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by Melville Dalton

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## THE INDUSTRIAL "RATE-BUSTER": A CHARACTERIZATION

By

Melville Dalton

Under present-day industrial conditions in America, "a day's work" is a concept much used by both industrial management and workers in connection with wage incentives. Management of course uses wage incentives to get increased production from the worker. Work groups, however, among other reactions, usually fear that the rate will be cut if they produce too much. Hence they reach an informal agreement among themselves not to produce beyond a certain point. Such a point will be the ceiling or upper limit of a day's work. This level of production varies with the time, the technology, and the industry. Whatever the point is, however, workers feel that their observance of it will protect them from rate cuts and still allow them to make some bonus. But in every work group there is nearly always a very small minority of individuals who refuse to be held back and insist on making as much bonus as they like, or are able to. In current American industrial literature such workers are referred to as "rate-busters."<sup>1</sup> The aim of this paper is to study the social backgrounds of rate-busters and to

seek the reasons for their behavior. To defy as they do the expectations of groups in which they make their living and spend nearly a third of their time, is an unusual procedure. Rate-busters are interesting also because they usually are the only workers who respond to wage incentives as management expects.

To get actual cases of rate-busters for study, the writer drew on his experience with the application of a wage incentive system in a large Middlewestern manufacturing plant during the recent war. Over 300 skilled machinists were employed in the shops of this plant. From these a sample of 84 men was taken for a study of disparities in response to the incentive plan. The results of this study have been reported elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> In these reports production data were taken for the years 1942-45. Data for the present study are from the same shops for the year 1946, and deal with all men in the total group of 300 who exceeded the informal production ceiling of 150 per cent.<sup>3</sup> There were only nine such men. As was to be ex-

- <sup>1</sup> E.g., see B.B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945) p. 154. Also F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 522.
- <sup>2</sup> Melville Dalton, "Wage Incentive and Social Behavior," unpublished M.A. thesis (Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1946), and "Worker Response and Social Background," *Journal of Political Economy*, LV (1947), 323-32.
- <sup>3</sup> Performance in all cases was determined by dividing the time required to do a job into the time allowed for the job. The percentages given in the table represent in each case the mean performance of the individual for the entire year of 1946. While the standard deviations and the standard errors probably have little significance, they may aid in answering the statistical questions of some readers.

pected, they were the same men who ignored the production limit in the preceding years. Their production levels with standard deviations and their respective names<sup>4</sup> are given in the table below.

PERFORMANCES AND DEVIATIONS OF  
RATE-BUSTERS

Machinist	Mean Performance	Standard Deviation
Watson	225+3.39	16.25+2.38
Keith	212+2.11	10.11+1.49
Shane	207+1.46	7.29+1.03
Bellini	195+4.66	21.85+3.30
Reid	193+2.86	13.44+2.03
Paine	189+4.45	22.26+3.15
Rylander	182+3.88	16.90+2.74
Richter	160+2.86	13.10+2.02
Funkhauser	158+3.57	15.55+2.52

Following will be given life sketches of the nine rate-busters which will include such characteristics as age, politics, religion, education, home tenure, hobbies, social activities, and relations with the work group. Data were collected by participant observation and free interviewing.

#### FRITZ FUNKHAUSER

At sixty-two Fritz is the oldest of the rate-busters. He was born and lived on a middle western farm till he was nine. At that time his father died and his mother moved to the city to live with her relatives. Throughout his childhood and adolescence Fritz had many disputes that ended in fist-fights. He graduated from high school but took no part in school activities. He regarded girls with contempt, and was too pugnacious to get along with the boys. In his early twenties, however, Fritz married a young widow with two small children. He has been a machinist or shop foreman since his apprenticeship following high school. He boasted of having owned his home free of mortgage by the time he was thirty.

Fritz belongs to no organization but the C.I.O. which he dislikes intensely but automatically became a member of.<sup>5</sup> He goes to no church but is nominally a Protestant.

Fritz is a strong Republican, and reads the Chicago Tribune which, he says, "is the only

American paper left since Roosevelt tried to make this country a Russian stooge." His spare time at home Fritz spends tinkering with his car, a Cord, which he keeps running perfectly despite the 200,000 miles it has travelled.

On the job Fritz has almost no relations with other workers. He is disliked because "he runs so high." He in turn dislikes most workers because they are Democrats "and too damn lazy and weak to stand on their own feet! Do you know what a Democrat is? --anybody that wants a hand-out! All the damned bums in the country are Democrats!"

Fritz especially dislikes workers from Southern Europe. He refers to them as "hunkies." His next greatest dislike is for Jews. So far as the writer knows, none of the industrial engineers who devised the incentive system under which Fritz works, were Jewish, but once when Fritz believed his bonus on a certain job would be relatively low, he exclaimed:

The whole goddamn incentive bunch are all Jews! That's why the company hired them - to beat the workin' man. You never saw a goddamn Jew out here in the shop getting his hands dirty, did you? No, by God, and you won't!

Fritz has twice been a shop foreman but each time gave up the job. A departmental superintendent said of him:

He can't get along with men. He's so damned overbearing and domineering that he couldn't get along with Jesus Christ himself! He treated his men like dogs, and tried to treat his superiors the same way. There's nothing he can't do on a lathe, though. We couldn't replace him.

#### PETER RICHTER

Peter is fifty-nine. His father was a German farmer who came to New York State before he was twenty and became a huckster. Peter went only to the eighth grade in school. He started his apprenticeship at fourteen. Peter married early and had three children. He has never attended church since he was a boy. He owns his home but has no hobbies or social activities. He votes Republican, and reads the Chicago Tribune.

In addition to his high production, Peter is also disliked for his boast that he is the best machinist in the shop.

<sup>4</sup>Names are fictitious but ethnically correct.

<sup>5</sup>Dislike of, and membership in, the C.I.O. is true of all the rate-busters. Dues are paid by the check-off system.

Perky Adams, who disapproves of Peter's high performance, remarked

Look at Richter over there! He's so damned worried about how much bonus he's going to get that he can't act like a human being. I wouldn't be in the shape he is for an extra thousand a year.

