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**LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONAL
EFFECTIVENESS**

T. O. Jacobs, et al

**Human Resources Research Organization
Alexandria, Virginia**

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LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

by

T. O. Jacobs
Human Resources Research Organization
(HumRRO) Division No. 4

(Presentation to The Secretary of the Navy's
Advisory Board on Education and Training,
Pensacola, Florida on 16 February 1973)

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DR. LEONARD CARMICHAEL
Principal Investigator

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Admiral Cagle, Gentlemen.

My comments this morning will describe two general areas of interest. The first is leadership research which we have conducted at HumRRO Division No. 4 over a period of nearly sixteen years. The second will be a description of some of the findings from the Modern Volunteer Army experiment at Fort Benning, which we were asked to help evaluate during the period from November 1970 to the present. I will address each of these in turn. Let me preface the description of our work in leadership with a statement of reasons why we conduct research in this area. First, we seek to obtain a greater understanding of the basic processes involved in leadership. This is science for the sake of science. However, we also seek to learn ways of teaching leadership more effectively. This is a bias which characterizes HumRRO as an organization. We are fundamentally oriented toward teaching people how to do things better. This includes training leaders.

My own research has centered on leadership in formal organizations. It stems from an interest in the dynamics of power in such organizations, and an interest in the development of more effective organizations. The improvement of organizational performance is our ultimate interest.

Social exchange theory was selected as a tool for analysis of leadership in formal organizations because it offered great promise as a means of simplifying a very complex area. This promise comes from its apparent ability to explain why followers respond to leaders, and leaders to followers, the way they do.

The need for simplification--which would facilitate training--is illustrated by examining situational leadership theory. In the late 1940's, there appeared to be fairly firm agreement that three factors influenced leadership:

- . The leader, with his aptitudes, personality and needs.
- . The followers with their aptitudes, personalities, and needs.
- . The situation itself, and the demands made by it on both followers and leaders.

Leadership effectiveness, in situational theory, is determined by whether the leader can:

- . Diagnose the situation, to determine what is required of him.
- . Deliver what is required by the situation--decisions, actions, or whatever.

The problem with situational theory is that there are far too many combinations of leaders, followers, and situations. It would be possible to catalog these combinations and determine which leadership approach is required by each. Some situational theorists have made a good start on this task, as a matter of fact. However, this seems unrealistic insofar as leadership training is concerned. Considering the enormous number of combinations that could be developed, it is clear that the decision rules for using situational theory could quickly exceed anyone's ability to remember. For training purposes, it is far more desirable to develop a system which is wrong perhaps 10% of the time, but which will be used 100% of the time. The need for a simpler, less elaborate, approach to understanding leadership was the reason for using social exchange theory.

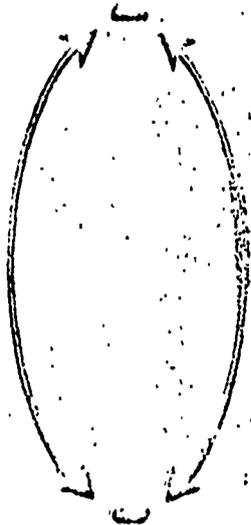
This is why we have attempted to use social exchange theory as a tool to understand leadership events. There is a basic assumption here. It is very probable that men in uniform react to one another in ways that are conditioned by their earlier social experiences with one another and with authority figures such as parents, teachers, and so on. The sailor's reaction to the leadership of his superiors thus is based on seventeen or eighteen years of learning. These reactions are thus deeply embedded. Leadership is going to be more effective when it can take such factors into account, than when it does not.

I am not going to focus very much on theory. However, some will show what social exchange theory is, and how it bears on organizational leadership. Chart 1 shows social exchange where the exchange is equal. This shows that social exchange in its simplest form is in fact a trading of benefits. Such trades may be tangible or intangible. One of the most important kinds of equitable exchange is shown at the right, where two people mutually reinforce one another. The maintenance of self-esteem is extremely important for all of us. Exchange relationships like these help to maintain self-esteem. Most theorists believe that lasting relationships are not possible among people unless they can establish exchange relationships of one sort or another. This is just another way of saying that the association must be worthwhile to both participants in order for them to continue it.

This chart also illustrates two other aspects of exchange theory. Reciprocity is a key norm in exchange. A norm is a rule for how to behave. The rule of reciprocity is simply that a favor given obligates the recipient to return

ATTITUDE CHANGE

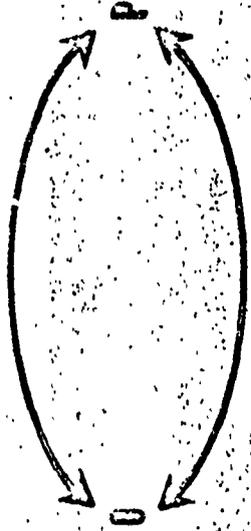
EXPRESSION OF FEELINGS



LOW COST FACTOR:
LENS PENCIL
GIVES PIECE OF PAPER

(EXTRINSIC-INTRINSIC)

SOCIAL APPROVAL



SOCIAL APPROVAL

O=P

(INTRINSIC-INTRINSIC)

CHART 1

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that favor. Fairness is another key norm. That is, the favor not only must be returned, but must be returned equitably.

However, sometimes this is not possible. Chart 2 shows unequal exchange, when one member cannot respond equally to the benefit he receives from the other. This can happen because one member has either more social status or more prestige, as is shown at the top left. This might be a varsity football player and his non-football playing friend. It could also exist when one person can give another advice that is quite valuable. Then, gratitude alone may not be enough. When exchange is unequal, the member with more to offer obligates the other to him. This obligation is the basis for development of power relationships between people and within organizations. We as adults have been concerned with power relationships since early childhood, living with them and learning how to deal with them. The way we react to leadership in formal organizations depends on what this early learning was.

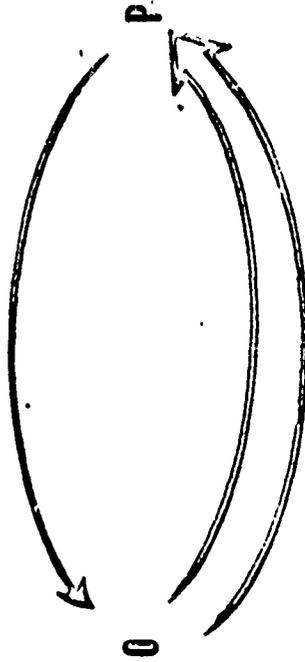
One further point is worth making. Compliance as shown at the bottom is not volunteered. It usually must be required or demanded before it is given. The implication is that leaders in formal organizations must require that subordinates "keep their end of the bargain" in exchange relationships.

