

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MAGAZINE BIOGRAPHIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE;  
A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE

by

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## CHAPTER I

### SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE

#### Introduction

One of the major concepts in modern sociology is the concept of social and cultural change. In many sociological analyses these terms are used as one general concept. However some social scientists prefer to discriminate between the two terms. Robin M. Williams, Jr. explains that cultural change "has to do with changes in systems of ideas of various kinds, in beliefs, in values and norms; included also in this category are changes in the technical apparatus used for dealing with the physical world. On the other hand, social change refers to shifts in the ongoing interaction patterns of person-to-person relationships." (1, pp. 567-568)

John Eric Nordskog uses the two terms more interchangeably in his definition. (2, p. 1) "Everything in man's culture is subject to change, a process which may be referred to as social change or cultural change, or as a combination of social and cultural change. ... The term 'social change' is relatively simple, although as a sociological concept it is especially comprehensive. Social change means simply the process of becoming different in any sense."

Some early theories attempted to account for this social and cultural change on the basis of one factor. However most social scientists today feel that we cannot account for all social change with this type of theory. "It is a major gain, ... that we can now definitely discount all theories

reducing the explanation of social and cultural change to a single factor." (1, p. 568)

Thus in order to learn about social change, we must study the various general factors or areas involved in change, what effects are derived from change, and how it is manifested and recorded in a society. One of these general factors or areas thought to be involved in social change is the area of literature. In recent years many studies in the sociology of literature have been concerned with the concept of social change. Most of the sociologists involved in studying the sociology of literature agree that social change and literature have an important relationship but they do not agree on just what this relationship is.

Milton C. Albrecht has presented a summary and critical examination of what he considers the characteristic viewpoints and theories of studies in the sociology of literature. (3) He points out three main hypotheses given in these studies. The first is that literature reflects society and the second is its supposed converse, that literature influences society. The third hypothesis is that literature "functions socially to maintain and stabilize the social order." (3, p. 425) This is known as the social control theory. Albrecht says, in discussing the reflection hypothesis that this idea is at least as old as Plato's concept of imitation and that systematic application of the idea appeared about a century and a half ago. He gives four major forms in which the reflection hypothesis has been applied. "Probably the commonest conception has been that literature reflects predominantly the significant values and norms of a culture." (3, p. 426)

A second form in which it has been applied is the concept that reflection reveals the essential world outlook of a culture. "By students of culture, literature and other arts have been used as reflections of the



fundamental reality of a culture, variously called 'culture mentality,' or 'Weltanschauung,' 'spiritual principle,' or 'soul,' and of the different stages in the development of a culture." (3, p. 427)

"Another version of reflection derives from the dialectical materialism of Marx and his followers, who select the economic system rather than the ethos or soul as the independent variable." (3, p. 428)

The fourth form in which the reflection hypothesis has been used is the reflection of social facts. "Within the last fifteen years several sociologists have explored or implied another variety of reflection which has arisen evidently from accumulated sociological data and a concern for social problems. Their basic assumption is that literature, mainly fiction and biography in 'popular' forms, reflects social 'facts': vocational and divorce trends, population composition and distribution." (3, p. 430)

In discussing the second main hypothesis, that literature influences or shapes society, Albrecht says that this hypothesis and the reflection one have often been regarded as mutually influential. His proposition is that "if literature reflects, then it also confirms and strengthens cultural norms, attitudes and beliefs." (3, p. 431)

In considering the third major hypothesis, that of social control, he gives examples of research studies which have supported this theory. But he then goes on to add that social control through literature may be limited to those norms common to all groups in the society or it may be applied to class or group control where each class responds to the art and literature that confirms its own set of values and beliefs. If these sets are in conflict literature will probably further their antagonism. This will not contribute to social solidarity but to intergroup conflict and social disunity. "In these and probably other ways the social control theory seems inadequate

for explaining a number of direct and 'hidden' social effects of literature in a complex society--effects that await further testing. Nevertheless, recognition and support of this theory, particularly by Malinowski and the Warner-Henry study, indicates its importance to students of the general problem of the function of literature and art in society." (3, p. 433)

Another critical summary of theories concerning the relationships of society and art (including literature) has been presented by John H. Mueller. (4) He gives the following six theories as the current social theories of art:

- (1) Art as a social luxury.
- (2) Art as a reflection of its age.
- (3) Art as a reflection not of life, but of taste.
- (4) Art as an autonomous experience.
- (5) Art as an escape from the dilemmas of personal disorganization.
- (6) The formalistic conception of art.

Two English professors, Wellek and Warren, in their book Theory of Literature give a description of what they consider the actual relations between literature and society. (5, p. 3) They consider these relations as falling into three general categories. These are (1) the sociology of the writer, (2) the problem of social content--the implications of the works themselves, and (3) the problem of the audience and the social influence of literature. In discussing the last general category, that of the audience and the social influence of literature, they point out that fashion is very important in modern literature. In a competitive fluid society the norms of the upper classes are quickly imitated and constantly need replacing. They say that the present rapid changes of taste reflect rapid social changes. They seem to feel that art reproduces life but that it also shapes life, for instance when people model their lives on the patterns of fictional heroes. They conclude that "though some kind of dependence

of literary ideologies and themes on social circumstances seems obvious, the social origins of forms and styles, genres and actual literary norms have rarely been established." (5, p. 98)

The general function of literature in modern society is explained by Duncan in his Language and Literature in Society. "How our society wants us to meet death, to make love, to go into battle, or to found families-- what could be called the 'styles' and 'forms' of living, dying, fighting, and mating--is taught us in modern society largely through literary depictions." (6, p. 8)

He goes on to explain the three forms which literature takes and the way each of these forms functions.

... Magical art inspires us to actions held desirable by the artist's society and ... great art gives ideal forms to experience, so that those using these forms are able to intensify their experience of actions held desirable by the society or to undertake new actions which allow the society to go forward in situations where action is problematic. Make-believe literature, on the other hand, removes us from practical action by dissipating emotions which, if developed into action (as in the use of magical art) or into conscious, rational experience (as in the use of great art), would be a threat to those in control of the society. Make-believe art thus serves as a kind of community 'wishbook.' (Italics mine.) (6, p. 42)

After giving these three forms of literature he gives an explanation of literature as a social institution. He points out the various relationships that can exist between the author, the critic, and the public. He presents a typology of the forms characteristic of the interaction between these three people (or groups of people).

Lewis A. Coser in Sociology Through Literature presents his reasons for believing that sociologists and their work can benefit greatly from the use of literature to gain insights and knowledge of societies and how they function and change. "Literature, ... is social evidence and testimony. It is



a continuous commentary on manners and morals. Its great monuments, ... preserve for us the precious record of modes of response to peculiar social and cultural conditions." (7, p. 2)

Coser thinks that sociologists have not used literature enough in their investigations. He says that the creative imagination of the literary artist has achieved insights into social processes which are unexplored in social science.

In a study in the sociology of literature Francis E. Merrill agrees with Coser's stand on the importance of literature in sociological investigations. (8) "Literature involves the insights into human behavior of a man of genius. ... Merely because literary insights do not ordinarily lend themselves to empirical verification is no reason to reject or ignore them. Literature is an important aspect of culture, which is clearly a legitimate object of scientific exploration." (8, p. 447)

In his study on "Art Style as Projection of Community Structure" Vytautas Kavolis assumes "that characteristics of artistic style project subconscious ... preoccupations shaped, ... by characteristics of community structure." (9, p. 166) The purpose of this study was to survey "sociologically oriented investigations of art style to demonstrate that a general sociological theory of art style is taking shape, ... ." (9, p. 166)

He summarizes and documents the following general principles given in the literature pertaining to this subject (the relationships between art style and variations in community systems).

- (1) Rural art tends to be characterized by relatively invariant and uncomplicated geometric stylization. ...
- (2) Urban art is characterized by stylistic variety and rejection of conventionalized stylization. ...
- (3) The art of relatively isolated communities tends to be characterized by simplicity and/or abstract schematization. ...

- (4) The art of relatively, interdependent communities is likely to be more complex and/or naturalistic. ...
- (5) A tendency toward 'stereotypy'--limitation to a few frequently repeated form patterns--may be linked with high communal cohesiveness. ...
- (6) Low-cohesive communities tend to promote a great variety of styles, which are generally experimental and constantly changing. ...
- (7) Structurally stable community systems tend to prefer emotionally controlled (geometric or classical) art styles. ...
- (8) Structural change in communal systems seems to be associated with expressions of (strain-induced?) excitement in artistic style. ... It is not assumed that social change is the only source of such 'excitement,' but it is hypothesized that structural changes in community systems will generally tend to produce tendencies toward projecting 'excitement' in art style. (9, pp. 167-171)

In another study Kavolis is concerned with art content and social involvement. (10) He surveys the evidence on the reflection of social structure, cultural values, and contemporary events in the content of visual art. "The primary concern is to develop a general theory of the social functions of art content which is consistent with the quantitative data that have been accumulated." (10, p. 467)

Although this study and the theoretical interpretation offered apparently are meant to deal only with visual art, it may also have relevance for the social functions of literature. Kavolis gives "a tentative functional interpretation of the empirical observations surveyed. Three modalities of relationship between art content and social reality have been distinguished." (10, p. 470)

- (1) Art helps to legitimize existing social structures by representing them--or culturally 'invalidates' them by nonrepresentation.
- (2) Art reinforces dominant cultural values by offering images psychologically congruent with them--or is used to modify such values through presentation of 'incongruous' images. In the absence of direct pressures, this function appears to have priority over other sociological variables in determining art content. ... Psychological congruity of art content with internalized cultural values appears to

come before literal representation of social conditions. The reflection of cultural values is, however, modified by the following function of art content.

- (3) Art expresses subjective involvements with contemporary events by representing them (or lack of involvement by nonrepresentation), and by grappling with them, may help to shape emerging group--and individual--identities. (10, pp. 470-471)

However he cautions that we must not assume that art content always has the effects that are intended or that it is necessarily intended to have any nonartistic effects. He admits though that if art did not have any sociological functions, "it would be hard to account for the systematic linkages between art content and the sociocultural factors indicated in the accumulated evidence." (10, p. 471)

Kavolis concludes with the general theory that art content does not reflect social reality itself, but rather diverse modes of emotional involvement with such reality. The aspects of social reality that the producers and consumers of art will get intensely involved with will tend to be reflected in art by subject matter psychologically congruent with these involvements.

We can now summarize the theories that have been proposed concerning the relationships between literature as a broad field (in many cases including other art) and society in general, including social change as a process in the society. Albrecht has given three of the major theories. (3) These are: (1) the theory that literature reflects society, which has been applied in four different forms, (2) the theory that literature influences society, and (3) the theory of social control. Mueller presented six theories on the relationship of society and art (including literature). (4) He states that these theories are: (1) art as a social luxury, (2) art as a reflection of its age, (3) art as a reflection not of life but of taste, (4) art as an autonomous experience, (5) art as an escape from the dilemmas of personal

disorganization, and (6) the formalistic conception of art. Wellek and Warren seem to uphold in a general way the reflection theory that art reproduces life and also to some extent the theory that literature influences society. (5) Hugh Duncan's explanations of the three forms which literature takes in society and the general functions of literature in society would seem to uphold the theory that literature influences society and the theory of social control as Albrecht defined these. The studies by Lewis Coser and Francis Merrill both appear to uphold the theory that literature reflects society. (7 and 8) The study by Kavolis on "Art Style as Projection of Community Structure" apparently is substantiation also for the reflection theory. (9) He also says that social change tends to produce changes in art style. However the other study by Kavolis on "Art Content and Social Involvement" does not appear to substantiate the reflection theory in the same way. (10) Rather he concludes in it that art content does not reflect social reality itself, but rather diverse modes of emotional involvement with this reality. He says that the function of art in which it reinforces dominant cultural values appears to have priority over other sociological variables in determining art content. Thus he would seem to be agreeing at least in part with one of Mueller's theories, that is that art is a reflection not of life but of taste, and in part with the reflection theory. Thus if we combine these studies we find that there are eight different theories which have been proposed by sociologists dealing with this area. These may be given as:

- (1) literature reflects society, (2) literature influences society,
- (3) literature aids in social control, (4) art is a social luxury, (5) art is a reflection not of life but of taste, (6) art is an autonomous experience, (7) art is an escape from dilemmas of personal disorganization, and



(8) the formalistic conception of art.

If we consider these theories with reference to the relationships between social change and literature in general we find several that are applicable. Following the reflection theory we could say that literature probably only records social change occurring in the society. However it would still be open to question whether this is a true reflection of the social change or only a one-sided viewpoint of what has happened. If we use instead the theory that literature influences society we would propose also that literature influences social change--probably that it promotes, hastens, or retards social change. Utilizing the theory of social control we could say that literature provides social control, that it helps to maintain and reinforce existing values of the society and stabilizes the social order. Thus it would seem to slow down social change or allow groups or individuals to live under changing conditions. Following the theory that art is a reflection of taste we could say that art is reflecting changes in taste (which is a part of social or cultural change). If we consider it true that art is an escape from dilemmas of personal disorganization, then if there is a great increase or decrease in the predominance of art we could assume a change in the society with regard to the amount of personal disorganization. Also if we consider art as a social luxury and the importance of art changes greatly we must assume a change in the value put upon luxury in the society. Thus at least six of these theories may be relevant to the question of the relationships between literature and social change.

We will now narrow our area of consideration from social change as a general concept and its relationships to literature as a broad field, to recent social change in the United States and its relationships with modern



American literature. Several sociological studies have dealt with this area.

Herbert Gamberg has done a study which is a survey of attempted sociological explanations of one twentieth century literary tendency. (11) This literary tendency is defined as the modern genre of introspective, private and non-social literature (or art). He summarizes what several critics have said about this "modern genre." Some critics feel that this "modern genre" is a reflection of the modern temper. He enumerates what has been said in explanation of the modern temper. The most usual explanation is to postulate a chaos and relativity of values in the twentieth century with the result that the writer has recourse only to a personal ethic. However Gamberg finds this explanation unsatisfactory. "Even accepting the sociological factor of a breakdown in values, which is problematic, do not all writers fall under the rubric of these forces? Why do some artists still persist in a 'realistic' style if they also live in this age of disbelief? This approach cannot, without more refinement, answer these questions." (11, p. 12)

A second explanation given for modern literature attempts to explain it in a strictly cultural tradition. Another group of critics explain it on the basis of "art for art's sake" theories. Gamberg is quite critical of these theories.

The rise of 'art for art's sake' is explained in terms of its logical extension ... from classicism and romanticism. This explanation may be acceptable on its own terms ... but the sociological outlook is so widespread that social factors are continually bootlegged in. And like the preceding explanations, these social factors consist of a rather vague, unsubstantial Zeitgeist. Questions about general social organization, the artist's social milieu, and his relation to the audience are never treated. (11, p. 13)

A study by Holman of a group of Southern writers involves the relationship between literature and the culture in which it is produced (in this

case the culture of the United States). (12) It is an examination of the group of Southern writers known as the "fugitive-agrarians." The author feels "that such an examination will indicate by example certain significant aspects of the relationship of the artist to his culture." (12, p. 15)

In the 1920's this group of writers gathered at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee and published a small magazine called "The Fugitive," which was devoted to art and its thoughtful and committed criticism. Several of these men later became members of the group who published the Agrarian manifesto "I'll Take My Stand" in 1930. This argued for an agrarian as opposed to an industrial culture, on economic and political grounds. In 1939 they issued another manifesto, "Who Owns America?". These books had little effect on modern America. "But unimpressed by this failure and undaunted by this ridicule, several of these writers had been the centers of the resurgence of excellence in Southern writing which has carried it to greater heights than it has ever enjoyed before." (12, p. 16)

In what ways was this movement a response to social and cultural change? First these men began in revolt against the literary expression of their region and against changes that would turn their region toward an industrial culture.

Second, they were also in a real sense a part of the literary movements of the twenties in a national as well as regional way. "The Fugitives represented a spirited aesthetic rejection of the prevailing literature and attitudes of the contemporary South in much the same way that the Paris expatriates represented a rejection of the prevailing literature and attitudes of the industrial and commercial world." (12, p. 17)

Third, after 1929 when the economic structure underwent a severe

depression and the disaster of the Southern farmer could not be ignored any longer the "Fugitives" were drawn toward the Agrarian culture. This myth of the Agrarian way was an effective rallying point for Southern intellectuals caught in the world of economic disaster, but it was very ineffective in convincing others of the justice of its cause. By World War II its usefulness even to the Southern intellectual had passed. However Southern literature has gained much depth and intensity from the themes in the Agrarian myth.

Holman thinks that this analysis suggests a broad and generalized pattern for examining the relationship of literature to its culture. "They have taught us, too, that artists respond to the pressures of their culture, not by making political gestures or by accurate reporting, but by imprisoning through their talent its themes in its subjects. The Southern talent has found its themes in a combination of regional tradition and the inner self and its subjects have come from the history and the soil of the South." (12, p. 19)

We will now consider several studies in the sociology of literature which are concerned with the society and social change in the contemporary United States and their relationship to popular literature (as opposed to "great art"). Lowenthal has distinguished between these two divisions of literature. (13) "... Literature embraces two powerful cultural complexes: art on the one hand, and a market-oriented commodity on the other." (13, introd.)