Peter is indifferent to what the workers think of him but is concerned about the engineers. He says:

If dey let me make de bonus, I can do 400 per cent. I can beat any man in de shops. I can turn out more and better work dan anybody! Dese guys in here try to stop me, but dey don't bodder me! But I don't want to kill a good ting. De company has to have its profits you know, and if I get too much dey cut me down.<sup>6</sup>

Peter's wife died recently of cancer. During her last two weeks she was expected to die at any moment. Peter works from 3 P.M. to 11 P.M. Other machinists expressed surprise among themselves to see him at his machine regularly. When a telephone call at 6 P.M. of the last day announced her death to Peter, he shut his machine down and left the shop. All the other machines in the area of Peter's also stopped. The machinists gathered to discuss him. One of the men remarked that "only a damned heartless skunk would let his wife die like that. He'd rape his grandmother for a five spot."

For the last year Peter and Funkhauser have worked on the same machine. Recently Fritz, who relieves Peter, accused Peter of "laying down on the job," which would, of course have lowered the bonus of both men. Peter said the charge was a lie. Fritz knocked him down, then struck him again as he got to his feet. Other workers stopped the fight. Everyone knew informally of the clash but formal recognition would have meant discharge for both machinists. Management remained formally ignorant, because both men were "good workers and near retirement anyhow."

Though disliking both men, the other machinists sided with Fritz, who said; "If that son-of-a-bitch ever calls me a liar again, by God I'll kill him!" Peter refused to comment on the incident.

## OLAF RYLANDER

Olaf was born in Sweden fifty-nine years ago, the son of a shipping manager in the paper industry. Olaf's father wished to send him to college, but Olaf completed only high school when he married. He has since been a machinist. He has two children, owns his home, has no hobbies, but is a member of the Odd Fellows, a conservation club, and the Swedish Lutheran Church, reads the Chicago Tribune and is a Republican. Olaf dislikes the C.I.O., the Chicago Sun and Russia. He says:

If de unions keep on, America will be yust like Russia--nobody can speak his mind or get what he has coming for his work. Efen now dese fellows try to stop you from making what you can --and papers like de Chicago Sun back dem up. But dey don't stop me! I haf a good yob and dis is a free country and I'm being paid to vork, so I vork hard!

Olaf is probably the least disliked of all the rate-busters. This is apparently due to his being less grimly defiant than the others.

## RAY PAINE

Ray is fifty-six. He was born and lived on an eastern farm till he was thirteen. He attended high school two years. Ray is taciturn and difficult to draw into a conversation. His neighbors say he loves children but that his wife, to whom he has been married for thirty-three years, is unable to bear children. When he is approached for donations to the Red Cross and Community Chest he denounces them and equates charity with graft. Ray once held a rather high supervisory job in another company but for some unknown reason was demoted to a machinist. During the depression following 1929 he lost a home worth \$15,000.

Ray owns his home, belongs to nothing,<sup>8</sup> has no hobbies, reads the Chicago Tribune, is a Republican, and sporadically attends the Presbyterian Church. He works in an isolated area of the shop and avoids everyone. His standard deviation of 22.3 is the most erratic of that of any of the rate-busters.

6. In another situation, one of the engineers told the writer: "There's no such thing as cutting a rate because all the rates are guaranteed to the union. The boys in the shop all know that. It stands to reason though that there's just so much work to do. When that's all out for a given period, it's a cinch the company can't pay men to stand around with their hands folded. The old axe has to fall someplace."

7. Data on his private life are from his neighbors and two intimates.

8. Pressure by members of the C.I.O. to collect dues from Ray was futile before the check-off was installed.

When he gets a job that he feels pays too little he "gets even" with the engineers by "taking his time."

Though not interacting with people in the shop, Ray has been sufficiently amenable as a teacher of shop in the local night schools that he has held this position for several years.

Ray's strong political consciousness and status-feeling have caused him much suffering. To his demotion, his losses during the depression, and his frustration at having no children, he added hatred of the late President Roosevelt. Having to work among men he considered inferior to himself, men who were Democrats becoming more strongly unionized each year, caused Ray to become more acrid with each election that the Republicans failed to win.

#### WALTER REID

Walter is fifty-three and lived on a farm till he was fifteen. His father was a building contractor as well as a farmer. Walter attended high school only one year. He early became interested in handicrafts and learned furniture-making. From his mother, who was a sempstress, he learned sewing. Walter married a school teacher by whom he had five sons. Today he spends his spare time in sewing for his family and in making furniture which he sells.

Walter belongs to no social organizations. He is an inactive Protestant, a Republican, and reads the Chicago Tribune.

After Paine, no machinist is so disliked by the incentive appliers as Walter. While detesting unions, he is quick to call the union if he has any reason to believe an upward revision of his bonus could be obtained. He allows no one to interrupt his work. If he feels that his rights are imposed on, however, he will put the shop in an uproar until he has satisfaction.

His view of his role is clear-cut.

I'm not out here for my health or a good time. I'm out here to make money. If any of these damn loafers think they can stop me, let them try it. I keep my bills paid and I don't owe anybody a damn cent. I mind my own business and look after my job. I'm always on time. I never sneak out early. The company can count on me, so why should I care what a bunch of damn snoopy bums think of me?

#### PAUL BELLINI

Paul is different from all the other rate-busters in that he is the youngest (age thirty-one),

is single, was born of Roman Catholic parents, is of South European descent, and talks considerably. His talking, however, is made up largely of banter, wise-cracking, and "razzing." Furthermore, it occurs only when he is far ahead of his production goal for the day.

Paul is a Republican, reads the Chicago Tribune, has no hobbies, and belongs to nothing. Though he graduated from high school in a city of 100,000, Paul has lived outside the city with his parents on their farm all his life. Though born a Catholic, he never attends church, nor donates, nor does his Easter Duty. He said, however, that he would go to the Catholic Church if he attended any.

On the job Paul watches the performances of workers near him very closely. He is quick to suspect collusion between machinists and the incentive men, and several times he has caused severe disturbances between staff and line by his investigations and charges. He flouts all attempts to restrain him. Bad feelings exist between him and nearly all the other workers, who are usually older. This age difference may aggravate his relations with others. "I like to get these guys sore," he says. "They think they're so damn smart!" Paul talks freely of his plans and his life outside the plant.

I'm going to retire at fifty. I've really made the bucks since they put in this incentive. It's the best thing that ever happened in here. They may take it out one of these times. If they do while I'm working, I'll sure stop putting out. They're going to be laying off men one of these times, so I'm getting mine while the getting's good.

I'm laying by the bucks. One of these times I'll be taking it easy doing nothing while a lot of these sour pussies around here'll be taking it easy working like hell!

I don't need a lot. All I've got to have to keep me going is three cokes a day and a long-legged whore twice a week. That and the old lady's [his mother] eats keeps me fit.

