however, is not simply that it displays the traditional failure of the American writer to deal with business directly. What makes it a notable play is that Miller has made the tragedy of the Loman family emblematic, just as James did with his novels of manners, of the moral drama of life in a business civilization.

Miller is not concerned with the office life of his protagonist, but rather with the impact of office values on the personality of a father; yet the moral criticism of the businessman is no less profound for that. Willy the salesman was raised on what Zelda Fitzgerald once called "the infinite promise of American advertising." As a result, his capacity to face reality has been destroyed. Trying to become something he is not, Willy employs a false and inflated rhetoric to put himself across — an effort which ends in utter loss of self-awareness.

At the end of the play, when his son, Biff, goaded beyond endurance, yells at Willy, "Pop, I'm nothing! I'm nothing, Pop. Can't you understand that?", Willy flees in terror from the truth and kills himself. The attempt to sell yourself or your product involves the risk of selling out yourself; Miller sees this awful eventuality as peculiarly the businessman's tragedy.

A Farewell to Superman

A further distinction of Miller's play is that it has helped to broaden the definition of the business hero. Since the enormous success of Death of a Salesman, contemporary writers not only have dealt with the entrepreneur, the stock market king, or the captain of industry, but have increasingly portrayed their heroes as men who work for somebody else, as managers, junior executives, ad men, or salesmen.

A large proportion of recent business novels retain the success story form — the hero's rise to a higher position is the central plot. But, by muting the success hero's role in the enterprise in which he is engaged, many contemporary novelists have smashed through the old success story cliche that business is a one-man affair.

Gray, Gray Flannel

The best-known example of this trend occurs in the most popular business novel so far to appear in the 1950's, The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, a book which has gone through innumerable printings, been made into a movie, occasioned magazine articles with titles like "The Woman in the Gray Flannel Suit," and been used as a tie-in by business firms (for instance, the Witty Bros. advertisement of a line of business suits).

Like Charley Gray in Marquand's Point of No Return, who came back from the war feeling that "it's all so superficial . . . the bank president and the big job, and what will happen to Junior, and whether a boiled shirt will help," Wilson's gray-flanneled hero, Tom Rath, is troubled by the thought that his business suit is just another uniform and that he is marching in "a frantic parade to nowhere." The question whether Tom is willing to make the sacrifices of time and energy which are necessary in order to move out of the $10,000-a-year class to the head of the parade serves as the crucial issue of the novel.

This is a serious issue, and Wilson approached it with a certain imagination. His solution to the problem of dealing with the business life of his hero, in spite of his own business ignorance, was to give Tom Rath a most untypical job, a job altogether outside the official hierarchy, and unconcerned with the affairs of the broadcasting company where Tom is employed. Tom Rath is special assistant to the president, charged with writing a speech to help launch a mental health campaign in which the president is interested. The result is that Tom's day-to-day activities in the office have a concreteness, a dramatic credibility and interest, far superior to that found in most business novels.

Yet the solution is inadequate. Wilson makes the speech-writing task interesting, but he cannot imagine what else his hero does, and so Tom goes on, day after day, week after week, working and reworking that one speech. Between times, he gazes out of the office window and thinks about Maria, the girl he knew in Italy. But this stereotype of the war experience seems almost fresh by comparison with those scenes in which Tom's meetings with Ralph Hopkins, the president of the company, are described.

This top executive, it is clear, comes not out of Wilson's experience of things, but from his acquaintance with Freud and Riesman. Hopkins, we are informed in an appalling two-page summary of his psyche, has homosexual tendencies, which have caused him to have guilt feelings, which in turn have caused him to attempt to kill himself with overwork. As for Hopkins' social character, clearly he is what Riesman calls "other-directed" — he first-names everyone
and is sensitively attuned to the thoughts and feelings of his subordinates.*

Soap Opera

But Freud and Riesman are no substitute for the art of fiction; psychology and sociology do not save Hopkins from being a totally unconvincing and lifeless character. If we have been provided with a Freudian explanation for Hopkins’ hard work, we remain dramatically unconvinced that he has any broadcasting business on his mind whatsoever. If his character is just what Riesman’s *The Lonely Crowd* says it should be, this scarcely makes credible the scene where Tom tells Hopkins he doesn’t like Hopkins’ version of the speech and is rewarded by an instant burst of presidential gratitude and an eventual offer of high executive office.

