

] 13/69

THE ROLE OF STRAIN IN INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Outline of paper on the empirical analysis of institutional change.

- I. Introduction: Present trends in sociology to interpret large-scale changes in terms of variations in the structuring of "small groups"; limits to this method.
An analysis of inst'l change in terms of changes in belief systems, strains and tensions, and the subsequent repartition of strain.
- II. Description of market institution: structure, ideology, personalities.
- III. Concepts used in description:
 - A) Elements distinguishing individual and institution:
 - 1) Conditions giving rise to required behavior vs. conditions giving rise to actual behavior;
 - 2) Actual vs. required behavior;
 - 3) Actual vs. postulated motives.
 - B) Element linking individuals and institutions conceptually:
 - 1) Ideas as having dual part:
 - a) in institutions as ideology
 - b) in individuals as belief system
- IV. Adjustment to states of strain: repartition of strain and institutional change.
 - A) Concepts of tension and strain, and of repartition of strain.
 - B) Developments in market institution -- repartition of strain in past 25 yrs.

INTRODUCTION

Much recent work in sociology has stressed how motivationally irrelevant for the day-to-day behavior of individuals are symbols of the dominant institutions of complex societies. In place of these symbols, authors such as Shils and Homans find "small groups", in whose contexts individuals carry on the greater part of both their routine and extraordinary activities, to provide the motivational cues needed if socially required activities are in fact to be performed. A focus on face-to-face interaction is a useful and needed orientation, serving to remind us that individuals do not merely act out cultural patterns but conform to them only approximately, and locating, at the same time, in the immediate give-and-take processes of routine interactions, a major source of the divergences from ideals which continually occur.

Yet, with all this, we cannot forget that no dominant institutional system is conceivable which does not, as it were, call upon the ideological loyalties of its participants. Behaviors deemed necessary to the continuance of the institution are considered "good" and, perhaps more important, reasons for behaving in these ways, reasons explicitly formulated in the ideology of the institution, are considered to be no more than obviously true or "common-sense". People are actually motivated

much of the time by these approved pictures of how they ought to be motivated -- which is what, after all, we in part mean by "institutionalized" behaviors -- and if immediate contexts of interaction trigger motivations, actions occur because the chambers have been loaded with basic, instituted beliefs.

Ideas and beliefs -- the ideational or, if more directly ordered, the ideological sphere -- in this manner play a crucial role in the organization of institutions and, by the same token, in ~~the~~ institutional change. Basic alterations in primary institutions are usually marked^d by what many have called states of tension or strain, though the loci of these states are not usually spelled out. We shall propose in this paper that there are two sources of the strain endemic to institutional change, one being strain proper which arises from discrepancies between the actual motives of individuals and the postulated or institutionally approved pictures of motives, and the other being tension which arises from discrepancies between actual behaviors and institutionally required behaviors. Whether or not such states of tension or strain are clearly perceived by people cognitively, they are "felt" by the participants through the thousand and one continually occurring frustrations which such malintegration occasions. People are thus continually "adjusting", though.

more or less blindly, to the states of tension or strain in the links connecting them to an institution, and in this manner adjustment on a large-scale occurs.

But a focus on "small groups" alone will inevitably obscure both the extent and the direction of such adjustments and, by blocking us off from seeing the adjustments, prohibit our analysing their causes, the motivational and behavioral discrepancies which by inducing strain and tension induce adjustmental actions. Within small groups, or more generally, the immediate contexts of interaction, such behaviors as would in a larger view appear to be adjustmental tendencies cannot be distinguished from what is normal variation in people's conforming to institutionally approved motives and behaviors. In order to observe such tendencies we need to take the larger view, for it is only those behavioral variations which are common to many interaction instances and consistent in direction that indicate a process of change rather than merely the variability marking even the stablest of "stable states".

The needed "larger view" is not because necessary easy to come by, however. While few of us doubt that large-scale systems of behavior exist -- that is, that what we do as individuals is to varying extents determined

by institutions and social structures comprehensive in time, place and personnel -- we are frequently at a loss for ways of indicating empirically the actual states of large-scale systems. Because dominant institutions almost invariably make claims on the ideological loyalties of people and because these claims find an expression in stated ideas and beliefs, we can locate where adjustments to strains are occurring by observing them reflected in the statements about acceptable behavior and motives made by those whose lives are bound up with the institutions under review. We propose here to locate strains in this way and to explicate the nature of the connection between strain and institutional change. To give focus to the discussion we shall develop the argument by examining changes in the beliefs about the economy and thus, according to our view, changes in the institutions which organize economic activity.

