system had to be ironed out. The United States Treasury Department called on Walt Disney to show the public how easy it was to figure out the forms and at the same time to remind them of the vital part they were playing in the war effort by merely paying their taxes. Disney responded with a Donald Duck cartoon.

The radio in the cartoon says, "Your country needs *you*," and Donald rushes out of the room. He returns with a shotgun, axe, golf club, boxing gloves, sword, and bear trap. But the radio tells him, no, that's not it, it's his income tax he should pay. Donald feels a big let-down, but the radio convinces him that the taxes are really important.

"Your taxes will help win the war—your country needs taxes for guns—taxes for ships—taxes for democracy—taxes to beat the Axis." Donald becomes excited now about paying his income tax. He whisks back prepared with aspirin, law books, world globe, filing cabinet, geometry compass, and a stack of books, but the radio says he doesn't need all that. Just a few little details about his income and dependents, a simple calculation, the signing of a check, and swi-i-i-i-i-i-ish, Donald thunders out and drops his tax return envelope in the mail box.[49]

This much is made clear: taxpaying is important; taxpaying is simple. It is therefore not nearly so hard (costly) as people once thought it was.

But what the respondent is really interested in is not so much whether the goal value is great or the cost value small, but the relation between the two. Does the goal value exceed the cost value? This is true of insurance. As in gambling, a large number of people put small amounts of money into a kitty, and the winner of the accumulated reserve is chosen by chance. In gambling, a gain is made. In insurance, a loss is covered.

Such security, however, does not come free. A cost must be paid for it. When wealthy rentiers in the upper income brackets complain of an increase in Federal taxes on incomes over $25,000 in depression times, the insurance idea may be advanced to them, tactfully and privately, as an argument for them to accept the tax cheerfully. "This is a small sacrifice," argues the stimulator, "compared to the streamlined version of the French Revolution you may get if this same burden is placed on the grumbling masses of taxpayers." An ounce of prevention, they are told, is cheaper than a possible catastrophe.

ACCEPTANCE OF MEANS

As in possible acquisition, it becomes necessary in possible rescue to convince the respondent that the suggested means will work out successfully and protect his value.

Demonstrating the means in action is one good convincer. It is reported that the sheriff of Marshall County, Ohio, never made a re-election speech. A week before election he would simply take his wife to City Hall Park, stand fifty feet away, and shoot cigarettes out of her mouth.[31] In this way he demonstrated his ability to protect the citizens from lawbreakers, using the weapons the lawbreakers feared most.

A testimonial may also be given by an individual who has successfully used the means. One of the most successful mail order advertisements of recent years, repeated in a wide list of publications, bears a headline which uses a similar form of proof: "When Doctors 'Feel Rotten'—This Is What *They* Do!" The advertisement says they take exercises which are described in Artie McGovern's book, *The Secret of Keeping Fit.*[18] Doctors not only are qualified to render expert opinions on the exercise program, but actually use it themselves. What testimonial could be stronger?

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

The appeal based on possible rescue must be rounded out by the inclusion of specific instructions as to how to obtain and use the means value suggested. These instructions are parallels to those with which we have already become acquainted under possible acquisition.

CHAPTER XIV

Rescue

THE SITUATION OF possible rescue, which we have just left, can have only one of two possible outcomes: actual rescue, or actual loss. From rescue, the person, without further effort, will then automatically pass back to possession, the fixed star toward which all striving aims. Nevertheless, the circumstances and emotions involved in rescue are quite different from those in actual possession. The situations are therefore kept separate and distinct. On reaching rescue, we have arrived at the eighth position in the wheel of situations shown on page 51.

It should be remembered that we shall use the terms "rescue" and "escape" interchangeably, for they mean the same thing from our point of view.

A straightforward presentation of the rescue situation was given in the headlines of the newspapers one morning, when they announced: "TWO-GUN KIDNAPER SEIZED; PARENTS RECOVER HEIR, 3." [60] The child, who had been in danger of losing his life during the ransom-note and police-search periods, was rescued and the parents recovered this precious possession of theirs.

It is also cheering news to learn of someone who has consistently escaped the common cold, which so frequently menaces our health. A plastics factory secured wide publicity when it disclosed that workers in its department dealing with phenol and formaldehyde had been singularly immune to colds. This escape from loss of health was used as a tie-in, or interest-getter, which brought the factory's name and products before the public.[104]

As in other situations, effective support may be lent to the presentation by drawing attention to such aspects as the beneficiary, benefactor, reason, setting, and emotions involved in the rescue. As in acquisition, for example, the beneficiary tends to feel grateful toward the person who made this fortunate outcome possible. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find leaders in political life whose campaign headquarters point to them as men who have rescued the public from terrible dangers. President Wilson's campaign slogan in 1916, "He kept us out of war," helped considerably in securing his re-election.

The Germans also availed themselves of this technique in later years. Reichminister Dr. Goebbels spoke to the German people in May, 1939, concerning what he called the British menace:

They want to encircle Germany more and more until the Reich is completely crushed. The things they would do to us if we were not armed to the teeth! The German people should thank the Führer on their knees every hour of the day not only for foreseeing this development but for preparing to meet it in time.[42]

Goebbels thus called for public gratitude toward the man who was supposed to have rescued the Germans from the losses of life, property, freedom, and peace, and from all the other sacrifices that war would have entailed.

BALANCING

Again, in the case of value-balancing, we find the methods run closely parallel to those used in the case of acquisition. For instance, the stimulator emphasizes how small the cost has been, compared to the goal value saved. This may sometimes be accomplished by showing that the cost of one means is much less than that needed to make some inferior means work. In other words, the means lacks the usual disadvantages. People often think they must take exhausting exercises in order to get into condition and lose fat. Consequently, when they learn that doctors have succeeded in keeping fit without paying such a high price in lost comfort, they are strongly attracted to the means they used. This diminishes the cost and tilts the scales toward the new means, as seen in the outstandingly successful advertisement for Artie McGovern's book on keeping fit, which points this out clearly: "These doctors are too wise to fall for work-outs that leave the 'patient' gasping, dizzy, exhausted, the kind of exercise that does more harm than good." [13] The advertisement points to actual escape, at a low price, from ill health and flabby muscles, and adopts their escape as a springboard for claiming that the reader can do the same.

When some great loss has occurred, it is often possible to link it with a greater goal, saying that the loss was great, but that it served as a cost for the protection of a goal which was nevertheless still greater. The cost value, in other words, has not been sacrificed in vain. General MacArthur, after the defeat on Bataan in the Philippine Islands, knew that nothing could be done to bring back the dead. All he could do was to alleviate the pain of their loss by giving consolation to the mothers and other loved ones of those heroes. His words of April 10, 1942, boiled down to their essence, contained such a message, saying, in effect, that they did not die in vain:

The Bataan force went out as it would have wished—fighting to the end of its flickering, forlorn hope. No Army has ever done so much with so little. Nothing became it more than its last hour of trial and agony. To the weep-

ing mothers of its dead I only say that the sacrifice and halo of Jesus of Nazareth descended upon their sons and that God has taken them unto himself.[4]

They made, that is to say, the supreme sacrifice for a holy purpose.

ACCEPTANCE

Every rescue is a testimonial to whatever means was utilized. Thus, regardless of what presentation is used, every case of rescue tends to produce conviction for the means because it involves a demonstration, trial, sample, test, or testimonial to its effectiveness in protecting the goal value.

Such was the lesson learned by a surgical instrument salesman, long unsuccessful at placing a line of non-breakable glassware, who accidentally knocked the instrument off his prospect's desk. Everyone came running to pick up the pieces, but the article was found to be intact. The prospect immediately gave an order for half a dozen.[32] The non-breakable glass which prevented the instrument from breaking was both an actual rescue means and a demonstration of a possible rescue means for future mishaps.

PLAN OF WAR

Finally, the specific steps taken in the case of rescue may be recounted as a guide to future rescues.

CHAPTER XV

Loss

Loss is the psychological opposite of acquisition. When a danger has loomed up, and all means of escape or rescue have proved futile, this is the final result. It falls in the ninth position in the wheel of situations, pictured on page 51.

The various presentations and aspects of the loss situation follow a plan parallel to that adopted in the preceding situations.

THE SITUATION

Loss of the real value and loss of credit for possessing it go together, because they form an integral part of the same topic, the technique of punishments. In any psychological environment, punishments of some kind or another are a valid technique of social control. In this approach the usual method is to gain control of values wanted or possessed by the victim, and to deprive him of them when he misbehaves.

The punishment is generally graduated according to the seriousness of the crime and the advantages which the criminal gains through it. For there is no point in depriving a person of a huge value for a small sin, say a librarian torturing a borrower with red-hot irons for returning a book two days late. The value deprived should only be large enough to overbalance the advantages gained from misbehaving. Otherwise, there would occur considerable human waste and injustice.

It is difficult to know, however, what punishment is accurately adjusted just barely to overbalance the misbehavior and bring about reform. One method of arriving at such an adjusted punishment is to begin with small punishments and gradually increase them until the person complies.

Step by step, the levels of punishment, beginning with the mildest and progressing to the most severe, would probably begin with disregarding someone and would then proceed to gossip, laughter, satire, sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, ostracism, imprisonment, fines and confiscation, starvation, physical pain, permanent physical damage, and finally to execution of the wrongdoer.

Disregarding is one of the milder forms of punishment, but it can have a deep effect on the respondent's behavior. It deprives him of attention he is used to receiving and emphasizes that he is completely unimportant. When he notices he is being ignored, he will probably ask himself, "What's wrong? Have I been doing something they don't like?" When a person tells an off-color joke in mixed company, for instance, the others may punish him by saying nothing, turning away, or resuming their conversation as if nothing had been said.

Carter Glass, irritated by Huey Long's impertinence and disrespect in the Senate, discovered this was an immediately effective punishment for the Senator from Louisiana. When Long rose to speak, Glass simply ignored him and began reading a newspaper.[100] Long was furious.

Name-calling, to take a higher level of deprivation, indicates that the offender provides such a clear-cut case that he can be singled out from his fellows and labeled with a short, sharp phrase such as "atheist," "blue-nose," "coward," "cry-baby," "economic royalist," or "Bolshevik."

In the first several punishments, beginning with disregard and going as far as name-calling, the person is merely deprived of credit for possessing values such as dignity, intelligence, morality, and so forth. Beginning with the next level, that of ostracism, he is frustrated or deprived of the real values themselves through informal action of the group. Imprisonment, fines, and confiscation, like ostracism, simply deprive the respondent of detachable cultural values, things outside himself. Finally, beginning with starvation, we reach the cases in which the person's own body begins to receive punishment. Inflicting physical pain and permanent physical damage are additional cases of this type.

And finally, when all lesser forms of punishment have failed, the victim may be put to death. This puts an end to his own crimes and by the same token tends to frighten away other potential wrongdoers from repeating his error.

War is the application of any or all the foregoing principles to an entire population, either to stop their resistance by damaging them so badly they will wish to surrender before losing what values remain, or by destroying them completely.

There is considerable controversy as to whether punishment is an effective method of social control as between nations, between parent and child, or between other people. According to Lumley, punishment deters only weaklings and cowards, but invigorates the brave and determined.[52] What makes the difference is whether the depriver has the ability to continue carrying out the punishments.

It may be said that there is punishment of some form and degree, which

can be found in perhaps all cases which will force the respondent to behave as the stimulator wishes. It is simply a question of finding and damaging the value which the offender considers too great to lose. In only a few instances are the advantages of certain actions considered so great that no punishment can outweigh them.

The principal criticism of punishment is that even when it is effective, it is only a superficial, temporary solution. Therein lies its weakness. The punisher attacks an evil but does nothing to correct the conditions which have produced it. He doctors the symptoms but not the disease. He cuts the blister off and replaces the ill-fitting shoe so it can produce more blisters. It is one thing to make prison sentences and fines for theft so forbidding that the criminal will decide the few dollars he might steal are not worth the risk. It is another thing to inquire what makes him steal in the first place, and set about curing these underlying conditions.

An interesting variation on the situation of loss is provided when someone is deprived of an opportunity to show possession. The man who continually grabs the dinner check and never lets his friends pay makes them almost as angry as if he never paid his part; for sharing the entertainment bill when several couples are out together is one of the minor social values in America. A man not only expects his friends to show their possession of the value by paying their part, but expects them to let him show his own possession in the same way. When they do not, he feels they have made him look cheap.

These presentations are often, of course, supported by other aspects of the case. We have already seen that people look for the means when they learn someone has acquired a cherished value. Whenever a loss is suffered, they also seek the cause. Depending on what the cause is, they decide what action (or means) to adopt in their own case.

Sometimes the cause of loss is merely a combination of circumstances, sometimes it is the use of the wrong means of protection, and sometimes it is the result of misconduct. When newspapers announce some important loss suffered by others, they usually include the cause of the loss in the headline. One photograph appearing in the *New York Daily News* bore the headline: "Triangle Drawn in School Blamed As Newlywed Is Slain." [60] Another headline in the *News* read: "Jersey Powder Blast Kills 35."

These causes have little to do with any specific means value that might concern the reader himself. After reading these stories he would nevertheless tend to build up a cautiousness against love triangles and working in gunpowder factories.

When a person is punished, it is usually because of some past misbehavior, omission, or failure, but it may also be done to prevent him or others from repeating the mistake in the future.

A humorous Borden advertisement * is based on the punishment of one "Cousin Effie," a cow, for failure to produce high-quality milk. This "ad" continues a series in which a very human mother, father and daughter of the bovine family are constantly indulging in the human habits of bragging and squabbling. Of course, these characters always work the names of the leading Borden products into their conversations. Elsie, the mother, points to a relative's portrait which has been turned to the wall. Beulah, her daughter, looks at the portrait as Elmer, the father, glowers at Elsie over his newspaper, pipe, and glasses. The headline and copy start this way:

"THAT ONE'S COUSIN EFFIE . . . WE NEVER MENTION HER, MY DEAR!"

"Why not, mummy?" asked little Beulah. "Was she the Black Sheep of the family?"

"Not exactly," replied Elsie, the Borden Cow. "None of us could quite be *that*. Of course, she was really more on your father's side of the family . . ."

Elmer, the Bull, snorted. "Hah! May I remind you that *your* Nephew Stanley had a record that makes my poor Cousin Effie's look . . ."

Elsie interrupted hurriedly: "It was shameful the way Cousin Effie always failed to make the grade. She never was the cow beyond reproach that Borden inspectors insist you be in order to produce milk for Borden's. So they never let a drop of her milk get by."

"How sad!" murmured little Beulah. . . .[50]

So the story begins with Cousin Effie's having lost her social standing among the other Borden cows. This loss is justified by her failure to produce high-test milk, which is apparently a dominating goal in cowdom. The loss is simply an inverted way of saying that the producer had set high standards for the means-value he offered. A sub-standard milk-giver is therefore an outcast among the producers of Borden's milk products, the aristocrats of their kind.

The formula which produced this advertisement may be reduced to four principal ingredients: (1) a conviction method (high standards set for the means), around which were built the other ingredients: (2) telling the message as a story, beginning with (3) a situation (loss of prestige), and (4) personification of the means (using cows and making them act in a human manner). More will be said about stories and personification later.

When people in the audience heckled dictator Huey Long's candidates in Louisiana, there was nothing that his henchmen could do to restore the original order and quiet. The harm had already been done. But his highway police and skull-crushers beat up the hecklers anyway.[19] This acted as a de-

* Reproduced facing page 178.

terrent to others, discouraging them from repeating or imitating the sniping tactics. The punishment was used as a preventive of future undesired acts.

A surprisingly effective technique is that of temporarily depriving someone unjustly of his reputation or his material values. Unjust deprivations elicit numerous reactions in the respondents and in the victims, among the more significant of which are denial and disproof of the false charge, hatred and seeking of revenge, other people's paying attention to the alleged crimes of the victim, and their fear of and resistance to the depriver.

Unjustly depriving someone of credit for possessing a value often brings a heated denial of the charge and an attempt to prove in action that it is false. In the high strategy of propaganda, it may be used as a method of securing valuable military information from the enemy. This was attempted after Pearl Harbor, when the Japanese propagandists goaded the American naval authorities with the question, "Where is the American fleet?" The authorities were torn between two alternatives. One was to answer the Japanese and reveal information which the Japanese wanted. The other was to remain silent and allow the suspicion to grow in American minds that perhaps the fleet really had been wiped out, which course was bad for morale. The Navy chose to remain silent.

This technique has also been used successfully in the field of news-gathering. Staff writers working for Luce on *Fortune* magazine would put down whatever wild gossip they heard, plus any figures which occurred to them. This would be sent to the subject of the article, who indignantly corrected the errors, unintentionally supplying facts he might otherwise have withheld.[29]

Not only indignant denial but hatred and revenge may be the reactions to unjust deprivation. For this reason, Nazi propagandists devoted considerable time to the manufacturing or the embroidering of stories of brutalities which they said the British had inflicted on helpless people in the years just preceding the Second World War. One story was distributed by Dr. Goebbels:

"Suddenly large bodies of police were ordered to attack the marchers and a hail of blows from steel-covered laths descended on their heads. Not one of the demonstrators even lifted an arm to protect himself. They fell like skittles. From where I stood I could hear the loathsome sound of blows descending onto unprotected heads. The waiting masses of spectators groaned and sucked air through their teeth, feeling every blow with the victims.

"Those who were struck fell shuddering to the ground, unconscious or writhing with pain, with fractured skulls or crushed shoulders. In two or three minutes the ground was covered with people. Great bloodstains appeared on the white gowns. The others marched on without breaking their ranks, silent and stubborn until they too were struck down." So writes Web

Miller, an absolutely reliable American journalist, in his book which he published recently under the title: *I Found No Peace.* Those who were struck down were followers of Gandhi who only wanted to get salt from the sea. And those who beat them were English troops who were ordered by London to prevent the poor Indian people obtaining from their own sea supplies of salt from which the gentlemen in London would not get any revenue. . . .[42]

Here Goebbels pointed out the "unjust deprivations" inflicted by the British, and supplied the necessary German response to such a threat—resistance. Otherwise, he warned his readers, they would suffer the same fate as the Hindus.

Back and forth from both sides raged the accusations of unjust deprivations. In April, 1942, *Look* magazine, feeling that "few Americans realize how utterly the Nazis have corrupted German life," presented "eyewitness reports by three famous men who know Nazi Germany inside-out: No. 1—Wallace R. Deuel, author of *People Under Hitler,* No. 2—Gregor Ziemer, author of *Education for Death,* No. 3—William L. Shirer, author of *Berlin Diary.*" The article opens with a large photograph of a kindly old man smiling at his aged wife as they discuss some plants he is showing her. The caption reads: "Old men and women like these are being put to death in Germany, as 'unfit'; 150,000 of the ill and infirm have been killed to save food, clothing, shelter."[51] And under the heading, "Nazi techniques for the 'regeneration' of the Germans as a world master race," the article continues:

SS killings of the "unfit" are not the only savagery practiced to "regenerate" the German people. The Nazis have castrated at least 2,500 Germans who, they say, are unfit to have any sex lives at all. They have sterilized between 450,000 and 500,000 who, they say, may have sex lives but are not fit to have children. They have forbidden an unknown number to marry. . . .

Such accounts were smoother but not necessarily more effective in stirring up hatred against Germans than the lurid atrocity stories which were circulated during the First World War. Among the accounts which came to light in Lord Bryce's report on German atrocities in Belgium was this tale of the fate of the farmer's wife:

. . . Two soldiers seized the woman and put her on the ground. She resisted them and they pulled all her clothes off her until she was quite naked. [An] officer then violated her while one soldier held her by the shoulders and the other by the arms. After the officer each soldier in turn violated her, the other soldier holding her down. . . . After the woman had been violated by the three the officer cut off the woman's breasts.[44]

Suppose we witness unnecessarily harsh punishment of a stranger, the

imposition of an unjust sentence on a lawbreaker, the selfish theft of one person's values by another, the burning of a coolie's hut in Manchuria, or the brutal mistreatment of others who are far away in miles and different in race, religion, and customs. These are unjust deprivations occurring to complete strangers, who are "neutral others" to us. Yet we may discover that by preserving a principle of justice in cases which appear to have no personal application today we shall insure ourselves and our loved ones against personal attack and tears tomorrow. This is a lesson which has been taught again and again throughout history to the civilized peoples of the world. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1934, and the German invasion of Austria in 1938 only presented the same lesson to be learned once more.

VALUE-BALANCE

A loss will be most strongly felt by the victim if it is a great one, and the stimulator who wishes to produce the greatest effect through deprivation will emphasize the tremendous importance of the value lost.

For one thing, he may convince the respondent that the value must have been great, judging from the high cost paid to save it. The Bible tells us that Jesus Christ gave His life that others might live. He wished to redeem their souls. The ordinary person of His time who knew little about Christianity would be led to think that the thing He did must have been extremely worthwhile or He would not have been willing to die for it. Christ thus set the example for later Christians in Rome who demonstrated to their persecutors that no punishment they could inflict was great enough to overbalance their belief in His teachings.

When speaking of losses, we cannot overlook public notice, an added weight which makes all of the punishments more painful. Merely making a punishment publicly known makes the punishment heavier, especially when friends, acquaintances, and dear ones of the victim are among those who see his humiliation and pain. When society punishes in public, it is not leaving punishments up to its policemen or other agents. It is present in person.

In fact, the "spotlight" is peerless both as a punishment and as a preventive. The manager of the May Company, a large Los Angeles department store, found it highly effective to chalk up on the bulletin board the names of employees who had made errors in addressing deliveries and so on.[81]

The apparent weight of a loss may also be increased by raising the apparent chance that it will occur. When we show a person that others have lost something, it attracts his interest and serves to convince him that the

chances are stronger that he, too, will lose if he continues using the wrong means.

Knowing the value of such object lessons, an insurance agent, friendly with his annuity prospect, invited him into a cheap cafeteria where he could see homeless old men sitting around drinking coffee. He pointed out that twenty years ago none of these men expected to be impoverished. The respondent signed the application for an annuity on the white-tiled table of the cafeteria.[81]

The methods of securing rejection of a failed means and providing specific instructions for getting rid of it run parallel to the methods discussed under possible frustration and actual frustration.

CHAPTER XVI

Lack

FINALLY WE COME to lack, the tenth and last of the great underlying situations in the motivation of human behavior. If possession is a guiding star, the goal situation toward which all activity aims, then lack, at the opposite side of the orbit, is the very pit of dissatisfaction. We struggle away from any path which threatens to lead us toward lack, whose position in the orbit is number 10 in the wheel of situations shown on page 51.

Lack is reached either through the situation of loss or through that of frustration. And there the wheel of energy may remain indefinitely on dead center until some outside force comes along to move it to the next situation in the wheel. That situation is possible acquisition, and the whole process starts over again.

VALUE-SITUATION

There are varying degrees of lack. A person may lack money, which is an essentially neutral condition. Or he may lack a proper valuation of human life, which enables him to violate the value and murder someone. Again, he may not entirely lack a value, such as physical size, maturity, and so on, but may not possess enough of it. This is inadequate possession. In addition, he may possess the value, but so strongly that it leads to his overdoing. Then he goes too far in the opposite direction, eliciting reactions in other people which resemble their reactions toward lack. This often applies to the person who is not merely moral but actually prudish. Violation, lack, inadequate possession, and overdoing are distinct levels of lack which may be discussed separately and in order.

"Crime" is the term generally used to describe an actual violation of a value, whether it is a violation of property, kindness, honesty, freedom, human life, democracy, racial tolerance, traffic laws, peace, sobriety, reverence, loyalty, or capitalism. Violations of morality figure frequently in wartime accusations against the enemy. *Look* Magazine's article aimed at educating Americans to the kind of life Germans were leading under Hitler was entitled "Life, Love and Death in Nazi Germany—where murder of the ill

and aged is a thrifty virtue—and chastity is a woman's sin." [51] The first article reported on the murder of the aged and unfit, while the second, written by Gregor Ziemer, author of *Education for Death,* described the Nazi violations of the traditional morality value:

2. Reporting how girls are educated for childbearing and how boys are taught to die in battle for Hitler

By GREGOR ZIEMER

German youth like these are urged to mate without marriage. Boys' and girls' camps are located near each other in the country. There, chastity is no virtue. No curfew is enforced. No questions are asked—except the father's name. . . .

From the time the Nazis seized power in 1933 until they went to war in 1939, 1,550,000 more babies were born than would have been if the birth rate had remained what it was before 1933.

The official attitude toward illegitimacy has played a part in this increase. Nazis would much prefer to have many children born out of wedlock than not so many born to married parents.

Alfred Rosenberg, "intellectual philosopher" of Naziism, writes: "The Germany of the future will regard the woman without children—whether she is married or not—as a member of the community having only inferior rights. . . . Sexual relations out of wedlock which result in a child should not be punishable by law."

The regime acts on this principle. Both the selfish and unselfish joys of procreation are preached with ardor to German boys and girls from childhood on. . . .

Himmler, head of Hitler's Gestapo, puts it this way: "It will now be the great task of German women and girls of good blood to become, even outside the marriage bond . . . the mothers of the children of soldiers going to war. . . ."

Perhaps never before in history has any political machine been as diabolically clever in its ruthless exploitation of youth as the Nazi machine. The Nazis have used every chicanery to soften the minds and morals of German girls until they are nothing but first-class breeders unhampered by ties of marriage or home. . . .

There is no question at this point as to the accuracy of these reports, nor of those we have noted in earlier pages. It must be remembered that propaganda is not necessarily a swarm of lies. Truth is also propaganda.

As we saw in the discussion of possession, when a person shows interest in, fondness of, or possession of the respondent's values, valued characteristics, or value situations, he is similar to him. This similarity is a strong cement making for unity, friendship and suggestibility among all those who are similar.

When we come to the opposite situation, the reverse is true. When one

person lacks similarity to another, this dissimilarity erects a wall of distrust, enmity, and non-suggestibility between them. Each regards the other as a lacker.

The stimulator, therefore, will aim at two strategic goals at the same time. He will emphasize how similar he and the respondent and their allies are to one another. At the same time he will emphasize how fundamentally dissimilar they all are from their enemies. He will even attempt to shatter the enemies' unity by showing them how dissimilar each enemy group is from the others. A person can hardly be a good friend of someone who is totally unlike him, nor an enemy of someone who is just like him.

Nazi propagandists seized on the results of a "typical-English-girl" contest to show that English girls lacked ambition, usefulness, or common sense, which appeared to be important values among German girls:

> One of the biggest English morning papers, whose circulation runs into millions, recently organized a prize competition to discover nothing more nor less than the typical English girl. . . .
>
> The daughter of a well-to-do fruiterer, [Miss Audrey P.] works five days a week and earns 35/-, a very modest sum by English standards. Thirty shillings she gives to her parents to pay for her clothes and board. She keeps 5/- for herself, *which she spends entirely on cosmetics and cigarettes!*
>
> How does this young lady, who was chosen out of 32,000 entries as a typical example of English girlhood, spend her spare time? Very simply and rather monotonously. Four days a week she goes—*dancing!*
>
> After winning the contest she was brought to London and taken to hear Joe Loss, her favorite band leader.
>
> When finally Joe Loss came down from his platform and asked Miss Audrey for the next dance, . . . she first of all blushed red and then went as white as a sheet. "It can't be true, it's too wonderful!" she whispered, and glided away across the dance floor. This was her last evening in London. The next day she traveled back to Wansea, where she lives with her parents, dances four times a week, listens to dance music twenty-eight hours a week (always the same old rhythm), bathes once a week, and spends every penny of her 5/- on lipstick, eyeblack, powder, nail varnish and cigarettes! That is the typical English girl discovered at such pains from among 32,000 entries by the *Daily Express*.[42]

The fact that dancing, swing music, cigarettes, and make-up were values to this English girl was generally accepted as the "right thing" in England, but it was just this point which the German propagandists wished to drive home. By pointing in ridicule to the girl, they emphasized the dissimilarity between the English and German young people. Judging from what this propagandist wrote between the lines, a German girl would have engaged in

useful occupations in the home or camp, would have danced perhaps on rare occasions to some merry German rhythm, but would never have smeared her face with cosmetics. The Germans accepted their values as "right," and any that were dissimilar were "wrong." This helped to drive the wedge of dislike between the Germans and the English.

A sin of omission, or mere lack, is not as severely condemned and punished as a sin of commission, or the actual violation of a value. Next, the moderate but inadequate possession of a value is not as severely handled as outright lack. Tallness, for instance, is a valued physical characteristic of men in our society. Yet the short man is neither condemned nor punished, though he may be often ridiculed. Again, maturity or "being grown-up" is a value to children which at times can be used to guide and control them. So a parent emphasizes to his six-year-old child how infantile he is by calling him "cry-baby" or "whimperer," and in this way puts a stop to his sniveling.

A person who leans too far to one side of a tight-rope will fall off just as surely as if he leans too far to the other. Value-possession is a similar question of balance. Nazi Germans would thus have granted anyone the right to a certain amount of dignified entertainment, but their propagandists felt that any country (particularly England) which would go wild about the Lambeth Walk was degenerate. It was overdoing. Consequently, one of the big German newspapers carried an article in January, 1938, illustrated with two cartoons, side by side. The first showed a sour, bewhiskered old missionary in top-hat and tail-coat holding up knee-length panties to two naked Negro girls on a sun-kissed African beach. The second depicted two music-hall entertainers, the man in top-hat and tails, the woman with low bodice, dress flung high showing her thighs, executing a wild dance and shouting. In the orchestra pit stood three smiling Negro musicians in tuxedos, pouring their souls into the trumpet, the trombone, and the piano. The description read:

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF CULTURE

But not for us.