The next chart shows basic exchange between the organization and its members. However, it should be pointed out that this is the basic exchange contract, and that the organization cannot rely on this alone. If it does, organizational performance will be only at the bare minimum specified by rules, regulations, and organization-wide standards.

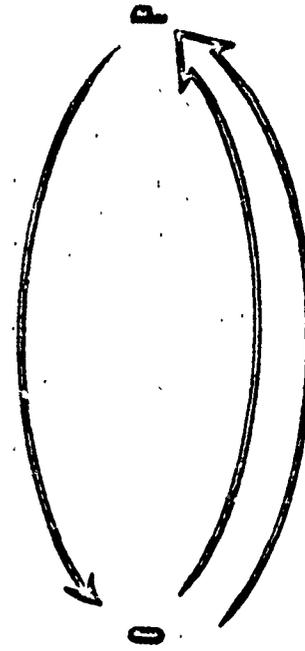
One of the problems in the literature on leadership is that three terms are used in confusion with one another. These terms are power, authority,

UNEQUAL EXCHANGE

SOCIAL APPROVAL



GRATITUDE



SOCIAL APPROVAL

$O > P$

(INTRINSIC-INTRINSIC)

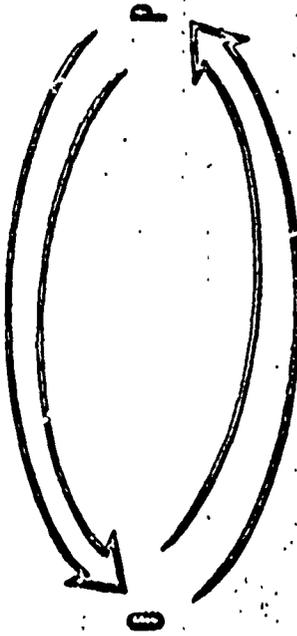
"HOW TO DO IT"

"DO IT THIS WAY"

$O > P$

(EXTRINSIC-INTRINSIC)

COMPLIANCE



HOW TO DO IT

SOCIAL APPROVAL

$O > P$

CHART 2

ORGANIZATIONAL EXCHANGE

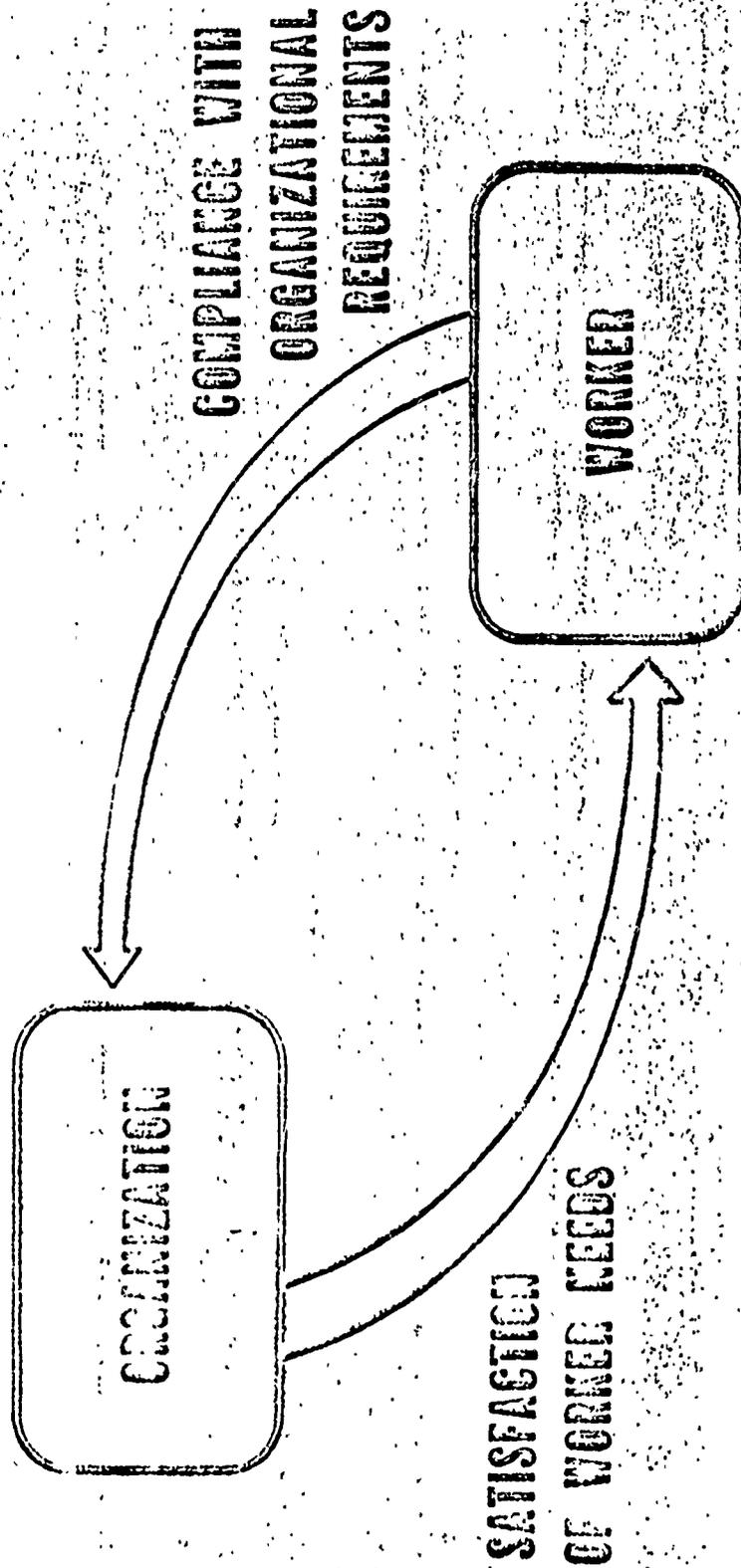


CHART 3

and leadership. Examination of the literature suggested that this confusion probably was obscuring important conclusions. It appeared that one appropriate criterion for distinguishing among them would be the reactions of subordinates to the various influence attempts. That is, leadership is defined as producing willing obedience, loyalty, and commitment to mission accomplishment. These are reactions of the follower.