THE STRUCTURE AND IDEOLOGY OF THE MARKET INSTITUTION

The institutional structure of a market economy, strictly speaking, consists of a set of interlocking markets which effectively organize all economic behavior. There are markets for commodities, as well as for the factors of production, labour and land. All commodities are purchased with the help of incomes derived from the sale of something or other, incomes

being called wages, rent, interest, or profit according to whether what is sold is the use of labour power, of land, of capital, or of entrepreneurial services. This is what is meant by "earning an income", and unless most members of the market society do this, the market mechanism fails to function, production and distribution cease, and the community faces destruction. The main institutional requirement in regard to behavior is, then, that participants shall by selling something "earn an income". Why individuals in fact do this, that is, what are their actual motives for trying to earn incomes, is irrelevant to the behavior being required. We know, however, that the system of private property and the particular system of stratification it gives rise to -- form the main conditions ensuring that actual motives result in the attempt, at least, to earn an income. The institutionally required behavior and the conditions motivating the corresponding actual behavior are then separate in principle.

But market-economy is a dominant institutional system and as such requires from individuals more than mere external conformity, induced by motives and beliefs extraneous to the system. Individual and institution must be linked directly and by ideological bonds. Not only must required and actual behavior -- that of earning a living -- coincide, but so also

to some extent must actual and institutionally pictured motives. Historically, this ideological link was formed through the development of economistic ideas and values; (note on meaning of "economistic".) which entered into both the institutionally approved picture of motives and the individual's value concepts. "Economic man" was, of course, the name given to the approved motivational picture: one ought to act, it held, in a rational and self-interested fashion. The individual's actual motives -- and emotions -- thus became legitimated in so far as they were in this way "economic". From the psychological end the value concept was forged by endowing the biological drive of hunger and the passion for gain with an "economic connotation" which they do not of course inherently possess. In this manner value concepts, which harmonize with the approved motivational picture of the institution's ideology, enter into the individuals' belief systems. By making the now ideologized elements of "hunger" and "gain" part of the approved motivational picture, a connection between psychology and ideology, motive and belief, was provided.

But in our days trade union spokesmen and business representatives, academic theoreticians and labour practitioners alike are emphasizing "non-economic" aspects of industrial organization. The ideological trend

is unmistakably away from a narrowly economic outlook, to a more broadly social and ~~political~~ political one. A new pattern of trade union and managerial organization and policy is coming into being. Underlying this change in tone and policy, if not producing it, are basic changes both in the institutional organization of the economy and in the personalities of those participating in it.

Before remarking these changes, let us review the conceptions employed in the foregoing description since we are concerned here more with method than with content.

CONCEPTS IN THE ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

/R Out general view is that discrepancies between personality factors as represented by the characteristics of individuals participating in an institution, and those factors as formalized on the part of the institution in question offer an avenue for an understanding of significant institutional change. Five assumptions describe the general orientation towards matters of change consequent upon this view:

(a) The factors of change can be grouped according to whether they are primarily bound up with the structure of the institution or primarily work through the individuals as such, in other words, whether a particular change "originates", as it were, with the institution or with the individuals;

(b) In either case, divergence between the actual behavior and the institutionally required behavior of the individuals occurs;

(c) Usually this will be accompanied by a more basic divergence, one between the actual motives of individuals and the institutionally postulated motives;

(d) Through various "adjustments", states of strain or tension react back upon both the personality organization of the individuals and the social structures of the institution and may effect a "repartition" of the strain;

(e) It is possible to locate these divergences between the actual and the ideal through examining those "adjustments" as these are mirrored in changes in people's ideas and beliefs about motives and behavior.

(f) Statement or connection between strain and change -

So much for the orientation supporting the method. Part and parcel of it are several conceptions three of which effect a distinction between institutions and individuals while the fourth describes the type of link connecting them one to another.

Above, in describing the institutional structure of a market economy, we stressed the separation in principle of institutional and motivational factors. This separation is carried out through three conceptual distinctions.

The first distinction is that between behavior which is "required" by the institution and that which actually occurs. For the market-economy, earning an income is an activity required of participants; in point of fact, only some proportion, however high it may be, actually do earn an income, others being either unwilling to offer something for sale or unable to sell it. So common a conceptual distinction needs little comment here, the only point upon which misunderstanding might occur being the sense in which "required" is meant. Here "required" refers to behaviors which are necessary to the institution both by definition and culturally, in that participants believe they should engage in them. When actual and required behaviors are substantially divergent, as when widespread unemployment occurs, we will speak of "tension" as characterizing the connection between individual and institution, for clearly many are not behaving in the "required" way.*

* The physical locus of such a state, if it can be said to have one, is of course "in the individuals"; at least that is where its consequences are empirically manifested, so that we can establish the existence of tension states by the simple device of seeing to what extent people behave as they themselves say they ought to, the "ought" mode of expressing things being far more indicative of institutional qualities than of peculiarly personal ones.

