

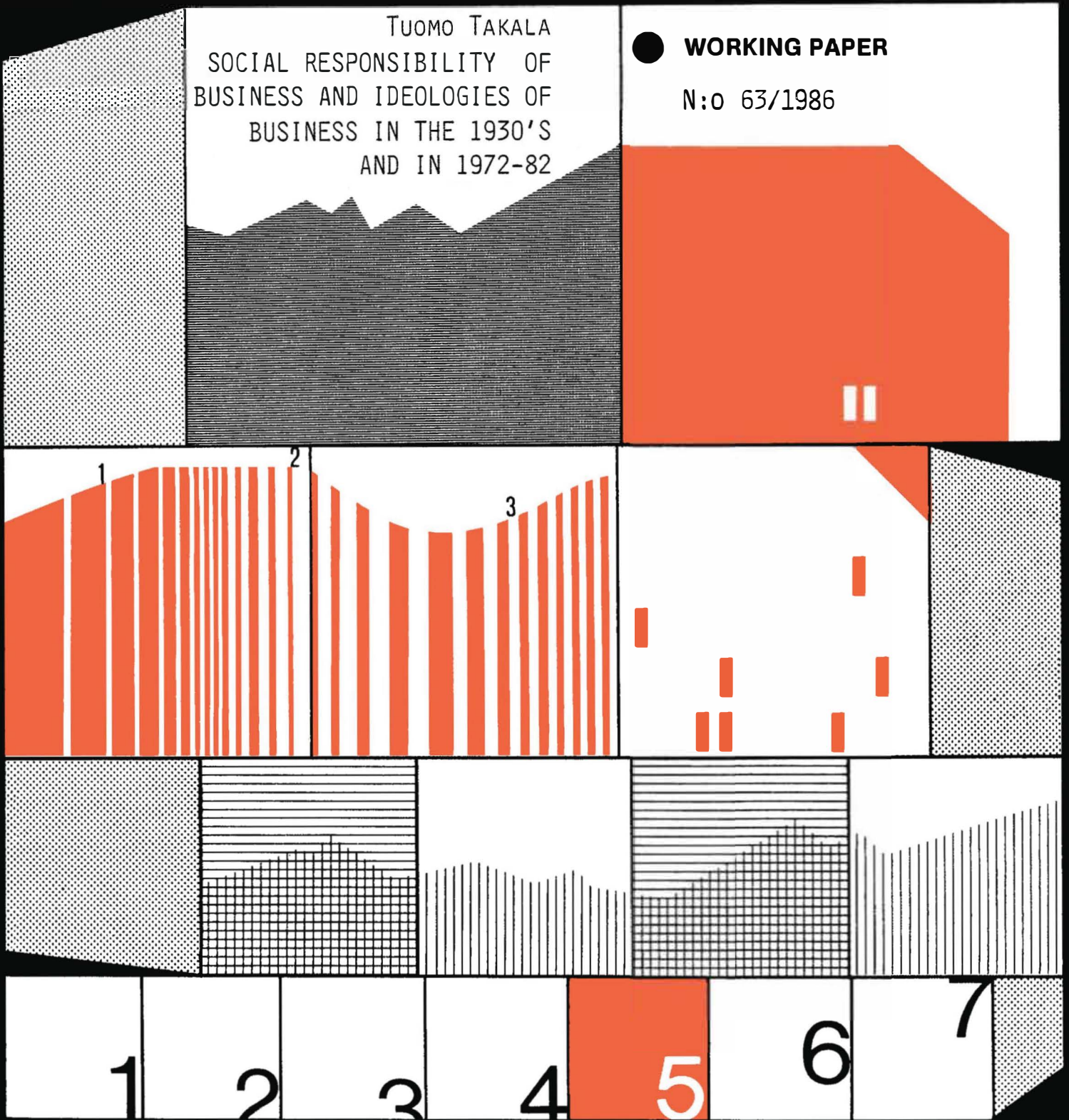
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TALOUSTIETEEN LAITOS