Who wouldn't want to join in! Who isn't tempted by this society dance, which permits one to—er, take arms and whirl round, to go down on one's haunches (hey, who's tumbling over?), to slap one's thighs in a giddy vortex, and finally picking up the tempo again in a thrilling climax to stamp on the floor and—to let out an enthusiastic yell of "Oi"—the passionate love cry of the noble art of Terpsichore. Long live—in a word—the Lambeth Walk, the uncrowned King of contemporary fashionable dances. . . . This dance has already claimed the sacrifice of human lives. In Brighton a 52-year-old waiter, called Herbert Brennam, fell dead from heart failure while doing the Lambeth Walk. With the frenzied cry of "Oi!" on his lips, the cry of the

joy of living, he left this world for the eternal dancing ground. He was the first victim of the dance floor. . . . A degenerate dance?—no, degenerate people! [42]

An unjust accusation or punishment for lacking would seem to hark back a short way to the unjust deprivation we discussed under "loss." At that time, however, we did not mention that there were really two pains involved in such cases, the pain of the actual loss as well as the implication that the victim's lack of a value was the reason for his deprivation. Here we shall center our attention on the underlying accusation of lack, rather than on the punishment which comes as a result.

First, there is the unjust accusation of violation. Theodore Roosevelt is reported to have flown into a rage at a Michigan editor's charge he was a drinking man.[11]

Then, in the next degree, a person is being accused of simple lack of values when he is called such things as—

"Stuffy," "can't take a joke," "wet-blanket," "dull," "long-faced," "sour" —all of which indicate that he lacks a sense of humor, or—

"Yellow," "quitter," "shy," "faint-hearted"—which are accusations of lacking courage, or—

"Cold," "frigid," "unfeeling," "undemonstrative"—charges of lacking an affectionate disposition, or—

"Innocent," "safe," "wholesome," "haven't been around," "naïve," "pure," "harmless"—indicating lack of sophistication or experience in love, or—

"You're just like all the rest," "I can always tell what you'll do," "I can read your mind like an open book," "unoriginal," "conventional," "Babbitt," "average," "ordinary"—all of which mean lack of individuality.

To such charges, a person's likely response is to act in the opposite fashion. Many young men find they make quicker progress with a girl who is indifferent to them when they tell her she is "cold." They say it with apparent sincerity and follow it up with steps toward a mild punishment to prove they really believe it. Such a punishment would be to begin breaking off their friendship.

Next comes an unjust accusation of inadequate possession. Inadequate emotions, inadequate skill, inadequate will power, even inadequate money may form the basis of the accusation. When people resist some course of action, the stimulator may challenge them: "I'll bet you can't do this!" He may warn workers that a certain task is probably too hard for them, or assure nervous patients that their recovery will demand more determination and sacrifice than they are capable of mustering.[52] Many times this taunt has made the respondents redouble their efforts and overcome the obstacles that blocked their progress. They do it to prove to the stimulator—

and to themselves—that they really do possess the value to a satisfactory degree.

A particularly suggestive technique is to accuse the respondent unfairly of overdoing. Here the most likely reaction, if the appeal is sound in all its other elements, will be different from those which we have already mentioned. For instead of trying to prove possession of the value, the respondent is more likely to violate it!

Charging someone, for example, with being a "prude" is an accusation of overdoing the morality value. Even if the accusation is just, there is a tendency for the respondent to go to the opposite extreme and break the rule. It may involve telling a risqué story or committing an immoral act, especially when fortified with liquor, strong emotional excitement, or love.

Another presentation of the lack situation is to discover a value-lacker. Any stimulator who can fasten charges of criminal lack or violation on his enemies can create a wide gulf between his enemies and the audience. It is therefore an excellent technique in politics. To break the power of the Walmsley machine in New Orleans, Huey Long launched an investigation of vice conditions in that city.[17] He warned the city administration three times over the radio that he would be obliged to march into New Orleans unless the "lottery kings, racketeering ward bosses, dives and bawdy houses" were suppressed.

The opposition, however, was ready to prove that Huey Long also lacked morality and sobriety, calling to the stand a Miss Clifford, hula dancer. She described for a tensely silent House the sort of clothing she was wearing the night she sat on Huey Long's lap at a Mardi Gras party. The legislators interrupted the testimony to clamor for her address and telephone number, grinning obscenely. "Everybody was drunk," said the girl. Thereafter, Long gave up liquor and became excessively cautious about possible "frame-ups" with women.[19]

However, when a stimulator despairs of proving his own hands spotless, he endeavors to convince the respondents that at least he is not as bad as his enemy. German propagandists, developing their big word-offensive in the months preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, declared in March, 1939, that England was a much more warlike country than Germany. This made Germany the lesser of the two evils. They produced a "Balance Sheet of British 'Peacefulness'" listing dozens of wars against Russia, Afghanistan, China, the Sikhs, the Kaffirs, Burma, India, the Ashantis, Abyssinia, Persia, the Zulus, the Basutos, Egypt, Sudan, Zanzibar, the Matabele, the Boers, and the Central Powers, compared to Germany's scant wars which were mostly for unification of the German Reich.[42]

The Nazi propagandists, turning then to a more positive attack, furiously

belabored the British for cruelty behind the hypocritical guise of holiness and virtue. They contrasted the British claims of virtue with their actual lack in a cartoon which appeared in the German newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps.* An interviewer motions to a thuggish-looking man, carrying an umbrella, to have a seat next to his desk.

"Sit down, won't you. You have come to apply for the post of moral arbiter?"

The thug sits down facing him, and the examiner says, "I see from your references that you have not only indulged in fraud and extortion abroad, but," he charges, leveling an accusing finger at him and receiving a smug smile in return, "that you have also been convicted of theft and rapine."

He continues, gesturing excitedly, while the thug sits back, relaxed, arms folded, still smiling. "Your hands still reek of the blood of Ireland, India and Africa! What ever made you think of setting yourself up as a judge of others?"

The thug finally speaks. He stands up proudly, with his umbrella and hat in hand, and explains triumphantly, "I am an Englishman!"

The examiner does a flip and faints.[42]

Thus the Nazis pushed forward their concerted campaign to paint the British as dangerous hypocrites in the eyes of the German nation and prepare German minds for the declaration of war which was soon to come.

Sometimes the lack situation turns its sharpest attention to the person who lacks, who is one of the aspects supporting the situation. When the lacker is a neutral other, harming no one near, the situation arouses interest rather than hate, pity, or desire for revenge. For example, Merrill Goddard, editor of the *American Weekly,* which has one of the largest magazine circulations in the world, listed abnormalities as one of his sixteen elements of human interest.[32] He mentioned the queer, distorted creatures who lack the physical traits and attractiveness we associate with normal people. Large crowds pay to see these circus and carnival sideshow freaks. The exhibitions are not only interesting but also, in a left-handed sort of way, a source of satisfaction to the onlookers. They may console themselves with the fact that they may not look like movie stars but at least they are not freaks.

So we finally come to the end of the tenth situation, lack. Should a means now come into sight which might bring about acquisition, the situation would move on around in the same direction, continuing the orbit of situations. It would first reach possible acquisition, and from there proceed either to possible frustration or to actual acquisition.

In all the pages we have covered so far, we have discussed the appeal. This is the cluster of elements which surround the value-situation. It provides the powder behind the bullet of human action. It consists, in broad terms,

of the value-situation, the value-balance, the acceptance of the means, and specific instructions for action. We found a multitude of different ways of looking at each of these elements, and each presented a slightly different slant at the same fundamental situation.

Some of the elements entering the appeal were optional, while others were obligatory, requiring specific mention. All, of course, had to be in good operating order. The following summary uses asterisks to indicate the elements which are mandatory:

OBLIGATORY AND OPTIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE APPEAL

**Presentation* of straight situation (possible acquisition, possible frustration, frustration, acquisition, etc.). At least one of the presentations listed must be used in each complete situation.

Other aspects of the value-situation:

**Beneficiary* (or victim) must always be specified

Ability of benefactor or depriver to give or deprive

Cause, reason, or justification

Belief in accuracy of statements and apparent circumstances

Emotion of beneficiary or victim and others, when this is presented as a part of the appeal, but not when it occurs as a result of the appeal

Determination of beneficiary (or victim) to adapt himself properly in order to solve the situation

Value-balance

Acceptance of means (conviction regarding its effectiveness)

Specific instructions for action

These elements entering the compound of the psychological appeal, however, are not the whole story. They have been discussed early because they represent perhaps the greatest departure from traditional psychological principles, and constitute what it is hoped may be the special contribution of this book. They are the latest elements in the psychology of human behavior to be isolated for practical use.

Now let us turn to a brief summary of better known but apparently less vital elements, beginning with perception. These elements fit in with the appeal in a smoothly functioning whole.

SECTION THREE

CHAPTER XVII

Aids to the Appeal

THIS BOOK HAS BEEN written to draw particular attention to the solid fare in the psychology of controlling human behavior. This consists of values, value-situations, value-balancing, methods of securing acceptance or rejection, and specific instructions. But one should not for a moment disparage the spice of that psychology, which is provided by variety, repetition, pictures, liquor, even hypnotism and the like, for these things make the solid fare taste amazingly better. The solid fare is the appeal; the spice consists of the aids to the appeal.

These aids were seized upon long ago by school teachers, advertising men, circus owners. They are easily recognizable. But because of their familiarity and their secondary importance, they will be mentioned in condensed form. They may be divided into principles of "adequate perception" and principles of "general suggestibility."

ADEQUATE PERCEPTION

The phrase "adequate perception" expresses three ideas, those of perception, attention, and understanding. Haven't we often heard people say, "Yes, I guess I *saw* it, all right, but I didn't *notice* it"? In such cases they have perceived without paying attention. But even perception plus attention must be fused with understanding before the appeal may be perceived adequately. Only then can the value-situation have its full effect in producing action.

But before passing to the more glamorous devices for flavoring the appeal, respects are due the venerable and influential principle of simple stimulation for perception. It must be remembered that no respondent ever becomes aware of a situation, however attractive or forceful the appeal, unless he perceives it through one or more of his senses. These senses are sight, sound, touch, taste, smell, balance, bodily motion, and the feeling of internal organic

change. They are the patrol squads which regularly send their reports to the brain concerning what is happening in the world. The senses are what enables us to perceive situations. The mind is what enables us to understand their meaning and solve them for our benefit.

However, the plain devices aimed at perception, such as simple statement, display, and the like, often leave a flat impression on the respondent's mind. The aim of the psychologist is always to impart a sharp, accurate, and enduring impression. He may do this by employing special methods for selecting the audience, by variety, repetition, emphasis, by putting his most important points at the beginning and at the end rather than in the middle of his message, and by making it as easy for the respondent to understand as possible. It must also be noted that the accuracy or inaccuracy of his presentation will have an important bearing on the impression gained by the respondent.

The stimulator may first select his audience by making it clear to the pedestrian, magazine reader, moviegoer, or whomever he happens to be influencing that the stimulus is aimed directly at him, not at someone else. This is often done by addressing the respondent directly by his name or designation, saying, "Mr. Jackson," or "you," "men," or "smokers." He should also look at that person's eyes, direct questions at him to keep his attention, or display the values in which he is interested.

Variety is another of the best ways to attract attention. Repetition and routine soon fade out, for after a certain length of time we adjust ourselves to almost any strength of stimulation. We cease hearing the constant noises in the home, the office, the factory. But when the stimulus changes, we perceive once more. We may fail to hear the clock ticking, but we notice the moment it stops.

Many animals escape notice through lack of motion. Yet there is one bird which remains unnoticed by swaying back and forth on its long legs in rhythm with the swaying reeds. While checkered patterns in clothing and road signs are common methods of attracting attention, the checkered pattern makes many animals invisible by merging them with their gaudy surroundings. Novelty, too, attracts attention. A familiar object in a strange place catches attention.

In all these cases, therefore, it is the *change* in stimulus which governs perception.[9] Change is variety, and variety is the spice of life. It is also a spice in psychology.

Then why have we heard so often that repetition is an excellent way to embed a message in a person's mind? Which is better, variety or repetition? Actually, both should be used. Experiments have shown that repetition of advertising appeals is twice as effective when the form, style, and expression

are varied, with constant theme, as when the previous appeals are duplicated exactly each time. This is repetition of theme with variety of presentation.

There are three degrees of variety or change: ordinary change, extreme change, and contrast. These may affect any of the senses. There may be extreme change in sight, sound, touch, taste, smell, feeling of motion, feeling of organic change, or balance.

Consider variety in sight. Motion is a change in the location of what we see at one moment to what we see at the next. It is an excellent window-display stopper. Simply disconnecting the electric socket on almost any moving display will cut down the number of lookers by as much as 60, 70, or 80 per cent.[31] Douglas Leigh's famous animated electric signs on Times Square in New York have stopped millions.

Simple changes, extremes, and contrasts in light also produce an effect of variety in sight in collaring the onlooker's attention. Extremely bright lights in store windows stop six times as many people as do ordinary lights.[32] The "bright lights of Broadway" help attract the huge crowds which flock to Times Square to shuffle along the Great White Way. Candy, a slow-moving chain-store item, was transferred into a fast-selling favorite when the spotlight arranged for a special display at another counter happened to spill a bright spot over onto the candy counter.[32]

Changes in color are brought about by changes in the brightness, hue, and saturation of the color, for these are its fundamental dimensions. Color stands high in eye-catching power. It is also highly attractive, as demonstrated by the millions of dollars Ford lost to Chevrolet before he added beauty and color to his standard black automobile of the 1920's. Likewise, the best-observed color-page advertisement in a recent issue of *Good Housekeeping* was illustrated with a pail of delicious-looking mushroom soup standing among the mushrooms in the field, all done in beautiful full colors.[13]

After sight, the next sense which welcomes variety is that of sound. Its four dimensions are pitch, intensity, time, and quality; any apparent change in a sound will be due to a change in one or more of these attributes.

Experiments were made by C. H. Woolbert to measure the relative impressiveness of changes in these different dimensions, the criterion being how well and how long the respondents remembered the stimuli which they received. The experimenter measured the results of different combinations of the attributes, amounting to eleven combinations in all.

Most effective and impressive of all were two types of change, one, extreme change of quality, the other, extreme change of all four attributes.

Extreme change of quality gives the impression of continuing changes of emotion. Since it produces the same degree of impressiveness as do extreme

changes of all attributes, but with less effort from the stimulator, it will be worth while to hear the experimenter's own description:

Changes of quality are probably more influential than any other type of change in revealing the emotional state of the speaker. . . .

In this mode . . . various complexities of tone are produced by "placing" the voice so that there is a continual change in the various resonance-producing chambers of the head, throat, and chest. The effect is what is loosely called a continuing change of "emotional" tone. This makes it a rather common manner of speaking. It carries the virtue of "interestingness." [105]

We have remarked that people perceive changes in the quality and degree of stimulation of a sense. All the examples given so far, however, were examples of change within the limits of one sense. There is another kind of change which perhaps is still more noticeable: the stimulation of one sense and then another. These are changes between senses.

While people are talking and listening, their eyes generally remain unoccupied or shift constantly, so that it is relatively easy to capture their visual attention. Before a stage play, for instance, the audience is occupied in conversation, locating seats, shifting about as they settle down, and greeting friends. These stimuli to hearing leave sight relatively unoccupied. When the lights are dimmed and the curtain is raised their attention is readily attracted to the stage scene. This is a change from an occupied sense to an unoccupied sense. It is a case of variety.

A young man and a girl on a date might conceivably switch about among all the senses by attending a motion picture (sight and sound), sitting close to each other and holding hands (touch), going to dinner later (taste, smell, and somesthesis), dancing (bodily movement), and finishing the evening with love-making (touch and somesthesis, or sense of internal organic change).

Experiments have shown that repetition, like variety, is one of the most effective ways to emphasize a message. Three or four repetitions seem to be about the maximum; they must not follow one right after the other; and they should be presented in a somewhat different way each time.[89, 85]

One useful variation on repetition is to have the respondent, not the stimulator, repeat the message. This is done by giving a quiz after a lecture, and works best when the audience has been given prior warning that the quiz will be given. This device is aimed at plugging up the leakage of memory which occurs immediately after a message has been received. The curve of remembering falls fastest at the start, then more slowly. Out of a given lecture, 38 per cent is forgotten immediately, 12 per cent more during the next three or four days, and by the end of the first week a total of 63 per cent is gone. During the second week 7 per cent more will fade out, but during the next six

weeks only another 1 per cent per week will be lost. The 23 per cent remembered at the end of that time will disappear only slowly, and some of it may last a lifetime.

H. E. Jones [40] has experimented with brief review examinations in stemming the tide of forgetfulness immediately after his lectures. He found that for intervals ranging from three days to eight weeks the memory of quizzed students was fully 50 per cent better than that of unquizzed students.

In fact, this whole broad technique of show-how, do-with, and show-back brought about a revolution in the methods which industrial management used to speed up the learning process of its many new workers during the war. Their adaptation of the recitation, or repetition, device consisted of imitated actions rather than words, but the principle was the same. It almost rated being designated as "sure-fire," an extravagant term which in certain specific cases seemed to be justified by results. It enabled foremen to cut the learning time of men grinding quartz crystals for lenses from three weeks down to three days, permitted them to cut lessons in hand grenade inspection from five days down to one, and helped them turn over full responsibility to green inspectors for a certain kind of textile after one day's instruction instead of one month's. Almost 725,000 supervisors had already been given this "Job Instruction Training," as the method is called, by the end of America's second year in the war.

The method, originally designed for war plants, proved so successful that it was soon being used to train workers in hospitals, railroads, bus lines, taxi services, pipe lines, air lines, and garages. The Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, adopted it. A copper company in Mexico, which used to have to import workers from the United States to operate its great electric shovels, readily taught the job to Mexican Indians through the "J.I.T." method. A student tells how it worked:

Here we are in a factory conference room. There are ten supervisors around the big table, with the trainer at its head. First, to put the group at ease, the trainer tells them to take off their coas and smoke if they want to. Next he disarms suspicion by saying:

"I'm not here to tell you how to run your particular job. What we shall discuss at these sessions is *How to teach a man to do any job correctly and quickly.*

"For instance, take the job of learning to tie the 'underwriters' knot.' It is one of the first things an electrician must learn. I'm going to start by telling one of you how to tie it. Who'll volunteer?"

A serious-minded foreman raises his hand. "Fine, Tom," says the trainer. "Now listen carefully.

"Take a piece of ordinary twisted lamp cord. Hold it vertically with your left hand, between thumb and first finger, six inches from the end. Untwist the loose ends, forming a V. Straighten the ends between thumb and first

finger of the right hand. Take the right-hand loose end with the right hand, making a clockwise loop . . ."

But already the intelligent look has drained out of Tom's face. "I couldn't tie it to save my life," he says. "I lost track about the third sentence."

The trainer smiles. "I don't blame you. Telling, alone, is not good instruction. Thousands of workers are being *told* what to do this very minute, all over the country, but how many of them really understand?"

"Now who wants to be *shown* how to tie the underwriters' knot? All right, Joe, step up here facing me. Now I'm not going to say a word. Watch carefully."

Joe, a heavy-set supervisor, watches the process as if his life depended on it. Then he starts bravely to do it himself, but presently works the cord into a veritable cat's cradle.

The trainer smiles again. "I never yet had anybody do it right the first time. Showing, alone, is no better than telling. Most showing is done backward anyhow. Joe was facing me, so that all my right-handed motions looked left-handed to him.

"People *can* learn through telling or showing, but it takes a long while. Now there is another method that works quickly and every time. It represents twenty-five years of test and experience in the most progressive plants of this country. Who will volunteer to learn to tie an underwriters' knot so that he'll never forget it? All right, Harry, come right up here."

This time the trainer begins with a short explanation of the purpose of the knot.

"Suppose," he says, "you are going to assemble lighting fixtures for one of the army camps. This knot relieves the strain on the fixtures. If it isn't tied right, the whole place may burn up. All right, you take a cord and follow along with me."

Now the trainer both tells and shows, but he does far more. He makes Harry *use his own hands*, and get the whole process into his nervous system. Harry quickly masters the knot. After tying it successfully half a dozen times, he is asked to demonstrate it to the trainer. This is most important. If he can do the job and explain it back to his boss, he has really learned.[15]

In short, the system involves tell-how, show-how, do-with, tell-back, and show-back. The order of the series is vitally important. It involves teaching, gradually turning the task over to the student, and finally checking up to see that he is finger-perfect. The essential ingredient in the system is the "tell-back" or show-back, which we have called recitation, or repetition.

We have mentioned already that experiments show varied repetition is the best way to direct special attention to a certain item of information. After this kind of emphasis come verbal comments that it is important; then the device of introducing a short pause; then speaking in a louder voice; then gesturing and banging the fist on the table. However, the device of speaking very slowly, used by many speakers, has an actually undesirable effect and in general should not be used.[89]

Often a propagandist finds he can save himself later trouble by being the first to create an attitude in the respondent. This gives him an initial advantage which competing propagandists find it hard to overcome. A variation on the technique is to "get them young," a technique used by many expert "propagandists" ranging all the way from the Catholic Church to Stalin to Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese war lords. They see to it that the education of their members or citizens begins when they are children. After that, it becomes harder and harder to change them.

A comparison between the impressiveness of the beginning position and that of the end position in an appeal reveals an advantage of from 10 to 25 per cent in favor of the beginning.[39] Even more striking, however, is the superiority of both of these positions over the middle. In Jersild's experiments,[39] primacy reached a value of 192, middle positions 100, and final position 128.

These experiments bring to light the principle of primacy-finality, therefore, which outshines the simple principle of primacy. Primacy is best, finality is a close second, and both together leave the middle position far in the lurch.

The rule of least effort, or ease, is another of the cardinal aids to psychological appeals. The easier a person makes it for his respondents to understand him, the better understanding he will get. The three factors contributing to least-effort are realism, brevity, and pyramiding on existing knowledge.

To begin with, it frequently helps to give all the pertinent, realistic details in order to teach a new idea. The more tangible, real, and concrete the facts are, the better. This is especially true when the subject matter is new, abstract, or theoretical. The mind seizes readily upon concrete things which resemble those encountered in everyday life.

The more similar the imitation is to the original thing, idea, or process in sound, sight, motion, and so on, the more precise and unambiguous is the perception. The less likely it is to be misinterpreted. Pictures, for instance, are more like the things they represent than are the words which may be used to describe them. A picture of a dog is a more faithful representation of its traits than the word "d-o-g," which has neither tail nor legs, but nevertheless means a quadruped. We have always associated the two by hearing them mentioned together.[85]

There are various degrees of this kind of similarity—aimed only at adequate perception—ranging from firsthand experience, imitation, motion pictures, and still pictures to maps, diagrams, blueprints, charts, verbal accounts, generalizations, and, finally, symbols. This kind of similarity aims at easy understanding, whereas the similarity we discussed under possession is directed toward developing a feeling of unity.

In some cases a good secondhand reproduction might have almost as strong an effect as personal experience. It is reported that 57,000 people in five

months visited the United States Lines showroom in New York. It was realistic, or similar, even to the entrance, which had been converted into a transatlantic-steamer gangplank, railings and all.[32]

Now we step over to an opposite trend of principles, covering brevity. In these, the idea is not to give the realistic, specific details, but to eliminate the details so far as possible! Which, then, is the better road to perception: brevity or realism? The answer is, "Both." The criterion is brief realism. When someone's interest in a situation must be aroused, it helps to use realism. Once he has become interested in the new principle and has grasped its meaning, it may thereafter be presented to him in abbreviated form.

A bathtub cleanser already familiar to the public requires less description than a new, complicated, seven-lesson course in English or mind-training. In case of doubt, be brief. For material becomes disproportionately harder to master as it increases in length. One experimenter found that he could learn a list of twelve nonsense syllables in 1.5 minutes, a list of twenty-four in 5 minutes, and a list of seventy-two in 25 minutes. If time had been proportional to length, the corresponding figures would have been 1.5, 3.0, and 9.0 minutes.[9]

Other examples of brevity, aimed at least-effort, are:

the division of books into chapters, paragraphs, and sentences, which make convenient intellectual bites—
the use of knives, forks, and spoons to break food up into bite-size morsels—
subheadings scattered throughout the copy of advertisements, which also break up the ad into bite-size helpings of information—
the small columns in popular editions of the Bible, rather than sentences which run clear across the page—
short, three-page articles, much condensed, appearing in the *Reader's Digest*, and interspersed with jokes, anecdotes, and real-life human interest stories—
the pocket size of the *Reader's Digest,* easily carried and read on street car, subway, or bus.

Brevity is also secured by the use of names, titles, symbols (such as a Valentine's Day cupid, a horseshoe, a flag, or a trademark), slogans, stereotyped images (such as those aroused by the words "international banker" or "Bolshevik"), outline at the beginning with review at the end, and unity.

A message, for instance, is decidedly simplified if it is presented first in outline form, with the main points emphasized. This also increases readership by the casual glancer, who skims over the subheadings throughout the advertisement or newspaper story to get an idea of the message's broad outlines. Moreover, like landings on a stairway, the subheadings give him a

point where he can pause to catch his breath before going on. The *Reader's Digest* usually gives a synopsis of five or ten words in the upper corner above the title of each article explaining the nature of its subject matter.

Ordinarily the picture, headline, and name plate in an advertisement are designed to tell a complete story in themselves. The copy only embellishes on it. The best-observed black-and-white advertisement in an issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* shows a mother and daughter smiling at each other as they brush their teeth, with the headline, "Most tooth decay can be prevented." [18] The name plate finishes the telegraphic message, saying, "Squibb Dental Cream. Squibb Tooth Powder." A third of a page of straight copy is included in the advertisement, but it may be skipped or read at the reader's option, since the gist of the message is already clear.

Using unity, the ringmaster at a six-ring circus turns off everything except the spotlight, speaks softly and alone, and achieves unity of effect with climax of attention. All eyes are focused on one point. Similarly, Hitler often spoke from a platform under a powerful searchlight, with banners behind him and uniformed men grouped about him in such a way as to point to him.[79]

Such polarization of attention, or unity, may also be accomplished verbally by holding up the basic sales point as the chief object of attention. Once the basic point has been made, it should be followed by a brief, crisp listing of the additional sales points.[22]

Along with realism and brevity, we may build on the basis of existing knowledge. This pyramiding is another of the outstanding devices for putting across a new idea. In it we use familiarity and personification.

First, under familiarity, we find "meaningfulness," "comparison," "expectedness," and such other types of pyramiding as analogies, similes, and metaphors. In every case, the new and strange is made clearer by comparison with the old and familiar.

Huey Long often worked his audiences into a stage of hilarity by comparing his opponents with homely, simple things with which the listeners were already familiar. He drew his metaphors from the kitchen and barnyard. In that way he was able to put across exactly what he meant. Commenting on Herbert Hoover, he observed:

> Hoover is a hoot owl. Roosevelt is a scrootch owl. A hoot owl bangs into the roost and knocks the hen clean off and catches her while she's falling. But a scrootch owl slips into the roost and scrootches up to the hen and talks softly to her. And the hen just falls in love with him and the next thing you know, there ain't no hen.[19]

Again, in simple language, he quipped, "Jim Farley can take the corns off your toes without removing your shoes." [19]

Sometimes an idea or object may be turned into human form, or personified. Though the new stimuli may be more complicated, they are more familiar. For "people" are among the most familiar things in our lives. To personify an idea is to state it in the form of the most familiar terms possible.

Christianity, with an ephemeral idea to promote, has provided us with concrete ideas of Satan, angels, Holy Mary, Jesus crucified, and even Santa Claus, who personify various Christian ideals.

This device has also been widely adopted in the commercial field. One-act marionette plays staged at the State Fair by the New York Department of Agriculture to boost its milk program showed "Madame Cow" on the stage in royal purple and a crown.

Waving a magic handkerchief, she called forth the elements of milk from the Milky Way. Protein hopped out first, singing of his value to mankind to the tune "Man on the Flying Trapeze." Sugar, a red heart with lace edges, peppermint arms and legs, sang "Nobody's Sweetheart Now." Mineral Salts warbled to the tune of "Jingle Bells" and the Vitamin Vanities, garbed in fluffy feathers, sang and danced.[32]

Also important is the matter of accuracy or inaccuracy of data. Whether they are accurate or not, if the respondent thinks they are, the appeal is solid from his standpoint. First comes accurate information. It truly represents the thing or idea or person for which it stands. These data may be perceived through any sense—sight, sound, touch, taste, smell, balance, bodily movement, or organic functioning.

But in every practical psychologist's travel kit there should be, and often is, a "bag of tricks." He must be able to recognize misrepresentation and inaccuracies, and at the same time be able to use some of the devices himself. War has reminded us that even in a democracy there are times when the liar and the trickster are as much a necessity as the policeman. They use limitation of information, or deception.

A diverting movement, for instance, was needed in Africa to draw off the main body of General Eric Rommel's Afrika Korps. Generals Alexander and Montgomery wanted to waste as few lives as possible in their first big offensive. Would the British Navy oblige? The answer was provided in the form of four little motor torpedo boats, aided by RAF night bombers and faraway heavy artillery. The boats concealed themselves behind a smoke screen and launched a fake offensive with flares, high explosives, an artillery barrage, and an air attack. To add the final convincing touch of formidability, they used large loud-speakers and powerfully amplified the battle noises of engines roaring, anchor chains rattling, and heavy naval guns firing.

German GHQ, sure it was a major landing action, rushed all available Messerschmitts and Stukas and a fully motorized division to repulse the

invasion. Guns and tanks from the main line were rushed to the sea. Shore batteries poured shells into the smoke screen.

But the British forces never emerged from the screen. When the smoke cleared away, all the Nazis found were some empty, battered rafts.[64] False information had been fabricated to produce the same reactions as if there had actually been an attack. Alexander and Montgomery were left relatively free to carry their offensive forward, far away.

Besides fabrication, there are two other kinds of limitation of information. One is known as suppression (as in censorship) and the other as distortion. Such sense-befuddling tricks are not confined to propagandists or military strategists; they are to be found in every field of activity. Magicians use optical illusions, sleight-of-hand, and diversion of attention; football players dodge with the ball; boxers feint to open the way for a vicious hook; and Commandos with blackened faces sneak through the shadows toward an enemy sentry. All are "liars" of one sort or another. They use deception.