Also, tension states need not result from or even be accompanied by discrepancies between actual and required motives -- market economy

depressions have always been marked by a high proportion of people who correctly, according to the ideology, endeavored in their own self-interest rationally to earn an income but ^{or} failed to. But such states are not here of interest because without the motivational discrepancy they do not form an integral part of basic institutional changes. Only when they result from or give rise to a substantial discrepancy between required and actual behaviors of ^{are they} especial importance to processes of change.

The second distinction is between the conditions giving rise to institutionally required behavior and the conditions giving rise to actual behavior. These two sets of conditions are always logically independent and are usually empirically so, the only exception being the rare cases of actual systems of behavior which are both internally consistent and "closed", i.e., immune to seemingly disruptive variations in non-system factors. No institution of complex societies ever even approximates being empirically closed since it is invariably only a part of any society, however dominant a part it may be. Thus the institution of the market requires that people earn incomes through selling something or other. The institution itself constitutes the conditions giving rise to this behavior being "required". But it does not also provide all or even the main motives which lead people in fact to endeavor to earn incomes. Instead the conditions inducing the

presence of the actual motives for such behavior are found usually in the congruent but distinct systems of property and class rather than in the market itself. This distinction, between the determinants of what actions are required and the determinants of what actions are in fact performed, both proscribes any teleological explanation of changes, whether in the guise of an optimistic "progressive evolution" or in that of a pessimistic "decline and fall", and permits an exact location of the dynamics of institutional change.

The third distinction implied by the separation of institutional and individual factors is that between institutionally approved motives and the actual motives of individuals. When these are discrepant, we will speak of a state of strain as characterizing the connection between individual and institution. Actual motives are motives of individuals, while postulated motives are not psychologically dynamic at all, except derivatively, but are only conventionalized pictures of actual motives. Approved pictures of this sort are institution-centered, i.e., they are adjusted to the meaning and purpose of the institution in question. Thus, they are ideological and not psychological facts. Actual motives are ascertained either by observation or by direct experience, while postulated motives

are not, primarily, motives at all but rather postulates made in regard to motives. They refer to actual motives only in the way legal ideologies refer to human behavior, namely, irrespective of the chances of occurrence. Thus people engage in work for any number of actual motives, while the common-sense (i.e., institutionally approved) explanation is that they work "in order to eat". Actual motives, as seen from the institution's viewpoint, as it were, form a fluctuating, unstable complex in its environment; they are "psychological". Postulated motives are frozen into an approved motivational picture which is a part of the institution; they are "ideological". The individual depends upon the presence of a postulated motivational picture for his capacity to develop institutional links, a dependence which holds good whether the picture is "accepted" by the individual as valid or is rejected, for even a "rejected" motivational picture operated, by serving as a point of reference, to help organize the institutional aspects of personality.

Note, however, that what with respect to any given institution are only actual motives may and usually do correspond to the postulated motives of other institutions. This does not alter the character of the motive as merely "actual" in regard to the institution in question, though it does require us to distinguish further, as it were, in the other direction,

between ~~behavioral~~ motives (or behaviors) appropriate to a given institution and motives (or behavior) which are generally appropriate, such as in our culture "being honest". The first point implies a type of connection among institutions which occurs because individuals participate serially if not simultaneously in several institutions, and this we will shortly turn to. The second requires that we restrict our attention to the behavioral and motivational postulates of a given institution in order to convert the normal fact of some malintegration into the major source of institutional change.

By these three main distinctions do we separate institutional and individual factors. But if they are in these ways independent, institution and individual are in others closely connected.

Institutional determination of the individual is effective in two different ways, though not to the same extent. First, required behavior must conform to the demands of the mechanism of the institution; second, postulated motives because of ideology underlying the motivational picture, should not conflict with meaning and purpose of the institution. Required behavior, as one would expect, is to a higher degree than postulated motive institutionally determined, not because of any "necessity" but because behavioral deviance is more easily seen than is motivational deviance,

and so is more successfully controlled. Nevertheless, the links connecting actual and postulated motives are to some extent dependent upon the institution. The picturing of approved motives is, of course, part of the ideology of the institution, and is to this extent institutionally determined. The effectiveness of the ideational gear, however, requires an identity between at least some elements in the approved motivational picture and some of the individual's value concepts. The approved motivational picture must, then, be to some extent a true rendering of the ~~the~~ value concepts of the individual, for unless it is, the gear will not clutch. But such an identity of elements can obtain only if the psychological factors which are immediately behind the individual's participation in the working of the institution are structured in part by the ideas and beliefs forming the institution's ideological aspects and harmonizing with the meaning and purpose of the institution.