The scenes that take place at home have their share of clichés, too. Honesty is the best policy, not only in business but in marriage: Tom’s confession to his wife that he has a bastard son in Italy magically serves to rekindle their burnt-out sex life. The evil servant, the old lady’s will, and the mortgage on the house are among the other worn-out literary trappings that clutter up the Raths’ life in Connecticut.

However, for all these clichés, it is in its picture of suburban living that the novel comes alive. The Raths’ run-down house, with its crack in the plaster on the living room wall, its leaky faucets and scuffed-up doors, the suburban habit of giving cocktail parties which last until two in the morning because no one any longer has a maid to serve dinner, the problem of raising children amidst the hazards of chicken pox and television, the tension growing out of Tom’s inertia and his wife’s ambition (a tension with which *Point of No Return* is likewise concerned, as is also the TV play, *Patterns*), these are vividly presented details of the culture of Suburbia that lend the novel a certain charm and, judging from the reaction of audiences to the movie, are the real source of its appeal.

Yet in the end Wilson cannot keep true even to what he knows. The serious problem on which the novel turns, whether Tom will devote all his time to the company in the hope of someday becoming president or work only a nine-to-five day so that he can be with his family, is completely undercut by a series of manipulated lucky breaks that make it possible for Tom to turn down the chance for the top in the knowledge that he and his wife are about to make a profit of $100,000 on a real estate deal.

What, in sum, starts out to be a genuine business novel undergoes the familiar transformation to sharply observed domestic comedy, then ends as pure soap opera.

Business & Society

At first glance it might appear that Marquand, in his 1955 novel, *Sincerely, Willis Wayde*, is merely working, however skillfully, in the familiar framework of the novel of manners. Like all of Marquand’s best work, this novel is focused on the effort made by an outsider to force his way upward through the solidified social structure of an old New England town. Henry Harcourt, the head of the mill where Willis Wayde is first employed, is portrayed less as a businessman than as the representative of the old New England aristocracy, and Willis’ own work in the mill is of secondary importance dramatically to his relationship with Harcourt’s daughter, Bess.

Many of the scenes in the novel are typical Marquand studies of social unease and could just as easily have taken place in some of his other novels which do not deal with business: Willis arriving for tennis only to discover that he is humiliatingly overdressed, Willis arriving to take Bess to the theater only to find that she has made another date — clearly, the fact that in these scenes the outsider is a businessman is not important.

Yet Marquand is one of the more accomplished contemporary writers to deal with the business world. (Perhaps the most able is Louis Auchincloss, whose *A Law for the Lion* and *The Romantic Egoists* appeared in 1953 and 1954. Unfortunately, in neither of these books has Auchincloss turned his full attention to the great Wall Street law firms with which he is so obviously familiar; and while each contains glimpses of the business world that are extremely penetrating, they are only glimpses.)

In any event, aware of Howells’ dilemma, Marquand has in some sense achieved a way out of it. Although, like so many other writers, he knows society well and the business world not at all, this has not prevented Marquand, in *Willis Wayde*, from writing about the businessman as businessman, because he has capitalized on his perception that business and society are

no longer the mutually exclusive provinces they used to be.

When, for example, Sinclair Lewis wrote Bab- 
bitt, he showed that the attitudes and standards of the businessman had permeated every institu
tion of American life — church, press, art museum, and so on. But business as such in Lewis' fiction was still conducted in the office; when Babbitt and his pals got together for a jolly boosters' lunch, they were playing, not working. Willis Wayde, on the other hand, never stops working.

As Willis moves through the social world that Marquand knows so well, he is acting the busi-
nessman (or Marquand's idea of the business-
man) quite as much as when he is at the office. He does not withdraw his knee from touching Bess's under the table, since to do so might jeopardize a business deal. And although Sylvia, his bride, begs him not to, Willis insists that they spend their honeymoon in the company of P. L. Nagel and his wife because "it's important in a business way."

Two scenes take place in hotel bedrooms, but they are both business scenes, in the strictest sense. One shows Willis, who has already seen Red, Hot and Blue seven times, planning to at-
tend the musical once again with some business acquaintances whose sex jokes, boozy good cheer, and fake palship constitute only the thinnest veneer for the most intense financial self-interest. In the second of these two scenes, the mocking bird sings in the Carolina sunset and Willis sig-
nifies his sell-out to Nagel with the announce-
ment, "I want you to know in a very friendly way that you can't bribe me in that manner."