What matters is that the respondent does not act on the basis of the true situation but on what he *perceives* to be the true situation. Hence the effectiveness of deception.

GENERAL SUGGESTIBILITY

Next after adequate perception come certain principles of high caliber but small renown. They produce general suggestibility, or a readiness to respond favorably to practically any stimulus which is presented, regardless of type or source.

General suggestibility falls into two broad types, that which is primarily physiological in nature, having nothing to do with a value-situation, and that arising from value-situations.

In the first of these cases, suggestibility does not arise from any pre-existing motive tension. It arises as an effect of such things as liquor, drugs, sense activity, fatigue, motor activity, and hypnotism. All of these stimuli tend to by-pass the usual mental processes. None are necessarily aimed at fulfilling physical or cultural needs. Under their influence a person tends to be less thoughtful in accepting suggestions, experiences a release of inhibitions, lets his whole personality loosen up, casts aside negative restraining values and abandons himself to the impulsive positive values.

A famous poem of advice for romantic young men, said to have been written by Ogden Nash, says,

"Candy is dandy,
But liquor is quicker."

We might translate this by saying the suggestibility which arises from

acquisition of food is not so sure or effective as the physiological suggestibility produced by liquor.

Many successful hosts have also found that serving cocktails to their guests is an excellent method of thawing out the ice and putting the guests at their ease. It loosens them up, dissolves their stiffness, weakens their inhibitions, sets their tongues wagging. The loosening up need not and preferably should not mean giddiness or drunkenness; yet it is a highly receptive condition for social entertainment.

In a curiously similar way, the greater the activity of one sense, or the greater the number of senses which are active, the greater is our readiness to respond to new suggestions. This is a factor which contributes to the excitement and suggestibility which arise in crowd and mob situations. There is greater stimulation of all the senses, more things to see, hear, touch, and smell. The senses are warmed up by activity.

The feeling of bodily movement (kinesthesis) is another sense which can be pleasantly stimulated by laughing, marching, applauding, singing, dancing, and exercising. Greater spontaneity, less intellectual restraint, and greater suggestibility result.

Abraham Lincoln used this device when he wished to learn from General Grenville M. Dodge how General Grant was conducting the war. At first he found Dodge stiff and reticent. So Lincoln took down a book of funny stories and read to him until he was laughing heartily and feeling thoroughly at ease. Then he extracted every shred of information General Dodge had concerning General Grant.[100] In this case, General Dodge acquired entertainment as well as stimulation of the sense of bodily movement—the pleasant motion of the abdominal muscles, the larynx, and the facial muscles involved in laughing.

Besides the pleasant loosening up incurred by moderate stimulation of a sense, there is another grade of suggestibility which results from exhaustion of a sense. It is a satiety, an inability to go further, a dimming of other appetites, a dulling of the mental processes.

Overeating is the overstimulation of an internal organic function. Too much use of the eyes, too much listening, and too much touching all result in fatigue. And fatigue appears to act somewhat as does liquor. It lowers the strength of the thought (cortical) processes in relation to the more physiological (diencephalic) processes, which are likewise weakened but to a lesser extent. Examples are the phenomena of "echopraxia" and "echolalia" in Northern Siberia, where it is reported the inhabitants become so hungry and so exhausted in mid-winter when food supplies run low and cold weather becomes extreme that they cannot help echoing the actions or words of anyone who wishes to tease them.

Lack of sleep, producing drowsiness, is one of the best-known methods of weakening people's ability to think clearly. In these circumstances they will accept other people's suggestions more readily. Night audiences are noticeably more tractable than daytime assemblies, and laboratory "illusions" are more effective in the evening than in the morning.[35]

The hypnotic trance is an extreme state of suggestibility. The subject will carry out the instructions given him by the hypnotist so long as the task does not conflict with his most fundamental convictions. But his senses are no keener and his strength no greater than normal. The feats of strength he performs under hypnosis he can also accomplish in his conscious state if he is willing to make great effort. It is a question of motivation rather than ability.[9] It is only one more proof of the tremendous importance of incentives.

Here is a sidelight on hypnotism. If a person under hypnosis is instructed to drink a glass of water at a certain time after he comes out of his trance, he will obey the order accurately. This is post-hypnotic suggestion, an extreme form of delayed response. He will not remember the initial cause of his action; if asked why he took a drink, he probably will reply that he was thirsty.[9]

So much for non-value suggestibility. Another highly important type of suggestibility is aroused by value-situations affecting any value from food to religion. Whenever a situation is presented, an emotional reaction results. This reaction in turn exercises a noticeable influence on the reactions to later appeals.

There thus arises the principle of what we may call "emotional coupling," in which a chain of emotions is started, each overlapping and reinforcing the one which follows it. Through this coupling or pyramiding of emotions, the respondent's readiness to act is pushed to a peak which could probably not otherwise be attained. The stimulator launches a trail-blazing emotion x with the first appeal, which opens a wider path for emotion y in the next appeal. Friendliness produces a continuing attitude of suggestibility (x) in the other person which makes him more willing (y) to buy things, lend money, or do whatever else the stimulator suggests.

One of the most solid reaction bases to which new psychological appeals may be coupled is that which arises from possession of a great value by the stimulator. In our culture a person is suggestible in general toward his friends, his sweetheart, attractive members of the opposite sex, important people, people with charm, or people possessing any other desirable cultural value. All of these people are value-possessors. Anyone who would like to have an appreciable influence over his fellows should first of all make sure that he is the master and owner of as many values as possible. Especially should he develop "character," however that may be defined in his culture.

A phonograph store succeeded in increasing its sales by having the women clerks always step forward to wait on men customers, and men clerks always attend to the women customers. They would suggest other disks in addition to those asked for. The suggestibility toward a member of the opposite sex—reaction *x*—led to greater purchases of phonograph records—reaction *y*.

Emotional coupling, or the linking of two situations, is particularly effective in the case of tie-ins, to which we have already devoted some attention. The tie-in opens the way; it enables attention and suggestibility to be easily shifted over to the means, goal, or further value.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Target

(Necessary Conditions in the Respondent)

OUR ATTENTION UP TO this point has been devoted primarily to the appeal. Within the appeal, the value-situation is the all-important circumstance which touches off reactions otherwise prepared. We have also glanced at adequate perception and general suggestibility, which aid the appeal.

If we should stop here, however, we should be like a gunner who fires a heavy-caliber cannon into the empty blue sky, or looses a torpedo into mid-ocean with no target in sight or mind. For the appeal is nothing more than the discharging of a psychological gun which must be aimed in accordance with the nature and location of the target. That target is the respondent.

The respondent must, first of all, feel a need for the value involved in the situation; and then he must be able to adopt the means suggested. A psychologically perfect appeal to purchase a bicycle would hardly produce a twitch in the eye of a rich boy who already possessed four bicycles, a roadster, and a private airplane. He would feel no necessity. And the appeal would certainly leave a legless cripple completely cold. He would lack the ability to use the means.

ABILITY

No respondent, then, will react to an appeal in the way the stimulator wishes him to unless he is able. He must already possess the instrumental values which are the means to that suggested means. Since all values are means to one end or another, it will be impossible to name them in detail. There are, nevertheless, certain ones which carry tremendous import, occurring over and over again in myriads of situations. They are usually required whether other values are needed or not. These values of such universal utility are intelligence, knowledge, physical capacity, money, and time. Moreover, there must be no insuperable obstacles which impede their use.

Though all other circumstances may favor a given psychological appeal, for instance, it will fail if the respondent's mind or fund of knowledge is inadequate. A propaganda campaign might manage to convince all 140,000,000

people in the United States they should study to become research chemists, but not all of them would possess the mental ability to learn this profession.

In the case of physical capacities, we refer to manual skill, strength, health, energy, sharpness of eyesight and hearing, and so on.

Money in our society is probably the most important single method of commanding other values. It will purchase almost anything. The stimulator, making an appeal for immediate action, must consider the respondent's money supply as it is. In the longer run, however, he may help the person increase his supply of money by giving him a job, reducing the cost of the means he is offering, or accepting payment in other values, such as labor or charming company.

Another versatile value which enters into the cost of acquiring or protecting almost every other value is time. For it takes time to earn money, time to go out on dates, time to train the children, make friends, improve business, or study music.

In addition, there are thousands of other values, all of which are means to one end or another. Possession of any one of them may be necessary to the accomplishment of a certain task. An army's ability to win battles, for instance, depends on its possession of such values as well trained soldiers, an adequate supply of weapons, maps, airplanes, tanks, and experienced, imaginative generals.

But an ambitious employee may have what it takes to get ahead and yet fail to advance because there are six others ahead of him in seniority. A policeman is also an obstacle to the street urchin who wishes to steal an apple from a fruit stand. Thus there must be an absence of obstacles if a suggested course of action is to be followed.

Now we may put all the above conditions into reverse when we wish to prevent a person from taking some step. This is counter-propaganda of a tangible sort.

Some wealthy conservative, if none too scrupulous about the rights of others, may take several of these reverse measures when he wishes to prevent the share-croppers, hillbillies, Indians, Negroes, or other have-nots in his neighborhood from getting any of his land, money and prestige. He undermines their ability to progress at his expense by paying them low wages, by having laws passed which prevent them from owning land, by opposing the establishment of free public schools for them, weakening their family bonds by adoptions, creating distrust among them, doing everything he can to keep their intelligence level from rising, and setting the poll taxes so high they are prevented from voting. Perhaps most crippling of all, he insists on strict government censorship of news concerning labor strikes for higher wages in surrounding areas, has all group discussions involving five or more persons

dispersed by the police, and arranges for revolutionary leaders to be placed in prison or deported.

Likewise in war, an army may do everything it can to maim, blind, kill, poison, or otherwise weaken the enemy so he is unable to continue fighting.

In short, when we wish to persuade a person to do a certain thing, we must be ready to create the ability for him, if necessary, by providing him with the needed values. On the other hand, if we wish to prevent an undesirable action, we may destroy or nullify the values possessed by the respondent which would lead to this end.

NECESSITY

The next pivotal issue after ability is whether the respondent feels the necessity of adjusting to a situation which is presented to him. Is the goal appropriate to his other goals? Does it fit his total activity pattern?

There are five conditions which must exist in order for him to feel a necessity of acquiring or protecting a value. First and most important, the idea, thing, person, or other goal involved in the situation must be a value to him, either in reality or in his imagination. Then he must lack the value when presented with a possible acquisition situation, or possess it when faced with a situation of possible loss. There must be an absence of more urgent value-situations. There must be an absence of accepted alternative actions or substitutes for the goal value. And finally, there must be an absence of strong conflicting values in his personality pattern. The failure of any one of these conditions to be in proper working order has often caused the downfall of appeals which otherwise seemed destined to success.

To begin with, we shall recall that all human action is governed by people's values and the situations in which these values become involved. But all individuals and all nations do not value the same things. It will be our task, therefore, to select some idea, thing, or person which is a value to our respondent and, if we can, choose one toward which he feels the strongest desire or loyalty. Then we can hitch our program of action onto that goal value and tell how the means value we offer will help to acquire or protect it. The principal physical and cultural values have been discussed in the early pages of this book, and may be used as guides to the values which probably would spur almost anyone in America to action.

There is no point in offering a person something he already has, or in attempting to frighten him over the possibility of losing something which he does not possess. He must lack or possess the value involved, whichever is appropriate. The best psychological argument in the world, for instance, will not land a job for someone in a factory which definitely does not need an-

other employee. So if a possible acquisition is presented, it must involve a value which the respondent lacks. If a possible loss situation is presented, it must refer to a value which he possesses.

This explains the eye-catching power of a photograph which appeared in the *New York Daily News* in the chilliest part of winter. The photograph of a happy socialite in bathing suit at Palm Beach, Florida, in late December was shown with the following caption: "DOWN FLORIDA WAY. Mrs. Russell B. Livermore, the former Josephine Lanier of New York, is among the socialites wintering at Palm Beach, Fla." [60] Had this picture appeared in mid-summer, it would probably have attracted little attention. But the acquisition of temperature comfort by another was shown to New Yorkers at a time when many of them lacked it.

However, the degree of interest and action which will be evoked by a given situation depends partly on how much of the value is already possessed. If possible acquisition of money develops, the reactions will be greatest when the amount possessed is the smallest, that is, when the lack or need is greatest.

As the possessed amount increases, the importance of the value gradually diminishes until finally it comes to a balance with the cost which must be paid to acquire or protect it. Then the means value is "no longer worth the effort," and the person ceases to strive. As one student of the social planning movement once observed, people exhibit a great capacity to accept innovations and adjust to new programs in times of severe depression; but they grow weary of great effort and their zeal for change disappears with returning prosperity.[28]

However, the energy of reactions brought about by lack does not increase all the way as lack increases. A certain degree of lack or frustration does produce the necessary attention to bring about striving. But beyond a certain limit the person's point of view becomes grossly distorted, as in the delusions of the insane, and no longer bears any resemblance to the real situation. Just as there is a limit beyond which the primary needs, such as that for oxygen, cannot be frustrated without a collapse of the organism, there is also a limit beyond which the cultural needs, such as the need for freedom, cannot be denied satisfaction without a breakdown of the individual's personality.

These observations have brought about a concept of "frustration tolerance," which has been defined as "the amount of frustration which can be borne without a resultant failure in psychobiological adjustment."

In one experiment, the subjects were given a problem of obtaining a flower resting on a sawhorse which was really placed at an unreachable distance. One of the subjects began to act, after many unsuccessful attempts, as if she had hypnotic power to draw the flower to her, while another girl, yielding to fantasy, envisioned the room filled with water and the flower and sawhorse

floating toward her. Such a denial of the realities of a situation is characteristic of all fantasies and wishful thinking.[9] These are among the reactions with which we shall become better acquainted in the next chapter.

On occasion, a well directed appeal falls short of its objective because something else more important is happening. A person can hardly expect a favorable answer if he asks, "Have you got a match?" of a window-washer who has just slipped and is hanging precariously on the window ledge sixteen floors above the street. There must be an absence of more urgent value-situations.

Similarly, while war rages, the risk of losing life and property appears great. As a result, people become fired with enthusiasm and determination to establish a better world order, perhaps even an international police force with expanded social services on the part of the government. These are all connected with the war. But as the threat is gradually crushed and peace seems nearer, the readiness to accept new means values to solve the problems of war decreases and people turn to their more urgent value-situations. They may even do so in the face of a gnawing apprehension that those very interests may cripple the efforts toward victory and bring on another war in the future. But they are tired, and they are anxious to live for themselves—today.

The stimulator who discovers that a more urgent value-situation is blocking action on his appeal may either wait until the stronger situation passes or take a more active stand by helping his respondent solve the problem. A preacher in a poverty-ridden farming county in Texas found that most of the people lacked interest in religion, for all their time was taken scratching a living out of the soil. So he studied scientific farming and used his church back yard as a model farm to teach the parishioners easier and more effective ways to farm. He thus helped them solve the value-situation which had priority over his own message. Then, with more respect and time for religion, they were impelled to begin attending church.

Again, there must be an absence of the accepted alternative solutions before a new means will be adopted. For people who are not addicted to the use of beer, Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola, or other popular beverages, an offer of one of these drinks is not likely to elicit a favorable response. But when they cannot get water, the accepted alternative to these things, it is another story. They must drink something; so they turn to whatever beverages are available. This was realized by three beverage makers in Milwaukee, co-sponsors of a free six-day bicycle race which attracted 40,000 people. They fed appropriate advertising plugs to the audience regarding the three beverages which, with no water fountains about, the people had to buy in quantities to quench their long-drawn-out thirst.[82]

This illustrates a case in which the stimulator removes the alternative so

that the respondent is forced to use his new means to satisfy the motive. With a little thought, this principle can be applied to any situation in which an untried value is offered as a means. One may simply remove the usual means.

There must also be an absence of conflicting values. In our culture, many values are inconsistent with one another. The property value, for instance, is in frequent conflict with the honesty value. A person who is tempted to take money which does not belong to him will probably be stopped by his conscience or by fear of the law, both of which represent the conflicting value of honesty. Or a young man refrains from asking a certain attractive young lady out for an evening's entertainment because she is his best friend's girl. Here the value of friendly loyalty comes into conflict with that of romance.

Indeed, even under such highly powerful conditions of suggestibility as a hypnotic trance, a person may refuse to strive toward an overwhelmingly attractive value if conflicting values outweigh it. If his moral code stolidly says no to that course of action, the best argument in the world will hardly change a lifetime pattern of thought and action in the span of a moment.

While in a hypnotic trance, for example, a person will not do or say anything which he or she would consider indecent or harmful. In order to prove this to his classes of skeptical medical students, a famous neuropsychiatrist hands a revolver to a hypnotized subject and tells the subject to shoot him. The subject always tosses the gun away and awakens with a start. Of course, the doctor prudently removes the bullets from the gun beforehand.

This same specialist has also demonstrated how strong is the ingrained sense of modesty. He ordered a hypnotized girl to undress completely in front of his men students. Instead of doing so, she stood up, rubbed her eyes, and snapped out of the trance in a rage—yet with no recollection of what the doctor had said or why she was angry.[56]

Only after a long, slow process of dissolving a contrary value can the suggested action be brought about. This dissolution of the opposing value must follow the standard rules of change; these we have discussed under the heading of acceptance (or rejection) of the means value.

The foregoing techniques are aimed at causing the respondent to feel the necessity of doing something. There are other occasions, however, when the counter-propagandist wishes to induce him to do nothing. He then reverses the foregoing principles.

First, he must exterminate the goal value as a value, psychologically speaking, by convincing the respondent that it is not a means to the end believed. In other words, he destroys the life-line or causal connection between the goal value and the further value.

Next, if the counter-propagandist sees that lack of some value brings about

an action he does not want, he will see to it that the respondent acquires the value in some other desirable way. If possession brings about undesirable action, he may deprive the respondent of the value. If too large an allowance enables a wealthy man's son to fritter away all his time at college on dates, parties and liquor, instead of devoting it to studies and athletics, he may bring the carousing to a stop by cutting down on the boy's supply of money.

Again, should a person do something undesirable because he has nothing more important to do, the counter-propagandist may present him with more urgent value-situations. When national politics becomes too complicated and civil strife threatens, kings, emperors, prime ministers, and war lords throughout history have used the device of provoking a foreign war. This unifies the people and gives them something more urgent to think about than politics. For possible loss of life, liberty, and property transcend the possible acquisition of political position, personal recognition, and trifling gains in salary.

What is more, when the lack of alternative solutions leads to undesirable action, the obvious thing for the stimulator to do is to make the alternatives available. When an adolescent girl living in a small town grows restless because she has no interesting ways to spend her time, she may become associated with the wrong crowd, go on wild parties, stay up late, develop a bad reputation, or pair up with some misfit boy who is not her type or quality. One solution would be to send her to live with relatives in a larger city, where she could find better companions with whom to spend her time.

Finally, if the counter-propagandist sees that all of the preceding strategies are closed to him, he still has another recourse, that of creating conflicting values. In fact, he may take all the other precautions and this one, too, just to be on the safe side.

Against the selfish values of money, physical pleasures, and glory, for instance, the Christian church has created new, opposing values which for almost two thousand years have acted as checks: generosity, self-denial, humility, morality, honesty, reverence, and the Golden Rule.

From the foregoing, the reader will agree that the conditions in his respondent are of fundamental importance, even though extensive comment has not been lavished on these conditions. The simple fact stands out sharply that the respondent's ability and his feeling of the necessity of adopting the suggested means value are pivotal elements in the compounding of human behavior.

These are the last of the elements which determine human behavior. They must be added to our check list of factors which must be in good working order for an appeal to succeed. In planning a psychological offensive, the propagandist will use this list systematically, carefully checking off each item. The ideal condition, in which all elements are in satisfactory order, may

seldom be attained. But the more methodically he organizes his campaign in advance and prepares to handle each element in the problem, the greater will be his likelihood of success.

These elements are listed in detail in the analytical outline, beginning on page 259.

SECTION FOUR

CHAPTER XIX

What Happens When the Bull's-Eye Is Hit

(*Reactions*)

WE HAVE DELAYED speaking of reactions during the pages which have gone before, for reactions are among the most complicated and controversial subjects in all psychology. The only mention that has consistently been made has been whether or not the respondent reacted by doing what the stimulator wanted him to do. This was the most important question. Actually, there are many other reactions.

The discussion of the elements which enter into the appeal, and of those which aid and guide it, is completed. Now the apparent chaos of reactions should be organized into a sensible pattern. There are three compelling reasons for understanding this complex pattern. The first is that knowing the usual reactions helps in forecasting behavior more precisely. In the second place, the person who puts psychology into action may glance down the list of reactions and choose the one most suitable for his immediate purpose; then, aiming at this, he may build around it a complete appeal. Finally, if one wishes, he may in turn use that reaction as a springboard for putting across a subsequent appeal with more decisive effect.

To understand reactions, we must go back for a moment to the fountainhead of behavior. All actions are consciously or unconsciously devoted fundamentally to the search for pleasure or the avoidance of pain. Value-situations merely mark the stops on the circular route leading to either of these ends. When pain is felt, a value has been lost or frustrated. When pleasure is felt, a value has been acquired or rescued. The state of more or less continuous pain is designated as lack, and the state of relatively constant pleasure is called possession. The remaining situations of possible acquisition, possible frustration, possible loss, and possible rescue are the prospects of pleasure or pain which may be felt in the future.

Not only all reactions, but all emotions spring from pains and pleasures.

either present or prospective, which arise in the ten fundamental value-situations. An emotion must, in order to be an emotion, be part of an entire integrated situation. As Carney Landis of the Psychiatric Institute, Columbia University, points out, "Such emotions as anger, fear, pity or disgust do not exist in unique independence, but in relation to concrete situations—in such phenomena as fighting reactions or fearfulness, in the experience of pity or of withdrawal from obnoxious objects." [9]

But all situations, regardless of whether they are painful or pleasant, have their characteristic reactions. These vary widely in both nature and intensity. At the outset we may ask, "What determines the strength of a reaction?"

The intensity of the reaction depends, first of all, on the length of time the situation has been gathering potential energy by being held stationary. The longer that frustration and loss leave a person lacking the value, the stronger becomes his desire.

In the second place, the strength of the reaction depends on the respondent's degree of personal involvement in the situation. If the respondent himself is the victim of a loss, he suffers pain; if the victim is a loved one, friend, ally, or identification of his, he feels deep sympathy; if the victim is a neutral removed from his immediate sphere of life, he feels interest and perhaps pity, but little more; but if the victim is a competitor or an enemy, the respondent is likely to be pleased or even overjoyed. On the other hand, if his enemy acquires a value, he feels envy, but acquisition by someone who is an identification, ally, friend, or loved one gives him vicarious pleasure.

In the third instance, perhaps the most influential of all, the strength of the reaction depends on the value-balance. The greatest joy will be felt when a huge prize is won at a negligible cost in time, energy, money, and other values. The greatest pain will be felt when a loss is huge and the cost, wasted in an attempt to protect it, is also large. Similarly, more rewards produce greater pleasure. For when two simple stimuli are combined as a total perception, the "hedonic tone" or pleasure of the combination depends upon the sum of the hedonic tones for each of the two stimuli taken separately. When two colors are equally pleasant, for example, their combination is twice as pleasant as either of them alone.[9]

The reactions with which we shall make our acquaintance in a moment should not be regarded as universal. The present moment, indeed, is propitious for measuring the applicability of the various principles we have discussed throughout this book.

Values, which are the means and ends of all striving, vary widely among different nations, among different individuals within a nation, and within the same individual at different times. But value-situations (which touch off all

striving for values), value-balancing (which largely determines the intensity of striving), acceptance and rejection methods (by which the cultural side of human nature is changed), specific instructions for action, adequate perception, general suggestibility, and necessary conditions in the respondent, on the other hand, seem to apply to everyone, everywhere, and always. They appear to be universal and eternal principles of psychology.

Moreover, it appears probable that even the immediate emotional reactions to these influences (given the different values) are also the same everywhere. It is the way of handling, expressing, or suppressing these emotions—the outward adjustment reactions—which vary so widely. A Zuñi Indian probably feels the same way about losing a ceremonial mask as a faithful Catholic feels about losing a rosary, but their outward reactions toward their losses are strikingly divergent.

It will be exceptionally revealing to observe closely the reactions to two widely separated situations, possible acquisition and actual loss. In the first, the stimulus field is well structured. The individual's thoughts and actions are carefully organized and converge upon one goal. But in the latter, the rocket of energy has shattered itself against a stone wall. The means has failed. The goal has been lost. So, instead of a few reactions, we find a wide diversity. For this is a case of disorganized, diffuse activity, in which we may discern dozens of distinct reactions. The respondent is confused; his mental context is unstructured. He already has the force of a large emotion, the fear of loss, built up within him; and this is aggravated by the pain of actual loss. Such a powerful emotion is difficult to contain, and breaks out at a dozen points.

PATTERN OF REACTIONS TO LOSS

When someone sustains a loss, there is apparently only one reaction which the respondent can be counted on to show in all cases, namely, interest. Sorrow and pain do not always accompany loss, for when the respondent learns that his worst enemy has lost something valuable, he is more than likely to be delighted. When Italy surrendered to the Allies, for instance, most people in Allied countries showed they felt considerably happier. Yet this was a loss for Italy.

At least sixty-three different reactions to loss have been distinguished. The reaction to any given situation seems to depend largely on who the victim is and on what the respondent is reacting toward. Loss by oneself evokes different responses from loss by loved ones and friends, while these are again different from reactions to loss by neutral others, competitors, or enemies. In short, whoever loses, the respondent reacts differently toward—

the cost value
the means value
the goal value
the depriver
the victim
himself
his loved ones, friends,
allies, and identifications
neutrals
competitors and enemies
the emotion
the setting

The various possibilities are suggested in the diagram (FIGURE 1) on page 196. It shows that first, in the chain of causality, comes the situation (loss, in this case), which, depending on who the victim is, brings about various reactions toward different values, people, and things. A glance at the diagram will suggest there are many different reactions to loss which might be found in American life.

It should be remembered, however, that all the possible reactions would not occur in the same case of loss. The respondent's reactions would depend on whether the victim were himself; a loved one, friend, ally, or identification; a neutral other; or a competitor or enemy.

Suppose the respondent himself were the victim. He would have to react toward each of the twelve values, people, and things which made up his environment in the situation. He could thus have as many as twelve different reactions, none inconsistent with the others, all occurring more or less at the same time, and each pointing toward something or someone different.

From our standpoint, his most important reactions are toward the means value. For one thing, he may reject it because the loss has shown it is either dangerous or ineffective as a way of protecting his values.

When this old means value is uprooted, with nothing to take its place, he may be thrown into a state of confusion as to what to do next. In Orson Welles's famous broadcast of the "Invasion from Mars," the havoc created in the New Jersey countryside by the invading Martian hordes was vividly described. The National Guardsmen of that vicinity, Welles related, were unable to stop them, because the enemies were equipped with ray guns and other devastating weapons. The Martians then began their march on New York.

Meanwhile, reports Hadley Cantril, who made a study of the listeners' reactions to this broadcast, many believed it was a real news program and became panic-stricken. Some prayed, others spent their last dollars lavishly. One young man raced his automobile at breakneck speed to reach and protect

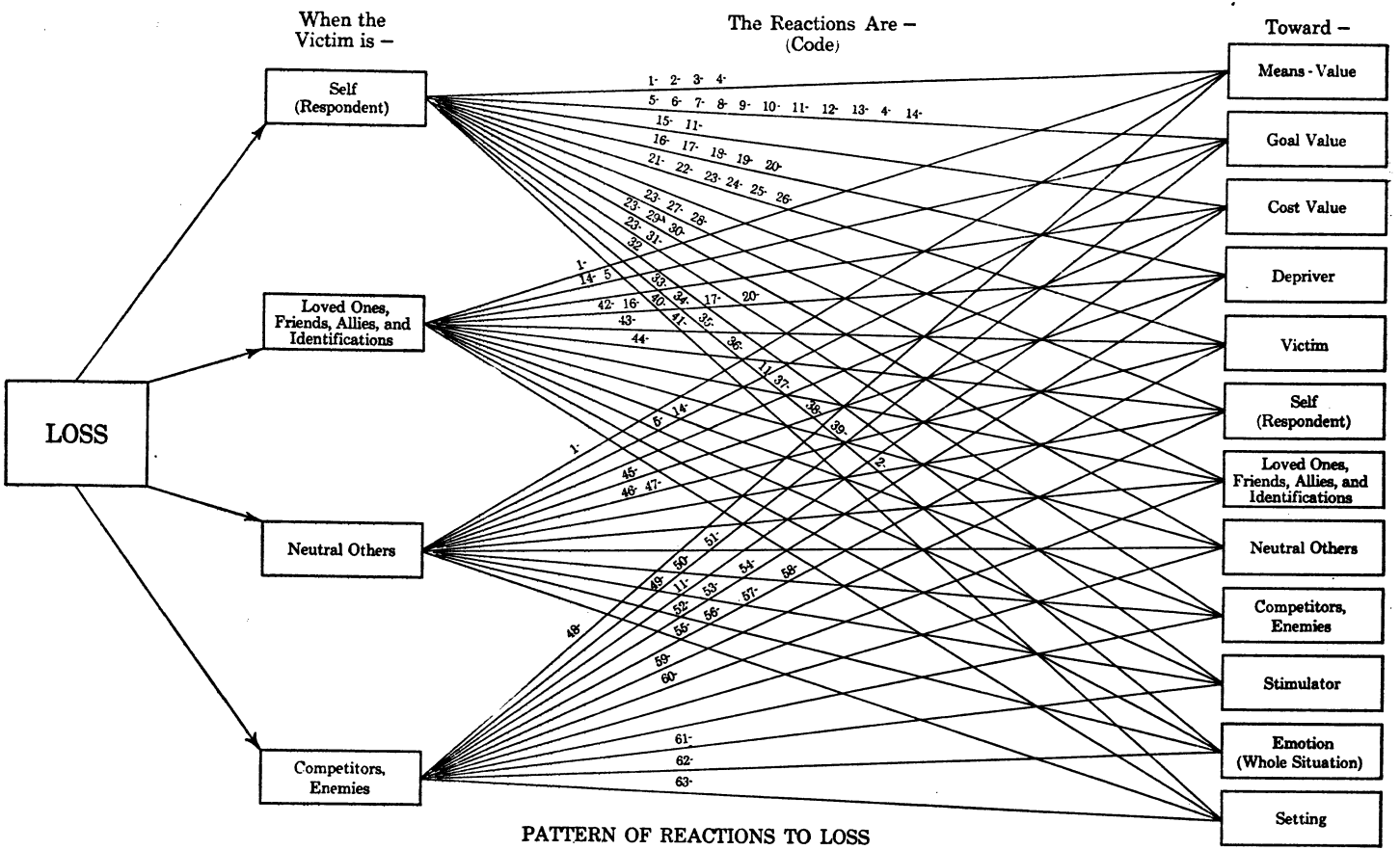
his sweetheart. Other people abandoned their homes to take refuge in the countryside. Somewhat the same thing happened in Germany when depression and inflation swept away the funds of millions after the First World War. In the midst of confusion, an ex-corporal came forward preaching that their losses were proof of the failure of democracy. With no firm rocks to which they could cling, many believed him and followed him.