Thus, some of the same ideas are elements in both the institution's ideology and the individual's operating psychology. In this sense, the main link, at least conceptually if not dynamically, connecting up institution and individual is the historically given set of ideas and values which enters into both actual and postulated motives. The fusing

of ideas and values with drives and emotions is a psychological process out of which come actual motives and, in conjunction with immediate situations, actual behaviors. The forming or expressing of an institutions' meanings or purposes by ideas is an ideological process out of which come pictures of approved motives and behaviors. Thus the ideational sphere is linked to individual and institution, through psychological and ideological ties, respectively, and, by the same token, this sphere links up individual and institution.*

* Ideas and values should in the present context be regarded as "given" in the sense of not having been ~~brought~~ brought into being either by the institution in question or by the concrete individuals being free to select from them according to need. This does not, of course, preclude technological or materialistic determinants of the ideas and values themselves; it only precludes a discussion of any determinants within the present essay. And, of course, actual changes in the set of historically available ideas and values when they occur can have decisive consequences for meaning and purpose of institutions and for culturally determined or formed drives and emotions. Actual and postulated motives are likely under such circumstances to diverge considerably, if only for a brief period, the strain thus generated giving rise to far reaching social changes. The present inquiry is restricted, however, to the more general case where no change in available ideas and values has occurred prior to the incidence of strain.

Such a picturing of approved motives and behaviors forms a "trait" of the institution in question, a type of trait which, however, may be more or less outstanding according to the type of institution under review. Associations tend by nature to be ideological, while market-oriented economic establishments tend to be less so. No one is supposed

to join a political party for reasons entirely unconnected with the meaning and purpose of political parties as such. Chain stores, on the other hand, are relatively indifferent to their customers' ideological motives, as, for example, their approval or disapproval of chain stores on principle. However, though many intermediate gradations are possible, no dominant institutional system is conceivable in society which would not to some extent call upon the ideological loyalty of the participants.

In any case, when substantial discrepancies occur between actual and postulated motives or behaviors these should become manifested through changes occurring in the ideas and values which legitimate both individual motives and institutional structure.

ADJUSTMENT TO STRAIN AND TENSION: THE REPARTITION OF STRAIN AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE .

Discrepancy between actual and postulated motives results, by definition, in strain. In slightly different words, strain is induced by a disharmony between the individual's psychology and the ideology of the institution under definite circumstances. Essentially it is explained by the dual role played by ideas and values in society. They serve as a gear connecting individual and institution. Value concepts at the individual's end, approved motivational picture at the institutional end form the gear.

From the sociological angle the approved motivational picture is, as we said, no more than an institutional trait; its function is to organize the value concepts of the individual along ideological lines. The induced strain, whether originating with the individual or the institution, results initially in either psychological or ideological adjustment and eventually in both, that is, in institutional change.

Let us point out some connections which operate between the different origins of strain, adjustment through repartitioning of strain, and lasting reduction of strain through change.

Strain may originate from two sides. The institution may be serving its purpose less adequately than before (institutional factor), or the strain may spring from a weakening of the actual motives of the participants (motivational factor) owing to conditions which are independent of the institutional factor.

Adjustment to increased strain, too, may happen primarily on the side of the institution, or on the side of the individual. In either case adjustment is sought by *(a repartition of strain)*.

With the individual, strain is repartitioned as between the *physiological*, psychological and ideational components of his personality. This is a problem primarily for the psychologist or social *psychologist*.

With the institution strain is also repartitioned as between its component parts, such as physical equipemtn, human personnel, meaning and purpose. This is a sociologist's problem.

Moreover, the strain tends to spread beyond its original seat to contiguous institutions. Greatly increased strain in a dominant institution, must therefore, affect the whole of society, with secondary institutions acting as shock absorbers. The dominant institution may in this way be sheltered from the necessity of basic change but only at the cost, paid by society as a whole, of major changes in minor institutions.

Such a repartition of strain as between dominant and secondary institutions forms part of the process of adjustment in which the total institutional system may undergo partial change.

Now, the market system derives its strength from two different sources; ^{institutionally,} from the degree of stability and completeness with which employment, use of resources, standard of life, are attained on the one hand; ^{motivationally,} from the relative absence of strain with which hunger and gain as actual determinants result in 'endeavour to earn an income', on the other.

Market- economy, therefore, may be put under a strain from either the institutional or the motivational side. In the first case, by failure of the system to serve its purpose; in the second by the actual motives

of hunger and gain losing their effectiveness to produce the required behavior. This ^{again,} may be the result of changes in motivational conditions such as 'Beveridge plans' affecting pressure for wages on the one hand, or high taxation affecting the lure of profits on the other.

Actually, the effectiveness of market-economy as an institutional system has not too long ago been challenged from both angles:- Institutional inadequacy may be seen in the occurrence of mass-unemployment, unused resources, lack of security of tenure, growth of monopoly, and so on. Motivational changes, as referred to above, may weaken the determinants 'hunger' and 'gain'. Social legislation and relief policies may have blunted the edge of hunger, while high taxation may have dampened the keenness of the hunt for gain.