During the war, there was much complaint in the shop about Paul's not being drafted. Fathers with sons in the service were incensed. They were all glad when Paul was finally put in 1-A. But Paul layed off work the week before he was to leave for his first examination, and spent it carousing. He went without sleep, and divided his time between taverns and brothels. He boasted that he would beat the draft by being found in poor physical condition. "Only damned fools get drafted," he said. "Why the hell should a guy get his head shot off for thirty dollars

a month when he can stay at home for better than three hundred?"

Paul was found to have a bad heart, and was rejected. On his return he maintained that his heart was sound and that the findings of the army doctors were due to his carousal.

### PAT SHANE

Pat is forty-five. His father was a Texas village barber. In his teens Pat spent considerable time in the cotton fields of his future father-in-law, but completed two years in the local high school. Though of Irish descent, Pat is an inactive Protestant and rarely goes to church. He doubts the value of religion for himself, but believes that it is helpful to many people.

Pat is singular among the rate-busters in that he is a Democrat and does not read the Tribune. His home and family - which he rules - take all his time. He says:

I don't belong to a damn thing but the C.I.O., and I wouldn't belong to that if they didn't take dues out of my check every pay. I don't like unions, and I don't give a damn who knows it. I've never been to a meeting in the five years I've been paying money in. I wouldn't want to go even if it wasn't a union meeting. Most of the people up North are damned crooks anyhow. They're out to skin everybody they can. They talk a lot about how the South mistreats the niggers. Hell, I ain't seen anybody around here moving in with niggers. And you don't see them teaching the niggers to run machines around here, do you?

The people up North ain't nearly as friendly as in Texas. I've lived next door to people for six years and one of them was in my house twice.

Pat feels very moral about his work. If supervision makes last minute changes in a job that will cut his pay, he reports this at once to the person who figures his bonus. Asked why he is so careful to report these changes, he answered:

By God, I don't have to make my money that way. A lot of these damn crooks around here lie to a new green checker [worker who figures bonus time] to raise the time on their jobs, and then raise hell because I run high. Well, by God I'm honest, and I don't have to kiss anybody's ass to get my money.

Pat is much talked about. Alfons Schmidt, a machinist near him, said:

Pat is killing himself. He said during the war that he was working hard because of his two sons in the service. That's a damn lie. Look at him now - still working like hell! And did you ever see the kind of work he turns out? He can't do a decent job. I wouldn't be guilty of finishing work the way he does.<sup>9</sup>

Sammy Johnson, who strives to maintain a point just under the ceiling, said of Shane:

The way that son-of-a-bitch jumps around, the company would be money ahead if they'd run a broom handle up his ass so he could sweep the floor at the same time. By God I could run 200 per cent, too, if I'd throw my ass around the way he does! He's just another Texas hillbilly. They ought to disfranchise the whole Goddamn South. They're no better than the Goddamn niggers they lay around with.<sup>10</sup>

### JOCK KEITH

Jock was born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1901, the son of a sanitary engineer and contractor. He had two years of engineering in the University of Edinburgh. He votes Republican and reads the Chicago Tribune. In the shop Jock has time only for his job, but outside the plant he divides his time between a hobby and lodge activities. His hobby is model-making, especially boats, with which he has won numerous prizes. At least five nights a week he is active as a Mason. He belongs to all bodies of that order. Twenty-two years ago in Scotland, he was Past Master of the Royal Order of Ancient Shepherds. He has been Illustrious Master of the Royal and Select Masters, and Commander of Knights Templar. At present he is a member of the Grand Council of De Molay.

There is much talk in the shop of Jock's fondness for women and those who dislike him (which includes most of the shop) say that he is a lecher. However this may be, he married two years ago and took his wife into the home where he had lived with his widowed mother for years. In a few months he and his mother were having difficulties which developed into a law suit. Nearly everyone in the shop followed the case closely and charged that Jock forced his mother out of her home. Whether this

<sup>9</sup>. To the writer's knowledge Pat had not had any work rejected because of faulty finish during the last two years.

<sup>10</sup>. Facility in the use of the tabooed Anglo-Saxon words is almost a condition of membership in the work group.

was the whole truth or not, Jock was condemned by nearly all the machinists.

The opinion of Jock in the shop is well expressed by John Burns. Burns was criticizing wage incentives to the writer when he looked about for an example of their effect. He said:

Now you take that son-of-a-bitch over there [nodding toward Jock]--the incentive system made him what he is. He's got a bad principle and the system brought it out. He'd cut the working man's throat for a nickel. I've told him to stay the hell away from my machine and not to speak to me because I'd feel insulted. I value my fellow worker's opinion above the dollar.

Here is what Jock thinks of the group:

These guys lay down at 150 per cent because they have the idea in the back of their minds to make this a group incentive. When they do that, my performance is going down to 66 per cent.<sup>11</sup>

There are three classes of men: (1) Those who can and will; (2) those who can't and are envious; (3) those who can and won't--they're nuts!

To show you how dumb people are - there was a Chicago Tribune reporter who stood on a corner with one hundred ten-dollar bills in his hand offering them for fifty cents each. One woman bought one and came back fifteen minutes later and demanded her fifty cents back! He couldn't sell them!

Do you know that there are plants in this country where the union fines men if they go beyond 130 per cent or so? They're dumb! They don't know that if they produce more they won't run out of jobs but will actually increase demand. Some of these dummies here in the shop would rather make ten pieces for five dollars than they would one hundred pieces for ten dollars - even if it was easier to make the hundred! They think the company'll cut the rate. All the squabbling in here is over nothing but money! Hell! The company would be a damn fool to cut the rates. If anything, they ought to raise them.

<sup>11</sup>The point at which bonus payment begins.

<sup>12</sup>As noted in the paper "Worker Response and Social Background," responsibility for dependent children is not necessarily a factor in response to wage incentive.

<sup>13</sup>Slips recording each man's bonus as earned under the incentive.

<sup>14</sup>The rate-busters each earned from \$4,500 to \$6,000 in each of the years 1944-45. Shane, Keith, Rylander, Reid, and Paine, each bought at least \$4,000 in war bonds between 1942 and 1946. Shane and Keith vied with each other to keep their names at the top of the honor roll for bond purchases. Both, however, bought more bonds at the bank than from the plant, because "you lose interest buying them here in the plant - you have to wait two weeks after they're paid for till they're made out and you start drawing interest."

