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The SUPERVISION of PERSONNEL

Human relations in the
management of men

John M. Pfiffner

*Professor of Public Administration
University of Southern California*

SECOND EDITION

PRENTICE-HALL, INC.

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Preface

Clear statement and the introduction of new research are the basis of this revision. Shorter paragraphs and more paragraph headings clarify and sharpen the important aspects of an intricate subject. The addition of study questions at the end of each chapter also aids in pointing up the specific meanings of the text.

An earnest attempt has been made to discover new research which will be useful to the practitioner. These studies are woven into the entire fabric of the manuscript, but the greatest change occurs in the chapters of Part Four, "Motivation." More new and usable research has been done in that area than in most others.

Part Six, "Selection and Training," has been almost entirely rewritten and expanded from two to four chapters. This fuller treatment is indicative of a new maturity and sophistication in the field of training. Management is beginning to ask questions

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about the effectiveness of human relations training, and to answer the questions, more validation studies are being conducted and published. A new dimension of depth is being added to an area which formerly was dominated by pragmatic rule of thumb.

Those who deserve acknowledgment are legion. First appreciation should go to the readers of the book who did not "pull their punches" in telling me what was wrong and how to go about making improvements. Among the professors who made constructive criticism was Marion B. Richardson who supplied paragraphing and study questions. But if the second edition's content is any more mature than that of the first, credit must go to social science research which is gradually revealing new understanding of human behavior in the management situation, or giving us the encouragement of validation for that which we had only sensed.

JOHN M. PFIFFNER

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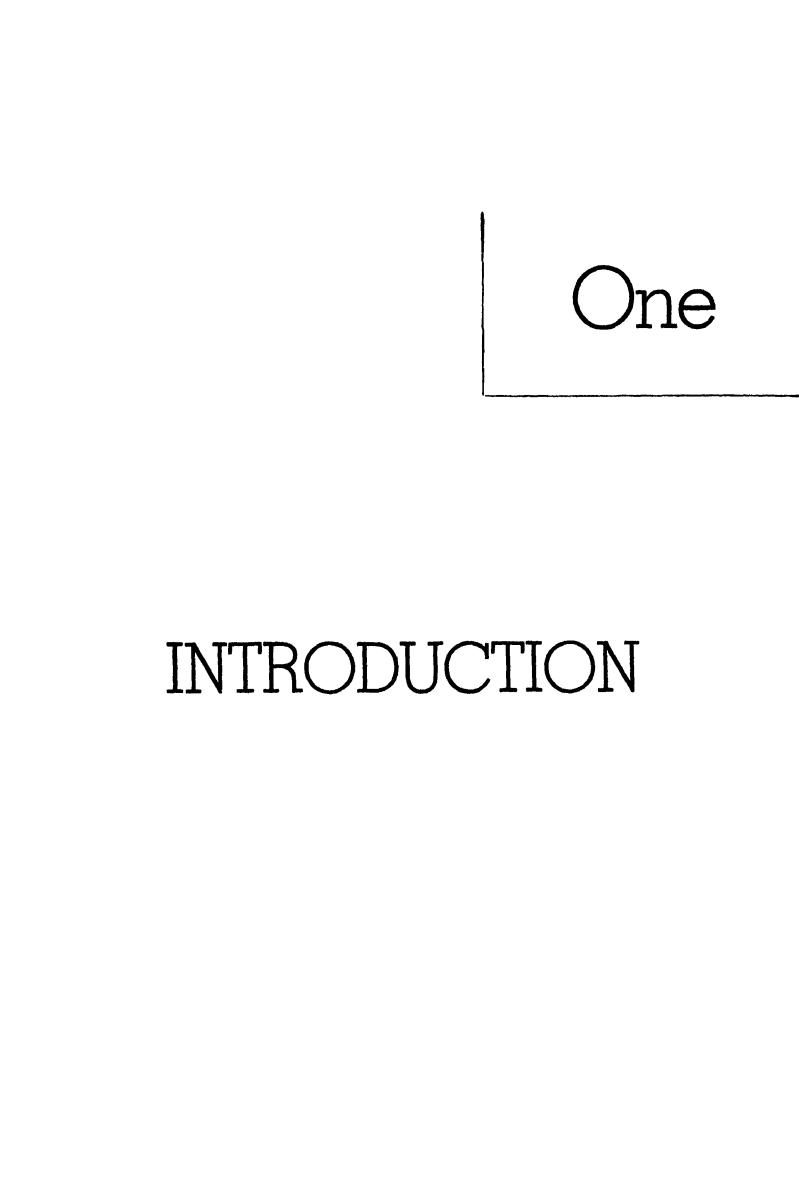
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One

INTRODUCTION

1

Basic concepts

HUMAN problems of administration and management are the primary concern of this book. We shall try to find out “why”; and in discovering “why,” we shall also learn “how.” Certain fundamental assumptions are based partly upon the knowledge accruing from research in the social sciences and partly from pragmatic experience as recorded in the literature of management. Some of the principal assumptions are stated briefly as follows:

- Man is both an animal and a human being. As such, he is influenced by heredity through the genes and by environment in the culture in which he lives.
- The democratic manner of life is desirable and is just as applicable in the management realm as in the political world, although the institutions for its application undoubtedly differ from one to the other.