The popular commodity (literature) serves primarily as an indicator of the socio-psychological characteristic of the multitude. Popular literary products have become a powerful force in the life of modern man. Their symbols are excellent diagnostic tools for studying man in contemporary

society. Lowenthal says that popular literature as a commodity has been a field of social science research for the last three decades.

A research study done by Harold Punke has traced the growth in amount and the change in character of periodicals in the United States. (14) He points out the relationships between that growth and change and the changing intellectual life of the country. His research showed that the circulation of popular literature during the first third of the nineteenth century was small. Then between that period and 1880 there was a distinct upward trend in circulation and later a much sharper upward trend (after 1880). Since that time the upward trend has continued with only minor interruptions in periods of economic disturbance. He points out also the changes that have occurred in the interests important in our popular literature.

Distinct changes have appeared from time to time in the interests dominating our periodical literature. In 1870 publications of general literary character predominated. Beginning a decade or two after the close of the Civil War, new influences for social change appeared in American culture and continued their operation into the early part of the present century. Industrialization, the rise of labor organizations, strikes, monopolies, adulterated products, etc., became factors in American life. ... In an environment of such unsettling forces, it was impossible for periodical literature to remain in the status quo. (14, p. 367)

He says that there was a demand for more literature and also for a different kind of literature. While there were other interests growing rapidly, both agriculture and religion (which he considers as stable and conservative elements of American society) still dominated the field. However with urbanization increasing and vocational interests broadening these elements began to occupy a less prominent place in American periodicals. These changes in the predominant interests of Americans seem to be continuing. "With the second quarter of the present century, evidence is appearing of types of



literature not prominent during the first quarter of the century; magazines of fiction, travel, sport, and motion pictures. These publications reflect a change in abundance as well as in the use made of the wealth and leisure afforded by present society, as contrasted with that of earlier times."

(14, p. 369)

Berelson and Salter have done a research study on the treatment of majority and minority groups in the popular fiction appearing in mass magazines. (15) It is a study of prejudice against minority groups of Americans. The study centers around the answer to this question, "... What kinds of people appear in typical magazine short stories in terms of their racial, religious, and national backgrounds, and how are they treated?" (15, p. 169)

The object of analysis was a sample of 198 short stories. These were taken from eight widely read magazines in 1937 and 1943. The magazines used were: Saturday Evening Post and Collier's (general weeklies), American and Cosmopolitan (general monthlies), Women's Home Companion and Ladies' Home Journal (women's magazines), True Story and True Confessions (confessionals). The hypotheses were formulated in terms of two major groups--the "Anglo-Saxons" and the "foreigners". These hypotheses dealt with the frequency of appearance of the various (majority and minority) groups, their characteristics, relative status positions, their contributions to the culture and their social interaction. The basic conclusion of this study was that "readers of short stories in popular magazines are constantly exposed, implicitly, to the prejudices and stereotypes attached to minority problems in the United States." (15, p. 190)

The following findings of the study support this basic conclusion. Although minorities made up forty per cent of the United States population,



they made up only ten per cent of the population of the short stories. Eighty-four per cent of the identifiable speaking characters were presented just as Americans. Out of 900 identifiable characters there were only sixteen Negroes and ten Jews. Obviously overwhelming attention was given to the "Americans" (defined as white Protestants with no distinguishable ancestry of foreign origin). The non-Americans were not all treated alike. The group of minorities and foreigners with Anglo-Saxon and Nordic backgrounds (called The AS and Ns) was accorded better treatment than the Jews, Negroes and minorities and foreigners with other European, Latin American and Oriental backgrounds (called The Others).

With regard to the roles of the characters, the Americans appeared as major characters just over half the time and as minor characters about one-third of the time. Not only did they appear more often, but they also got more than their share of the important roles. Since this type of magazine fiction depends greatly on quick stereotypic delineations of character, descriptions of personality types rather than individual personalities are used. "Of all the stories including one or more minority or foreign characters, familiar and usually disparaging stereotypic descriptions were employed in fully three-fourths. ... And in most of the cases, there is also a patronizing tone in these stereotypic descriptions of minority and foreign characters." (15, pp. 179 and 181)

The Americans had the higher status positions and this was taken for granted. When people from the minority or foreign groups held a high status position their paths to power were explained to the reader. The Americans occupied the superordinate roles in the human relationships between groups. "They made more money, lived more comfortably, had better occupations, gave

more orders. In these stories the world belonged to them, and they ran it."

(15, p. 185)

On almost every index-frequency, role, delineation, status, goals--The Americans received better treatment, both qualitatively and quantitatively, than the minority and foreign groups. And within the latter, a preference operated in behalf of The AS and Ns. The rules seem to be that the character receives better treatment the closer he is to the norm of The American, i.e., white, Protestant, English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon. ... The minority and foreign groups from the other European and Oriental countries, deprived as they were, received preferential treatment in these stories over two critical American minorities--the Negroes and the Jews. On several characteristics this distinction held up. ... They constituted the only group with more disapproved than approved traits. In short, of all the distinguishable groups of characters in magazine fiction, the Negroes and the Jews were depicted least favorably. (15, p. 186)

After presenting the conclusions and findings of the research Berelson and Salter discuss the intents and effects of such magazine fiction. They presume four reasons why the stories are written in this way. First they point out that it is a convenient method of writing--that the short stories are brief and compact and techniques are used to "get the character across" quickly. Secondly they say the pattern for these short stories demands conformity. Certain language is proscribed as well as certain topics and uses of fictional characters. Next they point to the heterogeneity of the audience to whom the stories are directed. This necessitates using the broadest symbols of identification. Then they point out that in giving the leading roles to members of the most respected group "these stories correspond to the historical bias of literature in centering upon the economic-, prestige-, and power-elites of every age. On the one hand they have traditionally been considered the people most worth writing about, and on the other hand, as the people most deferred to, they present a convenient focus of attention for large groups of readers who seek to identify themselves with the rich

and the powerful." (15, p. 188)

In considering the effects of this fiction the authors state that it is probably offered as entertainment and that the typical effect is probably one of a short vacation from daily cares and routine. However they emphasize that this is not the only effect.

Many communications have other than their intended effects upon readers or listeners and this is probably such a case. In all likelihood, the constant deprivation of The AS and Ns and especially The Others in these stories, over a long period of time, serves to activate the predispositions of a hostile or even an indifferent audience. Readers with latent tendencies to assign the usual stereotypic descriptions to groups whom they do not know, or toward whom they are unsympathetic, or with whom they do not come in personal contact, can find support for their convenient tags, labels, and aggressions in such magazine fiction. And this is all the more striking as a result of the implicit comparison with The Americans. (15, p. 188)

Thus these stories appear to perpetuate the "100 per cent American" myth in our society. The findings and conclusions from this study seem to uphold the social control theory of literature, that is that this form of literature helps to maintain and reinforce existing values of the society and thus slows down social change.

In a study of heroines of short stories in popular magazines Ruth A. Inglis attempted to use an objective approach to relationships between American society and American fiction. (16) In considering the theories that exist in the sociology of literature she has narrowed the field to what she considers the two most important general points of view. "Succinctly, the reflection theory holds that literature reflects society; the control theory, that it shapes society." (16, p. 526)

She says that both of these theories may be partially correct and that there is room for variation in the different types of literature. Differing types of literature have different aims and purposes, so it is difficult to



try to make general conclusions about all kinds of literature. She feels that the questions raised must be applied to a specific kind of writing in a particular society in order to make any valid conclusions about the relationships between the society and the literature.

In her study of heroines in short stories the method was to compare social change in the United States with changes in popular fiction. She used the heroines because they were a simple tangible unit of measurement comparable to the feminine population at large and they constituted a useful "symbolic model" whose traits could be emulated. When this study was made feminine attributes had recently become a focus of social change. Large numbers of women had begun working outside of the home. The author was interested in what was happening meanwhile to the heroines of fiction. Which group (the actual population or the fictional population) preceded the other in the rise in the per cent of women gainfully employed? The stories used were the first romantic short stories in each month of the Saturday Evening Post from January, 1901 to December, 1935, which totaled 420 stories. The heroines were analyzed on several physical and social characteristics, but the only level at which direct comparison with societal change was possible was the economic or occupational level. The author used the United States Census and divided the heroines into those gainfully employed and those not gainfully employed, like the Census classification. The heroine and Census groups were equated for age, nationality, and race. The results of the research showed a notable relationship between the changes in the per cent of fictional and actual working women.

From 1900 to 1910, there was a rise of 4.4 per cent in the percentage of employed women, a sudden increase in comparison with the other decades. This was followed by a very slight increase in 1920. On the other hand, the percentage of employed

heroines increased from 30 per cent during the decade from 1900 to 1910 to 34.2 per cent during the 1910-1920 period and then remained constant. In both cases there is a marked rise followed by a plateau, but the fictional trend lags about a decade behind the actual trend. At this point, Saturday Evening Post stories "reflect" reality. (16, p. 530)

The author comments that this evidence supports the reflection theory but that it is incomplete. She also states that the reflection theory did not operate consistently throughout all comparisons made in the study. For example, according to the Census the average age of the female population is becoming higher (at the time of this study) and the heroines were disproportionately young and were becoming more youthful. Other examples of comparisons where the reflection theory did not hold true were also given by the author.

She suggested that although the stories did not consistently reflect actual conditions they did reflect certain typical American attitudes and ideals, such as the glorification of wealth and youth and entertainers. "In these respects, the American pattern of values is reflected more clearly than the actual facts of American life." (16, p. 531)

In considering the social control theory she concludes that no evidence of social control was found in this study. In other words, there were no fictional changes that preceded actual changes. However she does say that the short stories tend to reinforce standards already in American life because the hero and heroine are almost always rewarded for their virtue and happy endings are typical. "In this way, the stories undoubtedly encourage the preservation of the status quo as far as moral and social attitudes are concerned. Only in this restricted sense has the social control theory been substantiated by the present study." (16, p. 532)

She concludes that on the basis of her data it is possible to draw two



different sets of conclusions. These are: (1) both the reflection and social control theories have been partially justified, and (2) both theories have been discredited since neither operated consistently. As she points out, however, "At any rate, here is an attempt to make objective a problem which has long been stated only in speculative and impressionistic terms." (16, p. 533)

Another study in the area of the relationships between American society and social change, and popular literature has been done by Leo Lowenthal. (13, Ch. 4) This is a research study using content analysis of biographies in magazines. He introduces the results of his research by pointing out that, "the popular biography was one of the most conspicuous newcomers in the realm of print since the introduction of the short story. ... Even if it were only a passing literary fad, one would still have to explain why this fashion has had such longevity and is more and more becoming a regular feature in the most diversified media of publications." (13, pp. 110-111)

Lowenthal feels that this increase in biography indicates that there must be a social need seeking gratification by this form of writing. He begins his discussion by presenting a table (see Table 1 in Appendix I) giving a survey of the occupational distribution of the subjects of biographies in the Saturday Evening Post and Collier's for selected years between 1901 and 1941. (13, p. 111) This table shows the tremendous increase in biographies over the years. In 1941 the average number of biographies was almost four times as great as in the first sample period (between 1901 and 1914). He goes on to discuss these changes over the years in the number of biographies and the occupational distributions of the subjects. He has divided the subjects of the biographies into three groups: the spheres of

political life, of business and professions, and entertainment.

Looking at our table we find for the time before World War I very high interest in political figures and an almost equal distribution of business and professional men, on the one hand, and of entertainers on the other. This picture changes completely after the war. The figures from political life have been cut by 40 per cent. This numerical relation seems to be rather constant from 1922 up to the present day. If we reformulate our professional distribution by leaving out the figures from political life we see even more clearly the considerable decrease of people from the serious and important professions and a corresponding increase of entertainers.

.....  
We might say that a large proportion of the heroes in both samples [the 1901-02 sample and the 1922 sample] are idols of production, that they stem from the productive life, from industry, business, and natural sciences. There is not a single hero from the world of sports and the few artists and entertainers either do not belong to the sphere of cheap or mass entertainment or represent a serious attitude toward their art. ... (13, pp. 111-113)

Thus we can see that a greater proportion of biographical subjects in the early years of the twentieth century were people who had become successful in the more "serious" occupations. These biographies seemed to serve as models of "success stories" which the readers might attempt to imitate. As Lowenthal points out, "... Unbroken confidence in the opportunities open to every individual serves as the leitmotiv of the biographies. ... They are written--at least ideologically--for someone who the next day may try to emulate the man whom he has just envied." (13, p. 113)

The author next turns to the present-day sample of biographies (that is, the 1940-1941 sample). He points out that subjects from the entertainment realm form the first group in this sample. The percentage of subjects from political life and business and professions has declined from 74 per cent (in 1901-1914) to 45 per cent (in 1940-1941) of the total biographies. The author gives the following comments on these results.

We called the heroes of the past "idols of production"; we feel entitled to call the present-day magazine heroes "idols of

consumption". Indeed, almost every one of them is directly, or indirectly, related to the sphere of leisure time: either he does not belong to vocations which serve society's basic needs (e.g., the heroes of the world of entertainment and sport), or he amounts, more or less, to a caricature of a socially productive agent. (13, p. 115)

Lowenthal next substitutes a classification according to spheres of activity for the cruder one according to professions. The three spheres used are (1) the sphere of production, (2) the sphere of consumption, and (3) the sphere of politics. He presents the vocational stratification of the subjects of the biographies, using this classification scheme for the Saturday Evening Post and Collier's for 1940-1941 in table form. (13, p. 116--see Appendix I, Table 2) The outstanding fact apparent in this table is that seventy-three per cent of the subjects of the biographies were in the sphere of consumption. The author comments that "while the industrial and professional endeavors are geared to a maximum of speed and efficiency, the idols of the masses are not, as they were in the past, the leading names in the battle of production, but the headliners of the movies, the ball parks, and the night clubs." (13, p. 116)

He points out that people are no longer reading and learning about the agents of social production but about agents of social and individual consumption. He emphasizes these biographies as one element in the mass communications field. "The human incorporation of all the social agencies taking care of society as a unity of consumers represents a literary type which is turned out as a standardized article, marketed by a tremendous business, and consumed by another mass institution, the nation's magazine reading public. Thus biography lives as a mass element among the other elements of mass literature." (13, p. 117)

Lowenthal does not give information on whether the changes he has



observed in this type of mass literature are a reflection of actual social change as evidenced by "social facts", (for example that is, whether the growth of numbers of biographies in the sphere of consumption is a reflection of actual growth in the number of jobs held in this sphere). However he appears to think that this study does show literature reflecting society, perhaps in the way that Ruth Inglis (16) suggested, that is, that the literature is reflecting certain typical American attitudes and ideals, such as (in this study) glorification of wealth, youth, entertainers and — consumption.

It is evident from these last few studies that important relationships do exist between popular literature and social change in American society. Popular literature has definitely had an effect on American society, as it probably has in most societies. Hugh Duncan has considered popular literature as a type of "magical art". (6, p. 20) He says that in this type of magical literature the ends of action are not questioned.

People making use of magical art know what they want; what they do not know is how to get it, or if they know how they are not sure they will be able to endure the hardships which must be suffered to obtain it. Popular literature offers many examples of this. Such literature varies in content from one society to another, but each attributes sacred qualities to experiences and symbols shared in common struggles to attain these values. ... Popular literature maintains sentiments requisite for success within the society and transmits these from one generation to another through embodiment in symbolic works which are easily accessible. It maintains these sentiments, because as we read popular literature we use our imagination to prepare for actions which are common to many. (6, p. 20)

The relationships between popular literature and social change in American society take on even more importance when we realize that our popular literature is also one part of the growing field of mass communications. — Through mass communications the same ideas can be presented to millions of

people, (readers, listeners, or viewers) in a very short time. Thus new philosophies, values, fashions, behaviors and fads can be spread to a vast audience quite rapidly. John Nordskog gives the views of two authors who feel that technological advances (such as development of advanced communication techniques) initiate social change. (2)

... Far reaching and complex are the social changes that spring from the development of the techniques of communication. For communication is at once a primary condition of social relations and a basis of nearly all other forms of technological advance. The course of civilization has been marked by a constant development of the means of communication, but never so rapidly as in our own days. ... (2, p. 27)

Popular literature has had important functions in society for a long time, and with the advent of new mass means of spreading this popular literature (such as in the mass circulation magazines and paperback books) its total effect has been greatly magnified. James Barnett emphasizes the importance of sociological studies of the mass media as a part of the field of the sociology of art (including literature). (17)

Unquestionably the mass media are of enormous importance to contemporary society as agencies of social communication and on occasion, as genuinely creative forms. ... For the present, sociologists of art need to undertake a great many frankly exploratory and descriptive studies in order to ascertain the over-all dimensions of this field. Only then will it be possible to formulate and test hypotheses that will yield generalizations applicable to all or to certain types of art. And only after this stage in turn has been reached will it be possible to extract from our knowledge of the artist, the work of art, and the art public conclusions that will contribute to scientific knowledge of society and culture. (17, p. 213)

Popular literature as presented through these mass media can be studied and analyzed within the framework of several distinct sociological concepts and orientations. One sociological approach for viewing popular literature is to study its position as one element of the over-all social structure of



a society, while noting other significant characteristics of this social structure. In our modern society these other characteristics could include the predominant type of social character and how it is formed, the distribution and nature of work and leisure, and the position of politics in the social structure. Using this approach for analyzing popular literature, we can raise questions about such points as the importance of popular literature in the structure of the society, the characteristics of the communications systems through which this literature is transmitted to an audience, and the social functions and dysfunctions it has for the social structure in the specific society under consideration.