<sup>15</sup>Over a two-year period, as recorded in the M.A. thesis cited above, Watson had a mean performance of 168 per cent. During these two-years he shared much of his work with a machinist who observed the ceiling of 150 per cent and thus obscured Watson's real behavior toward the incentive. Jim now works alone and has the highest performance of any man in the shops.

## JIM WATSON

Now fifty, Watson lived with his father on the farm till he was twenty-one. Since then he has had his own farm and has been a machinist. Jim was one of seventeen children, but his father owned nearly a section of land, so was able to do fairly well by his family. Jim chose to leave high school at the end of his second year.

Both Watson's father and mother were preachers as were also four of his uncles. They had little formal education and shifted about considerably among the three faiths of Baptist, Methodist, and Church of God. All had large families. Watson himself has eight children, six of whom are still dependent.<sup>12</sup>

Watson's reading includes the Chicago Tribune, The Country Gentleman, and The Progressive Farmer. He is a Republican.

Watson always hurries to the box where bonus slips<sup>13</sup> are filed (as they are completed) to get his reports before others can see them and estimate his income for the pay period. His shoes show mud from the farm and he wears bibbed overalls and a "jumper." These badges of his rural life seem to aggravate the group resentment that is always high. Inspectors envy, and report, his high performance,<sup>14</sup> while rumors go about the shop of his profits from eggs and chickens sold directly to customers in the city as he drives to the job and on his days off.

Jim knows much of what the feelings are toward him. He says:

When them sons-of-bitches start buyin' my groceries they can tell me how much bonus to make. Until then, I'll make as much as I can. I want to send my girl to school, and as long as I can make the money to do it, I'm not lettin' a damn union stop me. A lotta these guys think a union will get them big money for doin' nothing. Well, I joined to shut them up, so I'll make as much as I can.<sup>15</sup> They're always puttin' pres-



sure on the inspectors to get my work rejected, but I'll get by.

Sometimes I think this is the damndest country in the world. If you need a little help, everybody runs from you; if you make a little money, everybody's down on you. Well, they can stay down on me. If I can run 400 per cent, by God, I'll do it.

### SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS

#### Politics and Newspaper

Eight of the nine rate-busters were Republican. Shane was the one Democrat, but this distinction was more nominal than real. Reared in Texas, he was a traditional Democrat with a political philosophy as individualistic as that of the "states' rights" Southerners, and Republicans of the North.

When the nine rate-busters were compared with the other seventy-five men in the sample of eighty-four, the significance of being Republican became clearer. Nearly seventy per cent of the eighty-four men were Democrats. Of the three hundred machinists from which the sample was drawn, four out of five were Democrats; while from those workers performing below 100 per cent (sometimes called "restricters" in industrial literature), 90 per cent were Democrats.<sup>16</sup>

There was a close relation between the rate-buster's political thinking and his newspaper preference. He supports a party and reads a paper that stress private enterprise and individualism, which accords with his own thinking, and his behavior in the shop. Eight of the group were Republican and read the Chicago Tribune, a paper that is strongly laissez-faire and isolationist, and has been consistently opposed to the New Deal. Shane is the only non-Tribune reader of the group. This newspaper choice of the rate-busters emphasized the prefer-

ence of all Republicans in the shop and contrasted with the choice of Democrats. That is, 72 per cent of all Republicans preferred the Tribune as compared with only 24 per cent of all Democrats. Most of the latter read instead the Chicago Sun and Times, which they regarded as papers "that stand up for the working man."

### EDUCATION

Where Democrats of the original sample had a median educational level of eight years as against nine for all Republicans, the rate-busters had a median of ten years' schooling.

### ETHNIC AND CLASS ORIGIN

Excepting Bellini, who was of Italian descent, the rate-busters were all of northwest European lineage - Germany, Sweden, and the British Isles.<sup>17</sup> And all came from middle class families.<sup>18</sup> Seven of them are sons of large farm owners, supervisors, or small businessmen. Such origins contrast with those of most machinists in the shop, whose fathers were usually unskilled urban industrial workers, renters, and without financial and material resources. Where there were forty-two renters (fifty per cent) in the original sample, all the rate-busters but Bellini (who is single) own their homes, and only Reid does not own a car.<sup>19</sup>

### RELIGION

Bellini is the only rate-buster born in a Catholic family. As noted above, however, he has neither standing as a Catholic nor interest in acquiring such status. The other rate-busters are largely nominal Protestants. Richter and Funkhauser have not been in a church since they were boys. Reid enters a church only when he attends a

<sup>16</sup>As noted in the earlier paper, all workers, Democrats and Republicans alike, had a performance level beyond which they hesitated to go. This was true also of the rate-busters. Richter has said so, while Shane has admitted confidentially that he is "afraid to go much over 200 per cent because they might think I'm making too much money." There is little doubt, however, that 200 per cent or so, as the rate was set up in this plant, was near the limit of what man, cutters, and machine could maintain.

<sup>17</sup>In the original sample of eighty-four men, the machinists came from fifteen of the United States, from two countries of the New World outside of the United States, and from thirteen countries of the Old World.

<sup>18</sup>They agreed on at least the three points of difference betraying a middleclass origin: (1) their having greater material and occupational resources, (2) having a stronger moral feeling about private ownership and work as a gauge of merit, and (3) having more upperclass conservatism. The rate-busters' higher educational level is also an indication of a different status of their families of origin.

<sup>19</sup>He recently sold his four-year old -- but excellently kept -- Buick for nearly double the price he gave for it new.



traditional funeral. Watson sometimes goes to church "because so many of my family are preachers." Keith confesses that when he goes to church it is for social reasons only, since he is an agnostic. Shane believes that religion is useful, but not to him. Paine is an agnostic, despite his occasional church attendance. Only Rylander goes to church with any regularity; he attends the Swedish Lutheran Church on the Sunday mornings that he does not work.

The question of religion<sup>20</sup> is raised because none of the ninety-eight Catholics among the three hundred machinists of the sample climbed above the performance ceiling, though many had the necessary skill, as they have had the rank and pay of A-machinists for years.

### HOBBIES

If a hobby is defined as a recreational, integrating, non-profitable, and irregularly followed activity, then Keith is the only rate-buster having a hobby. Reid's making of furniture, and sewing, have a practical value: he sells the furniture and cabinets he makes, and the sewing is for his family.