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- Orthodox tenets of organization and management are useful and essentially valid, but they must be viewed in the light of what we now know about informal social organization.
- People are both rational and nonrational, and they are influenced by stereotyped belief-systems that are largely vocational in nature.
- Modern management hierarchies tend to dam up communication; therefore, constant vigilance is necessary to keep these channels open.
- Conflict is a normal and even desirable aspect of human affairs, and the problem of morale is largely one of channeling conflict into healthy and constructive avenues; the institutions for such channeling are essentially democratic in spirit and operation.
- The pattern of leadership desirable in supervisory positions is based upon behavior that emphasizes cooperation, participation, consultation, and satisfaction for the egos of the rank and file, even though the strong leader may have to subdue his natural desire for self-assertion and self-display.
- It is recognized that financial motivation is very strong but that it must be viewed in the light of the social motivations and personal satisfactions that people require in order to be reasonably happy at work.

The last third of the book is based primarily upon the proposition that troubled workers should be treated as individuals, much in the same way that social workers, psychiatrists, and clinical psychologists deal with those having difficulty with their adjustment to life. Line supervisors should be conditioned to accept responsibility for as much of this job as intelligent laymen can be expected to perform, and this is considerably more than they have done in the past.

The placement hypothesis contends that personnel administration should consist of adjusting people to jobs and jobs to people; since people differ, and those who are unhappy and unproductive in one situation may prove to be entirely adjusted in another. The fundamental difficulty with supervisors doing their job of human relations is that they, like the rest of us, will avoid unpleasant encounters with people, fleeing from the tension spots rather than meeting them bravely and stamping out the fires before they become conflagrations.

But there is a pattern of behavior that supervisors can be taught to follow in dealing with dissatisfied and troubled people, and this is the pattern fundamentally followed by the clinical disciplines, namely:

1. Face-to-face contact and rapport with the subject
2. The nondirective type of interview in which people are encouraged to talk about that which is bothering them
3. A system of personnel records that will facilitate the handling of problem cases
4. Decisive action based upon the facts revealed

This clinical approach is related to the problems encountered by the line supervisor in dealing with matters of discipline that may lead to suspension and dismissal. Finally, there is a discussion of the development and training of supervisors.

Age of large-scale organization

Ours is a day of large-scale organization.¹ Whether for good or bad, people must increasingly depend for livelihood, urban amenities, recreation, and social services upon a myriad of management institutions. These include factories, offices, schools, churches, merchandising units, governmental bureaus, hospitals, hotels, railroads, steamships, airlines, social clubs, and so on without end. Our lives are more and more organized around, into, and upon huge impersonal hierarchies, and each individual is a member of not only one, but of several.

This situation has existed in the past, but it is only in recent decades that Americans have lived in a society so dominantly characterized by large-scale organization. Formerly, most Americans lived and worked on single-family farms or in rather small towns and villages. They were either self-employed or worked in small business units in which there was close association between employees and employers.

¹ For the historical development of social organization, showing its increasing complexity, see Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1942), pp. 458-62; Carleton S. Coon, *A Reader in General Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1948), pp. 563-614.

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There are those who yearn for the good old days when, they claim, people enjoyed security because they "knew where they belonged." Such observers go on to say that the new industrial society has caused social and personal insecurity, disorganized social life, and, consequently, created maladjustment among people who formerly had the security of family, farm, home town, and ways of life in which their roles were established and stable. While perhaps a great deal of such mental meandering can be attributed to looking through rose-colored glasses toward a past that never existed, the fact remains that the kernel of truth which emerges has significance in the study of management.

Man has not yet adjusted himself to living and working under large-scale organization.² It is this problem toward which the remainder of this book is addressed: the social and personal articulation of human beings into modern management institutions. Because the volume is entitled *The Supervision of Personnel*, it now becomes necessary to indicate what the term "supervision" is meant to include.

Who are supervisors?