We have already noted the growing importance of popular literature as presented through the mass media in our contemporary American social structure. We can also consider the nature and characteristics of the communications system through which this literature is transmitted in our contemporary society. This of course is a "mass communications" system. We tend to equate this type of system with technological advances (which are necessary to carry out this type of communication). However we need to realize the other distinguishing characteristics which make this system unique. Charles Wright points out the distinct operating conditions of this system of communication. (18)

... it is not the technical components of modern communications systems that distinguish them as mass media; rather, mass communication is a special kind of communication involving distinctive operating conditions, primary among which are the nature of the audience, of the communication experience, and of the communicator.

Nature of the Audience Mass communication is directed toward a relatively large, heterogeneous, and anonymous audience. ...

Nature of the Communication Experience Mass communications may be characterized as public, rapid, and transient.

Nature of the Communicator Mass communication is organized communication. Unlike the lone artist or writer, the 'communicator' in mass media works through a complex organization embodying an extensive division of labor and an accompanying degree of expense. ...

He emphasizes that these are not merely academic distinctions and that they have important consequences for the communication process. "The complexity of modern mass media has moved the creative artist many stages away from his final product. And the production expense is decreasing the access to the media of communication for persons wishing to reach the public."

(18, p. 15)

We can also raise questions about the social functions and dysfunctions which popular literature presented through the mass media has for the contemporary American social structure. For example Lazarsfeld and Merton (19) have noted three social functions of these mass media. Two of these are actually presented as social functions while the third is considered a dysfunction (for this particular society). The first is named the "status-conferral function", the second "the enforcement of social norms" and the other the "narcotizing dysfunction".

In discussing the status-conferral function they explain that, "the mass media bestow prestige and enhance the authority of individuals and groups by legitimizing their status. Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or newsreels testifies that one has arrived, that one is important enough to have been singled out from the large, anonymous masses, that one's behavior and opinions are significant enough to require public notice. ... The audience of mass media apparently subscribe to the circular belief: 'If you really matter, you will be at the focus of mass attention and if you are at the focus of mass attention, then surely you must really matter.'" (19, p. 461-62)

In discussing the social function of the enforcement of social norms through the mass media the authors point out that "Publicity closes the gap-- between 'private attitudes' and 'public morality'. Publicity exerts pressure for a single rather than a dual morality by preventing continued evasion of the issue. It calls forth public reaffirmation and (however sporadic) application of the social norm. ... Study of the particular range of norms thus reaffirmed would provide a clear index of the extent to which these media deal with peripheral or central problems of the structure of our society." (19, p. 462)

Turning to the third social consequence Merton and Lazarsfeld write that "it has received little explicit comment and, apparently, has not been systematically put to use for furthering planned objectives." They call this consequence the "narcotizing dysfunction of the mass media. It is termed dysfunctional rather than functional on the assumption that it is not in the interest of modern complex society to have large masses of the population politically apathetic and inert." (19, p. 464) They go on to explain how this mechanism operates in our society.

Scattered studies have shown that an increasing proportion of the time of Americans is devoted to the products of the mass media. ... Yet, it is suggested, this vast supply of communications may elicit only a superficial concern with the problems of society, and this superficiality often cloaks mass apathy.

Exposure to this flood of information may serve to narcotize rather than to energize the average reader or listener. ... In short, he takes his secondary contact with the world of political reality, his reading and listening and thinking as a vicarious performance. ... In this peculiar respect, mass communications may be included among the most respectable and efficient of social narcotics. They may be so fully effective as to keep the addict from recognizing his own malady. (19, p. 464)

We can study popular literature as presented through mass media within the framework of another sociological orientation, that of reference-group



theory. Robert Merton points out that there is a coherence between reference group theory and the concepts of functional sociology (for example, social functions and dysfunctions of an element of the social structure such as discussed above). He writes, "It appears that these deal with different facets of the same subject: the one centers on the processes through which men relate themselves to groups and refer their behavior to the values of these groups; the other centers on the consequences of the processes primarily for social structure, but also for the individuals and groups involved in these structures." (20, p. 226) Merton goes on to establish the "range of inquiry" of reference group theory for sociological studies.

That men act in a social frame of reference yielded by the groups of which they are a part is a notion undoubtedly ancient and probably sound. Were this alone the concern of reference group theory, it would merely be a new term for an old focus in sociology, which has always been centered on the group determination of behavior. There is, however, the further fact that men frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluations, and it is the problems centered about this fact of orientation to non-membership groups that constitute the distinctive concern of reference group theory. ... In general, then, reference group theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference. (20, p. 234)

If we utilize this framework of reference group theory in analyzing popular literature presented through mass media in our contemporary society we find several points at which it may help us to comprehend such points as the ways this literature is presented and received, what influence it may have on actual values and behavior of individuals in the society and on the work and position of the writer or artist in the society. One example using this approach would be in studying the recipient of the literature (the reader) in terms of his reference groups. We could determine the



primary reference groups which affect his values and behavior patterns and thus help to determine his responses to the popular literature to which he is exposed. We could also look for his most important reference individuals-- whether these are people personally known to him or more distant figures he knows only through the mass media. Another use of this approach would be to study the reference groups of those involved in putting out and controlling the popular literature presented through mass media (the communicators) including the writers, editors and businesses which sponsor the presentations and advertise through the media.

Another sociological framework with which we can view the mass popular literature and its functions in the society and how it changes, is the consideration of the value-patterns (core of the culture) of the society and some of the dimensions of variation in the cultural norms such as variation in how the norms are learned (the socialization process) and how they are enforced.

For example if changes are found from one period to another in the type of popular literature which is widely distributed, or the emphasis in this literature, or the quantity of literature produced, we may be able to relate these changes to shifts in the value patterns of the society or changes in the predominant agency of socialization for teaching the norms. If a study of advertising in popular magazines in 1960 showed that members of minority groups were included in small group situations depicted in the advertisements (such as a group of businessmen using a product) and a study of the same magazine in 1940 showed that there were no minority group members depicted in these situations we could probably relate these findings to a change in the value-pattern of equality of opportunity for minority groups, the

widening acceptance of these minority group members in business and the acceptance of integrated groups in society. If the group of people putting out the magazine in 1940 felt that an integrated advertisement would alienate large groups of readers they probably would not put it into their magazine. However by 1960 there might have been a shifting emphasis on the particular value-pattern involved here such that they could have this type of advertisement without fear of alienating many members of the reading audience.

There are of course other sociological concepts which can be used in studying popular literature presented through mass media. For example we could analyze the status and role of the artist and writer in various societies or the relevance of the social class and position of the recipients of the literature to the effects of the communication on their attitudes and behavior. However, the three general sociological orientations discussed above will be the ones utilized in analyzing the results found in the present study of popular literature in contemporary American society, and in relating the hypotheses and the results of this study to some major theories in the field of the sociology of literature. One of these three orientations to be used is the study of popular literature as one element of the over all social structure of the society, while noting the other significant features of the social structure. The second orientation to be used is the use of reference group theory as a framework for studying popular literature in the society. The third framework which will be used is the relation between the value-patterns and the dimensions of variation in the cultural norms of the society and the popular literature.

## CHAPTER II

### PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

#### The General Setting

The present study will be concerned with the general area of popular literature as presented in mass media and the relationship of this literature to social change in the United States. It is an attempt to study one type of literature in a particular society during a specific time period in the context of the sociology of literature.

Biographies in two mass circulation popular magazines in the United States will be the content material used in the study. These will be used to study: (1) trends over time in the magazines, and (2) comparisons with social change in the United States over the same time period.

From a preliminary review of recent magazines it appears that biographies are at least as prevalent a feature now as when Lowenthal made his study in 1941. (13, Ch. 4) His study showed that by 1941 there were four times as many biographies printed (in Saturday Evening Post and Collier's) as there were in the sample period of 1901-1914. One object of the present study is to discover whether this high rate of growth in quantity has stayed the same, increased, or declined since 1940-1941, and whether changes have occurred in the proportion of articles that are biographies.

Lowenthal's study also showed the tremendous increase during the time span covered in the subjects of biographies whose occupations can be classified in the sphere of consumption (rather than in the other two spheres he

designated as politics and production). The present problem includes a classification of the occupations of subjects of all biographies covered into one of the three spheres (consumption, politics, and production) in order to compare the occupational areas of the subjects between the various sample years, between the two magazines, and with actual trends in the United States.

Several other characteristics will also be recorded about the subjects in order to note the differences or similarities between the magazines and the trends over time. These characteristics recorded will be the race of the subject, his nationality, sex, age, and marital status.

The two mass circulation magazines used will be Saturday Evening Post and Life. A fifty per cent sample will be drawn from each of three one-year periods. These periods are April 1940-March 1941, April 1950-March 1951, and April 1960-March 1961. This fifty per cent sample of the magazines in each of these periods will be used for counting the number of biographies, reading all the biographies, and classifying the subjects of the biographies according to occupational sphere. (See Appendix II C) A forty per cent sample of the magazines in the first sample drawn (the fifty per cent sample) will be used for noting other characteristics of the subjects of the biographies such as race, nationality, age, sex, and marital status.

We can now return to the theories in the sociology of literature which we hypothesized to be relevant to the relationships between social change and literature. (See Ch. 1, p. 9) Six of the theories found in the study of the field of the sociology of literature seemed to be applicable to these relationships. Using the results to be obtained by the present



study we should be able to test several of these theories. Those which will be applied to the data collected are: (1) the reflection theory, and (2) the theory that literature influences society.

We can now go back to the three sociological orientations (presented at the end of Chapter I) to see at what points the concepts involved in these are connected to the major theories in the sociology of literature--primarily the reflection theory and the influence theory.

We have noted before several forms in which the reflection theory has been applied. One of the most common forms of this theory is that literature reflects the significant values and norms of a culture. We can relate the sociological framework of value-orientations to this form of the reflection theory. For example we can attempt to determine the dominant values of a culture through studies of other elements of the society than the popular literature, (such as studies of behavior patterns, amount of support of certain institutions or creeds, or support of certain legislation) at different points in time, and then compare these findings with the dominant values we find in studies of the popular literature. Thus we can determine if the same value-patterns are emphasized in this literature as in the "real life" of the society (thereby testing this form of the reflection theory).

Another important form of the reflection theory is the form in which it is proposed that literature reflects "social facts". If we study the trends of some element of the society such as the percentage of divorces from one period to another and then compare these percentages with the percentage of couples presented in short stories, for example, who are divorced, we could note whether the percentage in the literature for certain periods is a "reflection" of the actual trends (thus testing the reflection of "social

facts").

If we utilize the framework of the structure of our society and analyze the important features of this structure such as the nature and distribution of work and leisure, we can connect this to the amount of popular literature being published and read, (we can ask such questions as "Is there an abundance of leisure time in which people can read the popular literature?"). We can also study the distribution of emphases in the literature--as to whether more emphasis is given to work interests in the material published or to leisure time interests. In this manner we may also be able to determine the validity of the reflection theory.

We can also use the concept of reference groups and/or reference individuals to relate the reflection theory to a sociological study of literature. Reference group theory states that individuals may have as reference groups some groups that they are not members of (or reference individuals who they do not know personally). It appears, following Lowenthal, that in recent decades individuals in our society are turning more toward distant individuals such as public figures (rather than local personally known people) for reference individuals. The audience for literature presented through mass circulation books and magazines has grown rapidly at the same time. In the present study of biographies presented in popular magazines we are looking for what types of people are most predominant--thus we may be able to find out what types of public figures were used as reference individuals in 1940 and compare these findings with the results for 1950 and 1960. We can then analyze this information in relation to the other knowledge of our society acquired by sociologists, such as the dominant character types, the type of interpersonal

relationships prevailing in the society, and the functions of the mass media.

We can also consider at what points these sociological concepts relate to the theory that literature influences society. Some writers in the sociology of literature consider the theory that literature controls society (social control) and the theory that literature influences society as two separate and distinct theories while others seem to view these as interchangeable terms for the same viewpoint. For purposes of the present study the influence theory will be considered. (The two terms, influence and social control, may be distinguished by degrees rather than as two distinct processes.)

If we relate the framework of value-orientations of the culture to the influence theory in studying popular literature, we could determine the dominant values through study of other elements of the society (as described for testing the reflection theory that literature reflects significant values and norms) at certain periods, and then determine the significant values in the literature. We could then compare the findings to determine if any changes in the values found in the literature preceded similar changes in actual values in the society. If this result was found we might conclude that in that specific case literature was influencing the society. We could use a similar approach to determine if literature was influencing changes in actual "social facts".

Another way in which we could study the influence of literature on society in a sociological framework is by analyzing the use of popular literature presented through mass media as an agency of socialization in the society. Studies showing the extent to which socialization is being carried out through secondary agencies such as the mass media rather than

the traditional primary groups could lead us to a fuller understanding of the actual extension of the influence of this type of popular literature. Further studies in this area of socialization could be done on attitude changes (especially in children) as a result of the influence of mass media presentations.

From these examples we can see probable useful relationships between several sociological concepts and approaches, and the reflection theory and the influence theory of literature. In the present study of popular magazine biographies and social change the three sociological orientations introduced in Chapter I (p. 31) will be utilized in analyzing and attempting to explain the results obtained, and in relating these results to the two major theories.

The hypotheses for the present study will be formulated in the context of the reflection theory. They are set up to provide a test of this theory for this specific problem. The reflection theory says that literature reflects society, that it records social change occurring in the society. Thus in the present problem we are hypothesizing that the biographies in the Saturday Evening Post and Life are a reflection of reality, and that over the time span studied (1941 to 1951 and 1951 to 1961) societal changes (in the form of "social facts") have been reflected by changes in the biographies.

The results will also be studied to find out whether changes in the biographies are a reflection of changes in values and norms in the society. Works of sociologists who have done studies on our contemporary society will be used as the source of information on changes in the value-patterns and cultural norms over time.



The United States Census will be used as the source for the record of actual social change (in the form of "social facts"). In this study the social change considered will be the change in the per cent of the employed labor force in the various industries in the period from 1940 to 1950 and from 1950 to 1960. Each of the industries used in the Census classifications will be grouped under one of the three spheres--consumption, production or politics, so that these figures can be compared with the percentages of the subjects of the biographies found in each sphere.

The following hypotheses are to be tested in this study: (1) Magazine biographies in the periods April 1940-March 1941, April 1950-March 1951, and April 1960-March 1961, had a larger percentage of subjects from the sphere of consumption than from the spheres of production or politics. (2) The percentage of the subjects of biographies from the sphere of consumption increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1950-1951 period, and from the 1950-1951 period to the 1960-1961 period. (3) The number of biographies presented in both Saturday Evening Post and Life increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1950-1951 period and from the 1950-1951 period to the 1960-1961 period. (4) There were more people in the actual employed labor force with occupations in the sphere of consumption in 1940, in 1950, and in 1960 than with occupations in the spheres of production or politics in each of these periods. (5) The percentage of people in the employed labor force having occupations in the sphere of consumption increased from 1940 to 1950 and from 1950 to 1960. (6) The percentage of non-whites presented as subjects of biographies increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1960-1961 period. (7) The percentage of non-whites in the actual employed labor force increased from 1940 to 1960. (8) The percentage of

the women subjects of biographies presented from the sphere of consumption increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1960-1961 period. (9) There was a higher percentage of women (of all women actually employed) with occupations in the sphere of consumption in 1960 than in 1940.

## CHAPTER III

### TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

#### Introduction

The data needed to test the nine hypotheses were collected by following the methods and procedures given in Chapter II. A fifty per cent sample of all issues of Saturday Evening Post and Life in the three sample periods (April 1940-March 1941, April 1950-March 1951, and April 1960-March 1961) was randomly selected. All biographies in each issue in the fifty per cent sample were used. Schedule 1 (See Appendix II A) was applied to all these biographies. The number of magazines used was one hundred and fifty-six (156). The total number of biographies studied was two hundred and two (202). However only one hundred and seventy-six (176) of the biographies were used as the data for testing the hypotheses and making conclusions. The other twenty-six (26) originally studied were very short sketches or photographic articles in Life magazine. It was decided (after all the data were collected) that these were not of the same type as the other biographies and thus were not comparable enough to the longer biographies in Life and in Saturday Evening Post to be included in testing the hypotheses and making conclusions.