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ  
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS  
AND MANAGEMENT

TUOMO TAKALA  
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF  
BUSINESS AND IDEOLOGIES OF  
BUSINESS IN THE 1930'S  
AND IN 1972-82

● WORKING PAPER

N:o 63/1986



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## 1. On the aims of this paper

In this paper I will deal with the following subjects:

- an investigation and definition of the concept of responsibility, I will examine what elements it should contain and what it really means, and
- an investigation of different kinds of businessideologies, I will study how they as well as the concept of social responsibility were influential between 1930 and 1940 on the one hand, as well as between 1972 and 1982, on the other.

The central premise of my investigation will be that the ideas, opinions and attitudes of Finnish businesslife concerning the social responsibility of the firm and business are been reflected in articles of the Finnish employers' journals.<sup>1)</sup>

I hope that the result of my study will show us whether the ideologies have changed and if so, how they have changed over time.

## 2. Social responsibility of the firm and business

This subject seems to be interesting to businessmen, economists as well as laymen concerned about economy and the society. The last two decades have meant new challenges for business and especially for managers of big companies. On the other hand, critical people question the traditional framework of corporate decision making and would like to see management in a new light. The concept of social responsibility arose in this context. It was initially put forward by businessmen, not by theorists. By drawing up codes of conduct or standards of ethical choice for company conduct, business responded to different worries caused by itself, e.g., pollution, consumertopics, social problems.<sup>2)</sup>

1) The journals I have used in my investigations are Työntantaja, Teollisuuslehti, Teollisuus and Teollisuusviikko.

2) e.g., Heald (70), Beesley & Evans (78).

In essence, the doctrine of social responsibility calls on the businessmen to consider the impact of his choices and plans on society, thereby pointing to obligations beyond the traditional economic tasks. In other words, attention has to be drawn to non-economic consequences of business activities.<sup>1)</sup>

One central point in this area is the legitimation problem of corporate activity. In which way corporations can legitimate their power and forms of conduct. Many economist and social scientist think that the central issue is how and what form the social contract emerges and how it changes.<sup>2)</sup> One objective of this paper is to study in what manner the legitimising process happens on the level of speech. Other topics for consideration are:

What forms of social responsibility does businesslife use when it wants to show its acceptance of social responsibility.

Are there any kinds of spontaneous activity concerning the social duties of business or it is true that business relies only on the legal norms when it regards social responsibility.

I propose that in the thirties the debate concerning the tasks and responsibility of business were not so intense as it is now. In the thirties supposedly the firm's responsibility was more stressed as one of the owners of corporations. In the seventies the firm has had to take into account more and more interests of the other interest groups. Whether my assumption is true has to be investigated further using the empirical material. This kind of diachronical comparison is useful if we want to relate views from different timeperiods concerning social responsibility of the firm and some larger aspects between the society and business (ideologies of business).

1) e.g., Daniel Bell concludes that "to think of business corporation simply as an economic instrument is to fail totally to understand the meaning of the social changes of the last half century".

2) e.g., Prakash Sethi (1973)

### 3. What the term "Responsibility" really means

Because my presentation must be brief I want to concentrate on the moral side of responsibility.<sup>1)</sup> Accordingly I define the concept of social responsibility of the firm or business as a concept belonging to the sphere of moral responsibility. This implies briefly that social responsibility of the firm includes more kinds of activities (social and economical) than the law obliges, i.e. it is more than the legal responsibility. We can take some empirical example and say that corporations have moral responsibility to refrain from commercial transactions with the South African government because this institution carries on with racial discrimination against black people. The governmental law does not oblige firms to do so, but we can say that the moral law does. This example brings out two different and opposite aspects of moral activity - the ethic of profit which is based on the utilitaristic values and on the other side, ethics of duty; a moral position which stresses our duties towards universal ethical principles; e.g., the so-called "Golden Rule" or Immanuel Kant's "categorical imperative".