All persons who are in formal control over others are supervisors, irrespective of their high or low status in the hierarchy.³ This statement is based upon two major assumptions: first, that most executives and administrators have secretaries, clerks, and

² This theme is advanced and developed by Elton Mayo in *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1945), pp. 1-33. See how urbanization affects primitive folk culture in Robert C. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 338-69.

³ The Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, Section 2 (11), reads as follows: "The term 'supervisor' means any individual having authority, in the interest of the employer, to hire, transfer, suspend, lay-off, recall, promote, discharge, assign, reward, or discipline other employees, or responsibility to direct them, or to adjust their grievances, or effectively to recommend such action, if in connection with the foregoing the exercise of such authority is not of a merely routine or clerical nature, but requires the use of independent judgment." *U.S. Statutes at Large* (1947), Vol. 61, Part 1 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 136-38. See also John M. Pfiffner, "An Outline of the Supervisor's Job," *Personnel*, Vol. 23 (November 1946), pp. 156-74.

messengers under direct supervision, and, second, that the lower supervisors cannot do a good job unless those above them appreciate what is involved in the human relations phases of supervision. Active immediate supervision of the mass of workers, however, takes place at the lowest two or three rungs of the supervisory ladder. Here are line supervisors in the direct chain of command, as distinguished from functional supervisors. Line supervisors are generally supposed to have a "bossing" relationship to the workers, while functional supervisors are subject-matter specialists who exercise a largely undefined influence sometimes referred to as "the authority of ideas." The problem of functional lines and authority is complex and merits the fuller discussion accorded in a later chapter.

Immediate supervision emphasized

At this point we are primarily concerned with the two or three line supervisors at the lowest level. They cannot be isolated from the rest of the hierarchy, however, for most of the difficulties experienced by management in the past have resulted from such isolation. As a matter of fact, a great deal of research is needed to ascertain the most significant person, from a human relations standpoint, in a chain of supervision such as: General Foreman, Foreman, Assistant Foreman, Group Leader, Lead Man. (In a governmental clerical setup, it might run: Division Head, Section Head, Unit Head, Supervising Clerk.)

There seems to be some tendency to regard the supervisor as a person who does no production work himself and who devotes his time exclusively to seeing that others work. Yet Mayo and Lombard, in their study of the Southern California aircraft industry, saw fit to immortalize a *lead man*, dubbed Z, whose working group stood out sharply in performance and team spirit.⁴ A lead man is normally a working supervisor. Hence, one should not hasten to insist that the most significant supervisory

⁴ Elton Mayo and George F. F. Lombard, *Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry of Southern California* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1944), p. 19.

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level is the lowest one at which the supervisor does no production work but devotes his entire time to supervision. This does not necessarily conflict with the credo of Dr. Charles R. Allen, leader of industrial training in World War I, that there is a fundamental characteristic of supervisory positions that distinguishes them from others.

Work jobs versus responsibility jobs

There are in general two kinds of jobs: one is a "responsibility job" and the other a "work job." The foreman's duties make him the occupant of a responsibility job rather than a work job.⁵ On the other hand, Lead Man Z did not rank as a supervisor and "was formally responsible for taking care of only the minor, hour-to-hour interruptions in the operations of his group, the actual working out of which was not specified by management but left to his own initiative. In many ways he was 'just another worker' with the extra job of serving his fellow workers."⁶

In clerical agencies there are many working supervisors, and not a great deal is known about the distinction between their supervisory duties and their work duties. One sometimes suspects that they either do not supervise thoroughly or that they are merely workers who have been given a status symbol without supervisory powers, such as a police sergeant who continues to function solely as a patrolman. One further suspects that they are not given much instruction in just what they are supposed to do as supervisors, that they are not sure about the dividing line between their supervisory responsibilities and those of their immediate chiefs. Furthermore, the formalized systems of job evaluation used in both civil service and large industry put a premium on making a showing of doing some supervision.

There is a constant magnetic pull toward making work jobs into supervision jobs. To be sure, the position classifiers and job

⁵ Charles R. Allen, *The Foreman and His Job* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922), p. 11.

⁶ Mayo and Lombard, *loc. cit.*

analysts are aware of this and pride themselves on ability to detect any resulting distortion; yet the tide is so powerful that most errors in job evaluation must be in the direction of making nominal supervisors out of people who do no supervising. At any rate, we need a good deal of research in the general area of the duties of the working supervisor as distinguished from those of his immediate chief.