An exact fifty per cent sample of each of the two magazines for each time period would have given twenty-five and one-half magazines (25-1/2) in some periods and twenty-six (26) in others. Because of this, twenty-six issues of each magazine for each period were selected (except S.E.P. for

1960-61 where the Dec. 24 and 31 issues were combined--thus there are 25 issues in this sample), thus giving a little more than fifty per cent in some years.

At the beginning of the study it was planned to use a forty per cent sample of this larger sample (the fifty per cent sample) for applying Schedule 2 (See Appendix II B). If there had been twenty-five magazines in each fifty per cent sample, this would have given a sample of ten issues for each period for each magazine, as the smaller sample. Since the larger sample actually was only one issue greater for each group than originally planned (26, instead of 25), a random sample of ten issues of the magazines in the larger sample was used as planned. (This meant the smaller sample was slightly less than forty per cent of the larger sample. If eleven issues had been used the sample would have been slightly over forty per cent.) Thus Schedule 2 was applied to all biographies in a total of sixty (60) magazines. The total number of biographies in these sixty magazines was sixty-six (66).

After all the data were collected for both samples the data for the smaller (forty per cent) sample--which included the additional characteristics for each subject--were put on I B M cards and processed through an I B M sorting machine. The sorting for the larger sample was done by hand. It was felt that this would be just as efficient as using I B M cards, as the sorting was done only for one major characteristic--that is, the sphere of activity (consumption, production, or politics) that the subject of the biography was in.

The data were analyzed and put into table form. Statistical tests were run where this was indicated and where the numbers involved were large enough.



### Results of Testing the Hypotheses

The first hypothesis tested was: (1) Magazine biographies in the periods April 1940-March 1941, April 1950-March 1951, and April 1960-March 1961, had a larger percentage of subjects from the sphere of consumption than from the spheres of production or politics. This hypothesis was upheld by the data collected, as shown in Table 1. However, because all the data for each magazine for each year was not used (a fifty per cent sample was used) a statistical test is needed in order to make significant conclusions about the results.

In order to test the results with a chi-square test, six separate null hypotheses were formulated and tested. The null hypotheses and the individual test results are given in Appendix III A. In five out of the six chi-square tests the null hypotheses were rejected at the .025 (two and one-half per cent) level of confidence, or less. In the other test the null hypothesis could be rejected at the .10 level, but not at the conventional .05 level.

From these results it appears that the hypothesized larger percentage in consumption than in production or politics for each period is upheld.

The second hypothesis tested was: (2) The percentage of the subjects of biographies from the sphere of consumption increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1950-1951 period and from the 1950-1951 period to the 1960-1961 period. This hypothesis was less strongly upheld by the data, as presented in Table 1. In order to test these results statistically, three separate chi-square tests were run. The null hypotheses and the individual test results are given in Appendix III B. In two of the three tests (those two involving a ten year span between the data) the null hypotheses would have to be accepted at the conventional .05 level, but could be rejected

Table 1

THE PERCENTAGE OF MAGAZINE BIOGRAPHIES IN EACH SPHERE,  
FOR EACH SAMPLE PERIOD (SEP AND LIFE COMBINED)

Sample Period	Consumption	Production	Politics	Total	No. of Issues
1940-1941	56.4	9.1	34.5	100	52
1950-1951	64.3	0	35.7	100	52
1960-1961	74.5	3.9	21.6	100	51

#### Hypothesis One

In five out of six chi-square tests,  $P < .025$  (1 degree of freedom). Five of the null hypotheses are rejected at this level and one at the .10 level.

#### Hypothesis Two

In two out of three chi-square tests,  $.10 < P < .25$  (1 degree of freedom). For these two the null hypotheses would be accepted at the conventional level .05. For the third null hypothesis (using the twenty-year span)  $.005 < P < .01$  (1 degree of freedom). For this the null hypothesis is rejected at the .01 level.

at the .25 level. This means that there is one chance in four that the apparent increase in the percentage in consumption over each of these two ten-year periods could be due to chance. In the third chi-square test the null hypothesis can be rejected at the .01 (one per cent) level. This null hypothesis used the twenty-year span from 1940-1960.

From these results it appears that the apparent increase in the per cent of subjects in consumption over each ten-year period is not strongly significant. However, the increase in the per cent of subjects in consumption over the twenty-year period from 1940 to 1960 is definitely significant. Thus the trend toward a higher percentage in consumption is upheld--and the hypothesis was generally upheld.

The third hypothesis tested was: (3) The number of biographies presented in both Saturday Evening Post and Life increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1950-1951 period and from the 1950-1951 period to the 1960-1961 period. This hypothesis was only partially upheld by the data. The number of biographies presented in both Saturday Evening Post and Life did increase from the 1940-1941 period to the 1950-1951 period. However, the number decreased from the 1950-1951 period to the 1960-1961 period in both magazines. This is shown in Table 2.

It is also evident from the results in Table 2 that biography is found in greater quantity in the Saturday Evening Post consistently for each of the three periods sampled than in Life. In the 1940-1941 period there were 39 biographies in Post compared with 16 in Life in the same number of issues, in 1950-1951 there were 50 in Post compared with 20 in Life, and in 1960-1961 there were 40 in Post compared with 11 in Life. When we look at the total number of biographies as a percentage of the total number of articles

Table 2

THE NUMBER OF BIOGRAPHIES IN EACH SAMPLE PERIOD, BY MAGAZINE

	1940-1941		Sample Period 1950-1951		1960-1961	
	Issues	Biog.	Issues	Biog.	Issues	Biog.
<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>	26	39	26	50	25	40
<u>Life</u>	26	16	26	20	26	11



published for each sample period we find that the Post also has a consistently higher percentage of biographies. (See Appendix V B) The percentage of biographies in the Post ranges from 11.8 to 13.6 while the percentage in Life ranges from 3.0 to 4.1. We might conclude from these observations that biography is a more typically prominent feature in the mass medium using the verbal format (represented here by Post) than in the one using a pictorial format (represented here by Life).

The fourth hypothesis tested was: (4) There were more people in the actual employed labor force with occupations in the sphere of consumption in 1940, in 1950, and in 1960, than with occupations in the spheres of production or politics in each of these periods. To test this hypothesis information was taken from the United States Census of Population for 1960. (21, Table 92--Industry Group of Employed Persons, For the United States: 1940 to 1960, p. 1-223) The industry groups presented there were each classified into one of the three spheres of activity--consumption, production, or politics. (This classification is presented in Appendix IV A.) Then for each year (1940, 1950, and 1960) the per cent distribution into industry groups (used by the Census) was used to determine total percentages of the employed persons in each of the three spheres.

The results obtained did not uphold the original hypothesis--that there would be more persons employed in the sphere of consumption in each period than in the other two spheres. The data showed instead that the highest percentage for each period was in the sphere of production. The results are given in Table 3.

We can also see from these data that there was a percentage increase in both consumption and politics from 1940 to 1950 and also from 1950 to 1960,

while in contrast the percentage of the labor force employed in production decreased during each period.

Since the sample size used for these census data is so large it was assumed that the data are exact and a statistical test is not necessary.

The data in Table 3 were then compared with the data in Table 1 (the distribution of the magazine biographical subjects into spheres of activity, by year). This was done to determine whether or not there is the same distribution for the biographies as for the census data on the employed labor force, for each of the three years. In order to test these results together statistically three chi-square tests were run. The null hypotheses and the results of these tests are given in Appendix III C.

All three of the null hypotheses were rejected at the .005 level. Thus it was concluded that the distribution for the biographies (the per cent in each sphere) was not the same as the census data distribution of employed persons for all three of the years used. (See Figure 1, p. 48)

In comparing the data from Table 1 with the data from Table 3 we should also note the great amount of attention given to biographies in the sphere of politics in all three sample periods compared with the small percentage of the labor force actually employed in politics in each period. In 1940 only 3.1 per cent of the labor force was employed in politics while 34.5 per cent of the biographical subjects were from the political sphere. In 1950 only 4.5 per cent of the labor force was in politics while 35.7 per cent of the biographical subjects were in politics. In 1960, 5 per cent of the labor force was in politics and 21.6 per cent of the subjects were in politics. (In 1960 it appears that the gap may be beginning to narrow between the percentage in the biographies and in the actual labor force.)

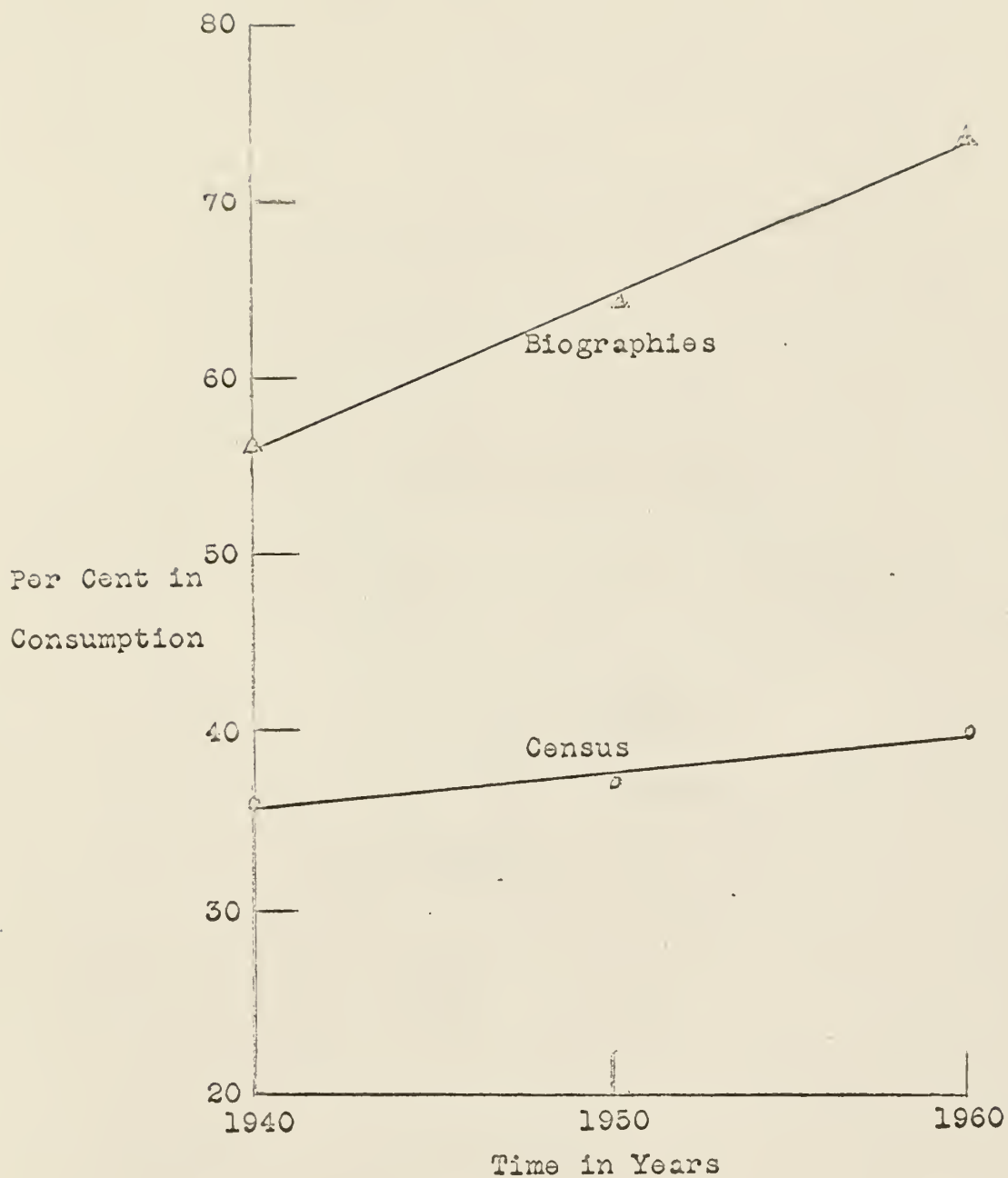


Fig. 1 The Per Cent of Magazine Biographies and Actual Employed Labor Force in Consumption as a Function of Time.

Table 3

THE PERCENTAGE OF THE ACTUAL EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE  
IN EACH SPHERE OF ACTIVITY, BY YEAR

Sphere of Activity	Consumption	Production	Politics	Not Reported
<u>Year</u>				
1940	36.5	58.5	3.1	1.6
1950	37.4	56.5	4.5	1.5
1960	40.0	51.0	5.0	4.0



Hypothesis Five (5) stated that the percentage of people in the employed labor force having occupations in the sphere of consumption increased from 1940 to 1950 and from 1950 to 1960. The data obtained showed this hypothesis to be valid. The per cent in the sphere of consumption increased from 36.5 per cent to 37.4 per cent to 40.0 per cent over the twenty-year period from 1940 to 1960. (See Fig. 1, p. 48) These results are given in Table 3. Since these data were taken from the Census figures and the sample size used was so large it was assumed that the data are exact.

Hypothesis Six (6) stated that the percentage of non-whites presented as subjects of biographies in the magazines increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1960-1961 period. This hypothesis seemed to be upheld by the data collected. However the percentage increase was small. The results are given in Table 4. There was no attempt to attach statistical significance to these results because the number of non-whites was so small.

Hypothesis Seven (7) stated that the percentage of non-whites in the actual employed labor force increased from 1940 to 1960. To test this hypothesis information was taken from the United States Census of Population for 1960. (17, Table 83--Employment Status, By Color and Sex, for the United States: 1940 to 1960, p. 1-214) The total number of persons in the employed civilian labor force plus the total in the Armed Forces was obtained from this table (for both 1940 and 1960). The total number of non-whites in the employed civilian labor force plus those non-whites in the Armed Forces were added together also. Then the percentage which were non-whites out of the total employed labor force (including employed civilians and Armed Forces) was calculated. It was found that the hypothesis was not upheld as stated above, that is, the percentage of non-whites in the actual labor force did

Table 4

THE PERCENTAGE (AND NUMBER) OF BIOGRAPHICAL SUBJECTS  
IN EACH RACE CATEGORY, BY YEAR

Year	White		Negro		Other		Total Non-White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1940-1941	19	90.5	0	0	2	9.5	2	9.5
1950-1951	25	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960-1961	18	90	2	10	0	0	2	10

not increase from 1940 to 1960. Rather this percentage decreased slightly as shown in Table 5.

In comparing these results with those from Hypothesis Six (concerning the percentage of non-whites presented as biographical subjects) it was found that the percentages for both hypotheses changed very slightly from 1940 to 1960. The percentage of non-white biographical subjects went up from 9.5 per cent to 10 per cent and the percentage of non-whites in the total employed labor force decreased from 10.4 per cent to 10.1 per cent.

Hypothesis Eight (8) stated that the percentage of the women subjects of biographies presented who were in the sphere of consumption increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1960-1961 period. The data collected showed a trend in the hypothesized direction. The results are given in Table 6. However since the number of women biographical subjects was so small (2 in 1940-41, 5 in 1950-51, and 3 in 1960-61) these data are not sufficient to provide a good test of the hypothesis.

Hypothesis Nine (9) stated that there was a higher percentage of women (of all women actually employed) with occupations in the sphere of consumption in 1960 than in 1940.

To test this hypothesis information was used from the United States Census of Population for 1960. (17, Table 92--Industry Group of Employed Persons, for the United States: 1940 to 1960, p. 1-223) The industry groups used there for classifying all employed females were each put into one of the three spheres of activity--consumption, production, or politics. (The classification into the three spheres is given in Appendix IV B.) For both 1940 and 1960 the per cent distribution into industry groups was then used to compute the total percentages of employed females in each of the spheres.

Table 5

THE NUMBER IN THE TOTAL EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE, IN THE NON-WHITE EMPLOYED  
LABOR FORCE, AND PER CENT. NON-WHITE, BY YEAR

Year	Total Employed Labor Force	Non-White Employed Labor Force	Per Cent, Non-White
1940	45,375,815	4,735,741	10.4
1960	66,372,654	6,769,681	10.1



Table 6

THE PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER OF THE WOMEN SUBJECTS  
IN EACH SPHERE, BY YEAR

Sphere of Activity Totals (No.)	Year	Consumption		Production		Politics	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2	1940-1941	1	50	0	0	1	50
5	1950-1951	4	80	0	0	1	20
<u>3</u>	1960-1961	3	100	0	0	0	0
10							

The results did not uphold the hypothesized increase (from 1940 to 1960) of the percentage of women employed in consumption. The data are presented in Table 7.

When the results from hypotheses eight (on the percentage of the women biographical subjects in each sphere for each year) and nine were compared they were found to be different. The percentage of women biographical subjects in consumption increased from 50 per cent in 1940-1941 to 100 per cent in 1960-1961, while the percentage of women actually employed in consumption decreased from 67.5 per cent in 1940 to 64.9 per cent in 1960.

Although there were no hypotheses originally formulated concerning the distributions of the biographical subjects into the various nationalities, age groups, and marital status groups, this information was recorded for all biographies in the forty per cent sample. After the results were on the I B M cards, they were sorted by year for these distributions. The following tables (Tables 8, 9, and 10) give the results obtained.