Chart 4 shows power, authority, and leadership. Distinctions are made among them in terms of organizational consequences--the reactions of subordinates. Where power is coercive, the response of subordinates is almost always negative. There will be resistance, noncompliance where possible, and a requirement for close supervision. Authority is a different matter. It is based on mutual understanding between superiors and subordinates. Where this understanding exists, the subordinate recognizes that his superior's job is to tell him what to do, i.e., tell him what the organization's requirements are. Reactions to authority, where this mutual understanding exists, generally are not negative. However, authority alone is bureaucratic and sterile. It is highly efficient, but is not capable of producing the superlative organizational performance that outstanding leaders can obtain. Even so, communication requirements are strong for the establishment of this kind of authority relationship.

Leadership is the tool for forming unusually effective organizations. It is not coercive. It consists of the leader interacting with the subordinate so that the subordinate believes that what the leader wants is really the best thing for him to do. As the chart shows, communication is crucially important in leadership. Further, this chart shows that two-way communication

POWER, AUTHORITY AND LEADERSHIP

COMMUNICATION
REQUIREMENTS

UNILATERAL. COMMUNICATION UPWARD. NOT A REQUIREMENT AND NOT DESIRED EXCEPT WHEN POWER FIGURE MAY DESIRE TO REDUCE THE APPARENT POWER DIFFERENTIAL.

POWER

COERCIVE DEPRIVATION BY POWER FIGURE, OR ASSESSMENT OF COERCIVE PENALTIES.

CONSEQUENCES OF
NONCOMPLIANCE

CONTROL OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SANCTIONS.

BASIS OF INFLUENCE
ATTEMPT

RESISTANCE, NON-COMPLIANCE, WHERE POSSIBLE, HIGH COSTS OF SUPERVISION, LOW MORALE, AND TURNOVER WHERE POSSIBLE.

ORGANIZATIONAL
CONSEQUENCES

TWO-WAY. INFLUENCE IS EXERTED PRIMARILY DOWNWARD, BUT MAY BE REVERSED. UPWARD COMMUNICATION ESSENTIAL FOR CONFIRMATION OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF BASIS FOR AND SCOPE OF AUTHORITY.

AUTHORITY

POSSIBLE NEGATIVE SANCTIONS BY PEERS IN THE WORK GROUP, AND/OR BY ORGANIZATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE BECAUSE OF NON-ATTAINMENT OF GOALS.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN SUPERORDINATES AND SUBORDINATES OF THE REQUIREMENTS PLACED BY THE ORGANIZATION ON THE VARIOUS POSITIONS INCUMBENTS BETWEEN WHOM AUTHORITY RELATIONS EXIST.

NO NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS BASED ONLY ON AUTHORITY. HOWEVER, COMPLIANCE PROBABLY REQUIRES SUPERVISION, OR CONTROL SYSTEMS, OR BOTH.

TWO-WAY ESSENTIAL. WHILE THE INFLUENCE IS PRIMARILY DIRECTED FROM LEADER TO FOLLOWER, RECEPTIVITY TO COUNTER-INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS IS ESSENTIAL.

LEADERSHIP

NONE, EXCEPT WHERE THERE MIGHT BE (A) NET LOSS OF BENEFITS BY NOT ACTING IN INTRINSICALLY BENEFICIAL MANNER, OR (B) REDUCTION IN APPROVAL BY A RESPECTED LEADER.

CAPACITY TO INTERACT SUCCESSFULLY WITH SUBORDINATE TO INFLUENCE BELIEF SYSTEMS, ETC., AND (PROBABLY) A MEANS OF EARNING THE SUBORDINATE'S RESPECT.

INCREASED ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS TO THE EXTENT THAT THE LEADER'S INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS ARE COMPETENT, I.E., DO IDENTIFY MORE ADAPTIVE COURSES OF ACTION.

LEADERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

DEFINITION:

LEADERSHIP IS PROCESS OF INFLUENCING
PEOPLE IN ORGANIZATIONS

- TO BECOME COMMITTED TO ORGANIZATIONAL OBJECTIVES
- TO WORK TOWARD ATTAINMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL OBJECTIVES
- TO EXPEND MORE ENERGY TO ATTAIN OBJECTIVES

• WITHOUT CONFRONTATION

• WITHOUT RELYING ON POWER

CHART 5

THE ROLE OF INTERACTION SKILLS

MAKES AUTHORITY LEGITIMATE

EXPECTATIONS REASONABLE

EXCHANGE IMPLIED

SHAPES SUBORDINATES' EXPECTATIONS

MAKES CHANGE POSSIBLE WITH MINIMUM RESISTANCE

AIDS IN IMPROVING ORGANIZATIONAL COMPETENCE

CHART 6

ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES

SENSING	19%
COMMUNICATING INFORMATION	44%
DECISION MAKING	14%
STABILIZING	1%
COMMUNICATING IMPLEMENTATION	5%
COPING ACTIONS	12%
FEEDBACK	0%

CHART 7

is probably essential. The effective leader not only must be able to communicate downward effectively, but he also must be able to listen with equal effectiveness.

Chart 5 shows the definition of leadership in organizations that resulted from this analysis. The first part of the definition is fairly conventional. The second part is not.

Given that leadership is to be accomplished without confrontation or reliance on power, the importance of interpersonal interaction skills is evident. These skills accomplish many objectives, some of which are shown on Chart 6.

This logical analysis has suggested that the ability to communicate effectively (including listening) is probably the most critical single skill underlying leadership effectiveness. Dr. Joseph A. Olmstead¹ has collected data which demonstrates empirically that this is a correct conclusion. Chart 7 shows seven logical organizational processes. These are from Schein's adaptive coping cycle, and form a model of what organizations do. That is, it seems logical to expect that organizations must be able to sense changes in their external environments. Where change is identified, the organization logically should be able to pass information concerning the change to the correct point in the organization for decision making. If the information does not get communicated, or if it goes to the wrong place, it is difficult

¹Olmstead, Joseph A., Christensen, Harold E., and Lackey, Larry L. Components of Organizational Competence, Draft Technical Report, Human Resources Research Organization, March 1972.

to see how effective decisions can be made. Similarly, decision making needs to be effective. Stabilizing refers to the process of identifying internal turbulence caused by anticipated decisions, and taking steps to decrease the turbulence. Communicating implementation is passing the decision to a point where action can be taken. Coping actions consist of the execution of the decision. Feedback consists of a deliberate step to determine how effective the coping action was.