I would argue further, that if social responsibility is defined as moral responsibility then we are here concerned with the some kind of duty-based action. Our example works as a parallel between two opposites, however I see some reason to suppose that one can find parallels of same kind in articles published by the Finnish employers. I shall define further that in the proper moral-responsibility-action, we are dealing always with other-regarding duties, we might say also that this type of action is in some sense based on self-sacrifice or altruistic motivation. Accordingly, in the case of full moral responsibility, it can be demanded that the benefit of the moral agent or actor (in this case the firm) gives way to some other's interest; e.g., interest

1) More exactly Takala, T (1985), N:o 56. Takala, T (1985), N:o 58. Takala, T (1985), N:o 59.

of business environment, or the benefit of the whole social system. If we think in this way, we have to suppose that firm bearing the proper moral responsibility could get into such situation where the firm would have to sacrifice its own benefits for those of society (its profits and revenues could decrease because of some social investments done by the firm).

#### 4. Ideologies of social responsibility of the firm and business

In this chapter I want to define briefly various ideologies or positions on social responsibility.<sup>1)</sup> These contains different kind of views concerning our subject. One of these is so-called traditional ideology. It is presented in numerous articles and books and its main proponent is Milton Friedman, the very well known economist and social philosopher. He is also the main ideologist of traditional position. Accordingly, his point of view is very strict: "there is one and only one responsibility of business- to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits, so long as it stays within the rules of the games, which is to say, engages in activities in open and free competition without deception or fraud."<sup>2)</sup> Guided by the profit maximization the firm is considered to have discharged its responsibility to society if it efficiently meets market demands for its products. If business managers are said to have social responsibilities at all, it is responsibility merely to meet their fiduciary obligations to the shareholders of a firm in conformity with the laws and regulations of the government. Beyond this, executives have no added social responsibilities which they are required to meet.

1) More exactly in Takala, T (N:o 56)

2) e.g., Friedman (1962)

Although this position takes social responsibility into account (it crops up with the smithian "invisible hand") it treats it as a secondary effect which is a consequence of egoistic and self-interested action in social and economical life. In accord with this view one could also argue that the benefit of society is not so important than profit maximization.

Another ideology, which we can call modern ideology, stresses more than traditional ideology such business activities which can be legitimized by the benefit of society. Here, a firm is seen as a subsystem of the total system (society) and thus it is rational for the firm to benefit the whole social system thereby - perhaps only indirectly - benefiting itself. Because it is relevant for my study I have differentiated two "sub"-ideologies in this field:

I According to the first one a firm acts in a socially responsible manner if its objective is to work in order to attain reasonable or moderate profit, and if as a consequence of this the society benefits too.

II According to the second ideology the firm acts in a socially responsible manner if it participates in solving society's problems by more concrete ways compared with first subideology. Such activities could mean investments to various social projects, to social activities which are done to clean facade of business etc. The motivation of business' activities is enlightened egoism. It is clear that the motivation of business can not be altruistic, but it is in the interest of business to take social duties serious in order to survive in the long run. One can also claim that social responsibility - according to this ideology - does not remake people: rather it asks to them only to behave in such a way which considers the broader social system and to act in a way which benefits others as well as themselves.



The third ideology is called moral or ethical ideology. This ideology stresses more than the two others some ethical principles. The firm acting according to this ideology is ready to sacrifice the firm's own advantage for the sake of some "good". I have already presented some examples of this kind of proper moral responsibility (p.3). I still have to emphasize that a firm which does make some socially responsible contributions (donations, social projects etc.) does this without the motive of make profit, if it acts according to this ideology. Elkins has noticed some empirical evidence for this ideology <sup>1)</sup> He concludes that some corporate executives obviously treat social activity as an ethical imperative, they feel that they are responding to higher moral principles and exhibit a missionary zeal in directing corporate activities to socially oriented ends. He calls such activities "Corporate Morality". To sum up: I argue that it is relevant and possible to differentiate different kinds of ideologies of business and social responsibility and after that I study in what degrees and in what forms they come up in articles of the journals of Finnish employers associations.