Willis' smooth, calculated sincerity — his business personality — is at work 24 hours a day, because all the world is his office. The final result of his unending deception is self-deception; like Willy the salesman, Willis the execu-
tive does not know who or what he is. Mar-
quand is distressed by the human cost that the business invasion of the social world has en-
tailed; but he has made a literary virtue out of that distress and has used his knowledge of the social world to penetrate part way the mystery of the money-passion.

Insie Dopesters

Marquand's solution was a brilliant improvi-
sation, but one would think that the new crop of businessmen-novelists would find it unneces-
sary; they, after all, know the office because they used to (or still do) work there. However, what is so striking about these novelists is that despite their knowledge they, too, have not found it possible to deal with the mysterious office, and have depended on traditional literary solu-
tions for avoiding it.

For all of his 35 years of business experience, Howard Swiggett in The Power and the Prize focuses primarily on the relationship of his hero with a widowed Austrian refugee whom he meets on a business trip to London. After talk-
ing to the widow, the hero expresses the literary businessman's historic urge to be educated: "He felt ashamed that his appreciation was limited to a liking for beautiful sounds, particularly those made by the human voice, or a symphony orchestra playing 'Get Along, Little Dogies' in The Plow that Broke the Plains."

The main difference between the story of the hero and the widow and James's The American or Lewis' Dodsworth is that Swiggett cannot write. Such business scenes as the novel con-
tains are taken up with demonstrating the hero's superior character and why he deserves to be chairman of the board. In the end, he does get both the chairmanship and the widow, thus proving the author's contention that business is romantic, but raising the question as to why, then, he left it.

Schoonover's The Quick Brown Fox and Prosser's Nine to Five stick, as the title of the latter implies, pretty close to the office, but office gossip and office sex are the stuff of which these novels consist, and they are not so much busi-
ness novels as novels of manners set in the office.

High Into the Air

A vastly more comprehensive and detailed picture of what the office is like has been pre-
sented by Cameron Hawley than by any other American author. Both his Executive Suite and Cash McCall have been hailed as the business novel America has been waiting for. Dreiser and Lewis and Wilson have all known what the office furniture looks like, but Hawley knows not only that but also about tax losses and capital gains, about Regulation W and the union check-
off, about the production line and the designing room, and about machines and sales.

Yet if Hawley is knowledgeable about busi-
ness, he is naive about literature and has only a rudimentary imagination, with the result that his image of the businessman is nothing but a hackneyed stereotype of the indispensable,
lonely, all-knowing success hero, a pale, second-hand version of Frank Cowperwood.

Don Walling, in *Executive Suite*, knows that "there could be no partnership! That was ridiculous... There was room for only one man at the top of the Tower... one man... one voice... one strong commanding hand!" And just as Walling sweeps everything before him in the directors' meeting and is elected president, so Cash McCall moves from one capital gains deal to the next with triumphant and scornful ease. Because his business heroes are such stereotypes, they are never able to make contact with the very real problems of the business world which Hawley presents so fully and convincingly.

There is nothing, finally, that Hawley's supermen cannot do, no one who can match Walling, no one who can stop Cash McCall as he storms down the runway in the converted B-26 which is his private plane and climbs high into the air, leaving the office behind.

The Impenetrable Mystery

The example of Hawley and the other businessmen-novelists demonstrates first of all that although most writers since Howells have seemingly been unable to write about business because it has not come within their experience of things, inside information is not necessarily the key to writing about the office; further, it recalls James's emphasis on "the grasping imagination" as the *sine qua non*.

Yet the history of the American imagination from James to the present testifies that no writer has ever succeeded in conveying in a literary work of art what goes on in the daily lives of millions of Americans. Whether this is the fault of the writers or of the subject is not clear. Books, conversational reminiscences, the briefest glimpse, the least hint, have proved sufficient for the imaginative recreation of other forms of human endeavor; Stephen Crane had never been under fire when he wrote *The Red Badge of Courage*, perhaps the finest of all American war novels. But, for whatever mysterious reason, no stimulus has similarly kindled the imagination of the writer about business.

It is always possible, of course, that the office will acquire its Stephen Crane at some time in the future. Yet, on the record, it would appear doubtful.