At the same time, the victim may display a different reaction toward the goal value he has lost. Substitution of other goals is one of the most approved reactions in our society. The recent widow is encouraged to take an interest in social service, secure a job, travel, or remarry. She is told she must occupy her mind with other things and turn her energies into a new channel. Otherwise she may develop a morbid, unhealthy attitude.

Another possible reaction toward the goal, when a little boy loses all his fruits except a lemon, is for him to say the lemon is sweet and to pretend to like it very much. Or, when the fox cannot reach the grapes, he says they are sour anyway, and he doesn't care about losing them. These reactions of "sweet lemon" and "sour grapes" are quite common in American culture. They are rationalizations. When a person loses a value, he can partly ease the pain of the loss by depreciating the value. Indeed, the process of depreciation usually begins immediately after the loss of the value. A young man decides that the dream girl who jilted him was no dream girl after all, but selfish, inconsiderate, and not even pretty except to people who had no taste. This "sour grapes" attitude helps prevent him from sinking into the depths of despondency, which in an extreme case might lead to suicide.

The victim likewise takes special attitudes toward the cost which he wasted while attempting to save the goal value. It should be remembered that the loss of a large goal value contributes to painful feelings, and that whatever cost was expended adds to his discomfort. Consequently, he tends to seek alleviation whenever he can by minimizing the cost value. He might say, "Well, easy come, easy go." There are some occasions, however, when he may inflate the cost. This is true when he is seeking sympathy, admiration, or a sense of heroic drama.

The victim's most violent reactions are likely to be directed toward the depriver. Revenge is considered the manly, virile, direct manner of overcoming the loss. If it was unjust in the first place, the revenge then becomes justice. According to one psychologist, revenge is one of the five most frequent motion picture themes, a fact which reflects the popular acceptance of this reaction.[20] It is also a frequent theme in pulp-magazine serials. A story written by William O'Sullivan entitled "The Rainbow Ace," and appearing in the days of American neutrality between 1939 and 1941, told of Kink Landry's desire for vengeance against the Nazis:



PATTERN OF REACTIONS TO LOSS

DETAIL OF REACTION CODE NUMBERS

1. Rejection of the means-value
2. Confusion
3. Search for and adoption of a new means to protect or reacquire the goal value ("compensation in kind")
4. Pathological surrender (feigning illness)
5. Search for the cause of loss
6. Effort to regain the goal value or prevent its loss again in the future
7. Effort to regain credit for possession
8. Substitution of other goals
9. Loss of appetite for the goal value
10. Rationalization
11. Dramatization
12. Imagined rescue
13. Surrender
14. Wariness of future deprivation of the same value
15. Rationalization regarding the cost value
16. Hatred and resentment toward depriver
17. Direct revenge
18. Symbolic revenge
19. Arranging restitution by the depriver
20. Tension in the depriver's presence
21. Ego deflation
22. Loss of self-confidence
23. Defense mechanisms
24. Self-pity
25. Self-punishment
26. Masochism
27. Search for sympathy
28. Putting the problem in stronger hands
29. Bullying
30. Punishing scapegoats
31. Blaming everything on competitors and enemies
32. Anti-suggestibility
33. Pain and sorrow
34. Weeping, music, poetry (catharsis)
35. Anger
36. Despair
37. Minimization by mental control or physical relief
38. Attempted forgetting (repression, dissociation)
39. Apathy
40. Destruction of setting (aggression)
41. Flight
42. Anti-suggestibility toward the depriver
43. Sympathy toward victim
44. Self-condemnation
45. Opposition to the depriver on principle
46. Interest
47. Pity
48. Disparagement of the means
49. Desire for a souvenir or booty
50. Ready confirmation of enemy's loss
51. Confidence in acquisition of the goal by oneself
52. Suggestibility toward depriver
53. Reward and praise of the depriver
54. Relax hostility toward the depriver
55. Amusement and laughter
56. Gloating and taunting
57. Contempt for victim
58. Sadism toward victim
59. Ego expansion
60. Strutting and self-congratulation
61. Suggestibility toward stimulator
62. Celebration
63. Enshrinement of the setting

"Not a chance of war, kid. There are too many men still alive who remember the last one. Like Toby Tarcher and me. Anyway, I promised you Germany, didn't I? Well, come on, then!"

Paris. Rome. Vienna. Munich. Bill and Kink, having the time of their lives together. Bill having the *last* time of their lives together, but they couldn't have known, then. Finally, Berlin. Berlin, and the sight of that crowd of Nazi hoodlums beating that poor old devil of a man, and Bill wading in to help. And then—

Then poor old Bill, broken and bleeding and lifeless, there on the pavement.

"Attempted robbery by unknown thugs," the Nazis had lied smugly.

The United States official who had looked into the matter was helpless. "It's one of those things," he told Kink lamely.

"And how it's one of those things!" the raging Kink had agreed. "It's one of those things I'll even for old Bill, if I die in the attempt!" [62, 44]

The victim's reactions toward himself when he loses a precious value are especially interesting. One of the possible reactions is to adopt defense mechanisms, things to convince himself and others that the loss did not occur, that the loss was purely a matter of bad luck, that "it didn't hurt." He may lay himself singularly open to dares to prove these assertions. This is his sore spot, and he wants to reassure himself and impress others.

The great "Teddy" Roosevelt, puny and timid in his childhood, suffered numerous embarrassments. Even after he had won abundant health and proved himself a courageous military leader in the Spanish-American war, he was still sensitive on the subject. He had to keep proving it to himself.

Once he was trying to back out of a formidable political campaign. Boss Platt asked him, "Is the hero of San Juan Hill a coward?"

Roosevelt replied with more than his customary vehemence, "No, I am not a coward," and pitched into the fray.[67]

When a loss has occurred, the victim's reactions toward loved ones and others close to him also follow well defined channels, since these individuals are part of his immediate environment. His most likely reaction toward these people, in America, is to unburden his troubles to them for relief, seeking sympathy. This helps to ease the pain. Often the sympathy he wants involves praise or reassurances to his pride, such as "That wasn't fair," or "You would have been able to keep it if you hadn't been knifed in the back," or "She wasn't good enough for you anyway."

Also part of the victim's environment are a great number of people who are neither friends nor enemies. At best they are acquaintances; usually they are only people he sees on the street. He may take out his pent-up fury on some of these neutral others by trumping up charges against them.

This displacement of anger against scapegoats occurred in Nazi Germany. There the scapegoats were Jews, French, and Poles.[20] In the United States, Negroes are often the innocent bystanders who get hurt when the "poor whites" in the South feel the pinch of hard times. Numerous investigators have found a close relation between a high number of lynchings and a low price for cotton.

Still another group of people in the victim's environment toward which he reacts is composed of his competitors and enemies. He may blame and punish them for the loss, even though they do not happen to have been the actual deprivers. It is much more flattering to his self-esteem to be able to say that the loss, far from being his fault, was due to the insidious machinations of these enemies and competitors.

When Republicans are in office, they tend to blame everything that goes

wrong on the Democrats, and vice versa. In South American countries, the party in power often goes so far as to blame alley brawls, passion murders, even petty thefts on the party which it has defeated.

The victim must also react toward the person who brings the news of loss. He is the stimulator. When a messenger boy brings a telegram announcing a loved one's death, or the mailman fails to bring a much-wanted letter, the sufferer may lash out at him in curt tones.

In addition, there is generally a reaction to the emotion itself. The victim, feeling the tension of loss, responds with various types of behavior, directed not toward any value or person, but toward the whole situation. It is an unreasoning, but psychological release of the emotional tension.

One of these is weeping. This is an easily identifiable reaction to pain, sorrow, and unhappiness. It washes a mental wound clean and soothes the pain. This is known as "catharsis," derived from the Greek word, *ḳathairō,* meaning to purge, or *ḳatharos,* meaning clean. It washes away the wreckage of an emotional explosion. Anger, like weeping, is another form of catharsis, for it gives the person a chance to blow off steam and work off his accumulated hurt.

Very closely related to weeping are certain aesthetic pleasures. Among these are listening to music or reading poetry. But all types of music and poetry do not give such relief. The light, airy, prancing melody is not appropriate for the tortured moments of sorrow, for something symphonic, beautiful, and tragic, especially in a minor key, is required. Such is Sibelius's ***Finlandia.*** In poetry there is Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach." Slowly the tone of the music or poetry may change until it lilts joyously, at last reaching a crashing, triumphant climax. The mood is washed away.

Finally, the chair, vase, painting, or piano which formed a part of the stage setting for loss is sometimes lumped together with the depriver, the stimulator who brought the bad news, or the innocent scapegoats, and made into a target for aggression. A high-strung general who has lost a battle or a man who has lost his wife might react by breaking everything in sight.

Thus we find the respondent who is the victim of a loss may react by becoming confused about a means value, at the same time as substituting a new goal, minimizing the cost, getting revenge against the depriver, adopting defense mechanisms to convince himself it didn't hurt, searching for sympathy among his loved ones, friends, allies and identifications, shifting the blame onto some innocent neutral as a scapegoat, blaming his enemies and competitors, insulting the stimulator who has made the loss known to him, weeping, and breaking cups and saucers. The respondent would have no reaction toward the victim distinct from that toward himself, as they are one and the same person in this case. All these eleven reactions could occur in the

same set of circumstances, as they are directed at different people or things in the situation's environment.

Of course, a person is not limited to any particular set of reactions, for each one of them has several alternatives. For instance, the victim may react toward any of these items in his environment (say the goal value) in one of several ways: by searching for the cause of loss, by attempting to regain the value, by substituting other goals, by losing his appetite for the original goal, by rationalizing that it wasn't worth much, by exaggerating his loss if he wishes to dramatize the misfortune, by imagining rescue, or by surrendering entirely the hope of regaining the value.

So we have seen the wide gamut of emotions and other reactions which the respondent may run when he himself suffers a loss. But his reactions to loss by someone close to him, such as a loved one, friend, ally, or identification, are often as intense as if he himself had been the victim. The nature of these reactions is almost the same. He is likely to reject the means value which failed to prevent his loved one's loss, to feel wary that he may lose the same goal value himself, to hate the depriver, to extend sympathy to the victim, perhaps to condemn himself as guilty of the loss through some negligence.

When neutral others lose something, it is to be expected that the respondent will reject the means value which they used unsuccessfully. Too, he will perhaps fear a similar loss himself, and stand up in opposition to the depriver on the principle of the thing. The gangster who kidnaps and murders a child in New Jersey is making no direct attack on a young bachelor in Los Angeles; the child, moreover, has no psychological closeness to the young man. It is a "neutral other," so far as he is concerned. Yet if the young man sees a man in a roadside lunch wagon who meets the description of the kidnaper-murderer, he will communicate with the Los Angeles office of the F.B.I. Why?

Aside from the attraction of the reward which may be offered, he knows that he himself may be a father some day. He must do what he can today to stamp out such crimes to make life safe for his own children tomorrow. It is for this reason that he resists the depriver "on the principle of the thing."

Often, when the loss is minor and happens to someone moving in an entirely different circle, the respondent feels toward the victim little more than interest in his plight. The average reader of the *New York Daily News* reads with interest the stories of burglaries, hatchet murders, night club brawls, and divorce actions, but there is little likelihood that he will interfere in these people's affairs himself.

When a competitor or enemy of the respondent loses something valuable, the respondent may react in a rich variety of ways. This is to be expected in a highly competitive society, where people are constantly pitted against one

another and pass easily from competition into real enmity. The difference between competition and enmity might be illustrated by two runners in a foot race who streak out toward the same goal, competing with each other, but start fighting on the way. Each attempts to put the other out of the race.

When Hitler's armies failed to hold a strategic city, or suffered a series of devastating defeats, numerous articles appeared in American magazines comparing the Allies' weapons with the Nazis' weapons, to the discredit of the latter.

This disparagement of the means happens to other values employed by an unsuccessful enemy. But it is likely to lead to a dangerous logical error, that of assuming that because the enemy has lost a major campaign all his values are worthless. It would be folly, for instance, to condemn as worthless the painstaking exactness and mental discipline displayed by Germans in scientific research merely because this quality did not prevent Germany from being invaded and defeated. Yet it is true the Germans were using it as a means of preventing such losses.

The respondent may react toward the lost goal value by desiring a souvenir of it. Soldiers are often killed or wounded by "booby traps" set by the enemy, since they frequently want to collect something by which to remember their victories and the enemy's defeats. The ring on a dead enemy's finger may thus be wired to a bomb hidden under his body, causing a detonation when the ring is touched. The very fact that such booby traps are set shows the enemy generals recognize this reaction.

The respondent may also inflate the estimate as to how much the enemy wasted as a cost to prevent the loss, and reward and praise the depriver. When it was reported that Colin Kelley had heroically dive-bombed and destroyed the Japanese battleship *Haruna* in December, 1941, he became a national hero. Biographies were written and medals were presented to his widow.

Toward the victim a person may show a sadistic pleasure in kicking him when he is down. This is adding injury to injury. Observers report that in Southern "poor-white" lynchings of Negroes the mob members are usually not content with seeing the victim strung up. They must revile him, slash him and bash him until his body runs red with blood. Then after he has strangled to death on the rope, they fire their pistols into his body and light fires under his feet. Negroes, as Hadley Cantril points out in *The Psychology of Social Movements,* are regarded as competitors and enemies of the poor-whites in the South; and when conditions become bad the whites look for scapegoats on whom they can vent their spleen. Once the punishment starts, it is often carried to sadistic extremes.

At the time an enemy suffers a great loss, the respondent may react toward

himself with a rise in self-esteem. For a loss by an enemy or competitor has the same relative effect as a gain by the respondent. His standing rises by comparison.

Huey Long ridiculed his enemies not so much to convert them as to delight and win his audience. He once told a canebrakes audience that when he was invited to a ball by some "aristocratic skunks" he "went down to a pawnshop and bought a silk shirt for six dollars with a collar so high I had to climb up on a stump to spit." [19] The listeners roared with laughter. The envied rich were "skunks" and their clothing ridiculous. Long had deprived the rich of their prestige and dignity, and it made his listeners feel better.

Similarly, the respondent may react toward his own loved ones, friends, allies, and identifications with considerable strutting and self-congratulation. When the Old Grads hear their college football team has made the winning touchdown against a traditional rival, they shout to each other, "Boy, we sure showed them!" Similar expressions of joy were exchanged among American, British, French, and other soldiers and sailors of the United Nations when they achieved another victory or heard that their fellows in arms had advanced.

The respondent may react toward the stimulator with increased suggestibility. When a newsboy brings a paper headlining an important defeat for the enemy, he is the stimulator and the respondent is likely to give him a generous tip.

The respondent may react toward the emotion and general situation with a big celebration. News of the ousting of Mussolini and the surrender of Italy, like the news of Russian successes at Stalingrad, touched off celebrations throughout America, the throwing of ticker tape on Wall Street despite the paper shortage, and other forms of jubilation. For it makes no difference whether the defeat of the enemy or competitor was brought about by the respondent himself or by others. The desire to celebrate remains the same.

Finally, the respondent to loss by an enemy may react toward the setting by enshrining it. National memorials have been set up at the scenes of our great national victories, as at Saratoga, the place of Burgoyne's defeat and surrender.

Now let us pause a while and look back. There are certain observations concerning these reactions to loss which are pregnant with meaning. First of all, let us remember that the underlying motive in all human behavior is the avoidance of pain and the search for pleasure. This pleasure principle, or hedonism, was recognized several thousand years ago by the Cyrenaics in ancient Greece. In almost all cases, loss of a value causes pain of some sort, although this must be qualified to allow for the pleasure which is felt when a

competitor or enemy suffers a misfortune, as well as for the few cases where pain seems deliberately to be sought.

A loss is felt at two levels. One is at the reality level, the other at the reputation level. Being caught short and having to sell out in the stock market is a real loss. But losing the reputation for being well-to-do when you still have $50,000 in the bank is another thing. Here you lose credit for possession, though you actually still possess the value in considerable quantity. The first level of loss is a real value loss; the second results in a loss to one's ego through loss of reputation.

From the standpoint of sequence in time, there are two stages of reactions. The first includes the immediate reactions and feelings, while the second comprises a person's adjustment reactions by which he consciously or unconsciously seeks to increase the pleasure or relieve the pain.

The immediate reactions in the case of loss include mental confusion, loss of appetite for the goal value, hatred, resentment toward the depriver, tension in his presence, ego deflation, loss of self-confidence, pain and sorrow, anger, despair, anti-suggestibility toward the depriver of a loved one, interest, suggestibility toward the depriver of an enemy, relaxation of any hostility toward him, ego-expansion, and suggestibility toward the stimulator who brings the news of the enemy's loss. These are the more or less spontaneous reactions which accompany or immediately follow a loss.

Since they involve pain and pleasure, however, these immediate reactions force the respondent to make some adjustment to minimize the pain or maximize the pleasure. Reduction or avoidance of pain occurs when a person surrenders completely, thus accepting the loss immediately and glossing it over. This insulates his mind from all its ramifying pains. He may reject the unsuccessful means value, search for a new means to protect or reacquire the goal value, search for the cause of loss, make an effort to regain the goal value which was lost, become wary of future deprivations, arrange to have the lost value restored or paid for, put the problem in stronger hands, and oppose the depriver on principle.

Ego pains may be reduced by rationalization about the goal with sour grapes and sweet lemons, imagined rescue, rationalization of the cost, by actual revenge, symbolic revenge, defense mechanisms, search for sympathy, bullying, punishment of scapegoats, by blaming everything on competitors and enemies, weeping, minimizing of the emotion, attempt at forgetting, apathy, destruction of the setting, flight, sympathy toward the victim (if he is a loved one or friend), pity for a neutral victim, and an effort to regain credit for possessing the value. These reactions do not change anything in the underlying "real" situation of loss, but they reduce the accompanying pain to the ego and restore one's self-esteem.

A very interesting deviation from the pleasure principle seems at first glance to be presented by cases in which the respondent appears to be trying to increase his pain! However, as Spinoza once observed, "No one ever neglects anything which he judges to be good, except with the hope of gaining a greater good." [84] The person who seeks pain does so because he thinks it will be offset by greater pleasure. Among these cases are pathological surrender (feigning illness), exaggeration to dramatize the loss, self-pity, self-punishment, masochism or infliction of pain on one's own body, and self-condemnation. In each case, the person is seeking pleasure or reducing pain. Pathological surrender seems at first to be a humbling of his self-esteem; yet the person fakes an "illness" or other inability as an excuse for failure, thus putting the blame on his body rather than on his mind or skill. Likewise, the exaggeration of a loss is usually aimed at acquiring credit for heroism, martyrdom, courage, or dramatic living. Self-pity is an exaggeration in one's own eyes for the same purpose. Masochism is actually a pleasure, although it appears to be, and would be, pain to the normal person. Self-punishment and self-condemnation are cases in which the person tries to share the pain with his friend or loved one who has suffered a misfortune. It is thus akin to sympathy; and showing sympathy is pleasant to the one who shows it, because it meets a cultural rule.

Next after reducing pain we come to the attempts to increase a pleasure resulting from a loss. Such reactions would include prompt confirmation of the enemy's loss, rewarding and praising the depriver of the enemy, gloating over and taunting the victim, contempt for the victim, sadism (torturing the victim unnecessarily), strutting and self-congratulation among one's loved ones and friends, celebration, enshrinement of the setting where the enemy's loss occurred, and confidence in one's own acquisition of the value which has been lost. These increases of ego pleasure may also be matched by increases in real value pleasure through substituting other goals for the one lost and taking a souvenir of it.

We have gone into some detail in discussing these reactions to loss, because loss represents a case of diffuse activity. These reactions have enabled us to arrive at some fundamental conclusions concerning the nature of reactions in general. Above all, it becomes clear that by and large all the adjustment reactions may be interpreted in the light of the pleasure principle—the avoidance of pain and the search for pleasure.

PATTERN OF REACTIONS TO POSSIBLE ACQUISITION

The reactions to loss represent disorganized activity in an effort to minimize the pain which is occasioned by the loss, or to increase any pleasure involved in it.

The same pleasure-seeking, pain-avoiding principle can be seen at work stirring up our adjustment reactions to possible acquisition. The important difference is that here we shall observe concentrated, organized, directed activity. The total list of reactions is consequently smaller.

When the respondent himself is to be the beneficiary, he may react toward the suggested means value by adopting and using it, and toward the goal value by desiring more and more of it, followed by satiation. When a boy dances with a beautiful girl, he is hardly willing to say goodbye and never see her again. He wants a date with her. When he gets a date, he wants a kiss. And when he gets one kiss, he wants more. And so he goes, on up the ladder of romantic satisfactions.

In other words, it is seldom that desire reaches a stable level of satisfaction. People tend to go to excess, wanting more and more until they are glutted. Their appetites gradually return only after the passage of time. Because of this we may say that desire moves in cycles, like a stock market chart, swinging from hungry longing to satiation. It is rare that it attains stability, in which the person always wants at least some satisfaction but never too much nor too little.

Economists find that to a large extent these spurts in businessmen's striving for profits are what cause ups and downs in the construction of new factories and machinery, which in turn cause waves in the production of automobiles, houses, books, typewriters, chewing gum, and other consumer goods. This means that employment and national income swing back and forth, bringing first prosperity and then depression.

The respondent will probably react toward the cost value by economizing, toward the benefactor-to-be by increased suggestibility to his urgings, toward the beneficiary (himself in this case) with an ego rise, and toward the emotion and total situation with nervousness, as revealed by impatience and too-ready laughter. These last-named reactions are due to his energies being so concentrated that he is unhappy or uneasy if he is not going forward at full speed.

When a person's loved ones, friends, allies, and identifications are to be the beneficiaries, he is likely to react toward the means value with increased suggestibility, toward the benefactor-to-be with the same attitude, and toward the emotion and total situation with interest and perhaps nervousness.

We need not go any further with the reactions to possible acquisition, for it is already clear once more that a person may react in a dozen different ways according to whether he is reacting toward the means, toward the goal, or toward some other part of the situation's environment. The reactions may also be divided into those which are immediate and spontaneous results of the situation and those which are made as an adjustment to the situation, aiming at increasing the pleasure or decreasing the pain which has arisen.

The other situations provide no exceptions to these observations. They do contain some interesting reactions, which deserve mention.

It should be noted, for example, that increased or prolonged frustration does not always build up to a smashing down of barriers. Sometimes the tension eases off after a while, and the respondent turns to other pursuits. The original desire figuratively gets cobwebs on it from disuse, and eventually drops out of the person's conscious thoughts. Absence sometimes makes the heart grow fonder, and it sometimes makes the heart forget.

There is an opposite exception to the rule of breaking down barriers. The tension may produce distortion in the person's mental outlook or even bring about a mental breakdown.

We should also remember that in all the adjustment reactions to frustration, as in the adjustment reactions to loss and other situations, the precise reactions have been largely channeled by our culture. These would, therefore, seem almost to belong in a list of values. Actually we may refer to them as "reaction values."

Acquisition also brings about a relaxation of the tension which existed before. The shy football player, at a party among strangers, may feel like a fish out of water, perhaps a bit deflated at not being known and admired. Leading him into a discussion of some of his football games will give him an opportunity to show his possession of athletic prowess. He acquires a chance to be seen at his best. The same is true of the bashful person who is a good pianist. Asking him to play gives him a chance to warm up to the group; for, once having won their admiration, he feels as if he belongs. Another way of putting people at their ease, warming them up, and drawing them together is through humor.

Then there is the emotional intoxication which in some cases results from acquisition. If the bars of frustration are suddenly let down and acquisition occurs, the beneficiary's thinking process may be fuzzed up with a certain drunken pleasure which makes him suggestible to almost any proposition. Such emotional intoxication, for instance, often results from marching in parade with an army. It has, in fact, been found such a potent form of pleasure-giving activity that in some cases it is actually used in the Army to prevent mental breakdowns due to fear. First, it expands the man's ego as he feels the power of the group is his own power, conquering fear. Second, it intoxicates his thinking faculties, also reducing fear.

Brigadier G. B. Chisholm, head of the Canadian Army's medical service, calls soldiers' mental breakdowns "a disability of the English-speaking peoples. . . . A whole generation has been taught not to fight. From earliest childhood a boy is trained not to run risks. . . . The result is that in the Army

there is an emotional attitude toward getting hurt." He therefore recommends drill as a safeguard against nervous breakdown, saying that it gives a man a feeling that he is part of a group, and reduces him temporarily to the condition of a child for whom all decisions are made. After a season of drilling, the soldier can be rebuilt to use the special fighting asset of the English-speaking peoples, individual intiative.[94]

Rhythmical movement in perfect unison with an overwhelmingly powerful organization makes the individual feel himself part of the whole and helps him to identify himself with its total strength. It becomes a large shadow of his own self. He feels this group strength, of which he is a part, when he glances along the rows and rows of fellow soldiers and sailors marching proudly with him, wearing the same uniform, following the same flag. He feels it when he reads the factory's weekly news sheet describing the doings and accomplishments of his fellow workers and of the group as a whole.

The foregoing glance at the reactions to situations will have served, it is hoped, to drive home several striking points. These are:

(1) That the number and variety of reactions is legion.

(2) That the reactions depend largely upon what situation is occurring, upon who is the beneficiary or victim, upon who is the person or thing toward which the respondent is reacting, and upon the culture in which the respondent has been raised. The one thing which seems to make little or no difference in a person's reactions is the value involved. It hardly matters whether it is romance, money, or immortality. If they happen to fall in the same situation, he is likely to react in a very similar way in every case. So if we know the other controlling factors, we can forecast within reasonable limits what a given person's reactions will be.

(3) That within these limits there are various alternative reactions from which he may choose. If he is the victim of loss, for instance, he may react toward the lost goal value in any one of several ways—by searching for the cause of loss, by attempting to regain the value, by substituting other goals, by losing his appetite for the original goal, by rationalizing, by exaggerating, by imagining rescue, or by surrendering totally.

(4) That the various responses may be divided into immediate reactions, which are more or less spontaneous and uncontrollable; and adjustment reactions, over which the person has some control and choice.

(5) Finally, that the whole list of adjustment reactions may be interpreted according to the pleasure principle, in which the person attempts to maximize his pleasure and minimize his pain.

These considerations aid us in building up a knowledge of reactions, which in turn helps us select the psychological appeal that will produce a given reaction. It helps in predicting a person's future behavior with

some certainty and precision. And it enables us to use the reaction as a springboard to strengthen an appeal that follows it, one which might fail under its own power.

For good reason, no attention has been paid so far to what are probably the most obvious of all reactions, those which are purely physical and automatic. Specific mention was hardly necessary, for these physical, automatic reactions are no more and no less than the body's standardized reactions to standardized value situations. They constitute the adjustments which to a large extent have enabled the human race to survive physically as long as it has. The eye-blink, for instance, protects the eyesight, and occurs both when the eye seems to be endangered and at regular intervals to wash the eyeball. The sneeze gives a sudden impulse to circulation, sending more blood to a part which has become chilly. The so-called "startle pattern," in which a person's mouth drops slightly open, his eyes stare, his palms turn slightly outward toward the front, he bends over a bit at the waist, and crouches slightly at the knees,[9] is simply the standardized preparation to defend himself in case of attack. There is no time for him to think these reactions out. They must occur automatically. Those people in whom they did not occur were eliminated eons ago in the struggle for survival.

Among the other useful automatic reflex reactions are breathing, the knee-jerk, rapid withdrawal of the hand from pain, swallowing, stretching, grasping, thrusting the leg when the sole of the foot is pushed (observed in infants), and creeping.[9]

It should be emphasized that emotions and other reactions to situations are the end results of a complete appeal. To achieve the response desired, the person who is influencing another manipulates the various elements which we have discussed. These are the situation, balance, conviction, instructions, adequate perception, general suggestibility, and necessary conditions, as well as some minor principles which fit within these headings.

All these elements are compounded to produce reactions.

We have thus traced the whole line of causes and effects in human behavior, especially as they occur in America. Now we may learn the art of putting these elements together into concerted, smoothly functioning teams. So far, our study has been analytical. Now it becomes synthetic.

CHAPTER XX

Mixing the Ingredients

ALTHOUGH WE HAVE broken down a multitude of appeals and attendant circumstances into their elements, we have finished only the analytical portion of our task. Now we are like chemists who stand face-to-face with a laboratory equipped with liquids, gases, solids, test tubes, flasks, jars, burners, and all the other separate pieces of apparatus needed to produce a plastic comb. But without a knowledge of the rules of choosing, timing, combining and arranging the various materials we should be helpless. A mere knowledge of the compounds of which a plastic comb is constituted is not enough; we must know the synthetic part of the job as well. We must know not only how to tear down an appeal but how to build one up.