## 5. Ideologies of business

In previous chapters I have defined and formed that frame of reference for my study, that consists of some ideals types which I have called ideologies of social responsibility of business. In this chapter I want to enlarge the basis of the study and take account on some wider attitude patterns which I shall call businessideologies. They contain several attitudes of businesslife to society, to the economy and government. More exactly. They are:

- 1) traditional ideology of business
- 2) modern ideology of business
- 3) moral ideology of business

1) Elkins,R (1977)

These ideologies are constructed on the basis of previous studies concerning the issue and different kinds of literature.

I shall suppose that they contain the following themes:

- a) attitudes toward the economy and society
- b) attitudes toward the functions of the business institution
- c) attitudes toward the general role of government
- d) attitudes toward the role of government in the economy
- e) attitudes toward organized labor
- f) different sets of values

I shall also assume that each of the ideologies takes different kinds of attitudes towards the above given (a-f). Hence I want to study what kind of attitudes and values can be found in articles published by the employers in the 1930's and 1970's.

The articles, which I selected on the ground of the attitudes containing in them, are divided into sentences because it is very difficult to classify the whole article. In practice this meant that I read all the articles in the journals published in the thirties and seventies. Then I divided the selected articles into sentences and classified sentences according to topics. Articles were selected on the grounds of topic. The important point was that they contained such notions like "social responsibility of the firm or business, responsibility, business social duty, environmental responsibility, employer responsibility etc." The number of the sentences which were selected was relatively small, 171. However, the important point is that all those sentences were picked which contained allusions to responsibility.

Studies of this kind are still rare. The most relevant from my point of view are Schaefer's study:<sup>1)</sup> "Change in Business ideologies in the USA" and Bringer and Gerlach's study.<sup>2)</sup> Both of these contain very similar frames of reference and I have also used categories

1) Schaefer, N (1977)

2) Bringert, R & Gerlach, A (1968)

of the same type. In the following pages I shall present which principles each of the ideologies will contain:

Traditional businessideology

Modern businessideology

a) conception of economy and society

The classical businessideology conceives the economy and to a large extent society to be one giant market. It trusts the market mechanism- the forces of supply and demand working under freely competitive conditions- will lead to the most desirable state of affairs

The main hindrance to the benevolent workings of the market mechanism is the presence of monopoly power created by government or some private corporation

The modern ideology conceive society and economy as a system. To achieve a socially desirable state of affairs of performance goals must be set and achievements of the goals must be planned for

b) attitudes toward the functions of business institution

Market mechanism must be free to respond the dictates of the forces of demand and supply

Capitalism or free enterprise system has its foundations in the market mechanism and it guarantees business not only the freedom, but also the right to respond to the dictates of market

Such a free enterprise system is part and parcel of western tradition. Furthermore this form of capitalism has produced the highest standard of living

However free enterprise system is under attack and thus it has become necessary to defend free enterprise and to oppose all kind of control

The modern ideology sees the economy and society as changed and still changing. In this environment the market mechanism can no longer be trusted to achieve a social optimum in the system

Because business is part of the economical and social system it falls upon the managers of the corporations to act in a responsible manner and direct the resources under their control to the social optimum. The managers must therefore keep desires of the public in mind in their decisionmaking process. If the public is concerned with pollution and social problems, the managers must respond to those concerns

Traditional businessideology

c) general role of government

The goverment is the greatest threat to the free enterprise system. The role of g. is to be limited to a few functions.

Any attempt on the part of g. to interfere in the market through planning or controls or to infringe upon the rights and freedoms of business is a direct threat to the economy.