The strain thus generated results in a redistribution of total strain.

In so far as the dominant institution of market-economy is concerned, the burden of adjustment falls on postulated motives. The reason for this is that the required behavior of 'endeavouring to earn an income' is rigidly demanded by the market-mechanism so that the burden of adjustment is shifted to the ideological factor.

Some of this pressure is however, effectively passed on to secondary institutions such as Trade Unions on the one hand, and labour management

set-ups on the other. It is in this organizational and policy field of labour-management relations that the ideological shift is most noticeable.

With employers, whose actual motives for 'endeavouring to earn an income' are weakened by the lessened prospect of gain, we may find the psychological determinants reinforced by incentives of prestige, power, status, public obligation, managerial jurisdiction, and other social value concepts of a managerial order. This line of adjustment is noticeable at present also in the employers' tendency to improve labour-management relations within the enterprise.

With the employees, weakening of actual motives to 'endeavour to earn an income' is less definitely accompanied by a reinforcement of corresponding motives to work. Maybe, the aim of achieving an improved social status through increased earnings may have such an effect. The main result of the shift lies, in this case, in the subsidiary fields of Trade Union policy and labour-management relations. The weakening of 'economic' incentives causes here an all-round strengthening of social value concepts. Whether these are expressed in a tendency to draw closer to the managerial side or, on the contrary in pension schemes and reinforced employees' solidarity - in either case there is a shift away from purely economic to social motivational pictures and corresponding value-concepts.

CONCLUSION

'Psychology' and 'ideology' have been treated in this paper as basically determined by independent factors, though they have also been found in the case of institutions to be connected by an ideational gear, capable of transmitting strain arising out of a discrepancy between them. Tension between actual and institutionally postulated motives thus leads to adjustment and, eventually, change.

By centering the argument on the ideology attached to a definite institution and relating it to psychological determinants in regard to that institution, interaction of 'psychology' and 'ideology' has been brought, it is hoped, within the purview of observation and, conceivably, experimentation.
 (Small groups)

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PHOTOCOPIED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17 U.S.C. 108

This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

PSYCHOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY IN INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Actual and Postulated Motives

This paper deals with a definite type of connection between the psychological and the ideological factor in institutional change. Attention is focused on discrepancy between actual motives of individuals participating in an institution and their motives as postulated on the part of the institution in question. The tension entailed in such a discrepancy offers the main avenue for an understanding of significant institutional change. This is the proposition of the paper.

For an approach to the general problem of psychology and ideology the method here employed relies on the device of restricting investigation to the microcosm of the institution.

1. The Approach.

Let us take the following example of change arising in an institutional field with which we are all familiar, namely, the market economy:

Trade Union spokesmen and business representatives, academic theoreticians and labour practitioners alike tend in our days to emphasise the importance of the non-economic aspects of industrial organization. The practical implications may be very different with employers and employees. But the general trend is unmistakably away from a narrowly economic outlook, to a more broadly social and political one. A new pattern of trade union and managerial organization and policy is coming into being.

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17 U.S. CODE
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

(4)
- 2 -

Underlying this change of tone and policy there is, it may be assumed, an even more comprehensive change affecting both the institution of market economy and the individuals participating in it. The institutional structure of market economy is clear and simple:- It is an organization of the whole economy through interlocking markets. There are markets for commodities, as well as for the factors of production, labour and land. All commodities are purchased with the help of incomes derived from the sale of something or other. The income is called wages, rent, interest or profit according to whether what is sold is the use of labour power, of land, of capital, or of entrepreneurial services. This what is meant by 'earning an income', and unless all members of the market society endeavour to do so the market mechanism could not function, production and distribution would cease, and the community would be faced with destruction.

What are, in general terms, the factors which here determine comprehensive change? And how can the consequent shift from an economic outlook towards a social outlook be represented in such terms? We shall deal with these questions separately.

Our thesis implies that the shift can be described in terms of a tension existing between the actual motives of the individuals participating in the market economy (a psychological fact), and their motives as postulated by the market economy as an institution (an ideological fact).

Such an approach implies (a) that the factors of change can be

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW (TITLE 17, U.S. CODE)
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 3 -

grouped according to whether (they are strictly bound up with the institution itself (institutional factors), or whether they primarily work through the individuals as such (motivational factors), in other words, whether) the change originates 'with the institution' or 'with the individuals'; (b) that the underlying comprehensive change may create a divergence between the actual behaviour and the required behaviour of the individuals; (c) that it is possible to isolate in that overt divergence a definite element consisting of the tension between actual motives and institutionally postulated motives; (d) that it is, in principle, possible to trace the manner in which this tension affects the individuals and the institution.