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EACH society, ours particularly, has its semi-sacred beliefs of what man is and what he should be. They are the living values and concepts of the collectivity about what it is, what its people want and do not want, and what they should and should not be. . . . During its long history our society has been blessed with a number of significant sacred and secular myths about the nature of human existence, of which two, in a multitude of forms, have cried out the meaning of man and his ultimate fate. In one, man (the hero and leading character) must learn to resign himself to the powerful external forces which decide his fate. His task is to subordinate his own needs for today and his individual hopes for tomorrow to a spiritual or secular force, perhaps to a materialistic one of economic change or revolution, or to spiritual demands of a sacred being. The hero learns through resignation of his self and his life to a superior external force or being.

The other basic belief-system is a myth of human triumph. In it the hero struggles and overcomes external obstacles; he encounters and ultimately triumphs over the persons and forces of evil; he may confess his doubt and his desire to admit defeat, but he never resigns himself to whatever may happen to him. Yesterday this hero was a knight fighting his way forward to ultimate victory, or an ascetic who conquered the evil beings who waylaid him as he pressed onward to seek and find good. Today the hero may be the scientist who seeks and finds the solution to a problem for the benefit of man or a poor boy who, through pluck, skill, and a good heart, works his way to the top. The latter often is the business man who, starting at the bottom, solves the vexing problems of business enterprise and climbs upward to triumph over all obstacles.

W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Big Business Leaders in America*
Human Relations Theory
- a progress report

Management has listened to the researchers, accepted many ideas on faith, taken action, and spent thousands and thousands of dollars. Management is entitled to this critical and on the whole optimistic appraisal.

By William Foote Whyte

As a field of research, teaching, and industrial training, human relations is still relatively new. But it has grown with exceptional rapidity, and the volume of current activity is enormous. Nevertheless, some critics still ask the disquieting question: Have we really learned anything since we started — or, to use a significant landmark, since 1933 when Elton Mayo's Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization was published?

This article is intended as a progress report on the field of human relations. As I shall point out, advances have definitely been made; at the same time, much remains to be done in the interests of greater human satisfaction as well as greater industrial efficiency.

Outline of Progress

In oversimplified form, the progress in human relations theory can be outlined in three stages:

1. Staking out the claims — This new field of study was opened up by the research that Elton Mayo and his associates in the Department of Industrial Research at the Harvard Business School, F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, carried on at the Western Electric Company. Through experimentation, observation, and interviewing, they demonstrated the fallaciousness of the old established theories of human behavior in industry.

2. Following the leads — For some years, we all followed Mayo's leads; we accepted and elaborated on his assumptions as we worked along the lines of our particular interests. But what we had learned from Mayo was, to a large extent, clarification of what was not true about behavior in industry rather than information as to what was true. So, while sometimes we came to fruitful conclusions, more and more we found ourselves going up blind alleys.

3. Developing a new pattern — Realizing we did not have all the answers, we were forced to rethink the work we had been doing. This led us toward a new pattern of theory and research. The pattern is not yet clear enough to provide many practical conclusions. It is emerging, nevertheless, and that emergence promises a brighter future both for the development of research and for its application to human problems in industry.

As I see it, we have now advanced beyond Mayo in several important ways, each of which deserves independent evaluation.

1 First published by The Macmillan Company; reprinted, Boston, Division of Research, Harvard Business School, 1946.
We know how to use money more effectively as an incentive.

We have gone beyond the simple "work group" concept to discover some of the different forms of group behavior actually to be found in industry.

We are learning how the structure of the organization can affect morale and productivity.

We have learned some of the limitations of human relations training — a necessary step in the development of more effective action.

Old Theories Discredited

Mayo attacked a theory of human behavior and a theory of organization.

According to the established management theory, the working man was thought to be an individual who responded to management's actions upon a completely individualistic basis. Money was thought to be the main, if not the only, incentive to which he responded.

On the organization side, the theories that went under the name of "scientific management" dominated the scene. Two points stood out — "functionalization" and the "span of control":

1. Functional specialization was equated with efficiency. The more specialization on the part of the worker or supervisor, the more effective he was supposed to be.

2. The concept of span of control involved an essentially mechanical theory of organization. It placed emphasis upon the formal structure and upon building control into the organization from the top down. It assumed that one man could supervise adequately only a small number of people. The theory recognized that the number should vary with the complexity of tasks assigned and with the extent of interdependence of tasks among those supervised. However, the emphasis was upon keeping down the number of men under a single supervisor, in order to maintain adequate control.