If g. is allowed to grow in power and functions into a huge centralized institution, the country will slide to communism, socialism and marxism.

d) role of government in the economy

The economy follows the laws of supply and demand and government intervention would lead to a worsening of the economic situation. Whether depressions are batural in the economy or are brought about by government interference is not clearly stated, but a major depression is seen as possible.

To have the minimum distorting impact on economy, goverment expenditures are to be kept to a minimum and the expenditures should be balanced against tax revenues in a fiscally responsible manner.

Keynesian economics is viewed with more than suspicion because deficit finance with its accompanying increase in public debt would lead to economic disaster.

Modern businessideology

Government is the decision-makers or the manager of the whole social system:

It sets goals.

It regulates and controls sub-systems.

It supports and initiates welfare programs.

It passes measure of effectiveness in achieving assessed goals.

Because goverment and business are part of the same social system their attitude should not be one of confrontation but cooperation.

Goverment is the prime decision maker or manager of the economic system and is thus charged with regulating the system in such a manner that it runs smoothly.

Traditional businessideology

Modern businessideology

e) organized labor themes

Organized labor represents monopoly power within a market economy. Labor uses this power to disrupt the economy and society to achieve its ends.

This monopoly power, the various misuses of power are a threat to the free enterprise system.

Unless this power is checked the nation may come to some dire end such as socialism or tyranny.

Organized labor is another member of the pluralistic society with powers granted to it by society.

Labor is also a part of the economic system, and as such must take into consideration the welfare of a whole system.

At present however, labor does not act in a socially responsible manner because it is using its force to enforce excessive wage demands. These wage demands create inflation which threatens the welfare of the total system.

f) values within business ideology

Two sets of values were an important part of the classical business ideology

- freedom
- desirable character traits.

Because political freedom was tied to economic freedom and free capitalism, latter was seen as the foundation on which the western democracy stood.

The market system operated in such a manner that it rewarded certain character traits, such as frugality, perseverance, hard work and punished others such as sloth and waste and leisure.

The modern ideology appears to have only two sets of values.

The first is the evaluation of a manager of a system and his decisions according to the effectiveness with which he has achieved a set of goals, and the efficiency with which he used the resources placed under his discretion.

Second the manager must keep the ultimate client, the society in mind. He must practice social responsibility in all of his decisions.

On the previous pages I have presented the contents of traditional and modern ideologies of business. The third ideology, moral ideology of business contains so many similar features compared with MORAL IDEOLOGY OF BUSINESS SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY that it is unnecessary to define it in this context more exactly. I refer only to page 6., where one can find the definition. In other words, I have found that in the journals one cannot find such elements which are not classifiable to moral ideology of business social responsibility.

I want one more time to repeat the purpose and the method of this paper. I have claimed that in the seventies and in the thirties in Finland there exists different kinds of ideologies of business and business' social responsibility. Hence I want to study how and what kind of changes have happened over the years. I have also supposed that we can find "ideological" attitudes and opinions in the journals published by the Finnish employers. On the other hand, I have reconstructed three ideologies of business using former inquiries concerning relations between the society and business. They may serve as a frame of reference of this study. In those I shall place the selected sentences. As a result of this process, I hope to arrive at a classification of those sentences from which one can observe the forms and varieties of changes of attitudes and ideas.

## 6. Empirical results: some preliminary notes<sup>1)</sup>

### 6.1 Ideologies of business and business social responsibility in the 1930's

In the thirties Finland was quite an agricultural country. In spite of that, there existed large number of papermills and sawmills. This reflected also in the journals. The main part of them have some kind of affinity with the paper industry. One can say that from those articles we can hear the voice of papermaking industry.

Let's start the analysis of the results from an examination of the numerical data.

The number of sentences selected from the 30's was fiftytwo (52). The total distribution of them is following:

Traditional business ideology	46 sentences <sup>2)</sup>	88.5 % <sup>3)</sup>
Modern business ideology	4	7.7
Moral business ideology	2	3.8
total	52	100

On the ground of this distribution one can conclude that the main ideology expressed in the sample was traditional one.