Table 7

THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ACTUALLY EMPLOYED  
IN EACH SPHERE, BY YEAR

Year	Consumption	Production	Politics	Not Reported
1940	67.5	27.2	2.8	2.5
1960	64.9	25.8	4.3	4.8

Table 8

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BIOGRAPHICAL SUBJECTS  
IN EACH NATIONALITY GROUP, BY YEAR

Year	Nationality									
	American		European		Oriental		African		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1940-1941	16	76.2	3	14.3	2	9.5	0	0	0	0
1950-1951	22	88.0	2	8.0	0	0	0	0	1	4.0
1960-1961	17	85.0	3	15.0	0	0	0	0	0	0



Table 9

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BIOGRAPHICAL SUBJECTS  
IN EACH AGE GROUP, BY YEAR

Year	Age Group					
	Under 40		41-50		Over 50	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1940-1941	7	33.3	6	28.6	8	38.1
1950-1951	6	24.0	10	40.0	9	36.0
1960-1961	8	40.0	3	15.0	9	45.0

Table 10

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BIOGRAPHICAL SUBJECTS  
IN EACH MARITAL STATUS CATEGORY, BY YEAR

Year	Marital Status							
	Single		Married		Other		Not Given	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1940-1941	6	28.6	12	57.1	2	9.5	1	4.8
1950-1951	4	16.0	14	56.0	6	24.0	1	4.0
1960-1961	2	10.0	10	50.0	5	25.0	3	15.0

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this research study the biographies in the Saturday Evening Post and Life magazines were read and analyzed with two primary objectives in mind. These were to use the biographies to (1) study trends and changes over time in these popular magazines and (2) to make comparisons between these popular magazines and actual social change in the United States over the same time period.

The hypotheses were formulated so that the results obtained from testing them would provide the information needed to fulfill these two objectives.

We can now consider the results obtained by this study in relation to some of the theories which were observed (in Chapter I) to be relevant to the question of the relationships between literature and social change. Six theories were presented in Chapter I as being in this category. It was decided that it would be possible to test several of these theories using the results obtained in the present study. Those theories which will be applied to this data are: (1) the reflection theory, and (2) the theory that literature influences society.

The nine hypotheses tested were first formulated in the context of the reflection theory. We can now consider each of these hypotheses individually and note whether or not each was upheld by the data collected, whether or not each upheld the reflection theory in general (and if so, in what specific form), and whether the influence theory is upheld. We can also

attempt to explain changes found by using the sociological orientations already introduced.

In testing Hypothesis One it was found that magazine biographies in each sample year (1940-1941, 1950-1951, and 1960-1961) had a significantly higher percentage of subjects from the sphere of consumption than from the spheres of production or politics. This result was the one originally hypothesized.

In order to find out if this hypothesis upheld the reflection theory it is necessary to compare the results of testing it to the results of testing Hypothesis Four. Hypothesis Four concerned the percentage of the actual employed labor force found to be in each of the three spheres (consumption, production, and politics) for each year (1940, 1950, and 1960). The data did not uphold Hypothesis Four. (There was not a higher percentage of the labor force in consumption than in the other two spheres.) Rather the data showed that the highest percentage of the labor force was in the sphere of production.

Thus when we compare Hypothesis One and Four for purposes of testing the reflection theory we find that the distributions (of the percentages of subjects and persons in each sphere) are not the same. (See Tables 1 and 3) When we compare one period at a time we find that the highest percentage for the labor force is in production while the highest percentage for the biographical subjects is in consumption.

We find also that there is a very small percentage of the labor force in the sphere of politics for each period while the percentages are significantly higher for politics for the biographical subjects. In fact the percentage of the biographical subjects in politics is greater in each period



than the percentage in production. For example in 1960-61 21.6 per cent of the subjects were in politics while only 3.9 per cent were in production. At the same period only 5 per cent of the labor force were in politics while 51 per cent were in production. These results do not uphold the reflection theory in the form where literature is proposed to reflect social facts. Hypothesis One (compared with Hypothesis Four) can be considered as upholding one form of the reflection theory, however, that is the form which proposes that literature reflects the significant values and norms of a culture.

There has been an increasing emphasis on the consumption sphere in the biographies. The percentage of subjects in consumption went up from 56.4 per cent in 1940-1941, to 64.3 per cent in 1950-1951, to 74.5 per cent in 1960-1961. Also there has been a far greater emphasis on the political sphere than is indicated by the incidence of actual occupations in politics. We can attempt to explain some of these results in terms of several sociological concepts which were introduced earlier in the study.

First we can look at these results in terms of recent changes in the American social structure. Some of the parts of the social structure in which change has occurred (which may have been influential toward such an emphasis on people in consumption) are the type of social character, the nature and value of work and leisure in the society, and the structure and functions of the mass communications system itself as one element of the total social structure.

David Riesman's work on the changing type of social character makes clear the vast implications which the change from a predominantly "inner-directed" character type to an "other-directed" type can have for the individual life pattern and consequently for the total society. (22)

Erich Fromm has described the concept of "character" in the following terms.

Not only has character the function of permitting the individual to act consistently and reasonably; it is also the basis for his adjustment to society. The character of the child is molded by the character of its parents in response to whom it develops. The parents and their methods of child training in turn are determined by the social structure of their culture. The average family is the "psychic agency" of society and by adjusting himself to his family the child acquires the character which later makes him adjusted to the tasks he has to perform in social life. He acquires that character which makes him want to do what he has to do, and the core of which he shares with most members of the same social class or culture. The fact that most members of a social class or culture share significant elements of character and that one can speak of a 'social character' representing the core of a character structure common to most people of a given culture shows the degree to which character is formed by social and cultural patterns. (23, p. 60)

We can thus see why a shift in the dominant type of social character is an important indicator of a shift in emphasis in the total social structure. We can turn to Riesman's analysis of the differences between the "inner-directed" and the "other-directed" type, and of the patterns of life which are associated with the shift to "other-direction". He emphasizes the connection between "other-direction" and an age of consumption. "... in the most advanced countries of the world, and particularly in America, it (the revolution which cut us off from family-and-clan-oriented traditional ways of life) is giving way to another sort of revolution--a whole range of social developments associated with a shift from an age of production to an age of consumption." (22, pp. 20-21)

He goes on to explain the differences between "inner-direction" and "other-direction".

The society of transitional population growth develops in its typical members a social character whose conformity is insured by their tendency to acquire early in life an internalized

set of goals. These I shall term inner-directed people and the society in which they live a society dependent on inner-direction. ... the society of incipient population decline develops in its typical members a social character whose conformity is insured by their tendency to be sensitized to the expectations and preferences of others. These I shall term other-directed people and the society in which they live one dependent on other-direction. ... What is common to all the other-directed people is that their contemporaries are the source of the direction for the individual--either those known to him or those with whom he is indirectly acquainted, through friends and through the mass media. This source is of course "internalized" in the sense that dependence on it for guidance in life is implanted early. The goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift with that guidance: it is only the process of striving itself and the process of paying close attention to the signals from others that remain unaltered throughout life. (22, pp. 23 and 37)

He later turns to a discussion of biography and models in the period of inner direction and then contrasts their role with the role of the mass media in presenting guidance (also including the presentation of biographies and models) to individuals in the stage of other direction.

Biography as well as fiction allows children, in a society dependent on inner-direction, to move in imagination away from home and into a rationalized world--cooperating in this way with the parental installation of internal, self-piloting processes. In the George Washington myth, for instance, little boys learn that they may grow up to be president and are given scales by which to measure and discipline themselves for the job during boyhood. If they do not tell lies, if they work hard, and so on--if, that is, they act in their boyhoods as the legendary Washington acted in his--then they shall succeed to this adult role. ... In the era of incipient decline of population children begin their training as consumers at an increasingly young age. ... It has become worthwhile for professional story tellers to concentrate on the child market; and as the mass media can afford specialists and market research on the particular age cultures and class cultures involved, the children are more heavily cultivated in their own terms than ever before.

To be sure, the change from the preceding era of inner-direction in America is not abrupt; such changes never are. Formerly the mass media catered to the child market in at least three fields; school texts or homilies, magazines designed for children, and penny dreadfuls. But when these are compared with the contemporary media we are at once aware of differences.

... They (the writers) aimed generally to spur work drives and stimulate mobility rather than to effect any socialization



of taste. ... The boys weeklies and their American counterparts were involved with training the young for the frontiers of production (including warfare), and as an incident of that training the embryo athlete might eschew smoke and drink. The comparable media today train the young for the frontiers of consumption-- to tell the difference between Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola, as later between Old Golds and Chesterfields.

The most important point in the foregoing discussion relating to the results found in the present study (showing an increasing over-emphasis on consumption) is the relationship Riesman gives between the society where the "other-directed" character type predominates, and the emphasis on consumption-training through the mass media, rather than training to spur productive drives.

Fromm has discussed a similar type of character orientation (similar to the "other-directed" type) using the label of the "marketing orientation". (23) He has also pointed out the important part which the "consumption emphasis" plays in such a character orientation. (In fact he labels this orientation as a "non-productive" orientation.) "The market concept of value, the emphasis on exchange value rather than on use value, has led to a similar concept of value with regard to people and particularly to oneself. The character orientation which is rooted in the experience of oneself as a commodity and of one's value as exchange value I call the marketing orientation." (23, p. 68)

He goes on to emphasize the rapid growth of this "marketing orientation" in our time and also the development of a new type of phenomenon--the "personality market". He points out that in order to be a success on the "personality market" the individual has to be adaptable to ever-changing new expectations on the part of other people. The individual has to know what kind of person is most in demand. He explains how the individual obtains



this knowledge:

This knowledge is transmitted in a general way throughout the whole process of education, from kindergarten to college, and implemented by the family. The knowledge acquired at the early stage is not sufficient however; it emphasizes only certain general qualities like adaptability, ambition, and sensitivity to the changing expectations of other people. The more specific picture of the models for success one gets elsewhere. The pictorial magazines, newspapers, and newsreels show the pictures and life stories of the successful in many variations. (23, p. 71)

Fromm also writes that motion picture stars are important embodiments of the patterns for success on the "personality market". He states that their function "is to serve as the link an average person has with the world of the 'great'. Even if he cannot hope to become as successful as they are, he can try to emulate them; they are his saints and because of their success they embody the norms for living." (23, p. 71)

We can thus see that if the predominant character orientation in our society is becoming more and more the "marketing orientation" or the "other-directed" character type, then the growing emphasis in the mass magazine biographies on people from the consumption sphere of activity (and especially on movie stars and similar types) might be considered as a natural consequence. This growth in biographical subjects in consumption would seem to be reflecting the change in character type (and resulting changes in social structure).

Another element which should be considered here is the nature of work and leisure in our society. In recent years there has been much concern with the changing place of work, and consequently of leisure also, in the lives of the masses of people in American society. Riesman writes concerning the new workers coming north from rural areas and what they find in our industrial society. "They enter a society which has over the past eighty years taken

in the form of leisure or free time approximately a third of the gains in productivity which industrialism and organization have achieved. The average work week now hovers around forty hours, as contrasted with seventy hours in 1850 and, in many industries and on the farms, nearly as much as that as late as 1920." (24, p. 162)

Of course for many workers the working hours have been even further reduced since this was written--leaving even more time freed for leisure. However, according to some social critics, many people who are given shorter work weeks do not seem to be able to make good use of the free time. The ensuing discussion on work and leisure involves observations that manifest value judgments. These observations are included because they represent empirically expressed contemporary viewpoints of relevance in American society. These observations are included in the text because of their social relevance and not because they reflect the views of the author of the thesis.

Thus the use of leisure time for these people has developed into a social "problem". "For many people today, the sudden onrush of leisure is a version of technological unemployment; their education has not prepared them for it and the creation of new wants at their expense moves faster than their ability to order and assimilate these wants." (24, p. 166)

Increasing our consumption of goods and services, rather than increasing production, has become a goal in our society. Social critics such as Vance Packard have pointed out that we have passed the point in our economy where we need to encourage production--rather the greatest need now is for increased consumption. Mr. Packard said that even now through advertising our "latent desires" for material things are being uncovered so that we will be motivated to consume more and more. (Vance Packard in a speech--American

Upheaval, October 11, 1965, at the Kansas State University Union.)

Ernest Van Den Haag has pointed out that our system of mass production, while lessening the work time necessary for a given amount of production, has intensified drudgery during this abridged work time. He writes, "Owing to specialization and mechanization, work for most people is standardized and less varied, its pattern and rhythm inflexibly set by machinery with little scope for individual intelligence or initiative and for spontaneous action." (26, p. 505)

He further points out that this type of repetitious work is having a negative effect on the type of leisure time experience that these workers are capable of. "... the longest period of time spent on any one thing is still spent on work. The deadening effect of the meaningless drain on energy carries over and influences the kind of play-experience sought. Though condemned to pleasure, people often find themselves out on parole, craving to be 'distracted from distraction by distraction.' (T. S. Eliot) ... The spontaneous imagination needed for recreation seeps out through non-use during working hours." (26, p. 505)

Because of this deadening effect on the "spontaneous imagination", these people turn in their leisure time to passive forms of entertainment that will require no effort or strain on their part, that will provide vicarious satisfactions for them, and distract them from thinking about their lives. Since leisure and consumption have assumed such importance in their lives they are eager to read about those engaged in activities connected with consumption and to be guided in "styles of consumption". The trend toward an ever higher percentage of biographical subjects in consumption might be seen as a reflection of the increasing importance of leisure

time and concern about consumption activities (rather than production ones) in our society.

Now we can turn to a discussion of how the structure and functions of the mass communications system itself might have helped to bring about some of the results found in the present study. One interesting result of this study was the great emphasis found on the political sphere in the mass magazine biographies compared with the per cent of the actual labor force working in this sphere. Riesman seems to think that this over-emphasis on politics in the mass media is actually disguising the extent of political indifference in the United States. (22)

... the much criticized media--especially the press--seemed to have maintained a surprisingly inner-directed attitude toward the political. Indeed they pay more attention to politics than their audience seems to demand. ... many of the agencies of mass communications give political news a larger play than might be dictated by strict considerations of market research. In this way they help maintain the prestige of politics as a presumed interest on the part of their audience. ...

This position of prestige given to politics is especially important for the other-directed person, since he looks to the mass media for guidance in his life plan and hierarchy of values. He is led to assume that other people must rate politics as the mass media themselves do--that they are politically alert moralizers even though he is not. ... The media, far from being a conspiracy to dull the political sense of the people, could be viewed as a conspiracy to disguise the extent of political indifference. (22, p. 228)

Thus we might explain the lop-sided emphasis on the political sphere in the mass media as a reflection of a value held by the communicators (and by many in the audience). They apparently consider concern about political events, and involvement of average citizens in these political events, as an important value in our culture. Because they hold this value they give a large amount of attention to the sphere of politics. By giving this attention to events and people in politics they are enhancing the prestige



of these events and people in our society. In this manner the mass media are serving the function of "status-conferral". For, as Lazarsfeld and Merton have pointed out, "enhanced status accrues to those who merely receive attention in the media, quite apart from any editorial support." (19, p. 461)

However, in this case of the attention being given to politics in American society, the mass media are probably also serving a "narcotizing dysfunction". (19, p. 464) Riesman also points out that the emphasis on politics is serving this type of dysfunction for the public. "The total impact of the mass media on the political attitudes of Americans does more to encourage other-directed tolerance than to preserve inner-directed indignation. The sheer emphasis on consumer skills in the mass media, an emphasis that both encourages and caters to the other-directed, has cumulative effects. Since politics is actually less real than the press lords pretend to themselves and their audiences that it is, the consumption of political vituperation may easily become more than ever an escape in the usual invidious sense, rationalized by its high media-based prestige." (22, p. 237)

Thus the effect of this over-emphasis may in reality not be to encourage political action and involvement on the part of the readers but rather to encourage passive reception of the information presented through the media.

We can now look at the subjects of the biographies which are read in the individual's leisure time in terms of reference group theory. Reference group theory as a general sociological orientation was introduced in Chapter I. The subjects of the biographies can probably be considered as reference individuals for many readers. Concerning the selection of reference individuals, Merton states, "... the selection of reference individuals is

presumably no more idiosyncratic than the selection of reference groups. Almost irrespective of provenience, sociological theory holds that identification with groups and with individuals occupying designated statuses does not occur at random but tends to be patterned by the environing structure of established social relationships and by prevailing cultural definitions." (20. p. 302)

If the identification by the readers with individuals occupying "designated statuses" is patterned by the "prevailing cultural definitions" then we can begin to see, in our contemporary culture with the prevailing emphases on consumption and leisure time, and the "other-directed" character type gaining prominence, why the primary emphasis is on reference individuals from the sphere of consumption.

The function of the reference individual for the person who is identifying with him is described by Merton, "The person who identifies himself with a reference individual will seek to approximate the behavior and values of that individual in his several roles. The concept of role-model can be thought of as more restricted in scope, denoting a more limited identification with an individual in only one or a selected few of his roles." (20, p. 302)

If the readers of the mass magazines begin by using a biographical subject as a role-model in one area, such as in the area of taste (in clothing or recreational activities for example) this does not mean that the model's influence will remain confined to that one role. In many cases the role model may eventually become a reference individual as "his multiple roles are adopted for emulation." (20, p. 302)

Merton emphasizes that partial identification many times starts a search

for more knowledge of the role model in other spheres.