Inside versus outside recruiting

The American industrial foreman has traditionally been regarded as a member of the middle class who could graduate therefrom into top management. He has been on the lowest rung of the management ladder. In Europe, on the other hand, the foreman has been the highest member of a working class beyond which he could not go. He has been a noncommissioned officer in a service where the commissioned officers were, for example, college-trained engineers.⁷

In America, the advent of college-trained persons on a large scale into both industry and government has created a human relations problem not easy to solve and may be bringing about a situation similar to that in Europe. The foreman's job has become increasingly more complex from the standpoint of job knowledge. People at work try to establish job security by insisting that their skills can be acquired only through long experience. That is one of the primary reasons for the strong emphasis on seniority as a status item.

An occupation is a social club. One must have experienced the trials and tribulations as well as the success of a particular occupation in order to understand and master it. In fraternal terminology, one must have "been through the mill." To be accepted in the police fraternity, a policeman must have walked a dreary beat in the rain at 3:00 A.M., followed criminals in hot pursuit, had drunks spew on his uniform, arrested a prostitute, and testified effectively in court. To be a foreman in a machine

⁷ Peter F. Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (New York: The John Day Company, 1946), pp. 163-64.

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shop, one must have learned a trade the hard way, experienced the hardships of industrial life, and acquired at firsthand a knowledge of how industrial workers think, act, and feel.

People who belong to an occupation have common sentiments related to job protection, vested job interests, and the social status of their work.

To be accepted as a qualified member of any particular occupation, one must have acquired not merely the job skills, but also a feeling of belonging socially. Every occupation has its characteristic ideology, often springing from the irritations and heartaches of the jobs. Members like to commiserate with each other and believe that life has given them an especially difficult occupational role to fill. If the occupation is one requiring a continuous and irritating contact with the public, there is likely to develop a group feeling that society does not appreciate their contribution to humanity. This may even go so far as a prepossession that society is against the group, even though the occupation is working for the protection of society. Such a feeling is very common among the policemen who have tried to enforce the law against important personages, only to discover to their dismay that law enforcement must be selective rather than uniform. Further discussion at this point would encroach upon the exploration of group psychology in a later chapter, but there is a point to be emphasized here: among workers who have come up through the ranks, there are usually strong sentiments against the selection of supervisors from college graduates and others who have not had the usual period of job experience.

Inducting the college graduate

In both government and industry, the stream of college graduates and specialized technicians has been augmented rapidly in recent decades. Industrial firms have had to devise ways and means of inducting these men into their supervisory structure without encountering head-on the sentiments described above. It is obviously impossible to ask the engineering graduate to go through the years of apprenticeship and benchwork normally

required to make a journeyman. The device to meet this problem is to have a shorter period during which the young graduates will work in planned rotation at production jobs alongside other workers. They will, in this manner, get their hands dirty and experience the disagreeable tasks along with the other workers. During this procedure, they are expected to acquire some knowledge and appreciation of what goes on in the workman's mind, without becoming adversely affected by it. Those who stand up under such a program become available for technical and lower supervisory positions.

Generic hypothesis

There is a pattern of human relations in management which is generic in nature; by this is meant that the pattern can be applied successfully in a wide variety of human affairs.

Irrespective of class, caste, or occupation, both as individuals and groups, people react similarly to particular types of management situations.

This is what we refer to as the "generic hypothesis," the concept that people follow a rather uniform pattern of behavior in working relationships. This need not be inconsistent with the clinical principle that individuals vary, nor does it deny that a supervisor must treat different people differently. But even this variation in manner of supervision may be a part of an emerging pattern of human relations.

It calls for a new generation of administrators and supervisors who are skilled in consultation rather than in handing down *ex parte* orders. The entire experience of mankind has been in a contrary direction because the typical administrative pattern has been one of dictation rather than consultation. As mankind has groped slowly toward enlightenment, he has gradually expanded the area of democracy and freedom and reduced cruelty and inhumanity. The social revolution through which the world is now passing is but one phase of this long process. The social lag has become so marked in the areas where technology has

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made a pathological impact upon society that we are now experiencing somewhat of a major earthquake. The unrest of the working masses is but one manifestation of this movement, out of which will come an administrative environment where the common man will have more to say about his individual destiny than heretofore. The principle of consultation will enter into the human aspects of management.

Democracy enters management

This entrance of the democratic principle into the field of administration and management is a manifestation of man's growing intellect and increasing knowledge of himself. In spite of all that public orators may have to say about the lag between the natural and social sciences, the fact remains that the last century has witnessed an amazing release of the intellectual energies of man. This has been experienced particularly in the great political democracies such as the United States and the British Dominions, where widespread popular education has been combined with comparative freedom of speech and press.