Modern and moral ideologies were represented much less.

Let's examine further which themes were most frequently discussed.

#### a) the conception of economy and society

In this area the most considered topic is "Faith in the working of market forces", 2 sent., 3.9 %<sup>3)</sup>

1) From the outset I must say something about the level of my analysis presented here. One might think that it is not very deep. This is so because my investigations are still under way and the final results are not yet ready. However the main line has become clear.

2) Shortly "sent."

3) Percent from the total sum (52).

b) the functions of business institution

"Defending free enterprise" and "Paternalistic employer responsibility" were the main themes, former 3 sent. 5.8 % and the latter 7 sent. 13.5 %.

Quite surprisingly the topic "Management and Executives" was an often appearing one, which points to an increased interest of management to take into account the welfare of the public, and "The enlightened self-interest of the firm" both in sum 3 sent. 5.8 %.

c) general role of the government

This theme is the most discussed one! Generally, criticism made by the firms has been directed against the controlling activities of the government; "Negative attitude to government control and interference", 7 sent. 13.5 %

Another very frequently considered topic was; "Negative attitude toward social political actions ordered by the governmental law", 10 sent. 19.2 %

d) the role of the government in the economy

In this field the main topic were doubts about Keynesian economics, mainly discussed was the "Taxload", 4 sent., 7.7 %

There are statements lamenting about high taxes and warning of dire social and economical consequences due to high taxes.

e) organized labor themes

"Negative attitude to organized labor and unions" were presented, 2 sent., 3.8 %.

f) values within business and society

Attitudes stressing work ethics were presented;

"Workethic" 4 sent., 7.7 %



Let's look next at the ideology of business social responsibility in the 1930's. First, it is possible to notice that the concept of social responsibility is more implicitly than explicitly expressed in the articles. One of the reason for this surely is the fact that the debate concerning the social responsibility was not a very actual subject in Finland in the thirties and because of the fact that the concept was not yet formed as a concept for business.

Secondly, the responsibility of business was economic responsibility. One can observe that the sentences stressed the point that only a profitable and successful corporation can bear its economical responsibilities. The legitimation of business activities happened by bearing the economic responsibility. The justification of business activities was based on the view, that only the profitable firm can bear its proper responsibility which is purely economical. An interesting point is also that one did not use such verbal expressions as "to aim at largest possible profit" or "maximize profits". The main expressions are such as "to get profit" or "to pursue profitable activities" etc. There are no mentions of such matters as pollution, consumer topics or any kind of topics concerning other than purely economic topics.

The most discussed interest group were workers of the firm. We can say that the corporations showed some kind of paternalistic type of employer responsibility. This means that the corporations took care of many kinds of activities, e.g., employees' housing, health services, schools etc. This is so because of the general relation of the enterprise to the surrounding community was mainly dominating. The enterprise usually had a dominating grip on the community and its politics and culture. The main purpose of employer responsibility of this type seemed to have been to bind the workers to the corporation.

One important point is also that the moral ideology cropped up in this context. The following two phrases emphasize employers' moral responsibility to provide some jobs "to people who really want to work" and "to people who have invalidated in the war". One central point concerning the employer responsibility was the emphasizing of spontaneous activities. Businesslife stressed that they could manage some social actions towards employees without governmental coercion by law.

The final point concerning the social responsibility is the fact that businesslife layed stress upon the grown arena of management and executives. This is surprising because the pre-supposition was the stressed responsibility to owners in spite of the society. The chosen sentences emphasized the idea of serving the whole society and economy.

## 6.2. Ideologies of business and business' social responsibility in 1972 - 1982

In the seventies Finland has become a very industrialized country. It had developed from the 1930's Gemeinschaft-type of society to modern Gesellschaft-type of country, with many kinds of branches of industry. The economic growth continued very powerful up to early seventies. Later the depression appeared with the energycrisis. However, from the end of the seventies to the beginning of the eighties the boom prevailed. In general, one can say that the relations between business and society have changed in the way presented in chapter two.