Olmstead's research was concerned with two things. First, he wanted to determine if these processes could be identified and measured. Second, he wanted to see if the effectiveness with which these processes were performed would be related to organizational effectiveness in accomplishing missions. The research vehicle was a battalion map exercise, set in a counter-insurgency situation. Players consisted of the battalion commander and his principal staff, together with company commanders. Controllers operated from the brigade and platoon levels. The map exercise was tightly controlled, with messages being fed into the player group, and all communications among players being recorded.

Analysis of the data showed that 44% of the criterion variance was explained by the one process of communicating information. This was the single most important function, followed by sensing as the second. A combination of information getting and transmitting variables correlated higher than .9 with a criterion of organizational effectiveness.

This illustrates two points. First, communications probably is the single most important leadership variable in formal organizations. Second, Olmstead's work has opened a new dimension of criterion measures for

assessing leadership effectiveness in formal organizations. Rather than referring to the personal characteristics of the leader, or the reactions of his subordinates to him, it is possible to assess how effectively the organization performs its functions under his leadership. This probably will be less threatening to the leader, and more objectively demonstrable. Further, it provides a diagnostic approach to assessing leadership effectiveness that could tell the leader how he can improve the way in which he leads his organization.

Chart 8 shows in somewhat more complex form the exchange that occurs in formal organizations. Again, the minimum contract between member and organization is shown in the center. Of interest is the relationship between the individual and his group. Man is a social animal with a need for social reinforcement. This he must get from his peer group which, in return, expects the member's compliance to group norms and values. The leader also expects compliance, loyalty and commitment, as shown at the left. In this respect, he is in competition with the group, acting as the agent of the organization. His question is what he can offer in exchange for the compliance and commitment of the subordinates, in competition with the group. The rewards that are shown are helping the subordinate to have greater self-esteem, facilitating his work, giving advice, giving direction, and so on. This will be addressed further in a moment. For now, two key observations can be made:

- . The leader, to some extent, is always in competition with the group. To some extent this is necessary for needed social rewards to exist at the subordinate's level.

SOCIAL EXCHANGE IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

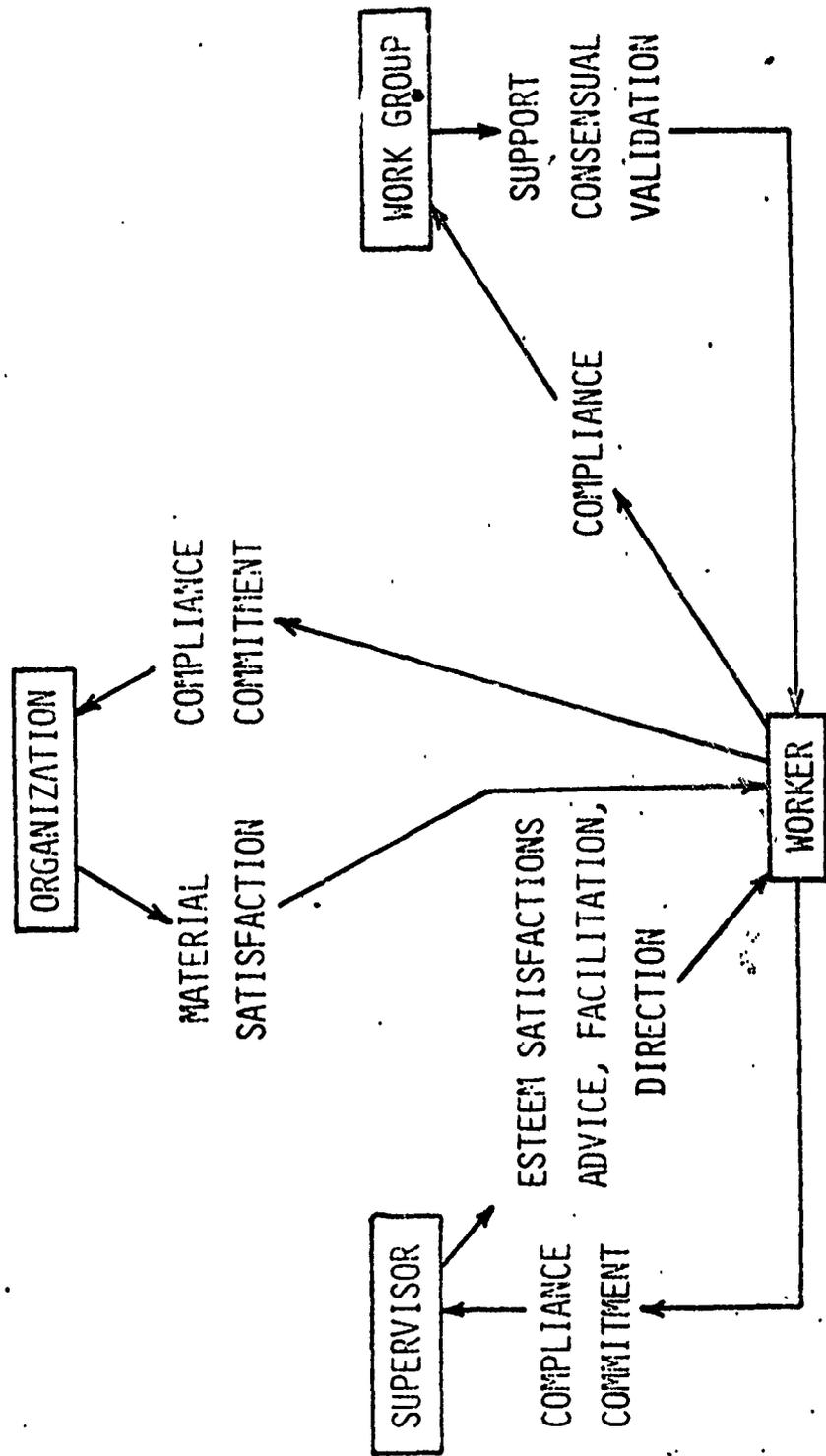


CHART 8

However, the competition can be minimized if the leader influences group norms and values to be congruent with those of the organization, through leadership.