Liberation of man's intellect. There has been a mass dissemination of the fruits of man's intellect, which, in spite of what critics sometimes refer to as the low average attainment in public education, has nevertheless resulted in profound possibilities for change. The common man is being freed intellectually. He is attaining some of the skepticism which in former ages was reserved for philosophers. He is gradually being rid of witchcraft, medicine men, and magic and is learning that nature intended him to be master of his own destiny, at least up to a certain undetermined point far beyond that formerly set for him by his masters.

The new management is consultative in nature. This situation has profound implications for the future of administration and management because it means that determinations from now on must be increasingly consultative. The new administrators must be skilled in the art and science of consultation. Roethlisberger envisioned this development in his classic article on the

foreman,⁸ in which he stated that there must be a new concept of administration. The developments that must take place are outlined under six headings.

1. The administrator must understand and learn how to deal with the informal social organization as well as the formal organization.

2. The second need is semantic in nature, the development of a language that permits people to communicate on a cooperative basis. "This will be a language of mutually interdependent relations, of togetherness, of equilibrium, of adaptation, and of growth."

3. The administrator must learn to conduct himself in an environment of two-way communication. He must listen to the subordinate's point of view without evidencing perturbation.

4. The new administrator must learn to introduce change without provoking resistance, chiefly by outlining the devices of participation at the work level.

5. He must understand and be able to operate in an environment that fosters healthy subordinate-superior relationships.

6. Finally, the foreman must be able to distinguish the realm of feelings from the realm of facts and logic.

Job experience and supervisory skills. A discussion of this subject is not complete without some reference to the relation of job skills to supervisory ability. To what extent is it necessary for a supervisor to be an accomplished performer in the jobs of those whom he supervises? First, it should be emphasized that a dogmatic answer to this question would probably not refute the generic hypothesis stated above. The successful supervisor, whether or not he is skilled in job performance, will tend to follow the generic human relations pattern.

Rise from ranks growing more difficult. There seems to be an inexorable trend of events and circumstances making it ever more difficult for an industrial supervisor to come up through the ranks. This state of affairs does not spring from any scheme of management to degrade the common man, but rather from the accelerated pace of technical progress. The foreman has to know a great deal more than can be acquired by absorption while working at a job. Riegel discovered in his Detroit study

⁸ Fritz J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk," *Harvard Business Review* Vol. 23 (Spring 1945), pp. 286-87.

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that foremen did not make suitable instructors during change-over to new production methods, because they did not know enough about it.⁹

Demise of manual skills. Warner and Low's study of the shoe industry in Yankee City found that technical skill had gravitated from the experienced operators in the shoe factory to the designing engineers in the factory manufacturing shoe machinery. The machine had abolished the hierarchy of manual skills and substituted a series of mechanical operations requiring little or no previous experience.¹⁰ What seems to be happening in mass production industry is that technical skill gravitates from the manual craftsmen to the trained and educated engineers whose locus is the laboratory and drafting room and production control department. In the shoe business it even goes outside the factory that makes shoes and resides in the laboratories of the factory making shoe machinery. Thus, engineers exercise a great deal of functional supervision.

But supervisor needs some job knowledge. One should not rush to the conclusion that a supervisor does not need job knowledge. Experimental studies conducted in an aircraft factory and in forest management showed quite definitely that the supervisors of the more productive units were regarded by their subordinates as showing superior job knowledge.¹¹

The point to be made is that people should not be chosen to become supervisors on the sole basis of proficiency as journeymen. The successful supervisor at the lower level should have this plus coordinative skills. The foreman, or line supervisor, is not the master craftsman of days gone by, but one who enforces a prescribed pattern of working behavior.¹² He is the contact

⁹ John W. Riegel, *Management, Labor and Technological Change* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942), p. 40.

¹⁰ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 79.

¹¹ A. L. Comrey, J. M. Pfiffner, and W. S. High, *Factors Affecting Organization Effectiveness* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Bookstore, 1954), p. 34.

¹² Warner and Low, *loc. cit.*

point between those who lead and those who are led in a modern large-scale organization. The skills that he requires are not personal and manual in nature, but rather coordinative and managerial, and these are not skills that emerge automatically with maturity in professional, subject-matter, or craft proficiency. There seems to be little significant correlation between ability to perform on the job and supervisory skill. This does not deny the desirability of having policemen supervise policemen, lawyers supervise lawyers, or teachers supervise teachers. Ordinarily the happiest situation would result from having one skilled in the job supervise those who work at it. But there is danger in overemphasizing this point. The desirability ordinarily springs from the sentiments of those supervised rather than from the supervisory process itself. The supervisory process is generic, and, within broad limits, those possessing supervisory skills can practice them over a wide range of production processes.