The first proposition implies merely the conceptual distinction between requirements of the institution in regard to the behaviour of individuals (requirements of the institution), and conditions existing in society which ensure that that particular behaviour of individuals be forthcoming (motivating conditions). The logical independence of required behaviour from the psychological determinants of actual behaviour makes this separation possible. Such independence is the expression of the fact that while required behaviour must conform to the demands of the mechanism of the institution, the psychological determinants of actual behaviour arise in the individual and spring primarily from his general conditions of existence.

The second proposition hinges on the distinction between actual and required behaviour (cf. Section 2)

The third, on the distinction between actual motives and

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PHOTOCOPIED
BY ANYONE FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY

This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 4 -

institutionally postulated motives (cf. Section 2).

The fourth requires elucidation with regard to the nature of the various discrepancies as applied to the relations of individual and institution. The term discrepancy is here made to cover divergence, tension and strain in the following senses: divergence is employed in regard to the discrepancy of actual and required behaviour; tension is used to denote discrepancy of actual and institutionally postulated motives; and strain is used to describe the discrepant effects which either divergence or tension or other causes, have on individual or institution. Since both are assumed to comprise physical, bio-psychological and ideational elements the term strain is here used to cover widely disparate empirical phenomena (cf. Section 7).

In order to insulate our problem certain dependencies between individuals and institutions have been deliberately neglected or ignored. e.g. individuals who participate in a definite institution have been contrasted to the institution itself, while ignoring the fact that the personnel of some establishments, the members of some associations, the attendants of still other institutions form an essential part of those institutions, and can not, therefore, be neglected without thereby restricting the range of the phenomena to which the results attained by such a method of approach can be applied. This disadvantage, it is hoped, is outweighed by the advantages of the method.

Let us proceed to the discussion of terms and to a brief description of the conditions to which they refer.

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW - TITLE 17, U.S. CODE
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 5 -

2. Motive and Behaviour.

Motive stands here for bio-psychological or, briefly, 'psychological' determinants of behaviour. Such psychological determinants may be actual or merely postulated by a definite institution in which the individual participates. That motives may be, and as a rule are, referable to other institutions than the one in question, does not alter the character of the motive as merely 'actual' in regard to that institution.

Institutionally approved (or required, or postulated) behaviour is strictly to be distinguished from culturally approved (or required, or postulated) behaviour, which is approved by 'people in general'. Such culturally approved behaviour patterns are, in their aggregate, only another name for the totality of society as a going concern - consequently they can not, by definition, serve to explain change.

Actual motives are motives of individuals, while postulated motives are conventionalized pictures of such motives. Approved pictures of this sort are institution-centred, i.e. they are adjusted to the meaning and purpose of the institution in question. They are ideological, not psychological, facts.

While actual and required behaviour are similar in kind - the former is, in principle, expressible as a percentage of the latter - actual and postulated motives are not. Actual motives are ascertained either by observation or by direct experience, while postulated motives are not, primarily, motives at all, but rather postulates made in regard to motives. They refer to motives only in the way legal ideologies refer to human behaviour, i.e. irrespective of the

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW (TITLE 17, U.S. CODE)

This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 8 -

chances of its occurrence.

For the sociologist, such postulates form a 'trait' of the institution in question. This 'trait' need not in all cases be equally pronounced. Associations tend by nature to be 'ideological' while economic establishments tend to be less so. No one is expected to join a political party for reasons entirely unconnected with the meaning and purpose of that party. Chain stores, on the other hand, are relatively indifferent to their customer's ideological motives, as e.g. their approval or disapproval of chain stores on principle. However, though many intermediate gradations are possible, no dominant institutional system is conceivable in society which would not to some extent call upon the ideological loyalty of the participants.

3. Psychology, Ideology, Ideas and Values.

Ideas and values enter into both actual and postulated motives. The fusing of ideas and values with drives and emotions is a psychological process; their merging with meaning and purpose of an institution is an ideological process. Thus the domain of historically given ideas and values - the ideational sphere - is linked through psychological and ideological ties with individual and institution, respectively.

In the case of the individual, ideas and values merge with other psychological determinants and create value concepts; in the case of the institution they fuse with meaning and purpose, thus producing an approved motivational picture.

It is suggested that ideas and values should in this context be regarded as 'given' in the sense of not having been brought into being

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW (TITLE 17, U.S. CODE)
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 7 -

either by the institution in question or by the concrete individuals participating in it. They are simply 'available' that is, institutions and individuals are free to select from them according to the need.*

Actual changes in the set of historically available ideas and values can be ignored in this context, though when such changes occur, they may have a decisive influence on meaning and purpose of institutions on the one hand, culturally determined drives and emotions of individuals, on the other. Actual and postulated motives may, under such circumstances, for a brief period, diverge greatly, and the strain thus generated may give rise to far reaching changes in society. The present inquiry is restricted to the more normal case, where no change in available ideas and values has occurred.