Observations of many tested, successful appeals enable us to put in a nutshell the principles of synthesizing an appeal. These principles may be followed in a certain order just as an army's general staff plans military strategy. The reader, wishing to apply the psychological techniques he has learned, may follow certain steps in planning his own strategy:

1. The psychologist must first decide exactly what means value he wishes the other person to adopt. He must ask himself, "What do I want the respondent to do? Do I want him to accept an idea, perform some specific action, abandon some idea, or cease what he is doing?"

2. He must also be willing and able to contribute his share of things, deeds, or thoughts to the means value he suggests. He must ask himself, "Do the advantages to me of getting the respondent to accept and act on this means value outweigh the disadvantages to me?" If he is a manufacturer, for instance, the stimulator should not offer more of his product than he can produce, or if he is a young man he should not invite a girl to the theater unless he is willing and able to pay for the tickets.

3. In selecting the elements to be controlled in the psychological appeal, one of the most fundamental of all principles is that of completeness. As the chapter headings have suggested, the stimulator must take careful account of the conditions in the respondent; use the perception devices necessary to aid him in putting across the appeal; and, most important of all, make the appeal vibrant with meaning through the proper presentation of the situation, bal-

ancing of values, use of conviction methods, and furnishing of instructions for action.

None of the twenty-two elements which come under these headings can ever be completely ignored in the psychologist's strategic plan. They are summarized in the next chapter. Should the respondent have other and more urgent value situations to which he must attend, the stimulator who blissfully ignores the fact is inviting disaster. He must either eliminate the distracting situation or wait until it has passed. He will, for instance, waste his time and breath trying to lure a sick friend into taking a vacation in Yosemite Valley. He must either wait until the sickness is cured, or help cure it himself.

All the appeal elements must be in good working order, although only perception, situation, identity of the beneficiary or victim, and specific instructions need to be specifically manipulated or presented in every appeal. The appeal, in short, must have everything it needs and the "bugs" ironed out.

4. The prime mover in all human behavior is the value situation, and the psychologist can control a person by informing him of the situations in which his values stand. Stated in its simplest terms, the basic principle of practical psychology is to step on the respondent's self-starter by presenting him with a situation which affects one of his values. At that point he takes hold and proceeds under his own power. The stimulator may go along for the ride.

We have frequently noted that situation number 5, possession, is the situation toward which all men strive. Whatever it is that they value they wish to possess. So whenever they find one of their values in any situation other than possession, their motivation drives them toward it, following the arrows indicated in the situation rings. Therefore, the rule is to present or bring about any situation other than possession. This will provide the theme of the appeal.

Though other elements must be attended to by the stimulator, they are nothing but a supporting cast to the value situations in controlling people's behavior. They are all hung on the basic framework provided by the situations.

5. In general, the stimulator should concern himself with the elemetns in the following order, by groups:

Necessary conditions in the respondent (Group I)
Adequate perception and general suggestibility (Group II)
Presentation, dramatic personae, instruments, setting, time, balance, chance, acceptance, ability of benefactor, cause, belief, emotion, intention, and instructions (Group III)

The reactions then occur. The sequence of these elements is not rigid and varies with the circumstances.

Of the presentations, it should be mentioned that the most important thing

should be presented first. The following headline and subheading, for instance, summarize the appeal in advance, telling of the testifier's acquisition and suggesting benefits for those who lack and wish to acquire:

"I GAMBLED 3¢ and WON $35,840 in 2 YEARS"

A Story for men and women
who are dissatisfied with themselves

At greater length the body of the appeal does the same thing.

Beyond this sequence it is not necessary to delve deeply, for almost all other sequences are governed by the sequence of situations, which provide the framework.

As for the value scales, in order to make the value balance tilt toward a favorable response, the most numerous and important values should be employed. When the stimulator is presenting a situation, he should entangle in it large and numerous values whenever he can. When he is altering an existing situation before presenting it, he should choose the largest value of the respondent over which he can wield strategic control.

This use of numerous and important values contributes to the sharp tilting of the value balance, which in turn teams up with the value situations to compose the "immediate situation," which in turn provides the underlying framework governing the whole sequence of the psychological appeal.

The most reliable sequence in which cost, means, goal, further, successive, and tie-in values may be handled is that of working backward. The appeal should first of all begin with the greatest value, regardless of whether it is goal, further, successive, or tie-in value, then gradually cover the others. This means that one usually starts with the most interesting tie-in or successive value, then works backward to further, to goal, to means and finally to cost value. For the final urge he reverts for a moment to the beginning and mentions the feature attraction.

This is not a fixed rule. The rule holds that the bulk of situations should begin toward the right end of the value family diagram; and, with some backing and filling, should proceed in the general direction of the cost value. In other words, the stimulator should begin with the advantages to the other person. Only in rare cases, such as special bargain sales, should he give first billing to the cost.

6. The stimulator may gauge the intensity of his appeal by the degree of doubtfulness of the circumstances. In order that the intensity will not be too low, he may use the principle of summation; but to prevent the intensity from being too great, he should also use the principle of moderation.

If the immediate situation is insufficiently attractive to produce action by

itself, the stimulator may employ tie-ins, further values, or successive values of great number and importance until the scales tip sharply to the right. To make still more certain, he may use liquor, preliminary situations which produce a reaction that contributes to the present situation, use brighter lights and more color, employ sound, touch, taste, and smell, eliminate conflicting values, strengthen the respondent so that he is better able to react properly, and in general use every known device to put the appeal across. This is summation.

At the same time, he does not wish to use an axe to kill a fly. For this would mean that he was paying an unnecessarily high cost to sink his appeal in. It would also make him look a little silly. He does not need to wine and dine a prospect to sell him a ten-cent copy of *Collier's* magazine. Nor should a salesman take the grave risk of keeping on talking after he has made a sale. He must observe the rule of moderation. Summation is desirable only up to the point where action of sufficient intensity will be produced. The piling on of additional elements *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam* produces overselling and a change of mind in the respondent.

Therefore, the stimulator should adjust the intensity of his elements to the doubtfulness of the problem. He should marshal many intensive devices in hard cases, small values and mild situations in borderline cases.

7. The timing of the use of certain elements is also important. The stimulator should present a situation involving a certain value only when the respondent has come to regard it as a value, such as military preparedness, sweetheart, or money. Food should be dangled before the person when he is hungry. The appeal must occur when there are no more urgent value situations to which the respondent must attend, when he has no alternative solutions to the same problem, when conflicting values are not playing an important role, when he is able to respond, when his perception is not crowded with other stimuli, when he is suggestible with fatigue, gratitude, or tipsiness, and when the stimulator can carry out his part of the deal.

8. Principles of general suggestibility may be used to pave the way for the appeal. So far we have considered only sequences within one complete appeal. There are also certain rules to be observed regarding the sequence of complete and separate appeals. For instance, the stimulator may use the reaction to one appeal to improve a reaction to the next appeal. A salesman may make a quick adjustment of a customer's complaint (reacquisition by the latter of whatever value he has lost), and follow it up immediately with an appeal to him to make another purchase (possible acquisition) while he is still on a high note of satisfaction. Thus, gratitude and suggestibility, which are among the reactions to reacquisition, improve the prospect's receptiveness to the next appeal, possible acquisition.

Likewise, friendship, prestige, and audience-participation, built up in advance and continuous in their effect, may strengthen the appeal. A person who has prestige is usually the possessor of some value such as fame, authority, expertness, beauty, wealth, and so on. Friendship, too, is accompanied by a readiness to agree with the suggestions of the other person because of the continuous attraction of the things both people possess in common, because of the admirable qualities each friend possesses, and because of the favors he gives spontaneously.

The use of liquor, drugs, sense activity, hypnotism, and the like is not an appeal in itself, but it has somewhat the same effect as value suggestibility in preparing the way for the actual appeal.

Now we are almost but not quite ready to throw aside the hammer and anvil of impartiality and draw forth the sword of action which it has been possible to forge. Before doing this we must examine the sword itself in a brief highlighting of the great fundamental principles of applied social psychology which have been unearthed. It is in the final chapter that we shall use the sword we have created to cut straight to the heart of certain problems of the day. The problems themselves need solving, but new and bigger problems will follow them tomorrow, and still others the day after that. To confront and conquer whatever comes, one needs a flexible, over-all plan of operation to follow.

SECTION FIVE

CHAPTER XXI

The Great Principles

(A Summary)

THIS EXPLORATION OF human nature has been aimed at learning how to understand, stimulate, teach, and change other people.

The practical formulas which developed out of the exploration may be applied to problems in personal life just as well as to advertising or political problems. They may serve as guides to a person who wishes to interest his or her twelve-year-old son in the Boy Scouts, induce him to study, or break him of lying. They may guide one in soliciting contributions for the community chest, help him organize a war-relief dance and floor show, win votes, pep up a despondent football team, promote a city-planning movement, put across a program for educating hillbillies, induce the washerwoman to change to a milder soap, bargain with taxi drivers, make one's spouse happy, or inspire employees to work harder and more efficiently. They provide specific steps by which a person may teach a new textile-inspecting process to green inspectors, or show student electricians the method of tying the difficult underwriters' knot.

Indeed, the study will have made a highly valuable contribution if only it has succeeded in showing that human nature does change and can be changed intentionally. Yet it does more than that. It shows how human nature can be changed. That is, it tells how bad habits can be changed in children; it brings out the fundamental rules which must be followed in shaping their characters; and sets forth a step-by-step method of analyzing and planning the strategic solutions for national enigmas such as racial strife. All these rules point only toward the psychological solution; the technical problems which are specific to each field remain matters apart. Even more important, the United States Government will face for many years the menace of nationalistic ambitions in Japan and Germany. Therein lies America's most delicate and vital task in changing human nature. When we go about it we must have a comprehensive and psychologically sound plan to follow.

In driving toward the goals of understanding, stimulating, teaching, and changing people, we must remember that only certain aspects of human nature are always and everywhere the same. For the cultural, personal, and special values—in other words, all the learned means to ends, and the adjustment reactions—which come after the spontaneous, more or less uncontrollable immediate reactions, vary widely according to what particular race, nation, individual, age, sex, occupation, level of intelligence, field of activity, or historical period is concerned. These particular action and reaction values account in large measure for the tremendous diversity which may be observed in human behavior at different times and in different places.

But there are certain groups of psychological principles which apparently exert a uniform influence on human behavior wherever and whenever they are brought to bear. They are the physical values, the value situations, the value balance, methods of securing acceptance and rejection, specific instructions, adequate perception, general suggestibility, necessary conditions in the respondent, and immediate emotional reactions. So, given the variable influences, which are the learned values and adjustment reactions, it is a basic claim of this new theory of human nature that the universal principles can be used to produce behavior which is relatively predictable even in primitive tribes and in cultures as different from our own as the Japanese.

Meanwhile, the separation of learned values and adjustment reactions from situations and other universal principles of psychology flings wide an inviting door for the first time to permit experimentation with the motivational psychology of all cultures and personalities in comparable terms. This has not been done before for lack of unifying concepts. A fruitful field of experimentation would be to determine just how far these principles apply to the lower animals, such as dogs, horses, monkeys, mice, snakes, ants, and amoebas. On the surface, it appears that these animals, like men, possess certain values and can be controlled through them.

For instance, Mark Huling, for thirty-seven years outstanding in the strange field of seal training, says he begins instruction of a sea lion by holding a small wooden paddle in his hand and getting the animal to follow it around with his nose. The instant he does this correctly, Huling tosses him a smelt so he will connect the reward with the action.[37] Just as in training humans, therefore, the stimulator proves that learning the trick is a means of possible acquisition because he begins by making it an actual acquisition.

But whether or not the conjectures about animals prove true, our evidence indicates that the universal principles are applicable to all human beings, regardless of what race, nation, individual, age, sex, occupation, level of intelligence, field of human activity, historical period, or value is involved. It also

makes little difference whether abnormal, normal, conscious, or unconscious behavior is concerned.

Take a few different fields of activity. Law, teaching, history, and economics have come to be regarded as separate fields of study. From the technical standpoint they are. But they all come under the heading of social science. Human nature controls economics; it is at once the target and the bullet of teaching and law. Deeper, moreover, than evil men and still deeper than economics, psychology is also a fundamental explanation of historical forces. For it is men who make history, and it is psychology that governs men. The wide variety of sources from which the material in this book has been drawn indicates how completely human nature underlies advertising, publicity, propaganda, salesmanship, journalism, diplomacy, politics, law, public speaking, personnel management, labor relations, entertainment, religion, teaching, novel plotting, playwriting, radio script writing, economics, history, philosophy, sociology, child psychology, love, friendship, and other personal relationships.

This covers a large territory, but that is the very point of the book. The fundamental structure of all these fields is human nature, which is common to all of them. The lessons learned in one of the fields can be applied to problems in another. This book has attempted to help the reader draw such lessons from different fields in terms which he can apply to any other field. It has melted down a mass of data to help him understand, stimulate, teach, and change other people.

HIGHLIGHTS

Not all of the principles have equal importance. We shall therefore dim out the details and focus our attention on the highlights, the great principles. These fall under five major headings, those of values, situations, balancing, conviction, and completeness.

Value Principles—

First, *the most fundamental of all motives in human nature are those of pain-avoidance and pleasure-seeking.*

Second, *values, of whatever kind, are nothing more nor less than things or ideas consciously or unconsciously adopted by people as the means of acquiring pleasures or avoiding pains.* They are means to ends—causes of effects. Yet no matter how complicated or evanescent they may be, every value may be considered as a unit, physical, tangible, and simple like an apple.

Third, *all striving in life is an attempt to acquire and keep these values and put them to work acquiring or keeping other values.* These values con-

stitute human nature. For what a man does or what he wants, that he is. All people, of course, want somewhat different values, except in the case of physical values. Our cultural, personal, and special values, which include customs, attainments, possessions, and know-hows, tend to be different. In other words, human nature, contrary to the popular assumption, is not always and everywhere the same. Those who assume that it is are confronted with an unsolvable dilemma when confronted with, say, the unexpected quirks of Japanese psychology. They can only conclude that the "Japs are not human." This is patently an erroneous idea. Japanese behavior makes sense to students of social psychology.

Fourth, *all of these values are changeable except the physical. This means that human nature, which consists of values, can in most cases be changed. Even the physical values may be modified, though not removed.* For values are merely arrangements by which we get things done—means to ends. Outside of their utility, which may be transient, they thus have no claim to glorification or permanent tenure. They are not like God, holy entities to be reverenced on bended knee, but like toothbrushes, which exist for their serviceability to man.

The discomfort, the confusion, the pessimism, the shock which the removal of an old custom or the introduction of a new one produces is not due to any intrinsic difficulty, nor is it due to our age and country having hit upon the one possible rule under which human life can be conducted. For as soon as the new opinion, the new custom, the new machine is embraced as customary, it will be another trusted bulwark of the good life.[7] It will become harder and harder to change as time passes.

Mr. Parham and Mr. Camelford held a conversation on this subject in H. G. Wells's imaginative novel, *The Autocracy of Mr. Parham:*

"Your world peace, when you examine it," said Mr. Parham, "flies in the face of the fundamental institutions—the ancient and tested institutions of mankind—the institutions that have made man what he is. . . ."

"The institutions of mankind," contradicted Camelford, with tranquil assurance, "are just as fundamental and no more fundamental than a pair of trousers. If the world grows out of them and they become inconvenient, it won't kill anything essential in man to get others. That, I submit, is what he has to set about doing now. He grows more and more independent of the idea that his pants are him." [101]

Values and trousers are merely practical arrangements, rather than categorical imperatives. To change them will not necessarily do a man harm if he recognizes that the change is desirable.

Fifth, *although every individual's values are linked together in a vast chain or network of means and ends, it is rare that his attention can be*

focused on more than one particular constellation at a time from the skyful of values which might claim his notice. This limited constellation consists of the cost, means, goal, further, and occasionally a tie-in or a successive value, all of which go together to make up the value family of which he is aware in the immediate situation. The relationship of these values is suggested below:

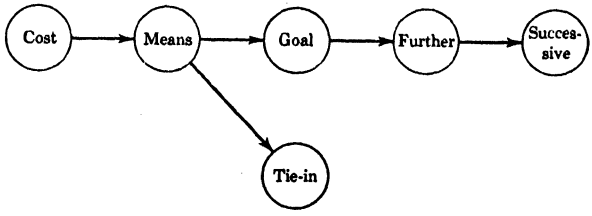


FIGURE I

Sixth, to achieve the maximum success, whatever appeal is presented to a person should usually emphasize first the gainable or savable values in the family, such as goal, further, tie-in, or successive values, and only later turn attention to the cost and means values. In other words, *the appeal must begin with the respondent's hopes and fears,* turning later to how he may realize or quiet them and how much it will cost him to do so.

SITUATION PRINCIPLES—

Yet it is risky to assume that a value can always be used as a means to its intended end. For to enable someone to acquire or protect an end, the means value must be in his possession. No matter how fond he may be of money, he cannot spend it unless he has it—only then will it lead to the next value. Yet this situation of possession is only one of ten situations in which a value may actually fall. The others are possible acquisition, possible frustration, actual frustration, actual acquisition, possible loss, possible rescue, actual rescue, actual loss, and lack. This new concept of value situations is the contribution to psychology offered by this book. It is intended to fuse the scattered psychological ores which exist in such rich but chaotic abundance at the present time.

The order in which a value may pass through these ten situations is indicated by arrows in the diagram, Figure 2, on page 220. The numbers given the different situations are arbitrary.

Seventh, *whenever a person finds one of his values falls in a situation other than possession—particularly if the situation is possible acquisition, possible frustration, possible loss, or possible rescue—he will exert himself to reach or return to the situation of possession.* The central desire of all behavior

is to possess and continue to possess every value. So merely mentioning a value situation other than possession is like stepping on the self-starter of an automobile. It causes the human engine to take hold and the person proceeds on his own power.

Eighth, and for this reason, *the "have-nots" of this world will always strive to get, and the "haves" will always strive to keep.* We can say if you

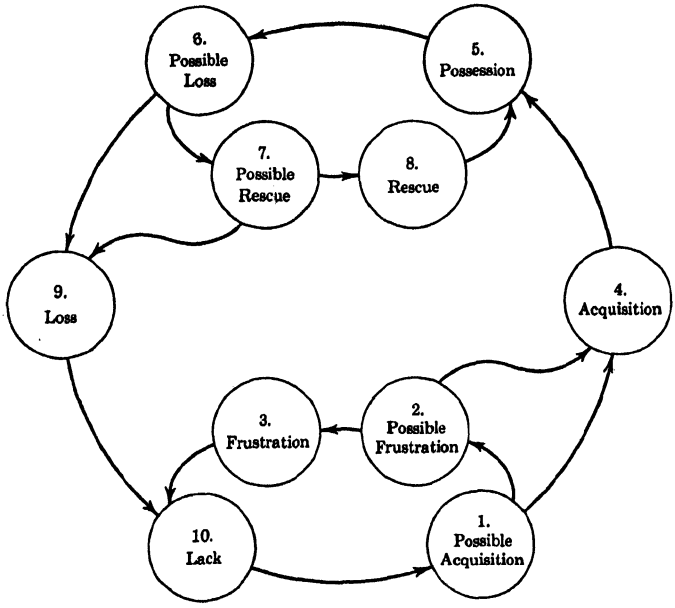


FIGURE 2

turn someone into a "have-not," do not be surprised or disillusioned when he tries to become a "have" again. And if you permit someone to become a "have," do not be astonished or reproachful when he wants to continue holding what he has. Both of these are universal and eternal traits of human nature; neither is "sinful" in itself, and both are to be expected by a psychologist.

Therefore, when Pope Pius says, "The work of justice is peace," we may round out his thought by adding that the work of injustice is strife. The Axis peoples, partly because they were convinced of the injustice of their plight, chose war to wrest their "just dues" away from the "have" nations and become "haves" themselves. In short order the United Nations came to the conclusion they, too, would have to fight to keep what they had and avoid becoming "have-nots" themselves.

Ninth, *the only way in which this drive to get and keep valuable things*

may be permanently altered is to change the things which the person wants. This means that his "human nature" must be changed.

Because of this passion for possession, it is true in the broadest sense that self-interest is the basic thing which makes the world go round. For even the unselfish values of self-sacrifice, charity, generosity, and modesty which command loyalty in America are practical and useful from the psychological point of view. The ends of these virtuous values do not need to be commercial to be useful. Nor do they need to be consciously recognized as ends by the person who is striving for them. The fact remains that when someone has the reputation of possessing these traits of character he not only enjoys self-respect but gains practical advantages. The reputation helps him acquire other values such as salvation, prestige, friendship, admiration, even jobs and advancement.

Unselfish ideals, however, do not always pay off in this way. They often cease to be rewarded by great gains, while the high cost of living up to them in terms of food, sex, life, and so on becomes exorbitant. Men cannot permanently live beyond their psychological income. Especially is this true when the high price they are paying is reckoned in physical values. Temporarily, they may be willing or naïve enough to endure the suffering involved in such losses and frustrations. But eventually, over a period of months or years or generations, they will become disillusioned, cast out their expensive and useless ideals, and overthrow the honored institutions which were dedicated to preserving them. This the German masses did in 1933 when fifteen years of democracy, peacefulness, and free enterprise had apparently brought them only political turmoil and declining prestige among other nations. These pains the Germans might have borne had they not been accompanied by others—inflation, unemployment, poverty and, even worse, hunger, cold, sickness, and emotional frustration.[12]

Tenth, *whatever cultural values may flourish, they must not permit or cause the large-scale, continued frustration or loss of physical values.* In the long run these are the ultimate controlling realities which govern governments and waylay ways of life.

VALUE-BALANCE—

Eleventh, *striving is greater when the incentive is greater,* since possession of values is the goal of all human striving.

The amount of exertion, however, does not depend merely on the weight of the goal, further, successive, and tie-in values involved in the immediate situation. These are only the "psychic income" side of the balance. From these weights must be subtracted the "psychic outgo," or cost necessary to get or save them.

Twelfth, *one adds all the advantages of an action and subtracts the disadvantages. The remainder represents the net incentive. The greater the net incentive, the greater the exertion which it produces.* This psychological "profit motive," or balancing of psychic income against psychic outgo, appears to control behavior whenever and wherever it has been observed.

ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION OF MEANS (CONVICTION)—

When we say that human nature can be changed, we mean in particular that cultural, personal, and special values, as well as certain adjustment reactions, may be inserted in an individual's personality structure or removed from it. This is done by employing the conviction methods described in this book to secure his acceptance or rejection of the value as a means.

Thirteenth, *human nature is changed every time a person accepts or rejects some idea or thing as a means to an end.* By this method even the physical values, which cannot be created or destroyed in our pattern of motives, can at least be modified.

For instance, the religious ascetic or fanatic can be led by hopes of higher spiritual goals to engage in long fasts, maintain his celibacy, undergo racking physical pains to spread the gospel, refuse the ministrations of a doctor even when he is violently ill, exhaust himself in sleepless weeks of exertion, lie on beds of spikes, punish his body for weaknesses of the flesh, even give his life in martyrdom or go down with a sinking ship so that women and children may row away to safety.

Or the physical values can be modified in the opposite direction and exaggerated beyond their normal importance, as we see in the cases of physical-culture enthusiasts, art-, music-, food-, and comfort-lovers, "Good-Time Charlies" at the bar, and Rasputins and Bohemians who exalt seduction and sexual frenzy to the status of a religion.

Fourteenth, *the most penetrating form of conviction is first-hand experience; the most efficient form is second-hand experience.* First-hand experience is exemplified in demonstration, trial, and sample. One of the greatest pieces of propaganda that a democratic nation can ever hurl at the Fascist way of life is to defeat their armies in battle. For it demonstrates to the totalitarians in tangible, first-hand terms that their own men are not supermen, that their Führer or Emperor is not invincible, and that the philosophy of conquest does not work in reality.

The Germans have given world conquest two trials, and the Allies have frustrated them both times. Such first-hand lessons can be driven in far deeper than the mere words of a rabble rouser, however intoxicating they may be. These first-hand methods argue better than words that the victims' values are not effective, that they are not means to the goals for which they

struggled. Showing this inability of Fascism, race, or warfare to bring about the glory, prosperity, and power they wanted destroys the anticipated cause-effect or means-end connections among these values in their minds. Thus it destroys the means. In doing so, the democracies have already tended to change to that extent the "human nature" of the Japanese and Germans.

Second-hand experience also brings about acceptance or rejection of a value. It does so less surely but more efficiently, since it involves a smaller sacrifice on the part of both teacher and taught. Coming under this type of conviction-method are passively providing a means, provoking the desire to believe in it by emphasizing the goals attainable or values to be preserved through it, passively displaying the means in juxtaposition with the goal, affirming, using logic, emphasizing the skill and experience of the producer, showing high standards have been set for the means, pointing out the flexibility of the means in adapting to one's individual requirements, and providing a guarantee, official test, expert opinion, or testimonial.

COMPLETENESS—

But despite the transcendent importance of the individual principles or groups of principles that have been mentioned, as compared with the more or less routine nature of the remaining elements, there still remains the all-important fifteenth rule. It holds that *all of the twenty-two elements which enter, aid, or condition the complete psychological appeal must be in good working order or the appeal may collapse.* In other words, all the elements listed below must fit together as neatly as the parts of a Sperry gyroscope:

CONDITIONS IN THE RESPONDENT:

1. Necessity of adopting the suggested means—Respondent values the incentive which is presented
2. Necessity—Respondent lacks (or possesses) the value involved in the situation
3. Necessity—Absence of more urgent value situations to be attended to
4. Necessity—Absence of alternative values for accomplishing the same purposes
5. Necessity—Absence of conflicting values
6. Ability of the beneficiary (or victim) to respond

AIDS TO THE APPEAL:

7. Adequate perception
8. General suggestibility

THE APPEAL:

9. Straight presentation of the situation
10. Dramatis personae specified

11. Instruments used or to be used in performing
12. Setting of the situation
13. Time of the situation
14. Value-balance
15. Chance, in the respondent's eyes, that the situation did or will occur
16. Acceptance (or rejection) of the proposed means
17. Ability of the benefactor (or depriver) to carry out the situation
18. Cause, reason, or justification for the situation
19. Belief in accuracy of stimuli perceived
20. Emotion (when presented as part of the appeal)
21. Intention of the beneficiary (or victim) to respond as desired
22. Specific instructions as to response

It is suggested that you go back to the first of these great rules and review all fifteen. They have been developed here so gradually that you may not at first appreciate their full significance.

Armed with these fifteen great principles of human nature, shielded by the several minor techniques with which we have become acquainted, let us face some of the major problems menacing us in our generation. For until we are sure that the solutions our leaders adopt are psychologically sound—until we are sure we ourselves know how to attack these problems and those which are just over the horizon—we cannot indulge in the luxury of looking forward to anything but a world in chaos.

CHAPTER XXII

Psychology for a Better World

THE GREAT PRINCIPLES of psychology which have just been reviewed may be accepted as guides in the solution of present-day social problems. For they are based on what the evidence shows to be universal and eternal rules of human nature. Of course, today's problems will eventually be solved or forgotten, and a new set of problems will take their places tomorrow. For this reason, it is considered more important to suggest how such problems may be approached from the psychological point of view than to recommend specifically what should be done about any particular problem. To illustrate these methods, however, certain broad recommendations will be made concerning a few of the more serious problems of our age.

There will most emphatically not be advanced any glib answers to serve as panaceas or inevitable solutions to these problems, for each problem is highly intricate and requires expert study and discussion. Likewise, there will be no recommendations of detailed measures; only the broad outlines will be traced. These may be filled in later by experienced research workers and public administrators. Here the aim is toward broad basic policies; the details will fall in more easily and naturally after that.

The necessity of finding some sound and positive solution to the problems is undeniable. We may or may not be willing to agree with Harold J. Laski when he writes in his *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* that we are in the midst of the most profound crisis our civilization has known, at least since the Reformation, and perhaps since the fall of the Roman Empire.[48] Yet we cannot help recognizing that many of the very foundation pillars of our way of life are undergoing the closest scrutiny and revaluation today. Democracy, capitalism, Christianity, law, individual equality, kindness, and even human decency are up for trial. Without question, the democracies will remain at bay, perhaps not on the fields of battle, but certainly in our own home countries. Our ability to act wisely in the crisis may well determine the peace and well-being of the human race for centuries to come. The next five or ten years may be the most critical years of all.

For as Sisyphus repeatedly rolled a boulder up the mountainside, only to have it roll down again, civilizations like ours have repeatedly neared their

zenith only to fall back into barbarism and begin from the start their upward grind. America has achieved one of the great civilizations of history, as Frederick Lewis Allen has pointed out,* but it is sobering to speculate where we might have been today if the thin rays of high civilization in the past had not been fogged over with endless centuries of ignorant barbarism and clashes for power.

Of course, it may be the good fortune of America to have been accidentally appointed by the guardians of history as the first nation to establish and maintain a permanent civilization, always moving energetically forward, never seriously sliding backward. It may be that we in America will accidentally do what the Greeks and the Romans failed to do. It may be that we are already laying the foundations for an unbroken civilization whose treasures will be passed steadily on from one age to the next, and make it possible for each generation of men to go on building where their fathers left off rather than scurrying for a foxhole where their fathers fell. But it is more likely that this will happen only if we go far out of our way to make it happen.

It is urged that we can succeed in fulfilling this historic mission only if we break the spell by which great civilizations at first decay internally and are at last crushed externally by the military might of barbarian nations ready to make sacrifices for conquest. We may recall the fate of France in 1940 as an example.