This type of process seems to be involved in the familiar and widespread interest in the private lives of public figures who are serving as role models for many. Partial identification with culture heroes of the past and present may extend to full identification thus generating an active concern with their behavior and values, far removed from the role in which they came to prominence.

Biographers, editors of "fan" magazines and "gossip columnists" thrive on this assumed tendency for role models to become reference individuals. (20, p. 303)

Thus we could consider that one reason for the interest in biographies of these figures is that people are anxious to learn more about the personal lives of those they look to for guidance. They want to follow the role-models' guidelines in more than one sphere.

Some social scientists have hypothesized that there is a greater tendency for people to use distant figures (such as movie stars and politicians) as reference individuals in recent times, in our society, because there is now less local interpersonal concern and less chance of lasting identifications with local figures. (Social mobility partially accounts for this situation in contemporary society.) Merton sees this as a problem connected with the structure of the social milieu (the immediate social environment in which the individual is directly engaged). He writes that

The structure of social milieux obviously varies: for example, some have a fairly stable structure with enduring social relationships among substantially the same people; others may have both a relatively unstable structure and many and rapid changes of personnel. And as Otto Fenichel has observed, such rapid turnover often with consequent effects upon patterns of social relations may "make lasting identifications impossible."<sup>37</sup> It may also dispose those people who lack local reference individuals to turn to more distant figures with whom they identify themselves.

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37 The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1945), 505.

In this connection, Sherif has also observed that the modern mass media of communication have "replaced to a considerable extent face-to-face contacts in shaping attitudes, identifications ... and the subsequent 'public opinion'. ... The printed word, the broadcast announcement, the image on the screen, appearing with the stamp of these crystallized institutions of prestige, have different effects than when they are transmitted in personal contact." (26, p. 308)

We can also consider the results of this study in terms of the value-orientations and cultural norms in our society and how these may be shifting. Williams has defined cultural norms (in relation to values) in this manner, "The core of any culture consists of those values and ideal-patterns widely regarded as obligatory. The term 'cultural norm' refers to a specific prescription of the course that action should (is supposed to) follow in a given situation. Cultural norms, therefore, include both cultural goals and the approved means for reaching these goals. To be cultural, the norms have only to be acquired by learning and to be shared by individuals." (1, p. 25)

After giving this definition he further explains what some of the major dimensions of variation in the cultural norms are. He gives these as (1) distribution, (2) enforcement, (3) transmission, and (4) conformity. (1, pp. 26-27)

Williams goes on in his discussion of American society to outline major value-orientations (or value-belief complexes) in American society. One of these major value-orientations is the "central stress on personal achievement, especially secular occupational achievement." (1, p. 417)

He points out that this emphasis should be "distinguished from the



broader valuation of personal excellence. The comparatively striking feature of American culture is its tendency to identify standards of personal excellence with competitive occupational achievement. In the pure type, the value attached to achievement does not comprehend the person as a whole, but only his accomplishments. ..." (1, p. 418)

After discussion of how the success pattern has in the past been linked to performance in work he writes that now, "there is growing evidence that performance in consumption is partly replacing performance in work: how one spends his income, rather than what he did to earn it appears increasingly to be a mark of achievement." (1, p. 419)

Here we see that a shift is occurring in this traditional value-orientation. Performance in consumption is apparently becoming at least as important in our society as performance in work. This value-orientation of "achievement and success" seems to be closely linked to another value-orientation--that of "activity and work". Williams stresses that the culture of the United States is an almost ideal type of a culture emphasizing activity. He says that, "a strong cultural emphasis upon disciplined productive activity was to be expected in America during the first two centuries in which value systems were being generalized out of experience. ... This 'metaphysical drive to work' (the phrase used by Goetz Briefs, The Proletariat (New York, 1937)) permeated the older agrarian culture of this country and exists even today in rural areas and among certain other subgroups that have not yet fully assimilated the more recent cult of success and conspicuous consumption." (1, pp. 422-423)

However, towards the end of the discussion on this value-orientation he adds that work does not hold the high place in our culture that it once

did. "As the social structure has become more and more differentiated, as manual labor has lost its connection with the control of private property, and as differentials of wealth and power have become crystallized, work as such has been devalued. The focus of positive valuation is now shifting to certain patterns of achievement and success." (1, p. 424)

Thus a shift in this traditional value-orientation also is apparently occurring. Work and productive activity are not maintaining the same positive value that they held in the past. We might say at this point that the growing emphasis on the sphere of consumption found in the present study could be considered as a reflection of the shifts recently occurring in these two traditional value-orientations.

If we look at a third major value-orientation, that of a high level of "material comfort", we find that rather than less emphasis being placed on it in recent decades, its importance has continued to expand in our society. Williams writes that, "There is some criticism that passive gratification elements in American society have been receiving increased emphasis in recent decades. The most obvious although probably not the most important index of this trend is provided by commercial advertising that emphasizes comfort and effortless gratification. ... The major focus is upon receiving, looking at, being catered to, in short, maximum pleasurable sensation with minimum effort or activity." (1, p. 434)

If we consider this third value-orientation of material comfort as growing in its influence on the American people, then we can consider the emphasis on consumption in the mass magazines used in the present study to be a reflection of this trend.

In considering Hypotheses One and Four there does not appear to be any

significant evidence to uphold the theory that mass literature influences or controls society in the sense of promoting change in the structure of the society. As Lazarsfeld and Merton have pointed out, "Since the mass media are supported by great business concerns geared into the current social and economic system, the media contribute to the maintenance of that system. ... these media not only continue to affirm the status quo but, in the same measure, they fail to raise essential questions about the structure of the society. ... Since our commercially sponsored mass media promote a largely unthinking allegiance to our social structure, they cannot be relied upon to work for changes, even minor changes, in that structure." (19, p. 465-466)

In Hypothesis Two we tested whether or not the percentage of the biographical subjects from the sphere of consumption increased significantly from the 1940-1941 period to the 1950-1951 period and from the 1950-1951 period to the 1960-1961 period. There was an apparent increase in the per cent in consumption for each ten-year period (See Table 1, Chapter III), but this was not strongly supported by the statistical tests. (There was one chance in four that this apparent increase could be due to chance.) However, the increase over the total twenty-year period was definitely significant.

Hypothesis Five stated that the percentage of people in the employed labor force in the sphere of consumption increased over each ten-year period (and over the twenty-year period). The data obtained showed this to be true. (See Table 3, Chapter III)

We can now compare Hypotheses Two and Five in order to determine if the reflection theory is upheld.

When we examine the trends for each of these two sets of data over the

twenty-year time period it appears that in two out of the three spheres of activity (consumption and production) they are similar. In the distribution of the biographical subjects the per cent in consumption increased from 56.4 per cent in 1940-1941 to 64.3 per cent in 1950-1951 to 74.5 per cent in 1960-1961. In the distribution of the employed labor force the per cent in consumption also increased, from 36.5 per cent in 1940 to 37.4 per cent in 1950 to 40.0 per cent in 1960. When we look at the per cent in production we find the trend is also similar. In the distribution of the biographical subjects the per cent in production decreased from 9.1 per cent in 1940-1941 to 0.0 per cent in 1950-1951. The per cent in production in the labor force meanwhile decreased from 58.5 per cent to 56.6 per cent from 1940 to 1950. However, the trend is not the same for the two sets of data for the period 1950 to 1960. While the per cent in production in the labor force decreased even more (from 56.5 per cent to 51.0 per cent) the per cent of biographical subjects in production went up from 0.0 per cent to 3.9 per cent. If we look only at the twenty-year period results (from 1940 to 1960), the trend for the biographies and the labor force are similar for production.

In the other sphere of activity, politics, the trends are the same for the first ten-year period and are opposite for both the second ten-year period and the twenty-year period taken in totality. The per cent of the biographical subjects in politics went up from 34.5 per cent to 35.7 per cent in the 1940-1941 to 1950-1951 period and down from 35.7 per cent to 21.6 per cent in the 1950-1951 to 1960-1961 period. The per cent of the labor force in politics went up from 3.1 per cent to 4.5 per cent in the 1940 to 1950 period and on up to 5.0 per cent in the 1950 to 1960 period.

Since the trends are in the same direction for two of the three spheres



this might be considered as some evidence for the reflection theory (in the form of literature reflecting "social facts").

The third hypothesis proposed that the number of biographies presented in the magazines increased over each ten-year period. This was only partially upheld by the data collected. The number increased for both magazines from 1940-1941 to 1950-1951 but decreased in the second period--1950-1951 to 1960-1961. This hypothesis was not related to any of the other hypotheses for purposes of testing the reflection theory. However, these results were surprising in light of the results Dr. Lowenthal obtained on the number of biographies for several earlier sample periods. (13, p. 111) For his results see Appendix I, Table 1. The yearly average number of biographies had been increasing steadily from 1901 to 1941. The data from the present study showed that the number also increased from 1941 to 1951. However, it decreased from the 1950-1951 period to the 1960-1961 period.

Another analysis was made here in connection with the quantity of biographies. The total number of articles in each sampled issue for each of the three periods was found. (The working definition of an article is given in Appendix VA.) Then these totals were added up for each one-year period in order to compare the number of biographies with the total number of articles published. (The total number of articles was considered to be the universe.) The biographies were then calculated as a percentage of the total articles for each period. The results found are presented in Appendix VB. From these results there did not appear to be any very great change in the percentage of the articles which were biographies. However over the twenty-year span from 1940-1941 to 1960-1961 there was a small decrease in the percentage of biographies in both magazines. For Saturday Evening Post the per cent of

biographies decreased from 13.6 to 11.8 per cent while for Life the decrease was from 3.4 to 3.0 per cent.

A possible explanation for this decrease in biography could be the spread of television to a mass audience during the decade from 1950 to 1960. Perhaps television is replacing this particular form of mass entertainment. Perhaps it is easier for people who formerly used magazine biographies as "escape entertainment" during their leisure time to now turn on their televisions and passively watch a similar type of story being dramatized for them on the screen. (This involves even less effort on the part of the people viewing.)

There does not appear to be any evidence to uphold the influence theory in these results.

Hypothesis Six stated that the percentage of non-whites presented as subjects of biographies increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1960-1961 period. This was upheld by the data collected but the percentage increase was small,--and the number of non-whites was the same for 1940-1941 and 1960-1961. The two non-whites used as biographical subjects in the 1940-1941 sample were Japanese rather than Americans while the two in 1960-1961 were American Negroes. It had been planned to compare these results with those from Hypothesis Seven in order to see if reflection of social facts was upheld. (See Table 4, Chapter III) Hypothesis Seven had stated that the percentage of non-whites in the actual employed labor force increased from 1940 to 1960. Hypothesis Seven was not upheld by the data collected. (See Table 5, Chapter III) Rather the percentage of non-whites in the employed labor force decreased slightly from 1940 to 1960. However, since some biographical subjects were not Americans we cannot compare the magazine results with the

United States Census in order to test the theories.

We should note here however the underrepresentation of Negro Americans in these mass magazine biographies. No Negro Americans were presented (in this forty per cent sample) as subjects of biographies until 1960-1961 when two were presented. This is in contrast with the Census data where we find that around ten per cent of the total employed labor force is non-white for both 1940 and 1960. Since there were twenty biographies found in the forty per cent sample for 1960-1961 and two had Negro subjects we can see that biographies are coming closer to a reflection of social "facts" in the 1960-1961 period. In the earlier period the distribution was not a reflection of social "facts" but was probably a reflection of a value held by many members of the reading audience--that of "racial superiority" (although even at that time this value was conflicting with another major American value-orientation--that of "equality of opportunity"). We can also note here the similarity of these findings for the earlier period to the results obtained by Berelson and Salter in their study of magazine fiction in 1937 and 1943. (15) They found that while minorities made up forty per cent of the United States population they made up only ten per cent of the population of the short stories studied. They also found that out of 900 identifiable characters in these stories there were only sixteen Negroes and ten Jews. They concluded that there was discrimination against these minorities by the writers of these stories, even though this may not have been conscious discriminatory behavior. This same explanation might be applied to the results of the present study of biographical subjects.

The distribution in 1940-1941 may also have been a reflection of the structure of the mass media itself. That is, the controllers of mass media

were afraid of alienating some segment of their audience by presenting Negroes as success-models (biographical subjects). We might speculate that the fact that two Negroes were presented in the latest period could be a reflection of the same type of fear on the part of the media--with all the recent upheaval in our society concerning civil rights and equality for Negroes, they may now be afraid of alienating more readers by not including Negroes than by including them.

Another explanation for this underrepresentation, involving the controllers of the mass media, could be that this ten per cent (the Negroes) of the population had relatively little social significance in the eyes of the controllers in 1940, but by 1960 their social significance had substantially increased. This explanation would offer evidence that this form of mass popular literature is upholding some of the modalities of relationship between art content and social reality given by Kavolis. (10, p. 470) Kavolis states,

Art reinforces dominant cultural values by offering images psychologically congruent with them. ... In the absence of direct pressures, this function appears to have priority over other sociological variables in determining art content. ... Psychological congruity of art content with internalized cultural values appears to come before literal representation of social conditions. The reflection of cultural values is, however, modified by the following function of art content.

Art expresses subjective involvements with contemporary events by representing them (or lack of involvement by non-representation), and by grappling with them, may help to shape emerging group and individual identities. (10, pp. 470-471)

Thus we can see that there is evidence here too for the reflection theory, especially in the form where literature is proposed to reflect values and norms of the society (and changes in these over time).

Hypothesis Eight proposed that the percentage of the women subjects of



biographies presented who were in the sphere of consumption increased from the 1940-1941 period to the 1960-1961 period. The data showed this to be valid. (See Table 6, Chapter III) However the numbers of women biographical subjects were too small to enable us to make valid comparisons. There were only two women subjects in 1940-1941, five in 1950-1951, and three in 1960-1961.

In order to test the reflection theory these results were to have been compared with those of Hypothesis Nine. Hypothesis Nine had stated that there was a higher percentage of women (of all women actually employed) with occupations in consumption in 1960 than in 1940. The results did not uphold the hypothesis. (See Table 7, Chapter III)

In 1940, 67.5 per cent of the women actually employed were employed in consumption while in 1960 the per cent had dropped to 64.9. Since there were not a large enough number of women biographical subjects to enable us to use that data in comparison with the Census data, we cannot test these hypotheses for reflection of social facts as originally planned.

However it is interesting to notice how few women biographical subjects there were in all the magazines. If we compare their small incidence in the magazines with the total percentage of women in the actual United States population we could definitely conclude that reality in the form of social facts is not being reflected (by the proportion of biographies written about women and men). These findings on the small proportion of subjects which are women would again offer evidence for Kavolis' contention that literature is congruent with internalized cultural values rather than with actual representation of social conditions. (10)

In the forty per cent sample of the biographies (where Schedule Two was applied) for Life magazine in 1950-51 and 1960-61 certain additional information

was obtained. This information concerned the "significant other" people in the subjects' lives. This information was obtained to help find out what people were probably used as reference individuals and groups by the subjects of the biographies themselves. Since we hypothesized that the biographical subjects were probably used by most readers as reference individuals, it was thought that it would be useful to find out in turn who the "significant others" were for these biographical subjects. We could thus see which people influenced their beliefs, values, attitudes and their behavior. Information was therefore obtained about what other people were mentioned in the biographies, especially where a great deal of space was devoted to them. It was noted whether these "significant others" were in the same sphere of activity as the subject or in a different sphere. The individual results obtained are given in Appendix VI A, p. 103.

It was found (for the ten biographies studied) that for the three subjects in politics the significant others consisted of four others from politics, and seven family members. For the seven subjects in consumption the significant others consisted of one person and two groups of people also in consumption, one in politics, and five people and two groups which were family members. Thus we can see that the "significant others" for these biographical subjects were most often other people from the same sphere as themselves, or family members. Since these subjects were all from either the politics or consumption sphere we can see from the above information that people in production are not very important to them, and probably have little influence on their attitudes or behavior.

In conclusion we can summarize the findings of this research study as they relate to the theories in the sociology of literature which have been

discussed. In general it was found that most of the data obtained by testing the nine hypotheses did not uphold the reflection theory in the specific form in which it is proposed that literature reflects social facts. The only hypotheses where there was evidence of this type of reflection shown by the results were Hypotheses Two and Five. In comparing these two hypotheses (Hypothesis Two concerned the increase in the percentage of subjects in consumption and Hypothesis Five concerned the increase in the percentage of the employed labor force in consumption over time) it was found that the trends in two of the three spheres of activity (consumption and production) were in the same direction. This could be considered as some evidence of reflection of social facts.

Another type of reflection theory, the theory that literature reflects the significant values and norms of a culture seemed to be more strongly upheld by the results of this study. In all hypotheses tested there was at least a probable explanation for the results found which fit into this reflection theory. It was upheld by the results of Hypotheses One and Four, Two and Five, Eight and Nine, and was a definite possibility for explaining the results of Hypotheses Three, and Six and Seven.