The absence of hobbies among the rate-busters differs sharply from their presence among the lower-scoring performers. The latter always had hobbies and sometimes had two or three hobbies. Such hobbies ranged from the making of trinkets and the breaking and training of saddle horses through engine-modeling, photography, microscopy, and the collecting of coins, guns, stamps, and fine tools.

### SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Only Keith and Rylander engage in informal social activities. Funkhauser once applied to become a Mason but withdrew his application when he learned that a man he disliked very much was a member. Shane was twice invited to attend meetings for installation of officers in the Masonic Order.<sup>21</sup> He declined the invitations and remarked later to the writer that "When I have to belong to the Masons to keep my job, they can shove it up their asses."

With this characteristic, as with hobbies, the least responsive workers were the ones most often belonging to lodges, clubs, associations, and so on.

### ANALYSIS

Before discussing the significance of the rate-buster's characteristics it is well for comparative purposes first to note briefly the behavior of the whole group toward wage incentive. On the basis of such behavior the group may be divided roughly into three sections: (1) the restricters, or those who for various reasons withdrew from the incentive; (2) the middle performers, whose rate of production lay roughly between 100 and 150 per cent, and (3) the rate-busters, the top performers.

Individual conflicts over whether to be loyal to the group when working under incentive, or to follow one's real wishes, were chiefly responsible for this division.<sup>22</sup> The process of breaking up into informal groups on the basis of response to the incentive was of course unconscious and unguided. There was both individual and cooperative experiment to see what was possible in the way of output. Machinists felt each other out with statements of "where we ought to stop." Such remarks were sincere only in varying degrees and were seldom accepted at face value. Instead, machinists watched each other to keep score of one another's output and conferred with the incentive checkers about it. Checkers were forbidden to discuss the performance or bonus of one man with another, but they did so nevertheless. The few workers who took no part in this scoring of each other were the potential rate-busters.

From seventy to eighty per cent of the whole group thus fell into the middle performers, who were torn incessantly with indecision and mental conflict over their performances. This condition will be discussed below. The remainder of the group, restricters and rate-busters, together constituted nearly all of the machinists who had resolved their conflicting feelings about the incentive. The restricters felt that the incentive destroyed

<sup>20</sup>The only indication of management's awareness of religious differences was shown by the employee personnel form, which contained a space for religion that the employee was free to ignore.

<sup>21</sup>Such invitations are said to be equivalent to an invitation to join, though formally the order proffers membership to no one.

<sup>22</sup>This is not to say that skill had no part in the division, but that it was minor. E.g., in the group of twenty-five restricters, fifteen of them were A-machinists. (A-rating is given only to machinists who can competently handle any machine in the shop. All the men in the original sample of eighty-four men had had at least five years of experience on the type of machine they were operating at the outset of the study.)

friendships and made the group a pawn of management. They shunned the incentive by holding their production to a level paying little or no bonus but yet high enough to let them escape trouble with supervisors.<sup>23</sup> The rate-busters of course chose the other extreme of response to the incentive. Feeling no allegiance to the group, they suffered no conflict over their rate of production under the incentive.

While most of the middle performers were like the restricters to a degree, in wishing to avoid conflict, they nevertheless felt that a considerable amount of bonus could be made without harm to group solidarity: the danger point was production beyond the rate of 150 per cent.<sup>24</sup>

To return to the restricters. As shown earlier,<sup>25</sup> back of the restricters' avoidance of the incentive lay a high degree of socialization. Most of them were reared in middle-sized or large cities where they had acquired a skill in, and a need of, social activity. Hobbies were also important socializing factors. Their pursuit led to social interaction with others and often, also, to a considerable and continuing outlay of money. For example, Perky Adams dominates a cinema club and constantly enlarges his circle of friends by his hobby of colored movies. Jean Desmoulins will lose a night's sleep (and the next day's work) demonstrating the patterns and trinkets

that he can form with his home-made welding set. Hobbies in most cases amounted to a positive interest leading away from the potential conflict and social isolation of individual concentration on bonus. Related to the factor of hobbies was the social activity of the restricters both in the shop and the community. In short, love of social pleasures, combined with a variety of socializing interests, made the restricters dislike conflict. And since higher income by means of wage incentive involved him in conflict, he ignored the lure of increased pay even though his easy and genial way of living might threaten to push his expenses above his income.

In theory we may say that the restricters and the rate-busters are opposite in their conduct toward wage incentive, and that attending these contrary behaviors are also pertinent social and political differences.<sup>26</sup> Related to the conduct of each is a distinctive set of experiences, broadly social on the one hand and narrowly social on the other. The restricters and the rate-busters are "ideal types" of the two extremes of response to money incentive. Their characteristics blend in workers of the middle group, where the lower and upper performers grade off in social traits in similarity to the restricters and the rate-busters respectively.

Rural origin was an important experience

<sup>23</sup> Actually, a few of the restricters were bitter and reduced output in a feeling of revenge, but they were exceptional. Perky Adams, whose mean performance over a period of two years was 97 per cent, is a typical restricters. Admitting that money is essential, he says: "But I've too many interests to be bothered as long as I have enough to get by on. If I didn't have any money I'd probably worry. You wouldn't want me to get up and yell and fight like some of these guys would you? I've seen some of these guys grab their bonus slips and run through them as though they had ten thousand dollars. They go out of here all fagged out. It's not worth it. Hell, I'm going to get by. I always have. I got by about as well before the system came in. And if I've got to have a fight or make somebody sore to get a few cents more on the turn, I don't give a damn if I never make any bonus."

<sup>24</sup> One hundred fifty per cent was also regarded by most of the middle group as a point at which the process of diminishing returns sets in. Some of their informal leaders argued that the machinist receives proportionately less for additional effort beyond that point than he does before, and, hence, they said, workers producing above 150 per cent are not only "suckers," but they are also hurting the rest of the group by putting out additional work for what amounts to less pay. Some of the engineers confidentially agreed that this thinking is mathematically sound but others denied it. Whether true or not, as long as the machinist believes it to be, conduct of the work group is strongly affected by the belief.

Jerry Bates, a leader in the shop, views the matter like this: "The incentive is just a trick to beat the working man. They didn't put it in here to make us rich. We know that. That's why we try to stick together - so we can use them some while they're using us ... This slowing up is just like holding back butter and shirts to get high prices. You know yourself that the big factories, farmers, and producers of all kinds always lay down when prices begin to fall or when they see a chance to push 'em up. Well, in a way, we're doing the same damn thing - and we got just as much right to do it. That way some of the boys can make a little extra without hurting anybody. That's the way things are run in this country - while you're shaking a man's hand, be thinking how you can beat him."