- The leader's primary tools for obtaining compliance and commitment are intangible: the help he can give toward goal attainment, and the extent he can enhance the subordinate's feeling of pride through his work:

It is worth pointing out that power and authority are not adequate for these purposes. Leadership is a requirement and interpersonal competence skills -- interaction skills -- are a key ingredient of leadership. Further, leadership must include "making it worthwhile" for the subordinate. There is a very strong implication for leadership training. It seems that leadership training probably should include a grounding in behavior modification techniques. This is a relatively new branch of psychology that applies learning theory principles to the solution of behavior problems. Most people do not know how to use rewards (reinforcements) effectively. Further, most people do not know what rewards to use. It would appear that the leader should know both.

The next chart contains in summary form a listing of the leadership skills that have been discussed thus far. This is Bowers' list, which seems to have received general support from the literature. The first category, support, is rewarding the subordinate with self-esteem satisfactions. If provided in exchange for quality work and commitment to the organization, this category is key to the development of a positive organizational climate and outstanding organizational performance. The

SUPERVISORY SKILLS

SUPPORT

BEHAVIOR THAT ENHANCES SOMEONE ELSE'S FEELING OF PERSONAL WORTH AND IMPORTANCE.

INTERACTION FACILITATION

BEHAVIOR THAT ENCOURAGES MEMBERS OF THE GROUP TO DEVELOP CLOSE, MUTUALLY SATISFYING RELATIONSHIPS.

GOAL EMPHASIS

BEHAVIOR THAT STIMULATES AN ENTHUSIASM FOR MEETING THE GROUP'S GOAL OR ACHIEVING EXCELLENT PERFORMANCE.

WORK FACILITATION

BEHAVIOR THAT HELPS ACHIEVE GOAL ATTAINMENT BY SUCH ACTIVITIES AS SCHEDULING, COORDINATING, PLANNING, AND BY PROVIDING RESOURCES SUCH AS TOOLS, MATERIALS, AND TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE.

second category is almost a non-behavior. It recognizes the social nature of man and his need for social reinforcement from peers. It suggests to the leader an area he should encourage, but not compete in. The third category reflects the fact that groups must have goals, and must have pride in achieving them. The military leader must emphasize mission accomplishment, and must reward both individuals and the group in terms of mission accomplishment.

Finally, the work facilitation category refers to the technical competence of the leader and his ability to facilitate goal attainment by his subordinates. This category of leader activities may be the most important one for "justifying" the leader's position of prestige with respect to the group.

The next chart illustrates both this point and a common mistake the junior leader makes. The exchange between leader and group is oversimplified here. However, the leader unquestionably obtains self-esteem satisfactions and status from his position of visibility and prominence in the group. These are highly valuable rewards that most people desire. However, the leader's position of high status makes the follower's position comparatively of lower status. That invidious comparison is worthwhile to the subordinate only if the leader makes uniquely valuable contributions to group goal attainment. That is the work facilitation category in the previous chart. The common mistake some young leaders make is to occupy the position of status and prestige, thereby forming the status comparison with the subordinate, without making such contributions to group goal attainment. Sometimes, this is because the leader does not how, i.e., he

EXCHANGE BETWEEN LEADER AND GROUP

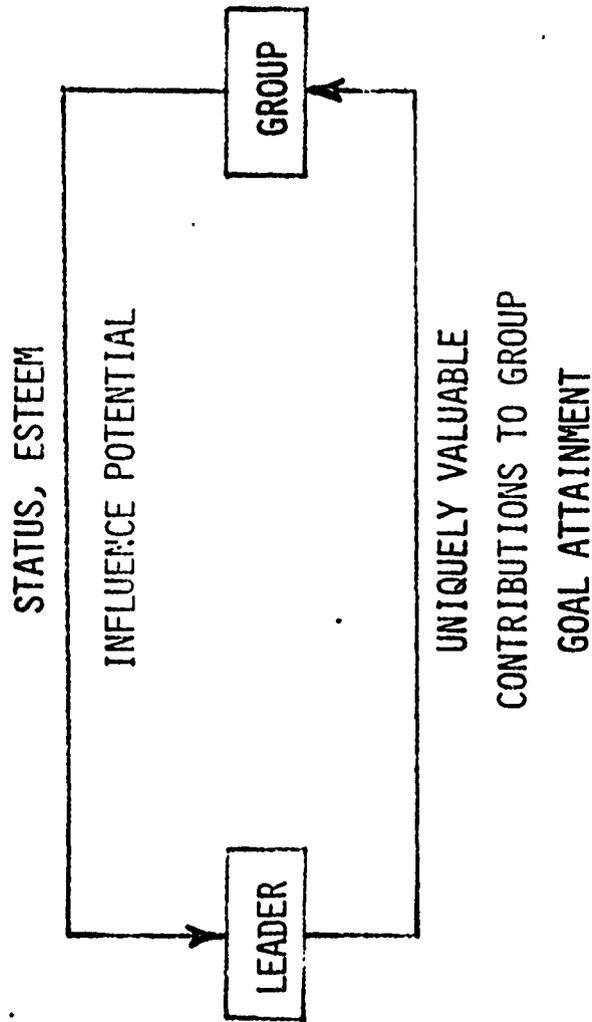


CHART 10

10-14

lacks technical skills. Sometimes, the group simply does not need him, i.e., as when the task is familiar and the group is highly accomplished at doing it. If he continues to supervise, this leads without fail to resentment by the group. In both cases, it is perceived that the leader is not fairly reciprocating in the exchange relationship shown.

The next chart illustrates how this works as shown by data collected from several different levels within an organization. This was a military organization, with both enlisted and commission ranks represented. One is the lowest rank level. The importance of communication is shown by its relative position in the chart. Loyalty downward is an exchange-related category. It is the expectation that the leader will reciprocate their loyalty to him. Setting the example is also an exchange-related category. This says that he is willing to follow the same rules that he sets for them. It is the opposite of: "Do as I say, not as I do." These content categories are reflected also in the content analysis of ineffective leadership actions, shown on the next chart.