Of course, no experienced executive believed literally in the prevailing theories of individual and organizational behavior. Nevertheless, there was a tendency to reason toward conclusions as if the theories were true.

The Challenge

It was Elton Mayo and his associates who made the first effective challenge to the prevailing theories of individual and organizational behavior. They did so by establishing the following propositions:

1. The economic incentive is not the only motivating force to which the worker responds. In fact, he often holds back his production to a point well below his physical capacity even when he is on piece rates and could make more money with more production. His production is importantly influenced by his relations with other workers and by his personal problems inside and outside the plant.

2. The worker does not respond as an isolated individual. He is a member of a work group, and the face-to-face relations he experiences have a great effect upon his behavior. Wherever men work together, they tend to build up an informal organization which may not follow the lines of the formal organization as established by management.

3. Extreme functional specialization does not necessarily create the most efficient organization. Mayo and his associates did not give great attention to this point, but, in their study of the bank wiring room, they noted that the wiremen and soldermen frequently exchanged jobs, contrary to management's policy. These job exchanges had no adverse effects upon production and seemed to raise the morale of the entire work group.

Leads & Blind Alleys

We can accept Mayo's assumption regarding functional specialization without modification. A good deal of research and experience since Mayo's day leads us to believe that extreme functional specialization results in lower productivity and lower morale. In a number of cases it has been found that both morale and productivity have been raised by job enlargement (giving the worker more tasks to perform) and by allowing the worker to change jobs from time to time.

The Western Electric study focused attention on the effects of workers' personal problems on their morale and productivity. This suggested to the researchers the desirability of establishing a personnel counseling program. The counselor had no management authority, and his conversations with workers were kept confidential. His function was to provide workers opportunity to talk out their problems to a skillful listener.

All of us who have talked out some personal problem with a sympathetic listener can recognize the value of such an experience. This then seems to be a useful personnel technique. Unfortunately, however, this technique turned out to be the main practical outcome of the research program in the Western Electric Company. It is curious that this should have happened, for it violates one of the major findings of the research program: that changes in individual behavior and attitudes are effected primarily through
changing human relations in the organization. The individual worker may be helped by counseling, but he (or even his foreman) is in a very nonstrategic position for changing human relations in the organization. Thus personnel counseling has proved to be a dead end so far as research is concerned.

New Approach to Incentives

Mayo and his associates performed an important service in demonstrating that the economic incentive is not all-important. But where do we go from there?

Money Still Vital

Some researchers in the field have gone on to assume that money — far from being all-important — is really not very important at all. This viewpoint is based on various questionnaire surveys which indicate that workers rank "good wages" seventh or eighth among the desirable conditions of work. Since items having to do with "fair treatment" by supervisors are consistently ranked higher, some people have come to think that workers are primarily concerned with human relations and do not worry very much about their take-home pay.

However, it has not been possible for us in human relations research to remove money from factory life. We have been forced to recognize that although workers may be thinking of other things too whenever they complain about wages, they are still most certainly concerned about money. Also, we have learned that the pattern of human relations in an organization can be such as to promote — or block — an enthusiastic response to an economic incentive.

It is futile to argue about the relative importance of money and human relations. We might just as well argue whether the engine or the gasoline is more important in making an automobile run. Our problem in research is to determine how the economic incentive and human relations fit together. More work has been done on this in recent years than can be summarized here, but I can point up two important areas of current research interest: the effect of incentives on intergroup relations and experimentation with new types of incentives.

Disrupting Influences

Industry today is full of strife growing out of intergroup problems created by incentive systems. For instance, look at the now time-honored struggle between workers on incentive pay and those on hourly rates:

Take the skilled people in the maintenance department, who usually are more skilled than any other workers in the plant. Normally, they hold relatively high status or prestige in the plant community. But since their work is not directly measurable, they are not generally included in incentive plans. Yet a piece-rate system for production workers is likely to eliminate part or all of the differential in earnings between the two groups. In some cases, the production workers actually come out ahead in pay. This narrowing or reversal of the differential inevitably generates severe pressures within the union and from the union to management.

Even within production departments, incentives often give rise to intergroup problems. For example:

Suppose the production department consists of "grinders" and "polishers." The hourly rate for grinders is $1.90, that for polishers, $2.00. The polishing job is thought to require somewhat more skill and enjoy a higher status, and the promotional ladder calls for workers to move up from grinder to polisher.