<sup>25</sup> See the M.A. thesis cited above.

<sup>26</sup> While the rate-busters were Republican and individualistic, and the restricters were Democrat and collectivistic, there were a few exceptional cases in the shop, both Democrats and Republicans, who lacked a policy toward the incentive and could not explain their choice of party. That most machinists were so specific politically may be due partly to the median age of forty-eight years (sample of 64 men). Most of the men had clear memories of the period following 1929, which appeared to stimulate greatly their political consciousness one way or the other.

among the rate-busters. There solitude, hard work, and production were essentials of life.<sup>27</sup> Every meal was a conference on private enterprise. Success was equated with production. All the family worked, and the husband and father was final authority. To check production was criminal, because work and private enterprise were indivisible. Social activities were fitted into the production unit - the family. Seven of the rate-busters reflect this early training, both in the shop and at home. The other two, Keith and Rylander, were reared in urban middle class families where they learned the respectability of getting up in the world. They matured in homes having the social as well as the material symbols of success. Their goal of achieving or maintaining a higher style of life called for greater income. They identified themselves with groups outside the shop which their fellow machinists could rarely, if ever, enter. Instead of loyalty, they felt a class contempt for most of the work group with its "radicalism," its "immoral" views toward work, and its concern for only the present. Rural and urban alike, the rate-busters had this conservative temper. In addition to their earlier experiences, there are other factors that may well check participation in community life by the rate-busters. First, their hard work leaves them little energy for such activi-

ty; second, since they wish to possess at least the material symbols of success,<sup>28</sup> they may avoid social activity because of the expense it incurs;<sup>29</sup> and third, the rapid social change of recent times with its attendant uncertainties for the individual may cause the rate-buster (who is vigorous and skilled) to count more on what he can accumulate<sup>30</sup> than on having friends.

Concerning religion, much has been written on the economic implications of the so-called Protestant ethic. Active membership in a Protestant Church, in the shops where this study was made, appeared to have no significance.<sup>31</sup> Among the rate-busters, only Rylander could be called an active Protestant. The others, at best, were only nominally Protestant. Considering their indifference toward formal Christianity, they could as well be referred to as non-Catholics. Roman Catholicism, however, appeared to play a role. All of the ninety-eight Catholics conformed to the group aim of holding production below the 150 per cent level. Regardless of his ability, no Catholic presumed to exceed the informal limit. To some extent this lack of individualism may be due to the social as well as the religious experiences which Catholics have. The faithful Catholic, as was noted earlier,<sup>32</sup> from childhood on engages in group activity of a kind that is likely to prevent

27. J. H. Kolb and E. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940) pp. 8-9. See also W. F. Whyte, "Who Goes Union and Why," *Personnel Journal*, XXIII (1944), pp. 221-22.

28. Some of the rate-busters have referred to the factory as "a hell of a place to work" and have expressed a desire "to be my own boss," and to "go into business for myself." In many cases machinists of the other groups have felt that it is no longer possible for an individual to achieve success in business "because things are just too big for one man to handle. You just don't stand a chance any more. It costs too much to go into business. And if you go broke, then where are you?"

29. In discussing Pat Shane, Jerry Bates said: "Pat's a funny guy. He don't go no place. For a long time I didn't know what to think of it. Now I'm sure it's because he don't want to spend anything. When I tell him of a good restaurant, he wants to know how much a meal costs. When I tell him, he says 'Hell, no meal's worth that. You're a damn fool to pay that much!'"

30. Three of the rate-busters have remarked that "the guys who raise hell about me running high wouldn't help me out if I went broke." All of this small group dislike the thought of borrowing or owing money, or of being dependent on others.

31. It is admitted that ancestors of all the rate-busters but Bellini came from countries that have been Protestant for centuries. However, even if Protestantism were a factor in the rise of Capitalism, both have undergone such changes in the last century that to say the hollow Protestantism of the rate-buster determines his *Wirtschaftsethik* is to look too casually at the matter.

32. M. Dalton, "Worker Response and Social Background," *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30.

33. If willingness to give to charitable organizations is a mark of socialization, then Catholics and rate-busters in the shop were strikingly different in that respect. Jerry Bates, the shop steward, said: "When I was working for the Red Cross and Community Chest drives, Reid, Shane, Keith, and Richter was all tight as hell to get anything from. I went to them first because I knowed they was makin' a hell of a lot of bonus, but they just didn't want to give. Then when I'd make the rounds to Jean (Catholic) and Carl (Catholic), an' guys like that, I'd always get the quota an' I didn't have to drag it out of them. That's a funny thing, too - when them guys hit a hundred per cent, it's somethin' to write home about."

Another indication of anti-individualism in the Catholics was the fact that twenty-four of the twenty-seven (sample of eighty-four men) Catholics were New Deal Democrats. The other three were Republicans.

or subdue individualistic tendencies. This is an experience that the non-Catholic, or at least the nominal Protestants, may very well not have.

In addition to participation in group activities of the Church, emphasis here is also on positive socializing<sup>33</sup> influences such as the psychological<sup>34</sup> effects of the confessional.

Wage incentive encourages individualism.<sup>35</sup> Each man is told by management that he is free to make as much bonus as he can. Furthermore, in such a situation a worker's income is not dependent on good relations with others as in many occupations and professions. A worker may even come to regard his bonus as a compensation for poor working conditions or lack of good social relationships.

Actually, wage incentive only abets what our culture implants in the worker. Probably more than any other society ever has, we urge success, which is largely a matter of social status and economic resources with the former dictating to the latter the appropriate level and style of emulation to be used in a career of "conspicuous consumption." For those not born in situations favorable to the easy obtaining of success, struggle is necessary. Competition and individual effort are the mainstays of our social heritage. As we all know, the urbane utilization of others to win success is approved in some areas of our society. But not by the rate-buster. His mode of attaining success is actuated by an unbending morality. While he disregards the rights of others in the shop, he feels no need of pretending concern about their welfare. He detests lip-service. To such men as Shane, Reid, Watson, and Funkhauser, the use of "connections" to gain an end is to be a "suckass;" and to fail to "speak your mind"

in any situation is to be hypocritical and cowardly. Success won by any means other than one's own efforts would not be success, but indebtedness. The rate-buster believes that success is attainable only by hard work and attentiveness to his own affairs.<sup>36</sup> Success and his family are his only interests.