Again, communication is a high category. However, the highest category was exchange-related. Looking for personal gain at the expense of others is not being fair in exchange. No subordinate resents his leader's advancement. He does so only when he was unfairly exploited as a way of getting that advancement. A similar category is the third one. Again, the subordinate does not resent his leader's advancement, as long as he himself is not unfairly exploited as a consequence. (This relates to the top category of loyalty on the slide showing effective leadership categories.) Finally, public criticism relates to the subordinate's need for self-esteem and pride, and unfairness speaks for itself.

WORKERS' OBSERVATIONS OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP OF SUPERVISORS

CATEGORIES FOR GOOD LEADERSHIP	WORKER'S LEVEL WITHIN ORGANIZATION					TOTAL NUMBER
	5	4	3	2	1	
LOYAL TO SUBORDINATES	4	3	5	7	16	35
COMMUNICATED	11	3		2	7	23
SET EXAMPLE	5	11	4	4	7	31
PROVIDED MOTIVATION (VERBAL)	1	2	2	3	1	9
DISPLAYED PROFESSIONALISM			4		4	8
PROPER AMOUNT OF SUPERVISION	7	1				8
ORGANIZED		2	1		2	5

CHART 11

WORKERS' OBSERVATIONS OF INEFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP OF SUPERVISORS

CATEGORIES FOR POOR LEADERSHIP	WORKER'S LEVEL WITHIN ORGANIZATION					TOTAL NUMBER
	5	4	3	2	1	
LOOKING FOR PERSONAL GAIN AT EXPENSE OF OTHERS	7	2	5	3	6	23
FAILURE TO COMMUNICATE	3		3	2	7	15
NO CONCERN FOR WELFARE OF SUBORDINATES	2		2	2	6	12
CRITICIZED PUBLICLY	5	2		3	2	12
UNFAIR--INCONSISTENT	2	4	4	1		11
HARASSMENT--THREATS--PULLING RANK	3	4	1		1	9
OVER-SUPERVISING	2	4	3			9
BAD EXAMPLE	1			2	4	7
MISHANDLING OF DISCIPLINE				2	4	6
LAZY--NOT INVOLVED		2	1		2	5

CHART 12

Perhaps the most important addition made by social exchange to an understanding of leadership is the requirement to look at the exchange contract between the organizational member and both the organization, his group, and his leader. There is a formal contract between member and organization. However, exchange theory suggests there also are important informal contracts, which must be honored if the organization is to have effective leadership. The next chart shows Fort Benning's concept of this informal contract. One of the most important roles of the leader is to satisfy the terms of this informal contract. Each side, in order to honor the contract, must determine the expectations of the other. This is done through effective communication in both directions. Then it only remains to honor the expectations. (A further point is that effective leadership can modify the expectations of the subordinate, to bring the subordinate's needs and desires more closely into consonance with those of the organization.)

All this sounds very good. It is only fair to ask how well it works in practice. Fort Benning was one of the Army's first Volunteer Army experimental posts. In November, 1972, the Commanding General received the go-ahead to develop and implement a Volunteer Army plan, working toward the objective of achieving zero reliance on the draft. HumRRO was asked to aid in the evaluation of this experimental effort. Because of the early warning and the splendid teamwork between ourselves and the Modern Volunteer Army (MVA) Control Group, we were able to develop a base line survey instrument and administer it before the implementation of the

THE INFORMAL CONTRACT!

ARMY

FAIRNESS?
WORTHWHILE
WORK?
SALARY?

PROFICIENCY?
DISCIPLINE?

EXPECTATIONS

INDIVIDUAL

YIELDS → LOYALTY
→ DEDICATION

CHART 13

first VOLAR actions. Thus, Fort Benning was not only the first Army post with a major unit to achieve all voluntary status, but it also was the only post to have a clean pre-MVA base line for assessment purposes.

Three criteria were used to assess the effectiveness of MVA actions. The first, reenlistment intentions, is shown in Figure 1.

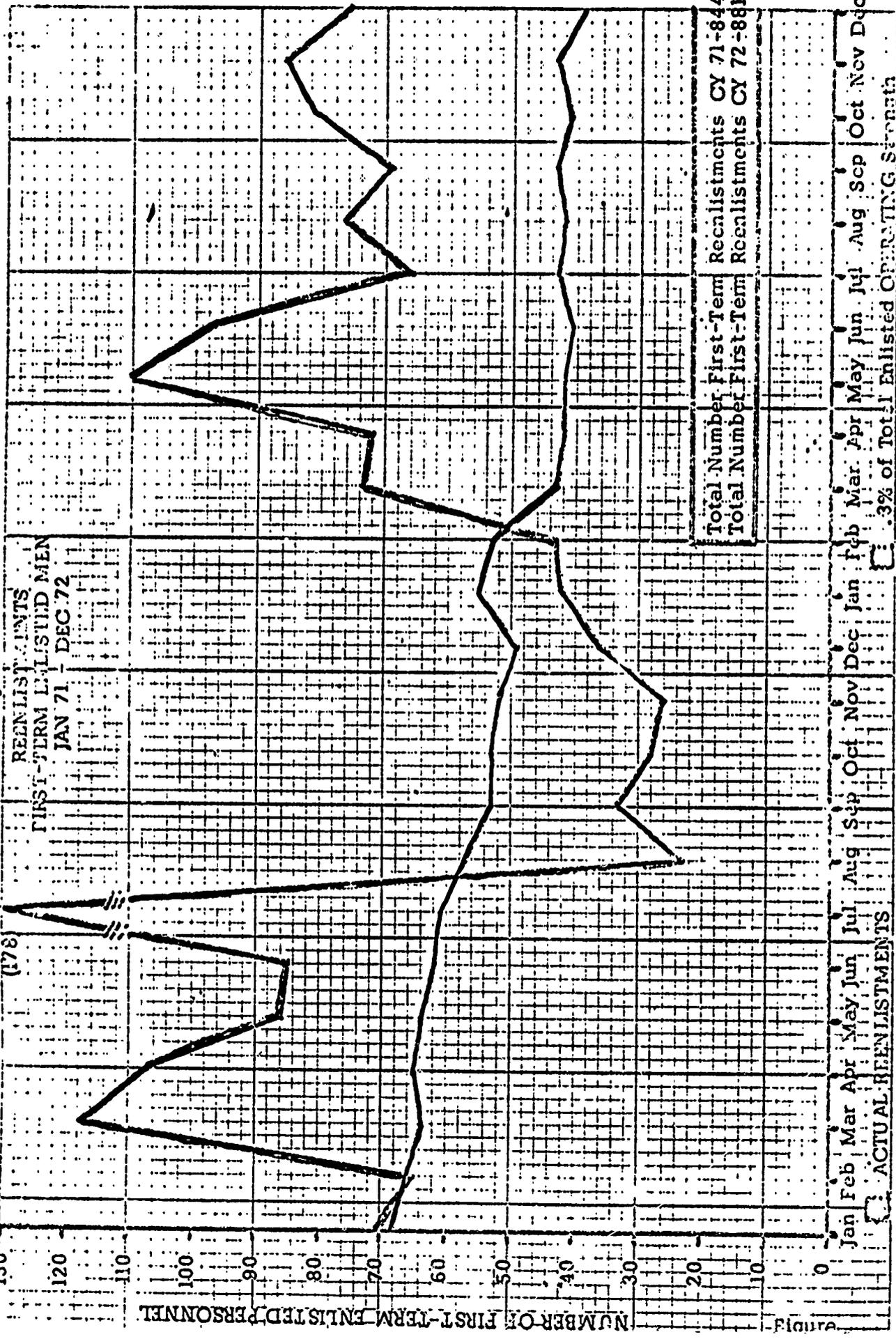
Reenlistment Intentions		
	<u>NOV 1970</u>	<u>NOV 1972</u>
<u>First-Tour Enlisted</u>		
Remain in the Army until Retirement)	6.3%	22.9%
Remain in the Army a while longer)		
Will leave	81.6%	54.9%
<u>First-Tour Officers</u>		
Remain in the Army until Retirement)	21.6%	40.8%
Remain in the Army a while longer)		
Leave	58.3%	38.8%