4. Tension between actual and postulated motives.

Discrepancy between actual and postulated motives is accompanied by tension. It springs from lack of harmony between the individual's psychology and the ideology of the institution under definite circumstances.

The nature of the tension need not here be analysed. Essentially it is explained by the dual role played by ideas and values in society. They serve as a gear connecting individual and institution. Value concepts at the individual's end, approved motivational picture at the institutional end form part of the gear.

*

This does not exclude technological or 'materialistic' determinants in regard to the ideas and values themselves.

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PHOTOCOPIED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17 U.S.C. 108

This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 8 -

(PRINTER: Insert graph)

From the sociological angle the approved motivational picture is, as we said, no more than an institutional 'trait'; its function is to organize the value concepts of the individual along ideological lines. The strain, whether originating with the individual or the institution, results either in psychological or in ideological adjustment or both, usually resulting in institutional change. (See Section 7).

Actual motives form a fluctuating, unstable complex; they are 'psychological'. Postulated motives are frozen into an approved or validated motivational picture; they are 'ideological'.

The ideology emanates from the institution and is vital to its existence and functioning. The individual depends upon the presence of a postulated motivational picture for his capacity to develop institutional links. This holds good whether the picture is 'accepted' by the individual as valid or not. Even a 'rejected' motivational picture can serve in this way, as a socializing force, by assisting the individual to organize the institutional aspects of his personality.

5. Institutional determination in regard to behaviour and motive

Institutional determination of the individual is effective in two different ways, though not to the same extent. First, in regard to required behaviour, which must conform to the demands of the mechanism of the institution; secondly, in regard to postulated motives, since the ideology underlying the motivational picture should not conflict with meaning and purpose of the institution. Required behaviour, as one would expect, is to a higher degree than postulated motive, institutionally determined.

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17 U.S. CODE

This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

(4)
- 9 -

But the links which connect actual and postulated motives are also, to some extent, dependent upon the institution. The approved motivational picture is, of course, part of the ideology of the institution, and is institutionally determined. But the effectiveness of the ideational gear requires identity of at least some elements comprised in the approved motivational picture on the one hand, and the individual's value concepts on the other. For the approved motivational picture must be to some extent a rendering of the value concepts of the individual. Unless this is so, the gear will not clutch. But such identity of elements can obtain only if the psychological factors which are behind the individual's participation in the working of the institution are geared with the help of definite ideas and values to ideological factors harmonizing with the meaning and purpose of the institution. The links of the motivational chain are, in different ways and to a different degree, determined in both directions.

6. Application to market economy.

The separation of institutional and motivational factors under a market economy is clear and incisive. The institutional requirement in regard to behaviour is here that participants shall, by offering something for sale, 'endeavour' to earn an income'. This demand arises imperatively from the needs of the mechanism of a market-economy. The individual's actual motive for doing so is, in effect, irrelevant; institutional requirements and motivating conditions are here, in principle, separate. The motivating conditions which ensure that

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW (TITLE 17 U.S. CODE)
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 10 -

actual motives result in an 'endeavour to earn an income' are given by institutions of the property system and the social stratification inherent in it - conditions which are logically independent of the mechanism of markets.

But market-economy is a dominant institutional system and as such requires from the individual's behaviour more than a mere external conformity. A market economy implies a market society, the very existence of which is dependent upon the functioning of the institutional system of markets. In these conditions individual and institution must be linked by strong ideological bands.

Historically, this ideological link was formed by the use of economic ideas and values. These entered into the approved motivational picture on the one hand, and the individual's value concepts on the other. 'Economic man' was the name given to the approved motivational picture. The individual's actual motives - drives and emotions - were validated as 'economic'.

From the psychological and the value concept was forged by endowing the biological drive of hunger and the passion for gain with an 'economic connotation' which they did not inherently possess. In this manner the value concepts were introduced into the individual's psychology which harmonized with the approved motivational picture conforming to the institution's ideology. Thus, by making the (now ideologized) elements of 'hunger' and 'gain' part of the approved motivational picture, a connection between psychology and ideology was provided along which strain could operate.*

- * The term 'economic' as currently used is ambiguous. It may imply not relation to material goods at all, but to scarcity concepts such as rationality in the use of means, optima, surplus, or other formal concepts, properly subsumed under 'economical'. Fusion, and confusion, of these two logically independent sources of validation is characteristic of the current use of 'economic'.

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PHOTOCOPIED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17 U.S.C. 108
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

(4)
- 11 -

7. Strain, adjustment and institutional change.

Let us point out some connections which operate between the different origins of strain, adjustment through repartitioning of strain, and lasting reduction of strain through change.