No definite evidence was found in any of the results that would uphold the influence theory in the form in which it is proposed that literature influences social facts.

It can be concluded, from the results of this study in the area of popular literature in mass media and social change in the United States, that the theory in the sociology of literature that was most strongly upheld was the form of the reflection theory in which literature is proposed to reflect the significant values and norms of the culture.

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## APPENDIX

## Appendix I

TABLE 1 (13, p. 111)

DISTRIBUTION OF BIOGRAPHIES ACCORDING TO PROFESSIONS IN  
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST AND COLLIER'S FOR SELECTED YEARS  
BETWEEN 1901-1941

	1901-1914 (5 sample yrs.)		1922-1930 (6 sample yrs.)		1930-1934 (4 years)		1940-1941 (1 year)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Political life	81	46	112	28	95	31	31	25
Business and professional	49	28	72	18	42	14	25	20
Entertainment	47	26	211	54	169	55	69	55
Total Number	177	100	395	100	306	100	125	100
Yearly average of biographies	36		66		77		125	

TABLE 2 (13, p. 116)

## THE HEROES AND THEIR SPHERES

	Number of Stories	Per Cent
Sphere of production	3	2
Sphere of consumption	91	73
Entertainers and sports figures	69	55
Newspaper and radio figures	10	8
Agents of consumers' goods	5	4
Topics of light fiction	7	6
Sphere of politics	31	25
Total	125	100

## Appendix II A

## Schedule One

TO BE APPLIED TO ALL BIOGRAPHIES IN THE FIFTY  
PER CENT SAMPLE OF THE MAGAZINES

Magazine	S. E. P.	Life	
Date			
Year			
Classification of occupation	Consumption	Production	Politics
Subject's name			
Title of article			
Author			
Primary occupation of subject			
Other occupations			

## Appendix II B

## Schedule Two

TO BE APPLIED TO FORTY PER CENT SAMPLE (OF THE FIFTY PER  
CENT SAMPLE OF THE MAGAZINES)

Magazine	S. E. P.	Life			
Date					
Classification of occupation	Consumption	Production	Politics		
Race of subject	White	Negro	Other		
Nationality	American	European	Oriental	African	Other
Sex	Female	Male			
Age	Up to 20	21-31	31-41	41-50	Over 50
Marital Status	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Separated
Subject's name					
Title of article					
Author					
Primary occupation of subject					
Other occupations					



## Appendix II C

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF THE SPHERES OF ACTIVITY INTO WHICH  
THE BIOGRAPHICAL SUBJECTS ARE CLASSIFIED

The subjects which will be classified in the sphere of consumption are those whose occupations are of the following types; entertainers and sports figures, radio, television, and newspaper figures, agents of consumers' goods, transportation and communication agents, people in service and advisory capacities, and those working for recreation, education, welfare, and religious organizations.

The subjects classified in the sphere of politics will be government employees, people in public administration and those who hold elected or appointed office such as senators or ambassadors.

The subjects classified in production will be those involved in basic productive industries or in vocations which serve society's basic needs. (See also the Classification of Industry Groups in Appendix IV A.)

## Appendix III A

## Hypothesis One

## Statistical Tests

A. Null Hypothesis: The number of subjects in consumption and production is equal. (1940-1941)

Consumption =	31	$F_1 =$	18
Production =	5	$F_2 =$	18
Total =	36	$f_1 =$	31
		$f_2 =$	5

$$\chi^2 = 18.642, P < .005, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the .005 level.

B. Null Hypothesis: The number of subjects in consumption and politics is equal. (1940-1941)

Consumption =	31	$F_1 =$	25
Politics =	19	$F_2 =$	25
Total =	50	$f_1 =$	31
		$f_2 =$	19

$$\chi^2 = 2.88, .05 < P < .10, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis would be accepted at the conventional level of .005. It could be rejected at the .10 level however.

## Appendix III A

## Hypothesis One

## Statistical Tests

C. Null Hypothesis: The number of subjects in consumption and production is equal. (1950-1951)

Consumption = 45	$F_1 = 22.5$
Production = 0	$F_2 = 22.5$
Total = 45	$f_1 = 45$
	$f_2 = 0$

$$\chi^2 = 45, P < .005, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the .005 level.

D. Null Hypothesis: The number of subjects in consumption and politics is equal. (1950-1951)

Consumption = 45	$F_1 = 35$
Politics = 25	$F_2 = 35$
Total = 70	$f_1 = 45$
	$f_2 = 25$

$$\chi^2 = 5.72, .01 < P < .025, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the .025 level.

## Appendix III A

## Hypothesis One

## Statistical Tests

E. Null Hypothesis: The number of subjects in consumption and production is equal. (1960-1961)

$$\text{Consumption} = 38 \qquad F_1 = 20$$

$$\text{Production} = 2 \qquad F_2 = 20$$

$$\text{Total} = 40 \qquad f_1 = 38$$

$$f_2 = 2$$

$$\chi^2 = 32.4, P < .005, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the .005 level.

F. Null Hypothesis: The number of subjects in consumption and politics is equal. (1960-1961)

$$\text{Consumption} = 38 \qquad F_1 = 24.5$$

$$\text{Politics} = 11 \qquad F_2 = 24.5$$

$$\text{Total} = 49 \qquad f_1 = 38$$

$$f_2 = 11$$

$$\chi^2 = 14.84, P < .005, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the .005 level.



## Appendix III B

## Hypothesis Two

## Statistical Tests

- A. Null Hypothesis: The per cent of subjects in consumption in 1950-1951 is 56.4%. (The same as in 1940-1941)

$$F_1 = 56.4 \times 70 \text{ (subjects)} = 39.5$$

$$F_2 = 43.6 \times 70 = 30.5$$

$$f_1 = 45$$

$$f_2 = 25$$

$$x^2 = 1.759, .10 < P < .25, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

At the 10% level the null hypothesis is accepted. It can be rejected at the .25 level.

- B. Null Hypothesis: The per cent of subjects in consumption in 1960-1961 is 64.3%. (The same as in 1950-1951)

$$F_1 = 64.3 \times 51 = 32.8$$

$$F_2 = 35.7 \times 51 = 18.2$$

$$f_1 = 38$$

$$f_2 = 13$$

$$x^2 = 2.315, .10 < P < .250, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

At the 10% level the null hypothesis is accepted. It can be rejected at the .25 level.

## Appendix III B

## Hypothesis Two

## Statistical Tests

C. Null Hypothesis: The per cent of subjects in consumption is the same in 1960-1961 as in 1940-1941 (56.4%).

$$F_1 = 56.4 \times 51 = 28.8$$

$$F_2 = 43.6 \times 51 = 22.2$$

$$f_1 = 38$$

$$f_2 = 13$$

$$\chi^2 = 6.75, 0.005 < P < 0.01, 1 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the 1% (0.01) level.

## Appendix III C

## Hypothesis Four

## Statistical Tests

(Compared to Hypothesis One)

- A. Null Hypothesis: The distribution of the subjects of the biographies in 1940-1941 is the same as the Census distribution of employed persons for 1940.

$$F_1 = 55 \times 36.5\% = 20.1$$

$$F_2 = 55 \times 58.5\% = 32.2$$

$$F_3 = 55 \times 3.1\% = 1.7$$

$$f_1 = 31$$

$$f_2 = 5$$

$$f_3 = 19$$

$$\chi^2 = 204.9, P < 0.005, 2 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at 0.005.

- B. Null Hypothesis: The distribution of the subjects of the biographies in 1950-1951 is the same as the Census distribution of employed persons for 1950.

$$F_1 = 70 \times 37.4 = 26.2$$

$$f = 45$$

$$F_2 = 70 \times 56.5 = 39.6$$

$$f = 0$$

$$F_3 = 70 \times 4.5 = 3.2$$

$$f = 25$$

$$\chi^2 = 191.6, P < 0.005, 2 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.005 level.

## Appendix III C

## Hypothesis Four

## Statistical Tests

(Compared to Hypothesis One)

C. Null Hypothesis: The distribution of the subjects of the biographies in 1960-1961 is the same as the Census data distribution of employed persons for 1960.

$$F_1 = 51 \times 40.0\% = 20.4$$

$$F_2 = 51 \times 51.0\% = 26$$

$$F_3 = 51 \times 5.0\% = 2.6$$

$$f_1 = 38$$

$$f_2 = 2$$

$$f_3 = 11$$

$$\chi^2 = 64.5, P < 0.005, 2 \text{ d. f.}$$

The null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.005 level.

## Appendix IV A

CLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRY GROUPS INTO THE SPHERES  
OF CONSUMPTION, PRODUCTION OR POLITICS

Industry Group	Consumption	Production	Politics
Agriculture		x	
Forestry and fisheries		x	
Mining		x	
Construction		x	
Manufacturing		x	
Railroad and railway express service		x	
Trucking and warehousing		x	
Other transportation	x		
Communications	x		
Utilities and sanitary services		x	
Wholesale trade		x	
Food and dairy products stores	x		
Eating and drinking places	x		
Other retail trade	x		
Finance, insurance and real estate	x		
Business services	x		
Repair services	x		
Private households	x		
Other personal services	x		
Entertainment and recreation services	x		
Educational services: Government--Private	x		
Welfare, religious and nonprofit membership organizations	x		



## Appendix IV A (cont.)

Industry Group	Consumption	Production	Politics
Hospitals		x	
Other professional and related services	x		
Public administration			x
Industry not reported			

## Appendix IV B

CLASSIFICATION OF THE INDUSTRY GROUPS  
(USED IN PRESENTING DATA ON EMPLOYED FEMALES) INTO THE SPHERES  
OF CONSUMPTION, PRODUCTION OR POLITICS

Industry Group	Consumption	Production	Politics
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries		x	
Construction and mining		x	
Manufacturing		x	
Transportation, communication and other public utilities	x		
Wholesale trade		x	
Food and dairy products stores	x		
Eating and drinking places	x		
Other retail trade	x		
Finance, insurance, and real estate	x		
Business and repair services	x		
Personal services	x		
Entertainment and recreation services	x		
Educational services: Government--Private	x		
Hospitals	x		
Other professional and related services	x		
Public administration			x
Industry not reported			

## Appendix V A

In order to find the total number of articles published per observed issue, it was decided that the following would not be included in the category of an "article":

1. editorials
2. letters to the editor
3. "post scripts"
4. poetry
5. cartoons
6. "speaking of pictures"
7. pictures to the editors

## Appendix V B

THE NUMBER OF BIOGRAPHIES COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL  
NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN EACH PERIOD, BY MAGAZINE

Magazine	1940-41		Sample Period 1950-51		1960-61	
	Biog.	Total	Biog.	Total	Biog.	Total
<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>	39	286	50	377	40	340
<u>Life</u>	16	461	20	488	11	364

BIOGRAPHIES AS A PER CENT OF THE TOTAL ARTICLES  
FOR EACH SAMPLE PERIOD, BY MAGAZINE

Magazine	1940-41	1950-51	1960-61
<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>	13.6%	13.2%	11.8%
<u>Life</u>	3.4%	4.1%	3.0%

## Appendix VI A

THE SPHERE OF ACTIVITY OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS COMPARED WITH  
THE SPHERE OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL SUBJECT IN LIFE (FORTY PER  
CENT SAMPLE) 1950-1951 AND 1960-1961

Sphere of the Biographical Subject	Significant Others Sphere of Activity		
	Consumption	Production	Politics
1. King Farouk--Politics	16 yr. old girl he wants to marry		ex-wife Father
2. Stuart Symington--Politics			Father, Mother, Father-in-law, Wife, Harry Truman
3. Maggie Higgins--Consumption	Homer Bigart-- fellow reporter		Gen. Mac- Arthur
4. Scott Fitzgerald-- Consumption	Wife--Zelda Daughter--Scottie		
5. Imogene Coca--Consumption	Parents, Sid Caesar, Husband		
6. Tom Murphy--Politics (New York City Police Commissioner)			Mayor of New York, Chief Inspector, Chief of Detectives
7. Albert Ryder--Consumption	Family		
8. Joseph Mankiewicz--Consump- tion	Several movie colony people		
9. Anna Robertson Moses	Friend, Physician	Late Husband, Family	
10. Tom Dooley--Consumption	Co-workers Patients		



## Appendix VII

## LIST OF BIOGRAPHIES USED

S. E. P.	1960-1961		Forty Per Cent Sample
<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
May 14, 1960	Walter O'Malley	"A Visit With Walter O'Malley"	Melvin Durslag
May 14, 1960	Otto Lindberg	"Map Maker For Millions"	Arthur Baum
June 4, 1960	Jascha Heifetz	"A Visit With Jascha Heifetz"	Don Murray
June 4, 1960	W. Stewart Woodfill	"Michigan's Island Innkeeper"	Norma Lee Browning
July 9, 1960	Robert Stack	"I Call On Mr. Untouchable"	Pete Martin
July 30, 1960	Leslie Combs	"King of the Horse Traders"	W. C. Heinz & Clyde Hirt
Aug. 6, 1960	Richard Boone	"T.V.'s Rebellious Cowboy"	Lee Edson
Aug. 6, 1960	Dr. John Sheedy	"Doctor of the Big U."	Alan R. Jackson
Aug. 13, 1960	Sonny Liston	"Heavyweight With A Past"	Robert L. Burnes
Aug. 13, 1960	Gina Lollobrigida	"Saga of a Siren"	Robert Johnson
Oct. 1, 1960	Joe Bellino	"Dynamite Joe of Navy"	Shirley Povich
Oct. 1, 1960	Bernard Baruch	"Bernard Baruch's Own Story" (Part 1)	Himself
Nov. 19, 1960	William Thaler	"Dreamers On The Payroll"	Jack Alexander
Nov. 19, 1960	Dale Messick	"First Lady of the Funnies"	Norma Lee Browning
Nov. 19, 1960	Perry Como	"I Call on Perry Como"	Pete Martin

Nov. 19, 1960	Robert Frost	"A Visit With Robert Frost"	Roger Kahn
Mar. 25, 1961	Cassius Clay	"The Happiest "Heavyweight"	Dick Schaap
Mar. 25, 1961	Jackie Cooper	"Unfortunately I Was Rich"	By Cooper as told to Roger Kahn

S. E. P. 1960-1961

Biographies in the Fifty Per Cent  
Sample, Not Already Covered in Forty  
Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
April 23, 1960	Stanley Goldsmith	"The Movies' Marco Polo"	Dean Jennings
April 23, 1960	Perle Mesta	"They Call Me Madam"	P. M. as told to Robert Cahn
May 28, 1960	Loretta Young	"Indestructible Glamour Girl"	Dean Jennings
May 28, 1960	Thomas S. Gates	"On The Hottest Spot in the Pentagon"	Beverly Smith, Jr.
July 23, 1960	Rock Hudson	"I Call on Rock Hudson"	Pete Martin
Sept. 10, 1960	Joseph F. Crater	"What Happened to Judge Crater?"	Jack Alexander
Sept. 10, 1960	Art Linkletter	"Confessions of a Happy Man" (3rd of 5 parts)	A. L. as told to Dean Jennings
Oct. 8, 1960	Bernard Baruch	"Bernard Baruchs' Own Story: The Roosevelt Years"	Bernard Baruch
Nov. 12, 1960	Eugene (Big Daddy) Lipscomb	"I'm Still Scared"	By himself told to Robert Deindorfer
Nov. 12, 1960	Perry Como	"I Call on Perry Como" (Part 1)	Pete Martin
Dec. 10, 1960	Frances Knight	"Frances Wages War on the Bureaucrats"	Paul F. Healy
Dec. 10, 1960	Jerry Lucas	"Ohio State's Icy All American"	Myron Cope
Jan. 7, 1961	Maurine Neuberger	"Madam Senator From Oregon"	Robert Cahn
Jan. 21, 1961	Frank Lloyd Wright	"Scandal and Sor- row" (Part 3 of F. L. W. Defiant Genius)	Finis Farr

Jan. 21, 1961	Raymond Oliver	"Master of Cookery"	John Kobler
Jan. 21, 1961	Art Carney	"Actor Without An Ego"	Roger Kahn
Feb. 18, 1961	Tommy Heinsohn	"Pro Basketball's Unsung Sharp- shooter"	Daniel Knapp
Mar. 4, 1961	Nicholas Demakos	"The Church That Nick Built"	Ellis O. Briggs
Mar. 4, 1961	Abraham Lincoln	"Citizen of New Salem"	Paul Horgan
Mar. 11, 1961	Sol Nemkov	"What Maestros Look Like To Me"	Himself
Mar. 11, 1961	Leroy (Satchel) Paige	"Maybe I'll Pitch Forever"	By Paige as told to David Lipman
Mar. 11, 1961	James Stewart	"My Next Sixty Movies" (Part 5 of 5 parts)	Stewart as told to Pete Martin