Figure 1

Some of the improvement in reenlistment intentions was caused by a decrease in the number of Vietnam returnees at Fort Benning during this time period. However, a breakdown of the sample into component groups revealed that this was not by any means the only factor. In fact, while it is difficult to be certain, it appears not even to have been a major factor. Most of the increase appears to have resulted from the MVA program itself, which included unit of choice recruiting by the 197th Light Infantry Brigade at Fort Benning.

A second criterion was actual reenlistments. Figure 2 shows reenlistments over the period of the MVA experiment, and a time period preceding. The sharp increase in the chart immediately preceded the announcement of

Figure 2



much more stringent reenlistment criteria, which occurred in August, 1971. The very sharp drop was the result of the change in criteria. Even so, Fort Benning has continuously exceeded its set reenlistment quotas.

The 197th Infantry Brigade at Fort Benning became the Army's first all voluntary unit. This was accomplished through unit of choice recruiting techniques and the use of soldiers themselves as recruiting agents. The attractiveness of the 197th was increased by MVA actions that reduced the inequities of military life at the enlisted level. Examples of MVA actions are partitions in the barracks to make semi-private cubicles, improvement of food, the hiring of civilian KP's, and so on. In addition, every effort was made to give the soldier a five day work week and to give him compensatory time off for weekend duty. Over 100 MVA actions were eventually implemented.

Whenever such changes are made, the question of discipline inevitably arises. Our third criterion was an attempt at assessing this factor. As might have been expected, opinions differed. Enlisted soldiers in the lower grades thought discipline was no worse, and that they were no less willing to perform their duty as required. Company grade officers felt the same way. However, NCO's in the senior grades felt discipline was worse. This is a mixed picture which is very hard to interpret. Probably, discipline turned out to be no worse than it was before. To an extent, this is substantiated by objective measures. The number of Article 15's increased during the period of the MVA experiment. However, that was expected. The Article 15 has become the lowest magnitude legal punishment that can be administered by the unit commander. Conversely, AWOL's are substantially fewer, and congressional

inquiries are quite significantly fewer. The incidents of drug abuse might also be considered a measure of discipline. Evidence is mixed on this score at Fort Benning also. Respondents to the attitude questionnaire were dissatisfied with help they had received on drug problems. On the other hand, there now is unofficial interest at Fort Benning in studying a new approach to hard drug rehabilitation. It has been frustrated to this point in time because the best evidence indicates that not enough hard drug users exist at Fort Benning to support the study.

The best evidence, therefore, is that MVA did work at Fort Benning.

What did it produce? What is the composition of the new Army? To get answers to these and other questions, reenlisting soldiers and separating soldiers were studied separately as groups in themselves. Comparison of these two groups suggests the following conclusions:

a. Among first-tour enlisted soldiers, those at higher grade levels are more likely to reenlist. This was expected, and may reflect the fact that greater interest leads to better work, and to quicker promotions.

b. Blacks were somewhat more likely to reenlist. However, the difference was not substantial.

c. The reenlisting soldier had slightly less education, but the average still falls at the high school graduate level.

d. The reenlisting soldier is much more likely to be regular Army in his first tour, and to say that he would have volunteered for the Army without a draft. (This reflects unit of choice recruiting.)

e. The reenlisting soldier is much more likely to be working in his primary MOS.

f. He also is much more likely to be married than the separating soldier, and to have more dependents.

g. The reenlisting soldier is likely to have come from a less wealthy home background.

h. There was no difference on GT between reenlistees and separatees.

So the picture of the new Army is not at all depressing. The voluntary unit will probably be composed of two groups. One will consist of very young men, who volunteer for a first tour, perhaps in large part because they don't know what else to do. The majority of these will move on after the first enlistment, leaving a second group of more stable family and responsibility-oriented soldiers who probably enjoy the Army and have worked hard to achieve a higher rank. They probably will have come from a relatively poor economic background, but they have a good chance of having a high school education and are as bright as their predecessors.

Study of these two groups also led to identification of MVA actions that appeared to be effective in producing favorable attitudes toward the Army. MVA actions¹ singled out by these groups are shown in Table 1. Four groups of items are shown. Actions that are favored by both groups probably increased the quality and attractiveness of Army life, but without significantly motivating reenlistment. (However, failure to take these actions might have prevented reenlistment.) These items probably therefore act

¹This Table shows only the top range of most favorably regarded actions. The full list of MVA actions and reactions to them are contained in the Fort Benning Installation Evaluation report, May 1972.