Let's start the examination in the same way as in the previous chapter:

The numeral distribution of the sentences into the ideologies was the following. The number of sentences selected from the articles was 119;

Traditional business ideology	44 sent.	37 %
Modern business ideology	74	62.2 %
Moral business ideology	1	0.8 %
total	119	100

On the ground of this result one can say that the changes in the business ideology have been close to the proposed hypothesis, ideology has changed from traditional to modern. Moral ideology is however still very poorly discussed.

Let's look again the themes.

a) the conception of economy and society

"Faith in the market forces " has kepted its place, 7 sent. 5.9 %

The theme "Social system aspect" emphasized relations between economy and society. 8 sent. 6.7 %

b) the functions of business institution

"The social responsibility of the firm is primarily aimed at profitable action." This theme emphasized traditional aspects of responsibility.<sup>x)</sup> 4 sent. 3.4 %

"Defending free enterprise" was again discussed. 3 sent. 2.5 %

The following themes expressed modern ideology:

"Change in society" 3 sent. 2.5 %

"Employer responsibility"<sup>x)</sup> 10 sent. 8.4 %

"Environmental responsibility"<sup>x)</sup> 8 sent. 6.7 %

" Consumer topics" <sup>x)</sup> 4 sent. 3.4 %

"The main purpose of the firm is to pursue long term profit, but some other social objectives are accepted" <sup>x)</sup> 3 sent. 2.5 %

c) general role of government

The theme "Negative attitude towards government control and interference" was again the most discussed! 16 sent. 13.5 %

"Negative attitude to social political actions ordered by the governmental law" was also well exposed. 6 sent. 5.0 %

Themes expressing the modern ideology were;

"Accepting the role of government as the leader of of the social policy"	4 sent. 3.4 %
"Business and government cooperation"	7 sent. 5.9 %

d) the role government in the economy

"Taxload"	1 sent. 0.8 %
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Themes expressing the modern ideology:

"Critizing taxpolicies in some analytical way"	4 sent. 3.4 %
"Accepting the role of government as the leader of the whole economy"	3 sent. 2.5 %

e) organized labor themes

No sentences

e) values within business and society

"Workethic"	4 sent. 3.4 %
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Modern ideology assumes that the emphasis concerning values, has changed towards efficiency. This is true, the theme "Efficiency" was often discussed.

4 sent. 3.4 %
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Furthermore the theme "Business public

accountability" <sup>x)</sup> was very much discussed.	13 sent. 11.0 %
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x) means that these themes are so-called social responsibility themes and they are more closely examined on the following pages.

Next I want to bring up some central aspects which are typical of the business ideology of the seventies. One noteworthy thing is the fact that in the seventies the debate concerning the social responsibility of the firm has become more explicit compared with the thirties. There are in the sample many phrases which contain verbs referring straightforwardly to social responsibility, e.g., "firm's social responsibility and social duties" or "firm's social function" etc. Furthermore, I propose that business life is thus realizing that the grown functions of the firm have come to stay, the social responsibility of the firm is more than the bearing of economic responsibility in the proper meaning of the term. That opinion appeared in some phrases(3). "To bear its social duties the firm must be able to invest in some unprofitable actions if it is necessary for the sake of society". This sentence advocates social activism which was a very rare attitude (only one phrase). The main part of attitudes accepted claims made by the society on the abstract level. Often stated was also the condition that only profitable firms can fulfill their social duties.

There was naturally another group of sentences stressing the point that "the social responsibility of the firm is only to aim at profitable action". This view is close to the traditional ideology, compared with "friedman" position on social responsibility. Only the verbs are different, in the recent articles there are no such phrases as "to maximize profits" or "profit maximization". The verbs which were used were such as "to aim at profitable action" or "successful action". However this group of sentences was smaller than the former above (modern ideology).