While the few rate-busters were the only machinists who worked as management expected, neither this fact, their being Republican, nor their individualism toward the work group necessarily meant that they identified themselves completely with their employer. Actually, the rate-buster will behave individualistically toward anyone who threatens his goal of "getting ahead." Since he is powerless as an individual to engage his employer in an open economic struggle when they have differences, he will instead reduce his production so sharply that there is no doubt of his using the curtailment as an economic weapon to gain his end. And, paradoxically, he will suffer a great loss of bonus rather than surrender once he has taken a stand.

Keith is an example. His remarks suggest that he saw eye to eye with management, and his behavior during a sit-down strike supported his words. The strike was against the employment of a certain incentive official in that area of the plant. Keith was the only man who remained on the job.<sup>37</sup> Despite this apparent loyalty, he has several times had bitter struggles with management. Some months ago incentive officials allowed Keith a machinability<sup>38</sup> factor of 1.24 for a given job. He insisted on a factor of 1.53. With the factor of 1.24 the job per piece allowed him 1.6 hours; with the higher factor, 1.8 hours, a difference of about twelve minutes, which is considered small. When he was denied the larger factor, he for two weeks produced only three

This is not to imply that Catholics and New Deal Democrats are never individualistic, or that Republicans and non-Catholics are necessarily non-charitable. There are naturally thousands of people in these categories who are there not from personal choice but from chance, and who have little awareness of the implications of their affiliation. However, in the shop there exists a keen political consciousness. It is admitted that conclusions presented here on Catholicism as a factor are speculative in nature, but in the shop studied here at least, they are supported by data. Wider research might point to other conclusions and precipitate such problems as, what constitutes a good Catholic? and what is the relation, if any, between socioeconomic status and individualistic behavior among Catholics?

<sup>34</sup>It is difficult to conceive of such men as Keith, Shane, and Funkhauser ever bringing themselves to the emotional state normally needed for the confessional, just as an individual habitually engaging in such practice would probably never be able to persist in behavior year after year that caused dozens of men about him to show by their conduct that they regarded him as an enemy, when all that he would need to do to have their friendship would be to work less hard!

<sup>35</sup>In some industries there are "group" incentives in which this is less true.

<sup>36</sup>This naturally is less true of Keith. His experiences with the Masons and other associates outside the plant show his skill in outside social relationships.

<sup>37</sup>And also the only rate-buster in that shop on that turn.

<sup>38</sup>For relative difficulty in machining a given metal because of varying contents of the "tough" elements, chromium, manganese, vanadium, etc. The higher the factor, the greater the time allowed for the job.

units per turn of eight hours, which made his performance only 61 per cent for that period, and allowed him no bonus at all. Keith is also opposed to unions, but in this case he went to the union and filed a grievance. After two weeks,<sup>39</sup> the factor was raised to 1.53, but the job was nearly done. Keith immediately started turning out fourteen pieces in eight hours at a performance of 322 per cent or an increase of over 500 per cent. For the two-week period of restriction he made his regular hourly pay totalling about \$12 per turn. With his new pace he was making \$25 per turn, but he received this for only the two remaining turns of the job. If he had worked at the same rate with the lower factor he would have made nearly \$23 per turn, which means that he lost \$110 for the two-week period.

Keith was not unique in this behavior toward management. Watson has shut his machine down and gone "over the heads" of his superiors directly to the remote and aloof office of the engineers to announce that he would continue his work only when they gave him the "time" (which had been unavoidably delayed) for the job. Rylander also has shut his machine down for the same reason. Both Reid and Bellini react to similar situations by seeking to aggravate already tenuous relations between line and staff.

There is a softer side to the rate-buster's behavior that is never seen in the shop. For instance, during the last eight years Keith has made many gifts such as toy houses, boats and other objects in his shop for his next door neighbor's small daughter. And Jock's recent marriage was to a widow, with children whom he must support. Funkhauser also married a widow with two small children and has had two children of his own by her. Mrs. Funkhauser has told her neighbors that though Fritz "rules the roost" at home, he has never made any distinction in treatment of his own children and his step-children.

The case of Paine is also significant. Having practically no relations with people in the shop, his students in the night school where he

teaches say that he jokes with them and is very considerate of their errors. As mentioned above, though Paine loves children, he is apparently not embittered toward his wife because of her inability to bear them.

Related to these traits is the rate-buster's attachment to marriage and family life. Excepting Bellini who is single (but prefers remaining with his parents), and Keith who just recently married, all the rate-busters wed early and have never divorced.<sup>40</sup>

Despite his outbursts of individualism, management has given more than verbal proof of liking<sup>41</sup> the rate-buster. For example, recently both Shane and Keith had temporarily completed all work that was on hand for the turn. In another part of the shop, the saw and bolt-threader man was sawing the rods from which he was to thread two hundred stud bolts. He could have done the entire job in three days at a cost of about \$30. However, after he had cut the studs and was preparing to thread them, they were taken from him and delivered to the machines of Shane and Keith to be threaded. Because of the differential between "production" and "special" rates, the job "payed so well" that both men had to "slow down" to keep from "killing it," which might have brought the engineers around for an explanation. Instead of three turns at a cost of \$30 for the complete job, the work of threading alone required eight turns and a cost of \$160.

Possibly the rate-buster's personal organization and adjustment should be questioned. It is clear that he fails to shape his behavior in terms of the work group. If he can be said to show an excessive desire for security, he might, in terms of W. I. Thomas' four-wish pattern,<sup>42</sup> be thought maladjusted. Surely the case of Paine is that of a man suffering from some degree of maladjustment. However, he is hardly representative. It is probably more correct to think of the rate-buster as well-integrated. His aim and standard are the same. Regardless of how he appears to the work group, or of how damaging his conduct may be to their unity, or

<sup>39</sup> The union "taking its time" because of Keith's well-known anti-union bias.

<sup>40</sup> To some extent this may be due to the rural backgrounds of several of the rate-busters. See Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>41</sup> It should be mentioned that these were maintenance shops, that is, their function was to replace and/or repair broken or worn parts of the plant equipment. This meant that breakdowns created a demand for immediate replacement of parts so that production in the disrupted area or unit could be resumed. Since no one equalled the rate-busters' speed of output, supervision's regard of him is understandable. There may well be industrial situations, however, in which the presence of rate-busters would be regarded by management as more harmful than helpful.