Strain may originate from two sides. The institution may be serving its purpose less adequately than before (institutional factor), or the strain may spring from a weakening of the actual motives of the participants (motivational factor) owing to conditions which are independent of the institutional factor.

Adjustment to increased strain, too, may happen primarily on the side of the institution, or on the side of the individual. In either case adjustment is sought by a repartition of strain.

Eventually, change may reduce strain permanently. It would be expected to occur in the direction where strain is greatest or resistance to change least.

With the individual, strain is repartitioned as between the physiological, psychological and ideational components of his personality. This is a problem primarily for the psychologist.

With the institution strain is also repartitioned as between its component parts, such as physical equipment, human personnel, meaning and purpose. This is a sociologist's problem.

Moreover, the strain tends to spread beyond its original seat to contiguous institutions. Greatly increased strain in a dominant institution, must therefore, affect the whole of society, with secondary institutions acting as shock absorbers. The dominant institution may in this way be sheltered from the necessity of change at the price of major changes in minor institutions.

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17, U.S. CODE
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 12 -

Such a repartition of strain as between dominant and secondary institutions forms part of the process of adjustment in which the total institutional system may undergo partial change.

8. Application: The shift from economic to broadly social motivations.

This provides an instance of a shift in ideology affecting both the individual's value concepts and the approved motivational pictures.

The market system derives its strength from two different sources; from the degree of stability and completeness with which employment, use of resources, standard of life, are attained on the one hand; from the relative absence of strain with which hunger and gain as actual determinants result in 'endeavour to earn an income', on the other.

Market-economy, therefore, may be put under a strain from either the institutional or the motivational side. In the first case, by failure of the system to serve its purpose; in the second by the actual motives of hunger and gain losing their effectiveness to produce the required behaviour. This may be the result of changes in motivational conditions such as 'Beveridge plans' affecting pressure for wages on the one hand, or high taxation affecting the lure of profits on the other.

Actually, the effectiveness of market-economy as an institutional system has recently been challenged from both angles:-
Institutional inadequacy may be seen in the occurrence of mass-unemployment, unused resources, lack of security of tenure, growth of monopoly, and so on. Motivational changes, as referred to above, may weaken the determinants 'hunger' and 'gain'. Social legislation and

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PHOTOCOPIED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17 U.S.C. 108
This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

(4)
- 13 -

relief policies may have blunted the edge of hunger, while high taxation may have dampened the keenness of the hunt for gain,

The strain thus generated results in a redistribution of total strain.

In so far as the dominant institution of market-economy is concerned, the burden of adjustment falls on postulated motives. The reason for this is that the required behaviour of 'endeavouring to earn an income' is rigidly demanded by the market-mechanism so that the burden of adjustment is shifted to the ideological factor.

Some of the pressure, however, is effectively passed on to secondary institutions such as Trade Unions on the one hand, and labour management set-ups on the other. It is in this organizational and policy field of labour-management relations that the ideological shift is most noticeable.

With employers, whose actual motives for 'endeavouring to earn an income' are weakened by the lessened prospect of gain, we may find the psychological determinants reinforced by incentives of prestige, power, status, public obligation, managerial jurisdiction, and other social value concepts of a managerial order. This line of adjustment is noticeable at present also in the employers' tendency to improve labour-management relations within the enterprise.

With the employees, weakening of actual motives to 'endeavour to earn an income' is less definitely accompanied by a reinforcement of corresponding motives to work. Maybe, the aim of achieving an improved social status through increased earnings may have such an effect. The main result of the shift lies, in this case, in the subsidiary fields of Trade Union policy and labour-management relations. The weakening of 'economic' incentives causes here an

THIS IS A PHOTOCOPY OF ORIGINAL MATERIALS
IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED
BY COPYRIGHT LAW TITLE 17 U.S.C. 1008

This photocopy must be returned to the Rare Book
and Manuscript Library (801 Butler Library) at the
completion of the reader's use.

- 14 -

all-round strengthening of social value concepts. Whether these are expressed in a tendency to draw closer to the managerial side or, on the contrary in pension schemes and reinforced employees' solidarity - in either case there is a shift away from purely economic to social motivational pictures and corresponding value-concepts.

9. Conclusion.

'Psychology' and 'ideology' have been treated in this paper as basically determined by independent factors, though they have also been found in the case of institutions to be connected by an ideational gear, capable of transmitting strain arising out of a discrepancy between them. Tension between actual and institutionally postulated motives thus leads to adjustment and, eventually, change.

By centering the argument on the ideology attached to a definite institution and relating it to psychological determinants in regard to that institution, interaction of 'psychology' and 'ideology' has been brought, it is hoped, within the purview of observation and, conceivably, experimentation.