Now suppose that incentives are introduced into the department. To make it easier for management, let us assume that the rates for grinders and polishers are set up at approximately the same time — a situation that is often not found in practice. Ideally, the incentive system will turn out so that the polishers maintain approximately the same earnings differential as they enjoyed on day rates. However, almost as often as not — and regardless of the rate-setting methods used — the incentive earnings will turn out something like this: polishers, $2.45; grinders, $2.65.

In other words, the incentive system has turned upside down the relative positions of the two jobs. What happens now is easy to predict. The polishers put pressure on union and management in order to get a loosening of the rate and re-establish the pre-existing differential. And the grinders become very reluctant indeed to "promote" into the polisher position.

Furthermore, there is no such thing as a once-and-for-all settlement of this problem, within the framework of piece rates. Even if the rates initially established should maintain the polishers in a superior earnings position, there will be changes in machine and work methods, and these will necessitate new time studies for setting new piece rates. Somewhere along the line the grinders are bound to turn up on top of the polishers, thus setting into motion the pressures described above.
How can management meet this type of inter-group problem? Men are concerned about their pay in relative as well as in absolute terms; the point is obvious to anyone with industrial experience, yet all too often we fail to draw the conclusions which logically follow. This means that, in planning the introduction of an incentive system, management cannot afford to concentrate its attention on the problem of motivating one particular group of workers alone. It must, at the same time, recognize the place these workers occupy in the status and pay system of the plant.

Management must anticipate the changes that incentives are likely to produce in the relative positions of work groups in the plant status system. It must be prepared to deal with the pressures that arise in response to such changes. On the basis of what we already know, there is no excuse for management to be taken by surprise by the intergroup problems that piece rates generate.

Plant-Wide Incentive

One way to by-pass the intergroup problems produced by piece rates is to abandon piece rates altogether. This does not necessarily mean giving up financial incentives. In recent years a few companies, following the lead of the late Joseph Scanlon, have been experimenting with incentives based on the performance of an entire plant. If the plant-wide formula does not eliminate whatever "inequities" workers may think exist, it at least has the merit of not introducing new inequities.

It is important to note that the plant-wide plan does not, in and of itself, produce results. Since the individual worker has so little direct effect on the payoff he receives, the success of a plant-wide formula depends on a new approach to motivation. Where the plan has been successful, it has been used as a symbol around which to reorganize human relations throughout the plant. The individual must feel that he is an important part of the organization, and he does not get this feeling simply by having management tell him how important he is. He feels appreciated only when he has an opportunity to contribute his ideas as well as his manual skills to the organization.

The plant-wide incentive program requires, therefore, a continuing program of discussion and action, whereby the individual can bring up ideas within his own department and whereby these ideas are carried for action to as high an organizational level as is necessary for decision making. This means stimulating workers to offer production ideas through the union channels. However, management people cannot just sit back and wait for union suggestions; they must also present production and cost problems to workers and union officers for discussion.

Without going into the mechanics of the system, some general comments can be made about its effectiveness. Under a successful plant-wide incentive, men will work more steadily, although it is not this harder work which accounts for most of the payoff. The successes have been achieved largely through a more effective mobilization of the knowledge and ideas of all members of the organization. In these cases, management and union have built a system in which workers gain feelings of pride and belonging through the contributions they make to the better functioning of their organization.

In the past, management has concentrated on setting up communication channels to get the work done. The new approach calls for setting up channels — from the bottom up as well as from the top down — through which improvements in the organization of work are constantly taking place. Here, the money offered by the plant-wide incentive is an important factor, but it does not motivate workers unless the social system of the plant is effectively organized.

Elton Mayo destroyed the orthodox economic theory of worker motivation. For a time we tried to develop a theory of motivation that would leave out money altogether. That too was found wanting, and we are now building a new theory that integrates economic incentives and human relations.

Accent on Face-to-Face Relations

Mayo and his associates showed that we cannot afford to think of an isolated individual employee. We must consider him as part of a work group. But where do we go from there?

Misleading Conclusions

We have elaborated upon Mayo's assumption in ways that have led toward misleading conclusions. Let us examine the steps here.

1955); also William Foote Whyte, "Economic Incentives and Human Relations," HBR March-April 1952, p. 73.