S. E. P. 1950-1951		Forty Per Cent Sample	
<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
May 6, 1950	J. Bracken Lee	"The Stubbornest Man in Utah"	Joe Alex Morris
June 3, 1950	Leo Durocher	"That Guy Durocher!"	Stanley Woodward
July 22, 1950	Red Schoendienst	"Red Loves to Take Chances"	Bob Broeg
July 22, 1950 July 29, 1950	Matt Cvetic	"I Posed As a Communist Undercover Agent for the F.B.I."	By Cvetic as told to Pete Martin
July 22, 1950 July 29, 1950	Gloria Swanson	"Grandma Gloria Swanson Comes Back"	Stanley Frank
Oct. 14, 1950	Clarence Kelland	"The Happiest Days of My Life"	Clarence Kelland
Oct. 14, 1950	Jimmy Byrnes	"What Is Jimmy Byrnes Up to Now?"	Ralph McGill
Oct. 28, 1950	Frank Pace, Jr.	"The Army's Bright Young Boss"	Kermit Roosevelt
Oct. 28, 1950	Ted Collins	"He Lost a Million Dollars in Football"	Not Given
Nov. 4, 1950	Allan Haywood	"The CIO's Hatchet Man"	Elise Morrow
Nov. 4, 1950	Jack Earle	"The Private Life of a Giant"	Dean Jennings
Nov. 4, 1950	Larry (Moon) Mullins	"I Like Small-Time Coaching"	By Mullins as told to Harry Paxton
Dec. 2, 1950	David Lumiansky	"The Man Who Found \$20,000"	Seymour Shubin
Dec. 2, 1950	Corinne Calvet	"Hollywood's French Threat"	Pete Martin
Jan. 27, 1951	Gen. Joe Collins	"Lightning Joe, The G.I.'s General"	Harold Martin



Feb. 17, 1951	Carol King	"The Communist's Dearest Friend"	Craig Thompson
Feb. 17, 1951	Irving Fisher	"The Man Who Looks Like Truman"	Maurice Zolotow

S. E. P. 1950-1951

Biographies in the Fifty Per Cent  
Sample, Not Already Covered in  
Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
May 13, 1950	Dr. Murphy Martin	"Public-Health Doctor"	Richard Thruelson
May 20, 1950	George Kerr Whitney	"Barnum of the Golden Gate"	Dean Jennings
June 10, 1950	John M. Hancock	"The Government's Unofficial Troubleshooter"	Samuel Lubell
June 10, 1950	Danny Kaye	"The World's Highest Paid Buffoon"	Joe Alex Morris
June 10, 1950	Jimmy Demaret	"Golf's Gorgeous Jester"	Charley Price
June 10, 1950	Dorothy Cottrell	"How to Wear A Wheel Chair"	Herself
June 10, 1950	J. Willard Mariott	"Good Mormons Don't Go Broke"	Greer Williams
July 1, 1950	Tom Connally	"The Senator Loves A Fight"	Beverly Smith
Aug. 12, 1950	Harold Alzana	"He Just Loves to Scare You"	Bernard Peyton, Jr.
Aug. 12, 1950	James Morton	"I Was King of the Thieves"	J. M. with David Wittels
Aug. 12, 1950	Harold Raymond Medina	"The Ordeal of Judge Medina"	Jack Alexander
Sept. 9, 1950	Fred Vanderbilt Field	"America's Millionaire Communist"	Craig Thompson
Sept. 9, 1950	Colonel John Michaelis	"The Colonel Saved The Day"	Harold H. Martin
Sept. 16, 1950	Howard Unruh	"The Strange Case of Howard Unruh"	Robert M. Yoder

Oct. 7, 1950	Buddy Page	"My Butler Will Try Anything"	George Sessions Perry
Oct. 7, 1950	Robert Montgomery	"Fightin' Bob, The Hollywood Crusader"	Pete Martin
Oct. 7, 1950	Red Blaik & (son Bobby Blaik)	"Football's Greatest Father and Son Act"	Stanley Woodward
Oct. 7, 1950	Harold C. Hunt	"Toughest School. Job in the Country"	Harry B. Wilson

S. E. P. 1950-1951

Biographies in the Fifty Per Cent  
Sample, Not Already Covered in  
Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
Dec. 16, 1950	Arthur Brenden Devlin	"Ski Jumpers Are Born That Way"	Hal Burton
Dec. 16, 1950	Earle Gene Ramsey	"Don't Pity My Blindness"	Himself
Dec. 23, 1950	Samuel Ward	"All-Time Champ of the Lobbyists"	Beverly Smith
Dec. 23, 1950	John Wayne	"The Ladies Like 'Em Rugged"	Pete Martin
Jan. 13, 1951	Pvt. Robert L. Sharpe	"God Saved My Life in Korea"	Pvt. Sharpe as told to Bill Currie
Jan. 13, 1951	Jim Konstanty	"He Pitched the Phillies to the Pennant"	Stan Baumgartner & Harry T. Paxton
Feb. 3, 1951	Preacher (Elwin) Roe	"The Dodger's Oddest Star"	Harold Rosenthal
Feb. 10, 1951	Horatio Aeger, Jr.	"The Rebellious Parson"	Henry F. & Katharine Kringle
Feb. 24, 1951	Bo Ross	"The Man Who Worries for the Stars"	Richard English
Feb. 24, 1951	Joe Culmore	"He Boots the Long Shots Home"	Sid Feder
Feb. 24, 1951	Robert Livingston Johnson	"What a President They Picked"	Jack Alexander
Mar. 3, 1951	Harry Truman	"How Harry Truman Does His Job"	Alfred Steinberg
Mar. 17, 1951	Billy Goodman	"That Modest Young Guy in the Outfield"	Al Hirshberg
Mar. 17, 1951	George Mills	"He Loves to Tease Wild Bulls"	George Perry
Mar. 17, 1951	Mike Di Salle	"Oh, How You'll Hate Him"	Victor Ullman

S. E. P.      1940-1941      Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
April 6, 1940	John T. McCutcheon	"The Man Who Is King"	Not Given
May 11, 1940	Arthur Fletcher	"He Won't Be Boss"	Arthur Mann
May 11, 1940	Mrs. Ruth Shipley	"Mrs. Shipley Says No"	Maxine Davis
June 29, 1940	Joseph Gregory Rice	"Gregory the Great and the Man Who Made Him Great"	Charles Moran
Nov. 2, 1940	Henry Wallace	"Heir Apparent"	Not Given
Nov. 2, 1940	Howard Johnson	"He Had An Idea"	Jesse Sprague
Dec. 28, 1940	Col. Charles Lindbergh	"The Facts About Lindbergh"	C. B. Allen
Dec. 28, 1940	Phog Allen	"Give The Ball to Junior"	Howard Turtle
Feb. 1, 1941	J. H. Kendrigan	"Tropical Knute Rockne"	Ted Shane
Feb. 1, 1941	C. R. Smith	"Just Call Me C. R."	Jack Alexander
Feb. 22, 1941	Marion Carstairs	"Island Queen"	Not Given
Mar. 15, 1941	Preston Sturges	"How to Become a Playwright"	Alva Johnston
Mar. 15, 1941	Hank Greenberg	"Hank Made Greenberg"	Stanley Frank
Mar. 22, 1941	Phil Rizzuto	"Rookie No. 1"	Tom Meary



S. E. P. 1940-1941

Biographies in the Fifty Per Cent  
Sample, Not Already Covered in  
Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
April 13, 1940 April 20, 1940	Clark Griffith	"Old Fox"	Bob Considine & Shirley Povich
April 20, 1940	Dr. John Richard Brinkley	"Country Doctor Goes to Town"	J. C. Fumas
June 22, 1940	Bob Allman	"We Blind Have Fun"	Bob Allman & Russ Davis
June 22, 1940	Mrs. J. Borden Harriman	"Just Like Daisy"	Maxine Davis
July 13, 1940	Ullstein Corp.-- publishing house	"We Blundered Hitler Into Power"	Hermann Ullstein
July 20, 1940	Adolf Hitler	"Who Was Hitler?"	St. Clair McKelway
July 20, 1940	Jimmy Byrnes	"Sly and Able"	Joseph Alsop & Robert Kintner
July 27, 1940	Satchel Paige	"Chocolate Rube Waddell"	Ted Shane
July 27, 1940	Major Lawrence Angas	"Paper Prophet"	Earl Wilson
July 27, 1940	Dr. Robert Ley	"The Nazi Nobody Knows"	Wallace Deuel
July 27, 1940	Frances Perkins	"Madame Secretary"	Benjamin Stolberg
Aug. 17, 1940	Pittsburgh Phil	"Pittsburgh Phil"	As told to Clem McCarthy by James C. McGill
Aug. 17, 1940 Aug. 24, 1940 Aug. 31, 1940 Sept. 14, 1940 Sept. 21, 1940 Sept. 28, 1940	Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.	"Adventures of a White Collar Man"	By Sloan in collab. with Boyden Sparkes
Aug. 17, 1940	D'arcy Grant	"The Tall Straight Spars"	Herself

Aug. 24, 1940	John Ringling North	"Big Shot of the Big Top"	J. Bryan, III
Sept. 14, 1940	Endicott Peabody	"Goodbye, Mr. Peabs"	Cleveland Amory
Sept. 14, 1940	Westbrook Pegler	"He's Against"	Jack Alexander
Sept. 14, 1940	Bill McKechnie	"Deacon Bill McKechnie"	Joe Williams
Oct. 19, 1940	Will Rogers	"Uncle Clem's Boy"	Betty Blake Rogers
Oct. 19, 1940	Jay Norwood Darling	"How To Be a Cartoonist"	Tom Mahoney
Oct. 19, 1940	Sidney Hillman	"Sidney Hillman's Success Story"	Benjamin Stolberg
Nov. 23, 1940	Silliman Evans	"Silliman--He's a Wonder"	Roger Butterfield
Dec. 7, 1940	William B. Stout	"Detroit DaVinci"	Robert Marks
Jan. 25, 1941	Sir Willmott Lewis	"Britain's Ambassador Incognito"	Maxine Davis
Feb. 15, 1940	Theodore Amar Lyons	"Teddy the Lion- Hearted"	John Terrill

LIFE 1960-1961

Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
April 18, 1960	Tom Dooley	"Tom Dooley At Work"	Not Given
Sept. 19, 1960	Anna Mary Robertson Moses (Grandma Moses)	"100 Candles for a Gay Lady"	Not Given

LIFE 1960-1961

Biographies in the Fifty Per Cent  
Sample, Not Already Covered in  
Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
May 23, 1960	Al Capp	"My Well-Balanced Life on a Wooden Leg"	Al Capp
June 6, 1960	Marc Chagall	"Chagall at 70, a Young Old Master"	Not Given
Sept. 12, 1960	Theodore Green	"The Senator's Exit at 92"	Not Given
Nov. 14, 1960	Thornton W. Burgess	"Fifty Years in the Paul O'Neil Green Meadow"	
Dec. 5, 1960	Adolf Eichmann	"Eichmann's Own Story, Part II"	Himself
Dec. 26, 1960	Charles Teed	"War and Peace For Private Teed"	Not Given
Feb. 3, 1961	John L. G. Wood	"The Soldier's Life, North and South"	Bell Irvin Wiley
Feb. 3, 1961	Samuel Croft	"The Soldier's Life North and South"	Bell Irvin Wiley
Feb. 10, 1961	Walter Dillingham and Family	"The Dillinghams of Hawaii"	Not Given

LIFE 1950-1951

Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
April 10, 1950	King Farouk of Egypt	"The Problem King of Egypt"	William Attwood
Oct. 2, 1950	Stuart Symington	"Home Front Boss"	Robert Coughlan
Oct. 2, 1950	Maggie Higgins	"Girl War Correspondent"	Carl Mydans
Jan. 15, 1951	F. Scott Fitzgerald	"Tormented Paradise"	Arthur Mizener
Feb. 5, 1951	Imogene Coca	"Girl With a Rubber Face"	Ernest Haveman
Feb. 5, 1951	Tom Murphy	"Big Tom Murphy"	Michael Rougier
Feb. 26, 1951	Albert Ryder	"Nocturnal Genius"	Winthrop Sargeant
Mar. 12, 1951	Joseph Mankiewicz	"15 Authors in Search of a Character Named Joseph L. Mankiewicz"	Robert Coughlan



LIFE 1950-1951

Biographies in the Fifty Per Cent  
Sample, Not Already Covered in  
Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
April 17, 1950	Edward Hopper	"Edward Hopper"	Not Given
April 17, 1950	Dwight Eisenhower	"Mr. President, Eisenhower"	Quentin Reynolds
April 24, 1950	El Greco	"El Greco"	Aldous Huxley
May 8, 1950	Christine Richard	"Paris Mannequin"	John Stanton
May 22 & 29, 1950	Edward, Duke of Windsor	"A King's Story"	By Himself
June 5 & 12, 1950			
June 5, 1950	Sugar Ray Robinson	"Sugar Ray Robinson"	Marshall Smith
June 12, 1950	William Boyd	"Hopalong Hits the Jackpot"	Oliver Jensen
Oct. 30, 1950	Winston Churchill	"Face to Face With	Himself
Nov. 6, 1950		Stalin" (1 part of	
Nov. 13, 1950		his War Memoirs)	
Dec. 11, 1950	Eva Peron	"Eva Peron"	Not Given
Mar. 5, 1951	Conn Smythe	"Puck's Bad Boy"	Marshall Smith
Mar. 19, 1951	Michael DiSalle	"Michael DiSalle"	Ernest Havenann
Mar. 26, 1951	Gen. Ulysses S. Grant	"Baptism of U. S. Grant"	Stefan Lorant

LIFE 1940-1941

Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
April 15, 1940	Dr. Joseph Rhine	"Dr. Rhine and E. S. P."	Frances Wickware
June 10, 1940	Emperor Hirohito of Japan	"Son of Heaven"	Ernest O. Hauser
July 1, 1940	"Cap" Torkild Rieber	"Cap Rieber"	Joseph Thorndike, Jr.
July 15, 1940	Joseph Clark Grew	"Joe Grew, Ambassador to Japan"	John Hersey
Sept. 9, 1940	Franklin Roosevelt and Ancestors	"The Roosevelt Family Album"	Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner
Dec. 9, 1940	Prince Fumimaro Konoye	"Konoye of Japan"	Ernest Hauser
Mar. 31, 1941	William Knudsen	"Knudsen"	Hubert Kay

LIFE 1940-1941

Biographies in the Fifty Per Cent  
Sample, Not Already Covered in  
Forty Per Cent Sample

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
May 27, 1940	Victor Emmanuel III of Italy	"The Little King"	Frederic Sondern, Jr.
Aug. 12, 1940	Charles Linza McNary	"McNary of Fir Cone"	Richard Neuberger
Sept. 23, 1940	Bud James	"Young Pink"	Oliver Jensen
Sept. 30, 1940	Murder, Inc. Syndicate	"Murder, Inc."	Meyer Berger
Dec. 2, 1940	Manuel Avila Camacho	"Mexico's President"	Frances Wickware
Dec. 23, 1940	Lana Turner	"Lana Turner"	Niven Busch
Dec. 30, 1940	Buddy G. DeSylva	"Buddy DeSylva"	Noel F. Busch
Jan. 27, 1941	Jinx Falkenburg	"Jinx"	Oliver Jensen
Mar. 24, 1941	T. V. Soong	"China's Soong"	Ernest Hauser

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MAGAZINE BIOGRAPHIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE;  
A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE

by

LINDA GEORGENA ERICKSON

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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The purpose of this study in the Sociology of Literature was to test some of the theorized relationships between the literature of a society and social change in that society. The theories considered were the theory that literature reflects society (including social change) and predominant attention was paid to this analysis, and the theory that literature influences society. This study was concerned with the specific area of popular literature as presented through mass magazines, and the relationship of this literature to social change in the United States.

All biographies in a fifty per cent random sample of all issues of the Saturday Evening Post and Life magazines for three sample periods; April 1940-March 1941, April 1950-March 1951, April 1960-March 1961, were used as the content material for the study. The subjects of these biographies were each classified into one of three spheres of activity--consumption, production, or politics. Additional characteristics such as race, sex, nationality, age, and marital status were recorded for a forty per cent random sample of the first sample drawn.

The United States Census was used as the source of information about actual social changes over the twenty-year time span--1940-1960.

Nine hypotheses were formulated in the context of the reflection theory concerning the distribution of the subjects of the biographies into the three spheres, the changes over time in this distribution, the number of biographies presented in each sample, the distribution of the actual employed labor force into these spheres, the changes over time for this distribution, the percentage of non-whites in the employed labor force, the percentage of non-white biographical subjects, the percentage of the women biographical subjects in consumption, and the percentage of women in the employed labor

force in consumption.

These hypotheses were tested using the data collected about the biographical subjects and about the employed labor force in the United States for 1940, 1950, and 1960.

The results obtained appeared to uphold the reflection theory most strongly in the form in which it is proposed that literature reflects the significant values and norms of a culture (rather than the form where literature is proposed to reflect "social facts"). The results of testing six of the nine hypotheses upheld this form of the reflection theory and it was a definite possibility for explaining the results of the other three. The results provided little evidence to uphold the theory that literature influences society.