The more immediate of these dangers, in our day, is the military one. It would, of course, be disastrous if the totalitarian wave should again threaten to engulf us. But our victory over the Axis is no victory if it is not to be permanent. Will there be—

WAR AGAIN?—THE DANGER OF EXTERNAL ATTACK

Once more we have been forced to recognize the wisdom of Solon, who said to Croesus, when in ostentation Croesus showed him his gold, "Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold." [5] Twice we have barely escaped the blood-and-iron philosophy of the German militarists. And if no fundamental change is brought about soon in

* Frederick Lewis Allen, "American Culture: Open to the Public," in *Reader's Digest*, August, 1940, condensed from "Our Widening American Culture," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, June 29, 1940, 3 ff., says: "Whereas no other cultural flowering in history has involved more than a fraction of the population, today millions of Americans are becoming more sensitive to beauty, and in them creative energy is stirring. . . ." He cites 35,000 school orchestras, 26 magazines, each with a circulation of a million or over, the attendance of 99,503 people during the 51 days of the Picasso art exhibit at New York's Museum of Modern Art, the attendance of 277,794 people in 73 days at the exhibit of Italian masters at the same museum, and new arts such as motion pictures, amateur photography, city landscaping, parkways, and large scholarship endowment funds devoted to the development of young men of authentic scientific genius.

the psychology of the German nation, we shall have good reason to expect to face their iron again.

As peace-loving Americans and as human engineers, then, we must ask, "How shall Germany be treated in order to prevent her attempting again to conquer the world?" As practical psychologists, we may pose the problem in these words: "How shall we induce Germany to abandon war as a means value?"

To answer this question it is necessary to enter the no-man's-land between two factions which began warring within the United Nations camp long before victory was in sight. They will probably never reach agreement. One group rasps, "Punish Germany!" while the other shouts, "Salvage Germany!" Which is right? Both sides are sincere and both agree that Germany must be rendered peaceful, but their opposite answers as to how this should be done have driven them into head-on collision.

To cast our own psychological answers into a clearer light, consider the solutions proposed by the extreme revenge school. According to one foreign correspondent, a typical spokesman of this school, the German arms industries should be dismantled; the machine-tool industry should be transferred to Allied countries, and industries engaged in the production of synthetic raw materials, particularly synthetic oil plants and refineries, should be dismantled. Such a policy of the "Inverted New Order," he says, would reduce the German people to an agricultural community; and, since only a portion of Germany's soil is fertile, would result in a sharp setback in their standard of living. He agrees that the measures he proposes would mean abject poverty for the German people and a deterioration in their culture. They would fall to the status to which they intentionally reduced the conquered countries of Europe—that of a subject race, providing unskilled labor under foreign control.

There is no question of this newspaperman's sincerity in his desire to avert another war—and there is little question that the attitudes and methods he proposes are almost certain to produce another one. For deliberately to convert Germany into a painfully "have-not" nation will lead once more to its people attempting to become "haves." It is inevitable because it is phychological. In recent generations they have recognized only one way of becoming "haves"—war.

But war is only one of the numerous specific reactions to deprivation which are to be expected in most Western nations. Reference to the discussion of reactions to loss will suggest the following as almost certain to occur in Germany if a policy of crushing and humiliating her is carried out:

Reactions toward means values.—Eventually, the Germans would per-

haps reject the Nazis, but continue to accept war as a means value to protect or win their goals. They would tend to say, "The Nazis were right. The Allies wanted to ruin us, and war was the only way we had of averting it. We tried and we lost. Next time we shall win."

Few people suffer in good order. Mere defeat in itself will make Germans not only question war as a value, but all their other values as well. They will be thrown into confusion. Anarchy, business stagnation, strikes, unemployment, and chaos would tend to produce other Hitlers, other demagogues who promise to lead them to the promised land.

The Germans would frantically seek new means of escaping economic sterility. Naziism would have failed; democracy would be hated. To what else but Communism or some new cure-all philosophy can these people turn, crestfallen and dishonored?

Reactions toward the goal value.—When they would begin to search for the causes of their extra postwar losses, they would blame democracy and the Allies instead of war and the Nazis. "America is not democratic. It believes, after all, in crushing rather than raising men." We would, in their eyes, become the hateful, unjust invaders.

They might make an attempt to regain their lost values by resting, rearming, and renewing the war.

The Germans, like many other peoples, are not particularly flexible. They will not substitute other goals in the place of world domination unless they see that the cost of war in terms of life, money, time, and human suffering has been overwhelming. If the peace is also painful, they will cling to the old ways, feeling them to be the lesser evils. One of their goals was to protect Germany from "encirclement," a danger preached by Hitler. Cruelty would only prove he was right.

The Germans would imagine the rescue of the destroyed values, engage in daydreaming and flights of fancy, turn out motion pictures glorifying the victories they did win, and look back on the days of Hitler as Germany's Golden Age.

Reactions toward the cost value.—In an attempt to heal over the pain of their wartime and peacetime wounds, they would rationalize, saying that the cost they paid in lives, money, etc., was not so high after all. This would prepare them to pay the cost again—only more the next time. We, of course, would be obliged to do the same.

Reactions toward depriver.—They would hate and resent their cruel conquerors, and make obstinate subjects for world citizenship. If the Allied victory brings persistent injustice, the only difference they would see between Nazi rule and Allied domination would be that they were relatively better off under Hitler.

They would seek direct revenge, even as the French, the Poles, and the Czechs wanted it while the German star rode high. They would not lie supinely under a conqueror's heel which twisted and ground them into the earth.

They would be anti-suggestible toward the Allies in all proposals of constructive, cooperate action.

Reactions toward themselves.—They would also tend to develop delusions of persecution and stronger feelings that they were the "Master Race." Further persecution, further degradation would only increase these defense mechanisms which protect their self-respect and would produce more Nietzsches, more Hitlers, more prophets of the German superman. For the solution of their problems, they would lose their real self-confidence but not their bravado; or they would lie down and quit, indulge in self-pity, and weep copious tears over their national disaster.

Reactions toward loved ones, friends, allies, and identifications.—They would search for sympathy and aid among fellow Germans, forming underground hatred and revenge movements. Moreover, they would probably adopt the typical German reaction of putting their problems in stronger hands. In a few years they would beckon, "Come, Hitler, Jr.," or welcome some disciple of Stalin with open arms because he would be a strong man with a plan.

Reactions toward neutral others.—They would bully nearby neutral states to regain their sense of power and importance. Perhaps they would also seek out scapegoats—if not the Jews, then some other internal element which they could accuse of betraying them to the Allies during the war. "We weren't conquered; we were stabbed in the back."

Reactions toward competitors and enemies.—They would blame their losses on their rivals and enemies, rather than on themselves or on the Nazis, where the blame belongs.

Reactions toward emotion and general situation.—They would ooze sorrow and writhe in pain; seek relief in tearful symphonies, dramas, and operas which would dramatize their losses and yield *catharsis,* or relief from sorrow; show anger and despair; and attempt to forget their lesson. For painful things are put out of the mind and only the pleasant are really remembered.

Reactions toward the setting.—Finally, they might make wholesale emigrations in flight from the land of their torment and humiliation.

Most of these reactions we do not want. A few would occur even if a policy of rehabilitation were consistently pursued. But all of them are almost inevitable reactions which we must expect if we adopt a policy of crushing Germany. Obviously, then, the long-run measures we apply to the German

people must make no attempt to wreak a horrible, sadistic revenge on them —unless we are prepared to face the probability of another war.

It is admitted that the revenge school has many arguments in its favor. It also may not be easy to do what is about to be suggested. Yet it is logical and gravely necessary.

By contrast, consider a constructive policy which is psychologically sound, based on the unavoidable facts of human nature. Naturally, it should not be carried into effect except by specialists who have a thorough knowledge of German values, particularly of those precise values which impelled the German people to follow the Nazis and of those values which led them more or less willingly into war. A parallel approach would be made to the Japanese problem.

Suggestions will follow the agenda of twenty-two elements which enter a complete psychological appeal. For these elements are just as useful in solving in broad outline a complex political-social problem such as war as they are in compounding an appeal to purchase an automobile, study a mind-training course, or accept conversion to a new religion. These elements, aimed at securing action, will be shifted into reverse to secure the non-action we wish in this case.

The question is, "How shall we induce Germany to abandon war as a means value?"

1. *No necessity—Does not value the goals which war was to gain.*—It is growing clearer from this side of the Atlantic that the principal values which the German masses hoped to acquire or protect in the war were world domination, national independence, and money.

Economic depression, unemployment, the threat of financial ruin to the small shopkeeper by the organization of big cooperatives and department stores, the discontent and unemployment of ex-soldiers like Roehm, the destitution of intellectuals like Rosenberg, the jeopardy of small manufacturers brought about by the growth of large corporate organizations, and the big manufacturers' fear of trade-union demands all revolved around the lack of money.

Patriots who remembered the "shame of Versailles" and the burden of reparations wanted to erase defeat with world domination. And Germans of all classes were shocked by Hitler's "revelation" that England was encircling them in preparation for conquering them.[43, 12] Their national independence seemed to be endangered.

To destroy the German people's desire for national independence or for money, however, would be out of the question. These are reasonable goals. On the other hand, their aching greed for world domination will have to be

deadened completely, for war is the almost inevitable means which must be used to attain it. It is this means value that we wish to destroy.

2. *No necessity—Possession and security of values.*—Most fundamentally of all, we must remove the hopes, fears, disappointments, joys, sorrows, and yearnings for those values which impelled the Germans first to adopt Hitlerism and then war. For we may be certain they will not declare war to win something they already possess or to protect something which they do not feel is endangered.

Therefore, if we were to deny economic security to the Germans, we should be creating the very "have-nots" to whom another Hitler would exercise the greatest appeal. Far from crushing Germany financially and industrially, we must place her economy on a sound, progressive basis. The methods of doing this in Germany are much like those we must adopt ourselves, perhaps along lines such as those indicated by Lord Keynes of England and by Professor Alvin H. Hansen of the United States.

We must also restore Germany to a position of guarded equality and respectability in order to re-establish her feelings of national prestige. This should be done not all at once, but gradually.

Moreover, we must guarantee the German people security against postwar fears of encirclement, invasion, looting, and death in war. Only then will they be impervious to jingoistic propaganda to rearm for prosperity or to wage war for self-defense and national prestige.

3. *No necessity—Existence of more urgent or more attractive value-situations.*—In place of possible reacquisition of money, hope of world conquest, and fear of encirclement, we must substitute or emphasize other goals.

Germany's attention must at first be turned to problems of reconstruction and later to manufacturing, international commerce, science, travel, sports, friendship, music, art, sex, love, marriage, property, health, food, parades, entertainment, personal hobbies. Indeed, almost any attractive goal of this type would tend to turn the Germans' eyes away from the goals to which war leads. Most of the values mentioned exist already in the German cultural pattern, and many Germans will be only too glad to return to their normal pursuits.

4. *No necessity—Presence of alternative means to the same purposes.*—Besides emphasizing other *goals,* we must substitute other means values to replace war as the road to security and prestige. Eventual full membership in some international league, probably with a world police force and a world

court, would be the best method by which Germany's desire for prestige and security could be satisfied with certainty. It also seems that only a liberal government of Germany which aims at a healthy economy, with international trade and access to raw materials, can restore the necessary degree of prosperity.

5. *No necessity—Presence of conflicting values.*—Fundamentally, the values of life, money, time, Christianity, peace, and cooperation are opposed to war. Considerable emphasis may therefore be placed on the fact that the Germans sacrificed or violated all of these values in war and won nothing to replace them. The values should receive new emphasis.

The word "democracy," however, will probably have to be soft-pedalled or redefined, for in the German mind it is associated still with demagoguery, wishy-washy politics, and general bungling.

6. *Inability of Germany to wage war.*—Whatever details are put into effect, the broad policy toward Germany should be based on the principles of "overwhelming power behind law," as Lord Lothian put it, plus constructive social engineering. In other words, the coyote's snapping jaws must be muzzled while it is being tamed into submission and friendliness.

The world police force must actually be ready to act decisively against Germany at any moment if she shows signs of rearming beyond the agreed terms. But it must also act as a guarantee of security to Germany from the aggression of other countries. The German local police force should be large enough to prevent internal disorder but too small to start a successful war on any neighboring country. There would be no army which she could use again as an officer training corps.

Her massive armament industries should not be destroyed, but they should be converted to peace-time production. For it must be remembered that she needs part if not all of her industrial machine to keep her people employed, to rebuild her own cities, and to reconstruct the areas she has devastated in other lands.

The huge Junker estates might be broken up into smaller parcels and the practice of "entailment" abolished, thus destroying the economic power which perpetuated Germany's most militant caste.

Some Allied organizations patterned after the FBI should see that underground revenge movements are not organized in Germany. Recalcitrants should be punished promptly and firmly. Finally, the production of certain strategic war materials, such as oil, nitrogen and hydrogen, might be prevented or rigidly controlled in Germany by international authorities, thus making her unable to start another war of aggression.

7. *Adequate Perception.*—Two elements which do not need to be put in reverse are adequate perception and general suggestibility. Advisers of the social engineering and persuasion plan in Germany should be experts in public opinion control such as social psychologists, sociologists, propagandists, advertisers, newspapermen, and publicity men. They should know Germany well and be adept in the use of all the perception devices and other techniques in the psychologist's kitbag, whether it be repetition, symbols, slogans, familiarity, motion pictures, censorship, or whatever else is appropriate.

8. *General suggestibility toward the Allies.*—Germans will respond more readily to Allied efforts to build a peaceful world community if they know us as peaceful cooperators rather than as avenging deprivers and frustrators. Friendliness, tangible aid, cooperation, similarity, and certain personal qualities in Allied occupation troops, tourists, and traveling business men which the Germans consider admirable will all help pave the way for their cooperation with us and rejection of war. For these methods will help to place us in the status of friends, allies, and identifications.

9. *Presentations.*—The full repertoire of presentations might be used, according to the value situations involved.

10. *Dramatis personae.*—It is very important who is brought to justice and when, who punishes them, where they are punished, and who is converted back to peacefulness. All the actual heads of the Nazi movement, as well as the actual organizers of atrocities, have faced or will face trial. So should anyone who attempts to revive Nazi methods.

In these trials the courts should not be staffed with Big Four officials only. As Dorothy Thompson pointed out, such trials would produce a Joan of Arc attitude in the Germans, who would feel that particular foreign nations were persecuting them in their own land. In actual practice—not just in theory—the judges and juries in the trials should be drawn from a truly international group. Such a group would include representatives of nations which were neutral or nonbelligerent during the war, smaller members of the United Nations, and, of course, the great military and naval powers. Any decisions reached by the courts would not only be more just in the eyes of Germany and the rest of the world, but would be more just in actuality.

Such trials should be broadcast by radio, covered verbatim by newspapers, dramatized in motion pictures, featured in magazines. For they would involve not only punishment of those whom we in America consider to be evildoers but would also provide an excellent opportunity to expose to the Germans themselves the inner machinations of the Nazi Party. The exposés would

reverse the tendency in Germany to regard the Nazi leaders as tragic defenders of a just cause, the German people as heroic crusaders, or the Allies as loathsome hypocrites bent on the encirclement and destruction of Germany. The trials would clearly identify the wartime or postwar Nazi officials as gangsters, greedy for expensive castles, artistic loot, and personal power, planning to desert the sinking ship and escape to neutral countries with their huge hidden bank accounts. They would further reveal the German people to themselves as gullible dupes who gave their lives in a useless war, and would show Allied "encirclement" to be only a venomous creation of Hitler's imagination.

11. *Instruments.*—The Germans may be shown pictures of the German weapons which failed to win the war and of Allied factories and guns which made it possible for us to master them. They may also be confronted with parades of Allied military might attesting to our ability to continue upholding the peace.

12. *Setting.*—Motion pictures, novels, magazine articles, and radio dramas can display and talk about the settings of the great German defeats and atrocities as the rallying points for their story plots.

13. *Time.*—The time when the Germans were taught their greatest lesson should always be emphasized and never permitted to be forgotten.

14. *Value balance.*—The German people were propagandized into believing that war would involve a neglible cost in money, time, and life, as against tremendous gains in victory over their opponents, world domination, glory, money, territory, sexual gratification in youth camps and occupied territories, sports, parades, and the protection of life and national independence from the "encircling" Allies. Moreover, there was pressure, for the sake of practicality, to use armaments which they had gone to the expense of producing.

The long-term Allied educational program, carried out through favorable German channels, should set to work to balance the scales in the opposite direction. It should show that the real advantages of the war were small or illusory, that many reputed advantages were actually unobtainable through war, that the costs were overwhelmingly large, and that the things they could have acquired with the money, time, and life wasted in war would have far outweighed the fancied and disproven advantages. This suggested reversal of the balance is illustrated in the diagram on page 235, Figure 1.

In other words, it should be the purpose of Allied or peaceful German

educational work to remove all the advantages from the side of the scales favoring war, and stack the weights on the negative side. Not far back, under

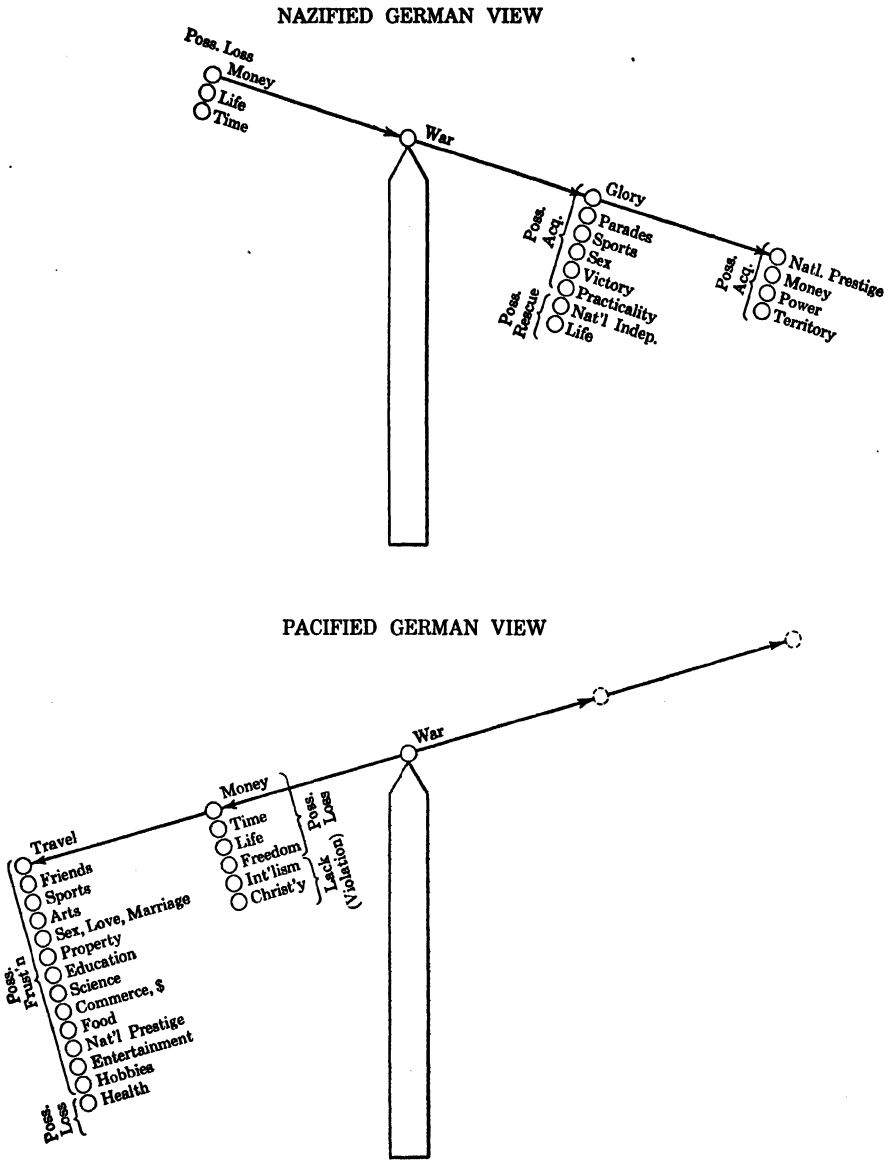


FIGURE I

element number 2, money, world domination, and national security were named as three of the principal values which propelled the Germans into war. Now, in more detail, it should be pointed out to the German nation that

waging war violates the principles of Christianity, is a futile waste of money and time, a suicidal disregard of life, opposed to the orderly principles of international law, and extremely expensive in terms of liberties surrendered.

These futile losses and violations, moreover, have led and will continue to lead them in turn to frustration and further losses. Because of them the Germans will fail to do all the things they might do otherwise, such as travel, spend time with friends, enjoy sports and arts, devote themselves to romance and family life, gain an education, engage in scientific research, earn money in commerce and industry, own their homes and land, provide themselves with plenty of good food, regain the world prestige and respect which they had thrown away in favor of awing the world, still have their entertainment and pursue their personal hobbies, and protect their health. Warfare means the destruction, forgoing, or violation of all these values.

Nothing could act more strongly to dampen their ardor for warfare than the calculation that the costs were and are too high, unless it would be the shuddering realization that the costs are inevitably paid in vain. The costs are added to the things they fail to acquire or protect.

Yet the same possible frustrations, lacks, and possible losses can be turned into positive goals of peace, becoming possible acquisition, possession, and possible protection when war is dropped as a means-value and its place taken by peace. Other goals, such as security against invasion, though not guaranteed by peace in itself, would be protected by other means, such as world government.

We must not only "sell" the German people on these constructive goals. We must also make it possible to attain the goals in reality. Psychology is not only words, it is also deeds.

Moreover, these deeds should not be acts of charity. Once the initial crises are past, we must help the Germans to help themselves until they become self-reliant.

15. *Chance.*—The chance that a certain value will be frustrated or lost plays an important part in the value-balancing argument. It seems strongest to a respondent when the frustration or loss has already occurred due to his using the means, and above all when he himself was the one who suffered.

16. *Conviction against war.*—However, undesirable goals cannot be removed from the scales until the cause-effect arrows linking them with the means value, war, are destroyed in the minds of the German people. Rather than merely *outweighing* the world domination and fabulous wealth which

they hoped to get in war, they must be *convinced* that war would not actually lead to these gains anyway. Only then will they reject it.

Among the stalwart methods of exterminating a value are these: passive rejection of the value, guarantee that it will not work, demonstration of its failure in the experience of others, trial and failure by the respondent himself, sample punishment indicating greater trouble ahead, and testimonials to its failure.

Passive rejection.—War, for example, is now part of the German cultural tradition and accepted as an instrument of national policy. Mere military defeat will probably not uproot it this time any more than it did after the last war. For the Germans can again credit their victories to war and blame their defeat on traitors and other things. German children, growing up in this atmosphere, will absorb the war value through contact with their parents, teachers, and schoolmates, and will in turn hand it on to their own playmates, pupils, and offspring.

At some point this cultural continuity, so far as it relates to war, must be interrupted. The strategic point is the indoctrination of youth. The adults are too set in their ways. Breaking up the German family to accomplish this would hardly be a democratic procedure. A similar result, however, can be accomplished in a desirable way by the wholesale interchange of young scholars and teachers every year between the Allied nations and the conquered Axis nations, as well as among the Allies themselves.

Our Latin-American experience with the Good Neighbor policy has served as a test-tube experiment in building international understanding this way. On the basis of the almost unanimous opinion of on-the-spot officials and others who have seen the system at work, it appears that, of all the methods we have used, the granting of student exchange scholarships is perhaps the best and certainly one of the cheapest investments we have made south of the border. Nothing so binds the concerned people to the United States in appreciation, understanding, and affection. The only thing comparable was the use of the Boxer indemnity payments to educate Chinese youth in American schools beginning a generation ago, which accounts in large measure for the strong sentimental bonds which link China and the United States at the present time. But this interchange of students and teachers should not be carried out by dozens, as in prewar dribbles. It must be done by thousands; if necessary, under combined government and private auspices.

This interchange would not only draw the German youth out of contact with the poisonous values of their elders at a time when their characters were being molded. It would also help to instill in them the values of the Allied countries, where they would preferably disperse to live in widely scattered

private homes. In this way they would become completely immersed in the atmosphere of America, England, France, or whatever other democratic nation was acting as their host.

We should not greatly fear that our own children would in turn be infected by the militarist virus when they visited Germany, for we have much more to show them than a defeated Germany will have for many years.

The expense of the program would be negligible, since it would not cost the German government much more to educate a German child in America than in Germany itself; the same applies to our maintenance of American students in Germany. Transportation would be cheap. This exchange would not only help to remove the risk of war, but would create in both Axis and Allied youth a breadth of culture and international-mindedness which no single country could hope to provide them at home.

Guarantee.—The military might of the Allies, plus their express intention of not permitting any form of rearmament or aggression, would serve as a guarantee that war, the condemned means value, would not have a chance of succeeding.

Demonstration.—First hand experience by a respondent is a "trial," but proof through the experience of others is a demonstration. The Allied nations may demonstrate to Germany and other countries the ineffectiveness of war by immediately squelching aggression anywhere in the world, whether attempted by one of the wartime Axis nations or by someone else.

"Trial."—But the most important lesson that can be driven into the German mind is the actual defeat of Germany in war. Nothing teaches like personal experience. This lesson may be hammered home in several ways. The theme might be that Germany has given war two thorough trials which have both failed abysmally.

Germans may be depicted during war, showing the suffering and destitution which it brought them. Novels and motion pictures may emphasize the extreme youth, handsomeness, joy of living, and scientific genius of different specific German boys from each town who were killed in the war. But their sacrifice must be painted not as a glory but as a waste.

For the sake of clarity, different kinds of contrast may be used. One of these would be to cast up the war value in sermons, editorials, and magazine articles against the opposing values of kindness and inoffensiveness which formerly existed and still exist, in eclipsed form, in the German culture. Their traditional peacefulness of a few generations back may be glorified at the expense of ancient Teutonic and recent Nazi pugnacity. Another variation is the disillusionment article recalling how glory-filled their eyes were before the war, how tear-filled today. Likewise, different displays, editorials, and political cartoons may juxtapose Nietzsche's "blond beast" philosophy with

the thousands of German battlefield crosses marking the graves of boys who died for the conquest he extolled.

Still contrasting, we can depict the beauty and picturesqueness of German towns before the war with the rubble that now remains. Moreover, school education and motion pictures may contrast the frustrations and disasters which war brought to Germany with the prosperity and happiness enjoyed by peaceful nations. This will be one of the by-products of the large-scale exchange of students; for both the German and Allied youth may see with their own eyes the high standard of living we have attained, and they cannot help comparing it with the relative poverty of Germany. The success of our way of life, contrasted with the disaster brought about by that of their elders, will drive home anew the lessons of the two trials they made and botched.

But these are all negative educational measures. There is another side to the trial coin. For not only did the Germans make war twice and reap only sorrow and frustration; they will also be forced to live under Allied control, a control which they should find benevolent and cooperative. One cannot merely put a raving maniac into a strait-jacket, or muzzle a snapping beast; he must teach him that submission and cooperation are the means of getting the sensible things he wants and needs.

In 1940 the victorious Nazi armies, offering to the conquered nothing but pillage and terror, lost their golden opportunity to use this technique. It might have unified all Europe behind them, as it unified the domains overrun by the Inca emperors centuries ago. If, by contrast, the Allies provide conquered people with food, medical supplies, and help in emergencies, they stand a good chance of eventually winning the enemy population over. But woe to our hopes for permanent peace if the revenge school ever wins dominance in international policy.

In short, unsuccessful trial of war with successful trial of cooperation will do more than anything else to uproot war from Germany's national folkways. Nothing is so stern a teacher as personal experience.

Sample.—If Germany begins to rearm or otherwise to break her treaty agreements, troops may immediately move into some part of her territory and show that repressive measures will be taken on a large scale if she does not immediately disarm.

Testimonials.—Those who were actually in the war or in the Allied bombings can bring the military failures closer to those who did not feel them firsthand. Encouragement may accordingly be given to testimonials and eyewitness accounts of the actual horrors of the war on the style of Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front.* Some may testify that they have rejected war completely and permanently. Movie and television plots may be

woven around the German occupation of conquered territories at the zenith of the Nazi power, showing how they were hated by the people they had "liberated," how "gauleiters," playing the villains' roles, forced or deluded German boys under their command into carrying out their outrages.

Mass testimonial.—Finally, public opinion polls and sidewalk radio interviews may reveal the deep-seated rejection of war by great numbers of Germans, and this would influence those who were still doubtful. It might also be attested to by the humiliations to which Nazi and Fascist leaders were subjected by their own people when they fell from power.

17. *Ability of Allies to conquer them.*—It must be made clear to Germany, in the next place, that the United Nations conquered them because they were stronger, not because someone inside Germany betrayed her (as Hitler wailed after the First World War). It must be made clear that we were able to do so before and we can do it again. They must be taught from the earliest years that neither Germany, Japan, Italy, Napoleonic France, nor any other war-making country or countries are strong enough to conquer the peace-loving world.

18. *Injustice of their waging war.*—German re-education after the war must combat any tendency to claim that Germany went to war for justifiable reasons. The megalomaniac reasons of Hitler, the gullibility and pugnacity of the German masses, the militarism of the Junkers, the momentum of armament and so on must be singled out as the true causes. There must be no revival of Hitler's doctrine that Germany really fought to prevent encirclement by the Allies or to regain the "just" dues which were plundered away from her at Versailles.

The fairness of the United Nations victory must also be emphasized. The conscription of labor to rebuild areas devastated by the Nazis and Germany's appropriation of money for this purpose must, like victory, be justified as fair punishment for the errors and outrages committed by the Nazi Germans. At the same time, these measures would serve as warnings to discourage any future repetitions.

Further punishment would be unwise. For the German surrender indicated they had already suffered more than the Allies. Revenge would then become sadism, and we the hated destroyers. We would turn into truth the Hitler lie that we intended to enslave and ruin Germany.

19. *Belief in accuracy of data.*—It is important, as we have noted under "Dramatis Personae," that most of the anti-war propaganda in Germany should be promoted by anti-Nazi German groups insofar as they exist, since

the sincerity of foreigners is doubted too much. Some aid could also be secured from citizens of wartime neutral and nonbelligerent nations.