Thing-minded versus people-minded

The study of the supervision of personnel must necessarily seek some synthesis between orthodox management and social science, a desideratum not easy to accomplish because the two tend to have conflicting belief-systems. The one inclines to be more thing-minded, the other people-minded. American students of management, whether public or private, have emphasized form, structure, and system largely to the exclusion of the human factor. Although Taylor and other pioneers of scientific management were aware of the human problems of production,¹³ the fact remains that the traditional approach to the study of management has been by way of engineering and finance.

This is not a condition to be criticized in and of itself, but its chief defect lies in the fact that only a fraction of the equation that goes into work is included. On the other hand, the social

¹³ Frederick Barkeley Copley, *Frederick W. Taylor: Father of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923), Vol. 1, pp. 233-34. For a brief history of the scientific management movement, together with biographical sketches of the pioneers, see George Filipetti, *Industrial Management in Transition* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1946), p. 311.

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scientist must be accounted as guilty of oversight if he fails to take cognizance of the practical knowledge that has been built up by management over the last half century as well as of the generally accepted theories of organization and management.

How people think about people

People think about people from the standpoint of their own cultural and environmental backgrounds. It is fully realized that the broad generalizations which follow do not apply to particular individuals, yet it seems desirable to state them, if only for the purpose of joining a fundamental issue. The chances are that if one is a member of management—a production engineer, a comptroller, an executive vice-president, or a bureau chief—he will think about people differently from the way he would if he were a philanthropist, a social worker, a sociologist, an anthropologist, or a Y.M.C.A. director.¹⁴ Again, it should be remembered that there probably are wide differences among individuals, for a particular comptroller might very well have “advanced” social ideals, while a given sociologist could have a political, social, and economic philosophy quite congenial to management people. This, however, does not invalidate the general hypothesis that background conditions the way in which one group will think about another.

The nature of their responsibilities makes persons engaged in management impatient with human obstacles to production. They subscribe to the “logic of efficiency” which fails to take account of variations in motivation at different levels in the hierarchy.¹⁵ Economic and financial incentives are highly regarded as determinants of human behavior. The failure of individual workers to measure up to employment standards is attributed to laziness, shiftlessness, or lack of enterprise. Any person who would apply himself is believed to be capable of

¹⁴ See Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), pp. 166–78.

¹⁵ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1945), pp. 34 ff.

earning a living that will be respectable and comfortable in proportion to his talents; and if the latter are high, he will be appropriately rewarded. Neither management nor society in general should subsidize slothfulness; and they point out that the nobility and dignity of work has its own reward, evidenced by the superior moral character of the faithful toiler. Social welfare is good, within limits, they admit, but it becomes debilitating if carried beyond the bounds of traditional private charity. Individuals themselves are held responsible for their status; at least they should be expected to make the most of their skills and opportunities.

The contrasting way of thinking about people regards individuals as moulded by circumstances and environment, rather than as the product of poor genes. Unfortunate persons should be helped by guidance and therapy to rehabilitate themselves. Society should endeavor to perfect social environment in order to create a fuller and more satisfying life. Work is considered an arduous and unsatisfying experience for most people, particularly mass production tasks with repetitive operations. Industrialization and the factory system are charged with aggravating slum conditions, a situation to be combatted through urban planning and social legislation.¹⁶

People who conform to this general thought pattern have considerable confidence in the fundamental goodness of the ordinary member of the human species. They believe in democracy not only as a political instrumentality, but as a way of life in home, school, office, and factory. The human spirit will flower in an atmosphere of freedom. The authority that one person

¹⁶ "The members of this group admit the claims of their opponents with reference to innate inherited abilities and individual differences, but insist upon a more thorough investigation of the neglected factor of nurture. They are not convinced that the 'very few' who are thwarted by external circumstances, while possessing ability capable of achievement, are so few as to be negligible. They believe that in the lower strata of the group who are above average in ability the number of individuals thus thwarted may be so considerable as to constitute an expensive loss to production. This is the typical view of the reformer, the educator, the sociologist, and the clinical psychologist." Catherine Morris Cox, "The Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses," *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. II (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1928), p. 14.

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exercises over another is a responsible leadership that citizens in general have bestowed on one citizen, not for his own aggrandizement, but for the good of the group. While individual men may vary in the endowments conferred upon them by nature or circumstance, men belong to the same species, and each man, high or humble, is entitled to a certain minimum of respect, deference, and dignity. Although some individuals may deserve emulation because of their personal qualities and achievements, men are still mortal and not gods. A healthy corporate group defers to hierarchical status, not because of the occupant's genius, but in order to fortify the essential centers of coordination, communication, and leadership. If the leader receives respect and loyalty beyond that conferred by status, it is the earned and voluntary approbation rendered by a free citizenry.