Notably, also sentences concerning social duties are stressing the spontaneous activities by firms instead of orders made by some authority. The firms' point of view is that the best way to manage the social and economical operations is to leave managing to business. This viewpoint was strong also in the thirties.

Let's look at the some specific areas of social responsibility. As we could see on the previous pages, one can differentiate at least between the following areas, employer responsibility, environmental responsibility and consumer topics. Employer responsibility has always been one of the most central areas of social responsibility. If one studies the journals one can see that the employer responsibility has changed to a more modern direction from paternalistic type of responsibility to more multidimensional type. There is left only one paternalistic feature, dwellings provided by the employers. Instead of that, there has developed responsibility concerning the relations between the employers and unions. In the seventies the most discussed topic was so-called "worksecurity", which means that the government wanted to have the right to decide and order the firms to provide some work for unemployed. The firms resisted and explained that they have a right to choose who they want to hire and dismiss. In addition to this the firms stressed the fact that the profitability of the firms does not stand such operations, bankruptcies and depression might result. Furthermore, there were no signs that firms were ready to provide jobs at a expense of profitable action. Only one phrase stressed such an activity.

Environmental responsibility is a contemporary area of social responsibility. In the seventies different kinds of environmental themes were quite often discussed. All these phrases stressed the approval of bearing the environmental responsibility. However there was made reservation that this is possible only if the firms' operational conditions are made so good that profitable activities are very likely. Spontaneous activities made by the firms were stressed. Cooperation with the government was desirable, but powerful control activities were resisted.

Consumer responsibility developed with consumer protection. The most remarkable conception was that firms were ready to admit the necessity of consumer policy. Furthermore, the necessity of spontaneous activities made by the firms on consumer issues were stressed.

Finally, I want to point out that there did not exist any kind of debate concerning values or value conflicts. All the sentences emphasized utilitarianistic values. Universal values were not discussed. Profitability, productiveness and profit were those values which were preferred by business.

## 7. Comparison and conclusions

Finally let me sum up some central points of my study. A general conclusion concerning the ideologies of business of the thirties and seventies could be that businesslife's attitudes have changed to a modern direction. One can draw the conclusion that in the seventies businesslife emphasized cooperation between corporations and government more than in the thirties. Businesslife also perceived the internal dependencies between business and society more strongly than in the 1930's. There are however, as late as the 1970's strong negative attitudes towards control exercised by the government. Negative attitude towards social-political actions was also a dominant feature. One explanation of this is that firms were afraid of the costs of these operations.

If one examines the ideology of social responsibility, one can find that the area of social responsibility perceived by business has become more complex and wide. In the thirties the most dominating was economic responsibility and no other area was expressed in the sentences. In the seventies there have developed many other areas, e.g., environmental and consumer responsibility. Firms emphasized mainly their ability to bear responsibility spontaneously without governmental coercion. However, all this under the condition that government guarantees the firms the chance for profitable action.

One can observe that the sentences related to business' social responsibility accept in principle the bearing of an enlarged responsibility. However, there are less statements concerning social activism, only the abstract-level acceptance of business social duties are stated. Only very rare sentences did present any concrete forms of bearing responsibility (e.g., to bring together the firms and some social objectives), There are also no statements about such situations when the interests of business and society are in conflict with each other. Also moral responsibility is poorly discussed. To take moral responsibility seems to be a very strange idea to business. The moral strains seem to be relatively more discussed in the thirties than in the seventies (although the number of this type of sentences was very small).

There are also no discussions about questions of value. The values which were most discussed were utilitarian values, such as money and profit. Finally I want to say that the sample as a whole verifies the idea that some social processes, i.e. modernisation, have led to a situation in which the firms are operating in a very different environment than in the thirties. The firms have had to consider also the non-economic consequences of their activities and bear responsibility due to these. All this can be seen from the sentences of the journals.



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