20. *Emotion of victims and conquerors.*—In all the foregoing education against war, Nazis, Junkers, and other militarists, particular force may be lent the appeals by reproducing emotions displayed by Germans fearing war, promoting war, facing death, suffering, dying, or welcoming Allied soldiers and citizens. Soldiers and officials of the United Nations, on the other hand, should not be shown in pictures or behave in reality as either sneering, hateful, glowering, or cold to German feelings. They should be shown taking their victory pleasantly and modestly, as a task which had to be done and must be safeguarded. In fact, it would be useful to teach them in turn to regard the Germans as problems to be solved rather than as wild beasts whose spirits must be broken.

21. *Non-intention of Germans to fight.*—The determination of many Germans before and during the war not to fight for Hitler must be emphasized and dramatized in German home propaganda. In addition, the postwar intention of specific German citizens never to fight again in an aggressive war must be broadcast to the nation, giving each individual German courage to take a stand against war and Fascism in the knowledge that he is not alone.

22. *Specific instructions for avoiding war.*—But applied psychology is not a passive thing aimed merely at convincing someone for or against a means value. It is at its best when it not only convinces, but inspires, then caps the appeal with specific instructions as to what action is to be taken. The Germans should be told what they can do about war themselves—whether they should join local organizations which support international government with money, words, and deeds, submit their national grievances to the world court, cooperate fully in accepting and enforcing the decisions of that body, contribute funds to international mercy organizations such as the Red Cross, jail the war-mongers, laugh them out of existence, solve in peaceful ways the problems they stress (and so steal the trouble-makers' thunder), or train their children in the peaceful German traditions of kindness and good neighborliness.

Those are the twenty-two elements which must be covered in any total appeal. If any one of them is not in good working order, the Germans will probably not drop their means value, war. If we, for instance, violate element number 2 and bring down economic disaster on their heads, or if we fail to convince them of our ability to conquer them again (number 17), or if we

allow them to feel they have lost a just war (number 18), or if we fail to provide them with specific instructions for avoiding another war (number 22), or if we miss any other element in the complete psychological appeal, the whole anti-aggressiveness campaign may collapse and our sons will have to go over there again.

These twenty-two elements provide a fairly integrated approach to the problem of winning the war against war. The suggestions under each heading are far from complete. They are based only on fragmentary facts rather than on the thorough study of German value-patterns that is necessary. They do indicate, however, certain broad principles which can be neither ignored nor violated if we wish to destroy war as a German value. They can also be used as rough guides in planning the treatment of the Japanese. Of course, these people will probably have to be handled differently from the Germans in certain respects. Nevertheless they are dominated by the same universal rules of psychology as any other human beings.*

True, such thorough psychological planning has never been attempted before—but at the same time we have kept right on having wars. A stop must some day be put to the epidemic of wars. Today, tomorrow, and the next five or ten years will see the world in a better frame of mind to accept constructive measures than it has been for many years past.

DECAY OR PROGRESS?—THE DANGER OF INTERNAL COLLAPSE

Though the risks of foreign wars raise a gaunt specter now, the more important problem in the long run is probably that of internal decay. America, strong, dynamic, and prosperous during the war and early postwar years, has been tempted to scorn or postpone the consideration of such a possibility. But immediately after the stimuli of war and reconstruction have been withdrawn, we shall again be faced with the postponed task of building a sound society.

If that society is to be permanent, it must continue to be and become increasingly an individual-centered society. No order which denies or ignores the wants of the individual can long exist without resorting to constant repression. The central, all-inclusive aim of society must be the happiness and fulfillment of the individual, rather than narrower goals such as obedience to organized pressure groups, worship of the status quo, preservation of a passive, aimless freedom, salvation of the soul, or service to the state. For in any case self-interest inevitably drives the individual toward possession of all values. It eventually impels him to override anything, anyone, or any govern-

* U. S. Marines are shown facing page 179, using one kind of "psychology in action" on a Japanese warrior.

ment which stands in his way. The planners of our society must either harness this drive or see it run amuck.

This means, above all, that every man is entitled to be respected as an absolute end in himself. As Kant said, "It is a crime against the dignity that belongs to him as a human being, to use him as a mere means to some external purpose." [65] No power-seeking government may snuff out the precious capital of human life for a few brief moments of glory. This is easily admitted. But it is also good democracy, solid Americanism, and sound psychology to realize that the more profound the fulfillment of individual personality, the richer is the society in which it plays its part.[48]

But why, more deeply, should our nation's emphasis be centered on the individual? Is it only because he might eventually revolt? That this is partly true, of course, is proved by the flare-ups in the American, French, and Russian revolutions. But there is a positive aspect: when the individual's desires are attended to and he receives the proper help and guidance, he is capable of almost unlimited development. He rises to the full extent of his capacities and produces far more efficiently than he ever did before. This has been clearly demonstrated in the astounding increases in production brought about in war factories, colleges, and private businesses when people have been stimulated through the proper use of incentives. The art of stimulating action through incentives has been the theme of this book.

Yet the average American, to some extent conscious of this possible flowering of his children's and his own personalities and capacities under proper cultivation, still sees it retarded in practice. Cantril warns that if we hope to become a sufficiently strong and efficient nation without falling into Nazi tactics in the process, we must take care that the needs and frustrations within our own boundaries are satisfied. Otherwise, appeals characteristic of the Nazi program may not fall on deaf ears.[12] Democracy must show some quick and obvious results in human happiness after the war. For like any other system of government, it must everywhere and always take the test of workability—and it must pass that test. The Germans and Italians, seeing no such benefits from democracy in the 1920's and 1930's, junked it for a government which promised to win the values they lacked.

Among the under-satisfactions which must be corrected in America are inadequate income, unemployment, insufficient education, warping of personalities because of excessive specialization, ignorance of the rules of pleasant association with others, scarcity of leaders, declining comfort from religion, poor food, bad clothing, ramshackle houses, sickness, late marriage, marital unhappiness, and the threat of disablement in war.

Satisfaction of these needs cannot be achieved by last-minute improvising. For this there must be comprehensive planning—planning to help, guide,

and stimulate people. Very little of this has been done on the governmental level, except in short-run or narrow-sphere planning. Of course, the aim should not be to satisfy all values indiscriminately or immediately. That would be gorging. The real purpose of social planning is to attain the moderate and steady satisfaction of human desires. Some desires must be frustrated and even deprived in order to satisfy more important ones. For human desire, let us recall, is not like a reservoir. It is like a river, forever being renewed and replenished. No matter how much may be drawn off, it can never be permanently emptied.

This desire may be thought of as energy. The longer it is obstructed or dammed up, the more tremendous is the potential energy ready to burst forth. If the frustration is too great, the floods of energy will race down their channels when the obstruction is finally removed. Sometimes they will go out of bounds in their mad release and spread destruction in their wake. Such was the story of the French Revolution, which burst forth when the accumulated frustrations and deprivations of centuries at last became intolerable. For too long the people's desires had been choked off or dammed up with no outlet. Though the revolution reshaped the pattern of French society in a fairer way, it was a horrible, bloody mess. It is interesting to speculate whether a wisely guided social evolution could not have accomplished the same purpose at less human cost.

Against the havoc of frustration we may contrast the ennui of the bored millionaire playboy, glutted with every satisfaction he wishes, going nowhere, wanting nothing. Schopenhauer remarked, "As want is the constant scourge of the people, so ennui is the scourge of the fashionable world." [78]

Remembering these alternatives, and recognizing that we are dealing with a stream of energy, could social engineers learn any lessons from flood control engineers? Their problems are similar. These scientific workers plant trees around the headwaters of the river to drink up the excessive rainfall, erect dams at strategic points to regulate the flow of water, and construct alternate channels to irrigate farms along the way.

The social engineers of democracy, whether they be parents, teachers, or group leaders, may adopt any of three similar strategies. These would be (1) to encourage necessary variations in the supply of original energy through scientific diets, regulation of sleep, and exercise, but without overdoing or underdoing it; (2) to pass laws and erect social prohibitions restraining the stream of self-seeking activity, but not doing too little or too much of this; and (3) to provide channels of activity which would release these blocked energies in ways which are beneficial both to the individual and to his society, but avoiding drawing off too little or too much energy in this way. All are accepted methods of social control.

Such a plan would provide the moderate and steady satisfaction of desires. It would avoid gluts and starvations. It would provide not only personal happiness through satisfactions, but progress through usefulness. Otherwise, like Arabian rivers which lose themselves in the desert sands, all too many people might spend their energies in barren and aimless pursuits, finding perhaps their own momentary satisfaction but draining the precious stream of total human energy.

Social problems can generally be boiled down to one concept, that of insufficient net satisfaction, or too much loss and too little satisfaction of values. Most, if not all, of the solutions to these problems may also be boiled down to the simple need of changing the other values which determine these satisfactions. Old ways of doing things must be dropped, new ways discovered and accepted. The problem of death and destruction in war, for instance, involves destroying such obstructive old values as peace-at-any-price and blind isolationism, and creating new values such as military preparedness and collective security.

New solutions must first be discovered by specialists in the various fields. Then the old solutions may be removed and the new ones inserted into the pattern of values by using the psychological methods of acceptance and rejection. In a broad sense, it involves the changing of human nature. And once these new techniques or values have been invented and fastened into the cultural structure, organizations must be established to institutionalize their application; for new values cannot be left to the whimsical puffs of improvisation. They must be guarded and promoted by full-time professionals. The police courts, superior, district, and supreme courts, for instance, are the institutions devoted to applying and developing the justice value.

Political Problems.—Then there are specific problems. Some of the most fundamental stresses and strains in American civilization lie in the political sphere.

Basically, the American way of life is being threatened by the irrepressible conflict between two great values which lead in opposite directions. We value both democracy and capitalism, yet in some ways these systems are intrinsically at odds with each other. For usually the bias of capitalists is to become preoccupied with maintaining their privileges and profits, whereas democratic leaders are generally concerned with extending the frontiers and procedures of freedom and the well-being of the masses.[28]

There are three possible solutions to this conflict. In a period of contraction, capitalism must either sacrifice some of its privileges, by consent or by force, or tend to suppress and destroy democratic institutions. It did the latter in Germany and Italy. The third possibility is the adoption of policies by business, labor, agriculture, and the government which would promote a

genuine economy of abundance rather than an economy of scarcity in America.

Until the contradiction between these two values is adjusted, giant pressure groups will trample on individual civil liberties, on majority rule, representative government, and on some of our most efficient large-scale enterprises, destroying one another in order to force through their demands. The farm bloc, the labor unions, and the manufacturers' associations, highly organized and powerful, are crashing headlong in massive struggles for their selfish interests.

The mere fact that the "have-nots" should attempt to become "haves" or that the "haves" should fight to remain in possession of their advantages ought to provoke neither surprise nor condemnation. In a dynamic society self-interest is healthful.

The real fault lies with the procedures of government and industry. These procedures were designed to reconcile conflicts in an eighteenth century world of scattered individuals and firms, but are almost helpless to avert disaster in a twentieth century world of collective action. This disaster began to menace our internal peace even before the close of the war. To solve this explosive problem, either industry must be democratized or democracy must be industrialized—or both.

On the side of government, we must modify the old value of counting noses on a purely populational or regional basis and develop new values to provide for representative institutions based also on the occupations and economic interests of men. These conflicting interests can then be negotiated and compromised, using the criterion of the greatest good for the greatest number as expressed in votes. But even then moderation must be observed. For the complete overriding of one interest only plants the seeds for renewed conflict.

Most noteworthy of the suggested new values for industry is the creation of "functional authorities," or industry councils, in the basic, monopolistic, interstate industries, in which industrial and labor policies would be formulated through the representation of all the interested groups—management, labor, consumers, raw-material producers, and government. In each concern these councils would conduct public hearings with all employees to discuss the tentative program for that concern, and how it fits into the industry's program and the national program.[24] These organizations must be imbued with a determination to find a fair solution for the whole group, and be vested with the power to take positive action. Mere consultation is not sufficient. This technique has already been used with striking success by organizations such as the Tennessee Valley Authority and by many industrial plants.

Greater justice and less conflict would be the results of these more representative processes within industry and government. This would be due to the fact that no one can better represent or protect a group's interest than its own members. Moreover, different groups tend to temper their demands through personal appreciation, developed in council, of the needs and desires of others. Without this, having only partial experiences, they develop into conflicting groups which cannot drop the struggle until one or the other has been conquered.

Without one or the other of these approaches, disunity growing out of titanic and destructive battles will continue to be one of the greatest menaces to democracy, paving the way either for Fascist, anti-democratic seizure of power by the "have" groups, or an undemocratic radical revolt by the "have-not" groups. These seem to be the alternatives which America is facing. The possible struggles are not crystal-ball predictions. They first became convulsive in America in the giant strikes of 1936 and 1937, and were renewed bebefore the ordeal of war had even passed. Still they threaten to shake democracy to its very foundations. We should be naïvely optimistic to think, if carried too far, they were not capable of crumbling the actual foundations.

Economic Problems.—The first group of problems revolved about political and industrial procedures, but were aimed at solving economic tensions. Consider the economic tensions themselves. The trouble is caused by an insufficient net income in money for some people, plus the danger to others of losing what they have. Total acquisitions of money are too small, losses too great. And these lacks produce others. So we have the unemployed, the sharecroppers, the "poor whites" of the South, the migratory farm and industrial workers, the people who dwell in the squalor of slums, the criminals who fester in the stagnant pool of poverty, the underpaid workers on strike, the one-third of the population which is ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed, the pecan workers of San Antonio, our huge poverty-stricken Negro population. These people's dissatisfactions are the very stuff of which fascist or communistic upheavals are made. The war merely diverted attention from their plight for the time being. In fact, the war itself was largely due to the fact that some nations, already quaking under the impact of such problems, chose a fascist solution and were driven into conflict with the democracies.

These great masses of dissatisfied people in America are growingly convinced that the present distribution of wealth is unjust, that their poverty is unnecessary, that their customary scrimping is incompatible with the potential wealth in which they might share. They have seen that war secures full employment and prosperity, compels the organization of scientific talent, limits the right of business to command people, secures the acceptance of

taxation on a hitherto unimagined scale, and destroys the legend that a country is promptly ruined which fails to balance its budget.

There is every reason for them to expect some of these lessons to be applied during peacetime. But there is no assurance that they will be applied. The stage is thus being gradually set for a fundamental and perhaps even a violent change. It is conceivable that the change might bring about the very fascism we are fighting or the communism we have long considered too violent a method of helping people.

One of the basic rules of our globe-spanning, history-encompassing theory of human nature is that mass frustrations and mass fears lead to mass action —violent if necessary—to acquire or protect their values. Therefore, if we pay attention to nothing else in our over-all psychological program, we must not ignore the money problem. It would be hard to find a point where money might be separated neatly from the other values in our culture. For money will probably solve more problems than any other one thing. Above all, it is the value most closely connected with the satisfaction of the all-important physical values. And it is one of the best means of developing a person up to his full personal capacities when he is left to his own devices.

Provided we accept the need of economic planning, we shall set up before us a triple goal: to distribute income more fairly between those who are glutted and those who are starved for it, to level off the jagged ups and downs of employment and business activity, and to raise the level of total income for the entire nation. Our task with income, in other words, is to spread it, iron out its waves, and lift it.

First, we may consider the maldistribution of income from a psychological point of view. Attacked by the New Deal, padded and forgotten during the war, we must face the fact that for many years the top 2 per cent of American families have been receiving just as much income as the bottom 60 per cent.[28] The reward and punishment system thus seems badly warped. Even in a mature but what we hope will be a more dynamic society we must provide opportunity for real ability and hard work to bubble to the top through the caky surface of established influence, best families, and social connections. The high and mighty, on the other hand, must be free to drop down when they cease to earn their positions. A menace to this psychological principle has often been provided in the past by trust funds, holding-company pyramids, collusion in price control, restriction of competition, and interstate trade barriers, some of which still exist. As Tocqueville prophesied just over a century ago, if there should develop in America an excessive concentration of economic power in a few hands, that concentration would beget an industrial feudalism that would be incompatible with democratic principles.[43] This has been happening and we must melt down the clot. For

industrial feudalism is no more just or stimulating than the land feudalism of the Middle Ages.

The specific measures for accomplishing this fairer distribution of income are administrative and technical questions in economics. We are concerned here only with outlining the psychological strategy: the fact that it should be done. At the same time, sharing must not be carried too far. Money is an incentive to action, but it would cease to be an incentive if it were whisked away the moment a person won it. The striver must have an opportunity to use his rewards for his own comfort and pleasure and the benefit of his family. What is being advanced, then, is a psychological doctrine of justice and moderation. It is not impossible to steer between communism and over-concentration of wealth, any more than it is impossible to eat just enough food to satisfy one's hunger, without gorging or starving.

Secondly, consider the violent and rhythmic sledge-hammer blows dealt our economy by the swing from prosperity in 1920 to depression in 1921, prosperity in 1929 to suffocating depression in 1933, and again prosperity in the war years. This has been going on since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Specific recommendations are not offered here, only a note of warning that this periodic shrinking of money income is a shattering event for any important kind of value income.

As Alvin Hansen, Professor of Political Economy at Harvard and special economic adviser to the Federal Reserve Board,[33] and other economists have shown, the rising and falling of the financial outlay on capital goods such as factory buildings and machinery is mainly responsible for the rising and falling of the national income, which we see reflected in cycles of employment and unemployment and in fluctuating prices. Back of the changes in outlay on capital goods lie the ups and downs of expected profits. Perhaps among other things a 10-year to 15-year planning of investments in terms of dollar outlay by private industry would contribute to ironing out these ups and downs. If concerted action of some kind is not taken, another depression, worse than in 1921, worse than in 1933, threatens to deliver the last crumbling blow to what was intrinsically a rock-solid system. The frustrations and losses which that would mean would be an open invitation to an American Hitler or revolutionary. It is in the cards.

And now for the third and most strategic aspect of the money problem, the heart and core of a psychological and democratic plan. This is the lifting of the entire national income, steadily benefiting all classes in fair proportion. Historically, democracy and capitalism have been able to live in the same house only when the economy is expanding, as in America during the nineteenth century, when frontiers were growing and immigration was heavy. Then there is elbow room for the "haves" and the "have-nots."

But when the phase of contraction comes, capitalism tends to seek its expansion through economic and political imperialism, which produces international tension and conflict. Since international organization is based on cooperation, rather than on the mutual clawings of economic claustrophobes, it follows that the maintenance of democracy on shrinking capitalistic foundations is incompatible with the postwar objectives of the United States and the other United Nations. The same applies within the United States.

Economic expansion, then, is the marriage ring which binds democracy and capitalism. Contraction means that either democracy must break up the old partnership and join with socialism, or capitalism must break away and ally itself with fascism. To those who believe in the freedom of democracy and the lusty stimulation of capitalism, economic expansion is imperative.

The political and economic system under which we have lived has rewarded us with the highest standard of living of any great nation in the world, has made the efficiency of our businessmen and workers the envy of our competitors everyhere, and has made us—unless we are overtaken by the Russians—the most dynamic of all forces in international relations. Should we let the civilization and leadership we have built up slip lightly from our hands through default?

To plan the expansion of effective demand is one of the central issues we face in this task. It is the main factor which has been lacking to raise peacetime production. Peacetime production in turn contributes heavily to an increased national income and a higher standard of living. The war proved again that our economy is capable of almost unlimited production if demand is large enough and able to pay its way. It was the fear for our lives, homes, and freedoms which brought on the present fury of action. In short, it was motivation which pushed demand off dead center and allowed us to achieve such a high level of prosperity during the war. The armed forces provided a hungry demand, and bond sales and taxes made it an effective demand.

Why couldn't the incentive of a higher standard of living, the chance of increased individual development, the goal of increased personal happiness serve as the positive incentives to replace the negative impulse of war? Think how well off we might be now if we could have spent the years of World War II building instead of destroying!

Methods of stimulating the demand for higher peacetime production are largely psychological and may be guided by the principles of this book. Developing the ability to pay for the production is technical and economic. Stimulating laborers to produce enough to fill the new demand is mainly phychological. Among the methods are incentive pay (based on the percentage of increased production); competition between individual workers, between production lines, shifts, factories, and industries; profit-sharing plans

by which a fixed percentage of net profits is divided among all the workers, another percentage among foremen, superintendents, and executives, and another percentage among bond- and shareholders; and expanded insurance against unemployment, sickness, accidents, and death for the workers —anything to provide incentives for labor, management, and capital. This stimulates greater efficiency and in the end leaves more for each group.

Such a threefold program of spreading income, ironing out its ups and downs, and lifting its entire level would avoid both the "plutocratic" and the "communistic" extremes, for these extremes would destroy one class to exalt another. It should not be forgotten that in America our aim is to benefit all classes. Instead of war among the classes, we believe in cooperating for the benefit of all. Our cry is, "Everybody up!" rather than, "Down with the wealthy," "Squeeze the middle class," or "Silence the workers."

And what if we do not choose to take some kind of action to rearrange the incentive system? Our industrial productive capacity is now the greatest in the world and the largest in our history. Much of it has been devoted to war needs. Therefore, when the bulk of war and rehabilitation demand slumps off, we may expect economic history to repeat itself in more extreme terms than in the United States after the American Revolution, after the War of 1812, after the Civil War, or after World War I, in Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, or in England after the Napoleonic Wars.

A short-lived boom lasting while starved civilian demand is being satisfied is only to be expected. A slump follows. With less income for everybody, labor and capital must begin fighting for their rights and possessions while the middle class, as usual, will be caught between them. There may be hurried attempts at some partial New Deal which would tinker about in the fragments. Great impersonal forces are driving us toward this pit as surely as gravity drags an iron bar to the bottom of a river.

This excursion into the customary domain of the economist does not commit any trespass. For psychological and economic forces are inextricably interwoven. Deeper, indeed, than economics is the psychology of human nature. Inadequate satisfaction of the money value is just as much the concern of the social psychologist as it is of the economist. Often the social psychologist can provide concrete suggestions for solving the problem. Although psychology is not a cure-all, it is a powerful ally.

Intellectual Problems.—In the intellectual field several deficiencies must be noted. First of all, the benefits of education are denied to the great majority of the population in the United States at precisely the age when learning begins to exercise its fascination. *Who's Who* is largely filled with the names of people who have graduated from or at least attended college.

Yet there are far more people with high intelligence ratings who never attended college than who did.

Not only the quantity but the content of modern education is not all it should be. Though it has become strong in practical vocational training, it contributes to excessive specialization; the well rounded personality has little chance to develop. Schools teach mechanical processes and what is known about them, but they do not encourage problem-solving in new fields. They would serve better to aim at building a whole individual. They should inspire the person to push his creative abilities into more and more areas, for creativeness is one of the great outlets for human energy, whether it be in dramatics, art, music, social problems, business methods, personnel relations, chemical research, or experiments in aeronautics.

Physical Problems.—But whatever is done in the fields of cultural, personal, and special values, the physical values demand to be served. For physical pleasure and pain, life, health, love, and so on are the ultimate controlling realities which eventually determine whether the superstructure of learned motives will be accepted or rejected.

We have already seen that there is under-satisfaction of the desires for food, clothing, housing, health, and artistic pleasures.

Another sore thumb standing out in our culture is the unhappiness which occurs in love and family life. At the present time, love is one of the greatest of modern frustrations. Yet it could rival religious conversion or political passion in draining off surplus energies, expressing the desire to live for something greater than oneself, and serving as a source of comfort in times of personal anxiety.

Like religious conversion, romantic conversion is the joyful organization of an emotional relationship to the world conceived as a whole.[25] It involves a complete reorientation of the individual's values—a profound change. Joseph Kirk Folsom of Vassar insists that the time is growing late and that democracy should play its trump card, a positive, constructive policy toward companionship and affection between the sexes.[25] This is one of the immediate gains in personal happiness which democracy could show.

To begin with, there is a serious malmixing of mates at the present time which the divorce courts have only begun to unscramble. We place heavy emphasis on a close harmony of interests in choosing a mate, yet are so slow in discovering new mate-finding devices to enable young people to find the right one for them that many begin their marriage too late in life for full safety to the woman's health and have a smaller number of children than they might otherwise have had.[25]

A wise public policy might dictate the appropriation of money for a recreation program of camping, hiking, bicycling, and youth-hosteling which

would facilitate courtship, some kind of organized exchange for making acquaintances between persons of the opposite sex according to personality needs, a marriage counseling service, and a family-life educational program in high schools and colleges.

After all, the family is a cooperative enterprise not only for producing children and satisfying sexual desire, but for satisfying as many as possible of the other values of each partner. As Folsom says, "Obviously a person is happy if his environment, including his spouse, satisfies his desires. We should not be surprised to find a correlation of + 1.00 between an individual's marital happiness and the degree to which his spouse satisfies his total battery of wishes and values. . . . We would expect that greatest happiness would be produced by neither dissimilarity nor similarity of personalities [in itself], but rather by the presence of those precise traits in each spouse which are necessary for the satisfaction of the other." [25]

Because of the importance of knowing how to satisfy and protect the values of the other partner in marriage, it is essential for young people to gain a knowledge of human nature as it unfolds in marriage. Each of them should be guided in developing those qualities and values in himself or herself which tend to serve the values of the partner. Then real cooperative, personality-filling, divorce-avoiding marital life would seem almost possible.

Social Problems.—In the field of social values, one of the most urgent needs is that of greater acceptance of public service as a value. For it is this motive which links people together in a sense of duty and cooperation with their fellows. There is also an under-acceptance or lack of vital social values such as cooperation, entertainment, ceremony and parades, sophistication, and leisure. Of these the last two deserve special comment.

The benefits of leisure have barely been scratched, yet leisure provides the opportunity to develop efficient and well-rounded personalities. With so much specialization in jobs and school training, the proper use of leisure is necessary to achieve bodily and mental symmetry. For at the same time as machines are being invented which perform more and more of human labor, the body and mind are being restricted in their range of activity. Recreation is needed to bring the whole organism into play.

Only in this way can we hold our own in physiological and psychological roundedness. But leisure must also help produce personality types which are congenial to a dynamic culture, lend a higher tone to life, and spur enthusiasm for living, thus determining individual character and national culture.[28]

The fulfillment of these important needs will be possible only if there is wise and adequate foresight and planning. Leisure may otherwise become a liability rather than an asset. For well-rounded bodies and personalities—for a good organism living a good life in a good society—Dr. Eduard C.

Lindeman suggests[28] that a modern government should furnish its people with recreational opportunities which—

Allow for the exercise of the big-muscle system (strenuous games and vigorous trials of strength and endurance):—

Bring into play the accessory muscles (less strenuous but more skilful sports and activities):—

Call for a sharpening of the sense-perceptions (seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and feeling):—

Involve both the larger and the smaller muscle systems (games or activities demanded co-ordinated movements):—

Involve neuro-muscular co-ordinations (movement in space plus attention to rhythm and design):—

Furnish occasions for collaboration and co-operation with others (social recreation):—

Require the manipulation of varieties of materials (arts and crafts):——

Offer enjoyments of discovery (travel, nature study, hiking, camping and amateur science):—

Are intellectually and emotionally satisfying (reading, group discussion, learning):—

Are conducive to quiet contemplation (avoidance of stimulations).

To Dr. Lindeman's list should be added recreational opportunities which stimulate creative effort (problem-solving and the creation of new techniques in hobbies and projects).

Moreover, sophistication, or social know-how, is one of the important underdeveloped values of our culture. The sophisticated person not only knows etiquette and manners, understands people's differing personalities, and displays tact, but also possesses the qualities of leadership. We could begin teaching a course entitled "Social Living" to our children at least from the age of twelve onward, so that they may know both how to lead and how to follow. We hope to produce a generation of persuaders, people who lead by the mind instead of by the nose. This characteristic is exceptionally important in a democracy. The course might include lessons in human nature, etiquette, manners, dancing, leadership, committee work, conversation, American culture, charm, courtship, marriage problems, and family life. In other words, the schools should supplement their practical and specialized training with training for the noncommercial problems of life.

Religious Problems.—We need, more than most of these other things, a new dynamic approach to Christianity. For our religion provides us more than we realize with our fundamental attitudes, our ultimate goals in life. It orients the whole pattern of personality in a unified direction. It can help make our individual-centered society work successfully. It has been the mother of democracy, exalting the preciousness of individual life and human dignity. It has thus been one of the great boons of the past, as it is one of the great hopes of the future.

Like any other profound religious or love feeling, Christianity is capable of producing a tremendous emotional exaltation in the person who is converted. It can reorient his entire life and turn all his values in a single direction. It shares this ability with love. Indeed, many of its sentiments are expressed in the terminology of romantic love.

It preaches self-sacrifice and devotion to the good of one's fellow man. Apparently recognizing the psychological principle that man's exertions are largely dependent on his nearness to the person involved in a situation, Christianity suppresses the self but exalts everyone else to the position of a loved one. In fact, a Christian not only identifies his fellow man's interests with his own, but ignores his own interests and lives for the other man. The system is brilliantly sound in its psychological principles. Its longevity is understandable. For these reasons, Christianity will undoubtedly still be here when this and most other discussions of psychology are gone. It has a tremendous vitality.

Let us summarize the main ideals toward which Christians have striven these twenty centuries. Most of these goals are set forth in the Commandments and in the Sermon on the Mount. Though oversimplified here, they are roughly as follows:

(1) *Conquer all earthly desire.*—That is, overcome temptation.
(2) *Accept earthly suffering.*—"Blessed are they that mourn," "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake."
(3) *Live for your fellow man.*—"Love thy neighbor as I have loved you," and follow the example of the Good Samaritan.
(4) *Prepare for your heavenly reward.*—"Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

We must recognize that Christianity contains probably the most nearly perfect set of ideals attainable by man so far. But it seems that the way in which it has been put across is not nearly so effective. For in all its two thousand years of life it has not yet reached enough hearts or guided enough hands to prevent the horrible massacre of two great world wars. It has found, for instance, only limited favor in Japan. Christian missionaries have been able to convert only one-half of one per cent of the population.