The following chapter will aim to examine these two broad approaches to thinking about people in the light of existing knowledge about the nature of man.

Research needed

When discussing the first edition of this book before a management group, the author conjectured that perhaps 25 per cent of the generalizations or statements made therein could be supported by existing research. At the same time, the hope was expressed that the next edition (the present one) could be based on at least 50 per cent research. These were, of course, mere estimates; nevertheless, research in human relations has been going on apace, and a diligent effort has been made to incorporate the results herein.

The most valuable type of research for these purposes attempts to measure the behavior of more productive supervisors compared to those who are less productive. The former are placed in one group and the latter in another, and the behavior of each is observed. Then the differences are computed statistically, upon the assumption that the behavior of the more productive supervisors is more desirable. Frequently referred to

as experimental method, this procedure has been developed to a greater extent by psychologists than by other social scientists.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. State at least four basic concepts emphasized in this chapter.
2. What is the proper approach to handling troubled workers?
3. What has been the effect of the growth of large-scale organization upon American social relations?
4. Explain the "generic hypothesis."
5. Explain this statement: "An occupation is a social club."
6. What is the relation of job experience to supervisory skills?
7. Discuss briefly how people think about people.

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2

The supervisor and human nature

THE last refuge of the reactionary defending the *status quo* against social reform is to cry out that “you cannot change human nature.” At the other end of the social spectrum stands the reformer who would change people overnight by passing laws. The social reactionary is always ready to tell the hackneyed story about the slum dwellers who, when given new houses, used the bathtubs to store coal. The social reformer, contrariwise, tends to see external or environmental factors as mainly responsible for human misery and antisocial behavior.

What is human nature?

It is diverse and complex. One cannot talk about human nature as a single identifiable entity. It is diverse and complex, determined by two diverse and complex factors: heredity and environment.

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Experts disagree about the relative influence of the two on human nature. The chances are that if you are a biologist, a physician, or an experimental psychologist, you will tend to give more weight to heredity than if you are an anthropologist or a social worker. If you are a banker or manufacturer, you will likewise tend to favor heredity as a factor governing behavior more than you would if you were a socialist or a politician of the left. During the Stalin regime in Russia, the official Soviet line favored the views of Lysenko, an alleged scientist who maintained that hereditary factors can be altered by changing the environment. It suited the communist viewpoint to maintain that the state could improve human nature by perfecting the environment.

Both are important. The truth relative to this problem, as with most problems involving human behavior, lies somewhere in between the extreme points of view. We are what we are partly because of biological or innate factors and partly because of the environmental influences which affect us.

Science can help the supervisor

Inasmuch as the supervisor's principal task is concerned with the behavior of people, it would seem desirable to weigh the evidence that science offers on the principal questions of human nature. In some cases where science has no clear-cut answer, controversy still rages. What are the problems that concern both the scientists and philosophers? And how do they relate to the manner in which Joe Smith, foreman, supervises Tom Jones, Tony Geselli, Pedro Lopez, Pamela Winthrop, or Hyman Goldberg?

Why does Tom take criticism in good grace, whereas some others become sullen? Why is Tony absent so often, yet such a good worker that absenteeism can be tolerated? Why is Pedro satisfied to work only a part of each year? What makes Miss Winthrop a rumor-monger with a sensitive and jealous disposition? Are people of low birth or under-privileged origin inherently as capable as those with a more favored beginning? Are

persons with dark skins different in basic competence from those with light complexion? Are workers with Mediterranean forebears fundamentally different from Scandinavians in talent and motivation? Are certain individuals sullen, lazy, and resistant to supervision because they are "possessed of evil spirits," or is there an explanation for such behavior? Not all of these questions can be answered with a straightforward *yes* or *no*, but science does shed upon them sufficient light to help the supervisor.

One piece of advice that emerges for the supervisor is that he should refrain from hasty judgments about people because they are Poles, Jews, Negroes, old Americans, Anglo-Saxons, or Mexicans. He should not excuse his own reluctance to face up squarely to a bad personnel situation on the basis that the errant worker's behavior cannot be changed because it springs from "bad blood." He should understand that there are fundamental differences between people on an infinite variety of traits and characteristics, such as mechanical and clerical aptitude, work pace, and toleration of adverse conditions. He should also know that there are certain respects in which people are similar the world over, the most important from the standpoint of supervision probably being man's gregarious or social nature.