<sup>42</sup> *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1923).

of how disloyal to the employer he may be said to be, he has a set of norms valid to himself. In the shop he fulfils his function of high production, and, though restricted to his family for the most part, he has specific social relationships. These facts are uncommon in our shifting and unstable world. However blameworthy his lack of social consciousness may be from some viewpoints, his contempt and indignation for the work group's "pegging of production" show his integration. Though the restricters also escape conflict, because their interest in money is dominated by other interests, in most cases only the rate-buster accepts and pursues our pecuniary and economic success values without conflict. In terms of the competition versus humility behavior pattern<sup>43</sup> of our society, the rate-busters have chosen competition, the restricters humility, and the middle performers have attempted to reconcile the two. And the latter - or most workers under incentive - are the ones who suffer from conflicts. Daily in the shop it is apparent that members of the central group suffer from two very real sets of conflicts: (1) the desire for a "good" job and the fear and uncertainty of not getting it, or the envy of someone who does get it; and (2) frustration of the desire to get as much as possible out of a good job by the necessity of remaining below the production ceiling.

In connection with the increasing attention given by psychiatry to the relation of mental conflicts and stomach ulcers, it may be noteworthy

that none of the restricters or rate-busters had such ulcers, but that nine of the fifty middle performers<sup>44</sup> (sample of eighty-four men) were being treated for this ailment.

## IMPLICATIONS

From a sample of only nine men it would be ridiculous to suggest that "conclusions" could be drawn enabling one to "predict" the behavior of workers under wage incentive. It would also be unfair. For a supervisor in an operating situation to assume - on such slight evidence - that to increase his production he need only employ Republicans, good family men, non-joiners, non-church-goers, and so on, would be as foolish as a labor leader's selecting only Democrats and joiners to assure thereby solidarity in the ranks of his union!

The paucity of rate-busters makes the gathering of a sample large enough to warrant conclusions so difficult that the effort of the task might very well outweigh the worth of the findings. Rather than as conclusions, therefore, we should think of the following summary of characteristics as hypotheses on the type of worker who responds most strongly to wage incentive.

Regarded in this way, we may say that the rate-buster is (1) likely to come from a family of higher socioeconomic level than that of other mem-

<sup>43</sup>M. A. Elliott and F. E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941) p. 535.

<sup>44</sup>This paper is not intended, as an attack on wage incentive systems, but since rate-busters and incentive systems are inseparable, the latter unavoidably enter the discussion in an unfavorable light because of remarks against the rate-busters. The impression may have been given that all workers but the rate-busters disliked the incentive, and that all machinists of the central group were emotionally upset by it. There are two exceptional cases among the middle performers that should be noted. Both were men well liked by the work group, and both were Catholics and Democrats. To the writer's knowledge, neither ever displayed irritation over the incentive, or used abusive language in referring to others.

Fred Williamson, the first, remarked concerning the incentive:

"When we didn't have the incentive we still had pressure. All the foremen had some idea in mind of what a day's work is. If you didn't put out that much, you caught hell. I'm really under less pressure now than I was then.

"A lot of these fellows give the incentive hell. That's because they let it get their goat. The only way you can stand up under this kind of a system is to forget about what the other guy's doing. And when a job don't pay, forget that too. If it does pay, be glad.

"The real fault of incentive systems is the job distribution, but that's supervision. There's pets in every shop that get favors the other men don't. There's one thing that has to be said for incentive systems. They bring out new methods. If a worker can find some way to get a job done sooner, he'll do it in spite of what's considered proper. Without incentive he'd go along with the old methods and never care."

The other machinist, Larry Shaw, says:

"I don't work any harder now than I did before the incentive came in. I just work steadier. Now I never leave the machine for more than a couple of minutes at a time. Maybe I get a little tired, but not much.

"If I wasn't on incentive I couldn't get by. I'm only getting B-rate and I don't have the connections to get A-rate. That's the good thing about incentive: it lets a low rate man get by. Sometimes I make \$25 more on the pay. Of course, sometimes I don't make anything much. But then I'm not killing myself like Shane and Watson and some of the other fools around here."

bers of the work group, or, if he does not, he is trying to reach such a level. He is ambitious and his immediate goal is money. Later he may convert his savings into some form of security and/or prestige. For the present he is often content to possess middle class material symbols and to ignore present social experience of enjoyment. Often, too, the rate-buster is of rural origin, having a personality organization well-adapted to individualistic behavior at work. (2) He is much more likely to be a nominal Protestant who rarely if ever goes to church than he is to be a Catholic. (3) Ethnically he will probably be an Anglo-American or an immigrant from one of the countries of Northwestern Europe. (4) Politically the rate-buster will usually be a Republican and will read a conservative newspaper. He dislikes labor unions and regards their function as essentially immoral. He is insensible of the struggle for power between management and labor and of his role in it.

(5) The rate-buster is a "family man." He marries early and does not divorce. His marriage, however, is not of a modern equalitarian type. Instead, he practices the traditional Puritan virtues of a good provider and a home-lover and avoids the Puritan-aborred vices of drink and gambling.

He prides himself on keeping out of debt, minding his own business, speaking forthrightly, and not being dependent on others. He is master in the home and makes all decisions of consequence. If he does not marry he is likely to show strong family attachment by living with his parents or close relatives. His preoccupation with his family is so great that he is likely to have little social activity outside

it. He regards such activity as frivolous and costly, and is inclined to prefer material things like real estate, a car, and luxuries in the home. He is also likely to consider hobbies as impractical and expensive. (6) His familial devotion is accompanied by a relative indifference to the community at large, as shown by his reluctance to aid charitable organizations. In this he is unlike the civic-minded middle classes whom he apes materially. (7) Despite his restricted social life and extremely individualistic behavior, the rate-buster is not personally disorganized. He has a set of standards valid to himself. His adherence to them may make him a problem to the work group, but not to himself. He rebels against authority of the work group, but not that of the social order, the competitively derived success values of which are the same as his own. There is no uncertainty or confusion in his behavior. His impulses are channelized and guided by clear-cut images and goals. He is maladjusted only in the sense that he is a microcosm of laissez-faire thought in occupational contact with workers of a collectivistic outlook. Any disjuncting he may suffer from this experience is healed by his knowledge of sympathy from groups with whom he identifies himself.

His social world has remained so small and manageable that he finds laissez-faire more workable than do its great proponents in the entangled spheres of commerce. Feeling no need of the workers about him, he ignores their demands on him. In his aspirations and mode of life the rate-buster represents one of the nearest possible approaches to the concept of an "economic man."