Earlier Christians have shown their ability to spread this great force for good. Why cannot we? Our religion grew more beautiful and appealing around 1650 with the adoption in Alsace of the Christmas tree, which eventually swept the Christian world, and with the introduction of Santa Claus, Christmas carols, candlelight services, and the loveliest choral music ever written. Those who introduced these new presentations of the old message were architects of Christianity. They adorned Christianity to its enormous advantage. Because of them, it drew many more people near enough to become exposed to its deep inspiration.

But the beautiful "packaging" of Christianity which we have learned to love is not necessarily attractive to the Japanese. In fact, it is often presented in ways that are repugnant to them. To refer to Jesus as the "Lamb of God," for instance, sounds to a Japanese ear like calling him "God's dirty rat" would sound to ours. For to them the lamb is a dirty, stupid, cringing animal, and the epithet "lamb" is one of the vilest things they can call an enemy.

Again, to toss a cold, unwrapped coin into a jingling collection plate shows an extreme lack of breeding, as they see it. They do not feel at home in a Western chapel or even in a beautiful Gothic-style church; to them these buildings seem ugly. And they often open a Bible only to find it written in an archaic Japanese they do not understand.

Those missionaries who try to sell Christianity to an Oriental in its standard Western form make the same error as the communists in America make when they try to import and sell their doctrine in its stereotyped, rigid Russian form. They violate the rule of "familiarity," or adapting an idea to the language and values of the prospective convert. The missionaries' messages conflict constantly with the Japanese ideals of hygiene, good manners, and many other values.

George S. Noss, Japanese-born son of American missionaries and himself a missionary in Japan for eleven years, has suggested how some of the Christian ideas might be presented in that country. In the place of "Jesus, the Lamb of God," he would substitute, "Jesus, the Mirror of God," for the mirror is a tremendously meaningful symbol to the Nipponese. Instead of the "blood of the lamb," he would adopt the cherry blossom, already a symbol of the supreme beauty of sacrifice. He would have missionaries build churches in shrine style rather than in Western form, with ceremonial gateways patterned after the Buddhist *torii*. Instead of building the shrines on busy streets, he would have them hidden in groves of trees with *torii* and mossy stone steps, fountains of water, and old flowering shrubs.[96, 61]

The appeal which Christianity can develop for the Japanese—or for any other nationality—depends on its use of psychological rules. These days, a preacher or missionary must be a combination publicity director, big-time

showman, actor, consulting psychiatrist, modern educator, and superpolitician. He must even be able to revive the fascination of Christianity for Americans—a tremendous task in the face of the attractions with which he must compete.

The preacher's and the missionary's job is thus one of the biggest salesmanship challenges of our era. Their success in meeting it will depend in large measure on how well they are supported with encouragement and tangible aid by the members of their churches.

It is worth the struggle. Christianity, presented in a new and more vivid light, may help the whole world—not just the United States—to build a progressing civilization that will not be subject to the rise and fall of distorted empires.

TREASURY SECTION

PART ONE

Analytical Outline of Principles

The following study is based upon Situation Number 1, which is *possible acquisition.*

I. APPEAL

A. ***Value-Situation***

1. Straight situation (possible acquisition or possible avoidance of frustration)
   a. Possible acquisition of value (clearly stated or shown, since all presentations here imply possible acquisition)
      1) Possible acquisition of opportunity to observe, meet, mingle with, and mildly interact with value or possessor of the value
   b. Display or describe the value (may include the means value)
      Parallels of this point in the other situations would be as follows:
      Display or describe the frustratable value (possible frustration)
      Display or describe the value frustrated (frustration)
      Display or describe the value acquired (acquisition)
      Display or describe the value which is possessed (possession)
      Display or describe the value which may be lost (possible loss)
      Display or describe the rescuable value (possible rescue)
      Display or describe the value which was rescued (rescue)
      Display or describe the value lost or destroyed (loss)
      Display or describe the lacked value (lack)
      Each of the presentations to be set forth in this outline has parallels in all, or almost all, of the other situations. However, examples of parallels will be shown only here and there.
   c. Preview of value or its acquisition
   d. Value obtainable for the first time (new)
   e. Prediction of acquisition
   f. Inquiry: Will respondent obtain the value in the future?
   g. Promise of acquisition (where most depends on the willingness of the benefactor, little on the workability of the means; for the latter case, see Acceptance Methods)
   h. Acquisition is still possible (it is not too late)
   i. Only the respondent knows which values might be obtained (by use of the means being suggested)

j. Benefactor may be planning a gift to the beneficiary now
k. Person is in process of determining whether he might obtain value
l. Command or urge the respondent (to use the means) to acquire the value or avoid frustration
m. Possible acquisition of credit (or reputation) for possessing the value
n. Possible acquisition of an opportunity to show possession of the value
o. Challenge to prove possible acquisition
p. Conditional offer of value (in so many words, since a conditional offer is implied in most presentations here; *if* you adopt the means value, you will get the goal)
1) Offer of value or lower cost if part or all of the cost has already been paid
q. Invitation to accept value (unconditional offer)
r. Possible acquisition, possible frustration (stated or shown; in a contest, these two situations are mixed, with greater emphasis on the former)
s. Possible acquisition, possible loss (in conflict)
t. Value regainable
u. Possible last-minute acquisition after (near-) frustration
v. Possible avoidance of frustration (through means)
w. Confession that acquisition is possible
x. Memory of hopes of obtaining the value
y. Inquiry: What would respondent do if he acquired the value?
z. Hopes of acquisition contrasted with fear of frustration

All of these presentations are simply different ways of expressing the same idea—that acquisition is possible. The situation is therefore the same throughout.

2. Supporting aspects (of the situation of possible acquisition)
a. Dramatis personae, properties, setting, time
1) Beneficiary will be—
a) The respondent
i) Respondent will be the beneficiary
ii) Unexpectedly, only respondent can acquire
iii) Respondent too can acquire
iv) Only respondent and select group can acquire (or save on cost)

Parallels of this point in the other situations are as follows:

Only respondent and special group will be frustrated (possible frustration)
Only respondent and special group were frustrated (frustration)
Only respondent and select group acquired the value or saved on cost (acquisition)
Only respondent and select group possess (possession)
Only respondent and special group will lose (possible loss)
Only respondent and select group can rescue (possible rescue)
Only respondent and select group were rescued (rescue)
Only respondent and special group lost (or were charged a higher cost) (loss)
Only respondent and special group lack (lack)

v) Respondent ostensibly barred but is actually able to acquire
vi) Respondent will acquire, but failers say he will also fail in order to enlist his aid

b) Loved ones, friends, identifications, or allies of respondent will acquire
i) Others who will acquire are much like respondent

c) Neutral others will acquire
d) Enemies or competitors of respondent will acquire
e) Stimulator will acquire

2) Benefactor:
a) Display or describe the prospective giver, aider, informer
b) Person claims credit for being prospective benefactor (aided by the means)
c) Allies will help respondent obtain value

3) Instruments: State or show instruments the benefactor expects to use
4) Setting: Display setting in which acquirable value will be obtained or used (describe, indicate, display)
5) Time: Indicate probable time of acquisition
a) Beneficiary will have opportunity to acquire value in the future (provided he complies)

›. Ability of benefactor to give, or inability of hindrances to prevent acquisition
1) Benefactor is able to give
2) Benefactor's or leader's attitude of confidence, good humor, etc. suggests his ability to give or group's ability to get or avoid frustration
3) Offer is made to strong beneficiary
4) Beneficiary is able to obtain value with aid of benefactor
5) Respondent has temporary setbacks, but final acquisition can be brought about

Parallels of this point in the other situations:

Prospective failer may make temporary gains, but final frustration is certain (possible frustration)

Victim made temporary gains, but frustration was certain (frustration)

Respondent had temporary setbacks, but was finally able to bring about acquisition (acquisition)

Prospective loser may make temporary gains, but final loss is certain (possible loss)

Would-be victim has temporary setbacks, but final rescue is certain (possible rescue)

Rescued person made temporary slip-ups, but his (or the rescuer's) ability saved the value (rescue)

Victim had temporary comebacks, but was unable to escape loss in the long run (loss)

6) Obstacles to acquisition are on the verge of defeat
a) While frustrator boasts about what he will do, respondent prepares overwhelmingly destructive blow against him

7) Most frustrations can be avoided (provided the means is used)

c. Cause, reason or justification for acquisition
   1) Independent cause of possible (continued) acquisition stated (can be aided by means)
   2) Independent cause of acquisition (may be) in operation unknown to respondent
   3) Only just acquisition is possible
   4) Possible acquisition justified as reward for past acts
   5) Possible acquisition justified as inducement to future desired acts
   6) Investigation (trial) as to whether acquisition is deserved
   7) Beneficiary, on verge of success, is convinced of justice of his cause
   8) Possible unjust acquisition

d. Respondent's belief in truth, sincerity, or accuracy of total situation as perceived (unaware of being manipulated)

e. Emotion of beneficiary and others as presented in the appeal (not to be confused with the emotion which arises as a result of the appeal)
   1) Excitement, love, greed, gratitude, etc. of prospective beneficiary
   2) Envy, etc. of others who see beneficiary may acquire

f. Beneficiary is determined to find and adopt means of acquiring

B. *Value-Balance*

The various situation presentations have expressed the nature of the situation; here the degree of the situation is set out, heightening the effect of the main presentation

1. Value acquirable (or frustration of which is avoidable) exceeds the cost
   a. Goal, further, and tie-in values are huge
      1) Goal value is great (selected by stimulator for that reason)
      2) Worth of value is so great that everyone should have it
      3) Value now greater than formerly (thought)
      4) Value greater than when other means used
      5) Value gainable will be greater than that acquired by others
         Parallels of this point in other situations:
         Value will be greater than that frustrated from others (possible frustration)
         Frustrated value is greater than that which others failed to obtain (frustration)
         Value won is greater than that acquired by others (acquisition)
         Value possessed is greater than that possessed by others (or they may lack it entirely) (possession)
         Losable value is greater than that which others will lose (possible loss)
         Rescuable value is greater than that which may be saved by others (possible rescue)
         Rescued value is greater than that which others rescued (rescue)
         Lost value is greater than that lost by others (loss)
         Value lacked is greater than that lacked by others (lack)
      6) Value gainable must be great, judging from the high cost paid for it
      7) Value gainable is very scarce or rarely obtained

8) Demand for acquirable value is great
9) Goal value leads to numerous or important further values
   a) Public notice will be obtained if one acquires the value
   b) Value or its would-be acquirer is praised
10) Value gainable plus tie-in values is great (premium, added inducement)
   a) Methods of tie-in:
      Cause-and-effect relationship
      By-product relationship
   b) Justifications for tie-in:
      Functional relation
      Analogy
      Integral relation
      Unrealized or concealed relation
      Universal relation
   c) Timing of tie-in:
      Enduring values used
      Timely values used

b. Cost value is small (this is the loss in every appeal)

Parallels of this point in other situations: In the case of possible acquisition, as with acquisition, possession, possible rescue, and rescue, the pleasant effect of the situation is heightened if the cost is small. But in possible frustration, frustration, possible loss, loss, and lack the situation is felt most acutely if the cost value is great. This is expressed, for instance, in the statement that the victim sacrificed a great cost value in vain, because he lost the goal value anyway.

1) Cost is extremely small, easy, or non-existent
   a) Cost is actually a gain
2) Cost of receiving the solicitation is made smaller
3) Cost value is smaller than when other means used (means lacks the usual disadvantages, costing less than others for that reason)
4) Special reduction of cost possible under certain conditions
5) Ego protected or inflated so it will not be included in cost
6) Cost value worth much less than formerly (thought)
7) Cost value is worthless or never even existed
8) Cost value would be wasted otherwise, might as well use now
9) Cost value small relative to respondent's total resources
10) Cost value not justly or clearly respondent's, so he should be willing to surrender it
11) There will be no additional concealed losses if respondent accepts the means

Goal value exceeds cost value

1) Value gainable exceeds cost
2) Large uncertain gain exceeds small definite cost (gamble)
3) Respondent has nothing to lose: if no gain, no cost; if big gain, small cost (e.g. consignment selling; guarantee, free trial)
4) Risk and possible cost are great but so is possible reward
   a) Cost value would not be surrendered in vain

5) Value can be acquired only by paying reasonable cost

2. Chance: circumstantial likelihood or benefactor's intention
   a. Goal value:
      1) Acquisition of goal value is certain
      2) Benefactor's intention or circumstantial likelihood indicated by past acquisitions (where much depends on benefactor's willingness, not just ability, to give)
         a) Others who doubted benefactor's intention or circumstantial likelihood have acquired goal, so beneficiary will probably acquire also
         b) Small token acquisition shows likelihood of larger acquisition later
      3) Benefactor's intention indicated by his words, appearance or attitude
      4) Benefactor's intention inferred from steps taken toward giving
      5) Benefactor's intention inferred from reason for gift
      6) Benefactor is probably not fooling (though acts gruff)
         a) Possible frustrator may be bluffing
      7) Confusing indications given as to benefactor's intentions
   b. Cost value:
      1) Chances of having to pay the cost are small or negligible
   c. Cost and goal values together:
      1) Respondent has faith that goal value will not be frustrated and cost value wasted by complying
      2) There is no way to retain cost and obtain goal at the same time

C. *Acceptance of Means* (Conviction; this establishes a cause-and-effect link between means and goal values)

1. Automatic acceptance:
   a. Passive provision of means (handy)
      Parallels of this point in other situations:
      Unsatisfactory means passively becomes unavailable (possible frustration, frustration, possible loss, loss, lack)
      Passive provision of satisfactory means (handy) (acquisition, possession, possible rescue, rescue)
   b. Desire to believe in means
2. Stimulator takes burden of convincing respondent:
   a. Passive display of means in juxtaposition with goal (suggesting a cause-and-effect relation)
   b. Affirmation of means
      1) Suggestion of means
      2) Implicit praise of means by stimulator
      3) Reassurance and counseling of faith in means
      Parallels of this point in other situations: In all the agreeable situations the means used will be accepted, but when it brings about or fails to prevent a disagreeable situation, it will be rejected. The cause-and-effect link between the means and goal values is dissolved when the means fails to bring about acquisition or rescue of the goal.

Reassurance and counseling of faith in means (acquisition, possession, possible rescue, rescue)

Warning and counseling of doubt regarding the means (possible frustration, frustration, possible loss, loss, lack)

4) How to acquire the value

5) Promise of acquisition through means (where most depends on whether means works, not on willingness of benefactor)

6) Statement that means is outstandingly effective

a) Statement that means is more effective than other means (comparison)

b) Statement that use of means is better than non-use (comparison)

c. Logic proving that means is effective (include reason why)

1) Anticipation of arguments against means

2) Illogical argument

d. Skill and experience of producer

e. High standards set for means (excellent quality)

1) Care taken in producing or protecting the means

2) Steps being taken to improve the means

Parallels of this point in other situations are as follows:

Steps being taken to improve the means (acquisition, possession, possible rescue, rescue)

Steps being taken to spoil the means (possible frustration, frustration, possible loss, loss, lack)

f. Flexibility of means (adjustable to respondent's requirements)

g. Demonstration of means (for proof, not simplification; for the latter, see Aids to the Appeal)

1) Means shown in action in comparison with other means

2) Demonstration of use compared with non-use of means (include before and after)

3) Present means contrasted with former means

h. Guarantee of means (merely as convincer, where respondent would probably not call for repayment if dissatisfied; otherwise, see Value-Balance)

3. Respondent or others participate in securing proof:

a. Trial of means by prospect (or he looks over detailed description; given, offered, or required; limited time)

b. Sample of means (given, offered to, required from prospect; when used to convince, not just appetize; latter would come under Acquisition —Sample)

c. Official test or expert opinion as to effectiveness of means

d. Testimonial to effectiveness of means by certain others (where most depends on whether means works, not on willingness of benefactor —otherwise under Intention; testimonial in words, since actions come under Demonstration)

1) Straight testimonial that the means has been successfully used

2) Testifier will continue using means

3) Testifier uses means exclusively

4) Respondent should use because of what has happened to non-users

5) Specificness of supporting data (appear based on experience and facts)
6) Stimulator is best example of use of his own product

c. Mass testimonial (universality)
1) Age, growth of, and honors to producer of means (suggests that the means is popular because it works)
Parallels of this point in other situations:
Newness, retrenchment, or abuse against producer of the means (possible frustration, frustration, possible loss, loss, lack—all these situations tend to bring about rejection of the means)
Age, growth of, and honors to producer of means (acquisition, possession, possible rescue, and rescue)
2) Means costs so little because of popularity and mass production necessary to fill demand
3) Individual testimonial is typical (could be mass testimonial)

4. Acceptance of means assumed (now or eventually; bridge-over to Specific Instructions)

D. *Specific Instructions* for Action
(links cost value with means value, and answers these questions of the respondent):

1. How much does it cost?
2. What must I do?
3. When?
4. Where?
5. What do I ask for?
6. How much should I order?
7. Who can use it?
8. Who is making the offer?

II. AIDS TO THE APPEAL

These aids, or *stimulus auxiliary factors,* apply to all the situations, and require no adaptation.

A. *Adequate Perception*

1. Stimulation for perception, plain
2. Perception aids (clarifying, sharpening, and embedding perception)
a. Selecting the audience (reader-listener is intended to be the respondent to the message, though he may not necessarily be the beneficiary or victim of the situation)
1) Addressing the respondent directly by name or designation ("reader," "you," "men," "women," "smokers," "students")
2) Looking directly at respondent
3) Directing questions at the respondent
4) Displaying or mentioning means value or goal value
b. Variety (whether ordinary change, extreme change, or contrast)

1) In Sight
   a) Motion (real or suggested)
   b) Light
   c) Color
   d) Size
   e) Shape, design, physical characteristics
2) Sound
   a) Quality
   b) Pitch
   c) Intensity
   d) Frequency (time-intervals)
3) Touch
   a) Pressure
   b) Cold
   c) Warmth
   d) Pain
4) Taste
   a) Sour
   b) Saline
   c) Bitter
   d) Sweet
5) Smell
   a) Flowery
   b) Fruity
   c) Spicy
   d) Resinous
   e) Putrid
   f) Burned
6) Balance
7) Bodily movement (kinesthesis)
8) Organic functions (somesthesis)
9) Social characteristics of the person
10) Changes among senses

c. Repetition
   1) Recitation (show-how, do-with, show-back)

d. Emphasis
   1) Verbal comments on importance
   2) Short pause preceding the comment
   3) Louder voice
   4) Gesturing and banging the fist on table

e. Primacy-Finality

f. Ease (least effort)
   1) Realism, concreteness
      a) First-hand experience
      b) Imitation (reproduction of original stimul
      c) Motion pictures
      d) Still pictures
      e) Maps, diagrams, blueprints, charts

f) Verbal account (example, book, story)
g) Generalizations
h) Symbols (mathematical; names)

2) Brevity (simplification; bite-size efforts, as made possible by use of chapters, short articles, subheadings, paragraphs, sentences, small columns, pocket-size editions)
a) Names
b) Titles
c) Symbols (flag, trademark, group anthem, salute)
d) Slogans
e) Stereotyped images
f) Outline and review
g) Unity (orderliness, centering, polarization of attention)

3) Pyramiding (on basis of existing knowledge; not necessarily brief nor even faithfully real, but more familiar)
a) Familiarity (meaningfulness, expectedness, analogy, simile, metaphor)
b) Personification, people, life

g. Accuracy-Inaccuracy of data
1) Accurate presentation of data
2) Limitation of information (deception):
a) Fabrication of information
b) Suppression of information (censorship)
c) Distortion of information

B. *General Suggestibility*

1. Non-value suggestibility
a. Liquor and drugs
b. Sense activity and fatigue
c. Hypnotism
1) Post-hypnotic suggestion

2. Value suggestibility (aroused by other value situations and tied into the present situation for greater effect: "emotional coupling"—refer to "tie-ins" under Value-Balance)
a. Stimulator is a value possessor
b. Tie-in with values already aroused

III. NECESSARY CONDITIONS IN RESPONDENT

A. *Ability* (of respondent to react as desired), involving:

1. Intelligence, knowledge
2. Physical capacities
3. Money
4. Time
5. Other values
6. Absence of obstructions

B. *Necessity* (of adjusting to situation as desired)

1. Value involved is a value to the respondent
2. Lacks the value

   This is a necessary condition in cases of possible acquisition, possible frustration, frustration, or acquisition. The reverse is true in situations of possible loss, possible rescue, rescue, or loss, in which the respondent must possess the value at the outset or the situation will have no effect on him.
3. Absence of more urgent value-situations (involving bigger net gain or loss, even when divided by chance)
4. Absence of accepted alternative solutions (that is, no other means available)
5. Absence of conflicting values (because these would increase the cost of adopting the means, and decrease the net gain or saving)

IV. MIXING THE INGREDIENTS

This outline presents a strategic plan which covers step by step the factors which would be handled or taken into consideration in working out an actual psychological campaign built around a given aim. This aim is the course of action which the stimulator wants the respondent to take. To the respondent, it is the means value. To the stimulator, it is the goal.

A. Selection of the precise means value which the stimulator wishes the respondent to accept or reject

B. Willingness and ability of the stimulator to contribute his share in bringing about this response

C. Sequence of considering elements within the complete appeal:
   1. Necessary conditions in the respondent (Elements 1–6 in the 22-element list shown below, under Completeness)
   2. Aids to the appeal (Elements 7–8)
   3. The appeal proper (Elements 9–22)

D. Completeness is probably the most important single rule. All the following 22 elements must be in good working order, for if one is violated or missing it may cripple the entire campaign:

   Conditions in the Respondent:
   1. Necessity of adopting the suggested means—respondent values the incentive presented
   2. Necessity—respondent lacks (or possesses) the value involved in the situation
   3. Necessity—absence of more urgent value situations to be attended to
   4. Necessity—absence of alternative means value for accomplishing the same purpose
   5. Necessity—absence of conflicting values
   6. Ability of the beneficiary (or victim) to respond as desired

   Aids to the Appeal:
   7. Adequate perception
   8. General suggestibility

The Appeal proper:

9. Straight presentation of the situation
10. Dramatis personae specified
11. Instruments used or to be used in performing
12. Setting of the situation
13. Time of the situation
14. Value-Balance (net incentive)
15. Chance, in the respondent's eyes, that the situation did or will occur
16. Acceptance (or rejection) of the proposed means—conviction
17. Ability of the benefactor (or depriver) to carry out the situation
18. Cause, reason, or justification for the situation
19. Belief in accuracy of the stimuli perceived
20. Emotion (when presented as part of the appeal)
21. Intention of the beneficiary (or victim) to respond as desired
22. Specific instructions as to response

E. Choice of numerous or important values as incentives (this arises in arranging the value balance)

F. Gauging the intensity of the appeal:
   a. Summation
   b. Moderation

   Not only the stacking of values in the balance but the use of all the elements is guided by these minimum and maximum limits.

G. Theme of the appeal—it should almost always revolve about the value situation

H. Timing of the presentation:
   a. When respondent regards the incentive as a value
   b. When he lacks (possesses) the value
   c. When there are no more urgent value situations
   d. When there are no alternative means values
   e. When conflicting values are absent
   f. When respondent is able to respond
   g. When perception is not crowded with other stimuli
   h. When suggestible with fatigue, "tipsiness," hynotism, or emotional coupling (tie-ins)
   i. When stimulator is able to contribute his share

I. Sequence of emphasizing members of the value-family. This means one should "work backwards," or begin with the advantages to the respondent:
   a. Incentive values (either tie-in, goal, further, or successive), then
   b. Means value, then
   c. Cost value, then
   d. Incentive value (as a final clincher)

J. Sequence of completely separate appeals:
   a. General suggestibility bridges the gap between appeals
      1) Non-value suggestibility (in which liquor, drugs, fatigue, sense stimulation, or hypnotism precede the appeal)
      2) Value suggestibility (tie-in with a value aroused in one situation paves the way for a stronger appeal in the next situation

PART TWO

Values in the American Way of Life

The *Physical Values* are:

1. Life
2. Health
3. Sleep
4. Energy
5. Sight
    - Beauty
    - Art
    - Painting
    - Architecture
    - Sculpture
    - Ballet
    - Nature
    - Literature (images)
    - Poetry (images)
    - Farm and rural scenes
    - Form
    - Harmony (of lines, colors)
    - Proportion
6. Sound
    - Music
7. Smell
    - Flowers
    - Perfume
8. Taste
9. Touch
    - Temperature maintenance
        - Clothing
        - Shelter
10. Balance
11. Bodily movement (kinesthesis)
    - Rhythm
    - Exercise
12. Organic functions (somesthesis)
13. Food (hunger)
14. Beverages (thirst)
15. Digestion, defecation, and urination
16. Breathing, blood circulation
17. Member of opposite sex
18. Physical attractiveness
    - Fashion
    - Glamour
    - Dress
    - Youth
19. Masculine initiative, feminine passivity and weakness
20. Courtship (dates)
    - Bodily contacts
    - Love songs
    - Dancing
    - Popularity with opposite sex
21. Sweetheart (romance)
22. Engagement
23. Marriage
    - Monogamy
    - Faithfulness
    - Premarital virtue
    - Divorce
24. Sex
    - Passion
    - Birth control
25. Honeymoon
26. Home
27. Family
    - Children and babies
    - Mother
    - Father-Son
28. Housewife and breadwinner
29. Animals, pets

The *Economic Values* are:

1. Money
2. Private property
   - Wealth
3. Profit
4. Thrift
5. Employment
6. Career
7. Vocational training
8. Machines, tools, industry, commerce
9. Mass production
   - Mass markets, free trade, specialization, efficiency
10. Capitalism
11. Free enterprise
12. Farm life
13. Economic utility
14. Ostentatious display
15. Snobbishness
16. Economics

The *Political Values* are:

1. Self
   - Name
   - Birthday
   - Bodily and facial features
   - Biography
2. Group
   - Nation
   - College
   - Homeland
   - Class
   - Family
   - Group history
   - Group traditions
   - Loyalty
   - Patriotism
3. Power
   - Authority
4. Government
   - Law
   - Office
   - Elections
5. High status
   - Title
   - High social status
6. Prestige
7. Public acclaim
   - Publicity
   - Fame
   - Public notice
   - Appreciative audience
   - Good reputation
8. Victory
   - Competition
   - Contests
   - Conflict
   - Conquest
9. Force
   - War
10. Ambition
11. Leadership
    - Organizing ability
12. Aggressiveness
    - Forcefulness
    - Positiveness
13. Strength
    - Sports
    - Size
14. Vitality
15. Courage
    - Heroism
    - Adventure
16. Singleness of purpose
17. Initiative
18. Individuality
19. Self-sufficiency
20. Perseverance
    - Will power
    - Industriousness
21. Optimism
    - Hope
22. Efficiency
23. Resourcefulness
24. Democracy
25. Luck
    - Gambling
    - Magic

The *Social Values* are:

1. Friends
   - Popularity
   - Companionship
2. Friendliness
   - Sociability
   - Hospitality
   - Gregariousness
   - Extroversion
3. Personality
   - Charm
   - Social attractiveness
4. Sophistication
   - Savoir-faire
   - Polish
   - Diplomacy
   - Good manners
   - Etiquette
   - Tact
   - Understanding
   - Ease
5. People
6. Teamwork
   - Cooperation
7. Parades
8. Cheerfulness
   - Smiling
   - Pleasant disposition
9. Spontaneity
10. Entertainment
    - Play
    - Sense of humor
    - Comedy
    - Laughter
    - Jokes
11. Generosity
    - Charity
    - Unselfishness
12. Public service
13. Warm-heartedness
    - Humanity, mercy
    - Kindness
    - Humanness
    - Demonstrativeness
    - Affection
    - Sympathy
14. Fair play
    - Fairness
    - Good sportsmanship
    - Justice
    - Justification
15. Honesty
    - Sincerity
    - Dependability
16. Patronage
17. Ethics

The *Intellectual Values* are:

1. Planning
2. Solutions
3. Knowledge
   - Information
   - Truth
   - Curiosity
   - Oddity
   - Mystery
4. Science
5. News
6. Intelligence
   - Genius
   - Versatility
   - Reasoning
   - Insight
7. Memory
8. Creativeness
   - Imagination
   - Participation
9. Foresight
10. Determinism
11. Practicality
    - Experiment
    - Realism
12. Exchange of ideas
13. Language
    - Good grammar
14. Mental discipline
    - Concentration
15. Precision

16. Education
    Research
    Discovery
    Study
17. Travel
18. Observation
19. Logic

The *Religious Values* are:

1. Religion
2. Christianity
    God
    Jesus Christ
    Holy Ghost
    Holy Bible
    Church
    Preachers
    Virgin birth
    Crucifixion
    Resurrection
    Protestantism
    Catholicism
3. Immortality
    Salvation
    Heaven
4. Suffering and self-denial
    Martyrdom
5. Brotherhood of man
    Equality
    Democracy
    Women's rights
6. Golden Rule
7. Peace
    Meekness
    Non-aggression
8. Morality
    Conformity
    Law-obedience
    Virtue
    Sobriety
    Prudery
    Clear conscience
    Penance
9. Modesty
    Humility
10. Faith
11. Other values mentioned elsewhere (Generosity, Kindness, Mercy, Sympathy, Hope, Family)
12. Reverence
    Worship
    Spirituality
    Piety
    Prayer
    Fleshless love
13. Restraint
    Emotional stability
    Moderation
    Self-control
14. Ceremony
    Ritual
15. Dignity

The *General Values* are:

1. Ego
    Self-esteem
    Pride
2. Time
3. Freedom
    Opportunity
4. Transportation
5. Communication
    Power of speech
6. Personal values
    Hobbies
7. Special values

PART THREE

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