Table 1

MVA Actions -- Reenlistees and Separates

	<u>Means</u>	
	<u>First-Tour Reenlistees</u>	<u>First-Tour Separates</u>
<u>Actions Strongly Favored by Both Groups</u>		
Elimination of KP	1.66	1.69
Removal of Travel Restrictions	1.88	2.06
Partitions in the barracks for privacy	1.88	2.09
Optional civilian dress policy for personnel who work during off-duty hours	2.07	2.24
<u>Actions Favored, but significantly more so by Reenlistees</u>		
Establishment of a five-day work week	1.57	1.99
Educational programs	1.57	2.14
Compensatory time off for weekend & holiday work	1.59	1.92
Adequacy of pay	1.66	2.77
Improvement of communications up and down the chain of command	1.86	2.42
Proposal to expand PX Inventory to include major appliances, furniture, and a full range of sporting goods	1.96	2.31
Choice of assignments	1.96	2.73
Fairness of promotion policy	1.98	2.97
Improvement of attractiveness of Army to wife	2.12	3.01
Expanded hours of PX and Commissary	2.16	2.45
<u>Actions Regarded Unfavorably by Both Groups</u>		
Drug problems	2.93	3.18

much like Herzberg's hygiene factors. They do not create motivation toward the Service, but probably would increase motivation away from the Service if they were unsatisfactory.

The second important category consists of actions significantly more favored by reenlistees. These actions are readily understandable if interpreted in view of differences between samples, just described. The reenlistee is more likely to be married and from a relatively less fortunate economic background. The actions more favored by these reenlistees are those that would allow him to discharge his responsibilities to his family, which would remove any conflict between his family's liking for military service and his own, and which would enhance his financial security.

Table 2 shows data from the most recent survey. On this one, as on previous ones, soldiers were asked to write in the action they considered most important in increasing the attractiveness of Army life. They were also asked to write down whatever they thought was most needed next in order to improve the attractiveness of the Army.

The most important actions thus far appear to fall under the heading of reduced inequities. That is, the informal contract between soldier and organization is a better one now than it was before. Most needed actions are extremely interesting. Pay is an item that occurs inevitably on a list such as this. However, the need for better leadership is a significant one. The need for more personal freedom also is. This signifies a potentially irreducible conflict between a military organization's apparent need for close supervision and control of its most junior members, and a society which is changing in the direction of increased value on personal freedom. This is indeed a challenge to leadership. It suggests a strong need for training that will enable leaders to continue to obtain a high level of mission accomplishment, but through techniques that are compatible with changing values in American society.

Table 2

Most Important VOLAR Actions
Free Response Nov 72

FIRST-TERM ENLISTED

	<u>N</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Item</u>
1.	81	31.5	Civilian KP.
2.	36	13.8	Regular working hours.
3.	26	10.0	Pay raise.
4.	20	7.7	Individual freedom, respect, and responsibility.
5.	14	5.4	Reduction of formations.
6.	13	5.0	Living conditions.
7.	13	5.0	Harassment.

Most Needed VOLAR Actions
Free Response Nov 72

FIRST-TERM ENLISTED

	<u>N</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Item</u>
1.	27	8.9	Better leadership (more proficient and professional officers and NCOs).
2.	26	8.5	More pay.
3.	25	8.2	More liberal haircut policy.
4.	25	8.2	Less harassment.
5.	20	6.6	Improved living conditions (food, quarters, and privacy).
6.	20	6.6	More individual freedom, respect, and responsibility.
7.	17	5.6	Better relations between soldiers, NCOs, and officers (more under- standing and communication).
8.	17	5.6	Improve finance.

There are certain summary conclusions which can be drawn.

1. While there is a formal contract between the organization and the member, this is a "bare bones" contract. It specifies only the minimum which will be delivered by each party to the agreement. Superlative organizational performance requires an informal contract between leader and subordinate. Both the leader and his subordinate must learn the terms of this contract -- the expectations each has for the other. In our Modern Volunteer Army work, we found that the soldier's expectations fall under four categories (and the sailor's expectations probably will, too): Pride in service and in duty performed; security, for self and family; equitable expectations -- a fair return in exchange for what the Army expects of him; and good leadership.
2. The leader's primary job is learning how to fulfill his end of the informal contract. In particular, his most effective route for the development of high performance coupled with high discipline appears to be learning how to give the subordinate a feeling of pride through the accomplishment of outstanding work. This, which requires interpersonal interaction effectiveness, is probably the most crucial leadership variable. It may require a completely new approach to leadership training.
3. The senior commander's job is that of learning how to set policy that most facilitates his subordinate's ability to uphold the informal contract. (One of the most common problems is the promulgation by senior commanders of restrictive rules and policies under the guise of discipline. It would appear that the most meaningful definition of discipline is that of a state

of wholehearted devotion by all members of the command to duty, service, and mission accomplishment. It is not the surface appearance which can be obtained by coercion, but rather the underlying spirit which will hold up under the stress of environment and combat.) The suggestion is that rules and regulations need to be reassessed continuously by senior commanders through application of the acid test of mission relevance. Rules and regulations which do not demonstrably enhance mission capability are probably self-defeating.

4. Most management and leadership theory appears to be converging on three techniques of leadership which seem to be essential to a healthy organizational climate. These are:

a. Setting meaningful organization and individual goals. These are necessary for the organization to have esprit and for individuals to be able to gain pride through the work they do.

b. Joint agreement on individual goals and performance levels that will be achieved. This is the two-way communication required by leadership, and the participation by the subordinate in determination of what he is going to try to achieve. This may run counter to military values. However, it has been tried in military settings and has led to significantly improved performance and discipline where it has been applied correctly. Leader training in the use of these techniques will enhance organizational performance and followership.

c. Feedback on progress and reward for accomplishment. This suggests, and correctly, that effective leadership must be a positive reward model.

The individual must be motivated to work for positive reinforcement from his leaders. A negative reinforcement model produces only minimal compliance. (However, a caution is that coercion must be used with persons who will not respond to positive rewards. The group's integrity cannot be compromised by the malcontent.)

The role of leadership in formal organizations is to work through people to achieve superlative performance on the attainment of organizational goals. The work of leadership training is to teach leaders how to do this. These and other findings suggest the possibility that rapid advances will be made in the next five or ten years in leadership training. These advances may well be needed if formal organizations are to maintain effectiveness in the face of rapidly changing social values.