Man is an animal. He who would understand human nature must first realize that man is an animal, even though he is very different from any other species of animal. Although the history of man prior to the invention of writing, some 5,000 years ago, is very dim, scientists have quite definitely established that human bones found in various parts of the world go back a million years.¹ Because the so-called "missing-link" has not been definitely established, the controversy still rages as to whether man is related to existing apes, but men are biologically very much alike wherever found on the surface of the world.

But man differs from other animals. He is the only animal that has the power of conceptual thought, an advantage and also

¹ Amram Scheinfeld, *The New You and Heredity* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1950), p. 490.

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a disadvantage, because it is probably responsible for the fact that he is the only animal that worries. His gregarious and social tendencies are much more highly developed than those of the lower primates.² In addition, man has something that science has found very difficult to isolate and describe. He has what the psychologists call a *psyche*, and what theologians call a soul. Philosophers might refer to it as the "divine spark." Modern advocates of democracy are probably talking about the same thing when they speak of "the dignity of man." In other words, the human animal is a peculiar mixture of basic and sometimes sordid animal drives on the one hand, and of lofty cultural aspirations on the other. The supervisor of the less favored people should keep in mind that human dignity and sensitive appreciation of higher goals are not lacking among them. Indeed, their sacrifices to better the status of their children are sometimes inspiring.

The Mendelian laws

The genes. The science of heredity is called *genetics*, and the orthodox beliefs generally held by geneticists spring from the experiments of Mendel. Our fundamental traits and characteristics are governed by genes—extremely small things that we inherit from our fathers and mothers and which go back countless generations. Experimenting with common varieties of garden peas,³ Mendel found that succeeding generations reproduced dominant characteristics in certain exact and predictable ratios when varieties were cross-bred.

Dominant characteristics reappear in predictable ratio. Subsequent experimentations have shown that these ratios apply to the interbreeding of both plants and animals. Occasionally there appears someone with a characteristic not present in either parent, and this is called a *mutation*. Selective crossbreeding of

² Julian Huxley, *Man in the Modern World* (New York: Mentor Books, 1948), pp. 20–25.

³ C. E. Kenneth Mees, *The Path of Science* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1946), pp. 159–60.

cattle and corn have produced superior types, as evidenced by Hereford beef cattle and hybrid corn. Hence, it is well for the supervisor to remember that in many instances the employee's characteristics and traits are inborn and thus immune from reproach.

Relation to placement hypothesis. Irritating personnel situations arising from undesirable characteristics should often be approached as placement problems. The supervisor who becomes critical of persons for behavior over which they may have relatively little control makes the wrong approach. This fact constitutes the basis for the placement hypothesis advocated in later chapters.

People are different. People differ from each other in two different respects. There are differences between groups of people such as nationalities, races, or social classes. On the other hand, individuals of the same social group may differ markedly from each other. Those who engage in the scientific study of man, whether they be anthropologists, biologists, or sociologists, arrive almost unanimously at a concept of race which differs from that held by fascists and race purists. This concept states in effect that there are few if any genetic differences among the so-called "races." We have used the quotation marks because of doubts that there can be any scientific segregation of people into races, some even going so far as to advocate discontinuing the use of the term.⁴ It is admitted that there may be cultural differences among ethnic stocks. If this meaning is understood it may be correct to use the word "race." However, it would seem more accurate, and perhaps more tactful, to use the expression "ethnic group."

The following statement by the eminent anthropologist Franz Boas summarizes aptly the scientific viewpoint:

I believe the present state of our knowledge justifies us in saying that, while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small. There is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more intelligent, endowed with great will power, or emotionally more stable

⁴ Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

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than another, that the difference would materially influence its culture. Nor is there any good reason to believe that the differences between races are so great that the descendants of mixed marriages would be inferior to their parents. Biologically there is no good reason to object to fairly close inbreeding in healthy groups, nor to intermingling of the principal races.⁵

People have a right to be different. The richness of human nature, taken in its totality, is due largely to the very diversity of our talents, aptitudes, skills, and attainments. Both immediate organization pressures and the culture of the larger community force the individual toward conformity and uniformity. We must each strive to make our behavior and appearance meet the standards of the group in which we live. The result is that those who evaluate other people are influenced, often unconsciously, by whether or not they conform to these group standards. But the civilized and educated person is tolerant of the sikh who wears turban and beard in an American setting, or of the communicant whose religion will not allow him to work on Saturday.

But people are also alike. Basically, human beings are much more alike than they are different.⁶ When a group of people inhabits a specified area for many generations, they tend to adapt to their environment in many ways—physically, mentally, and emotionally. They develop customs and habits. But these adaptations are relatively slight. In all important ways, they continue to resemble men in other parts of the world. It is essential that the supervisor be aware of this fundamental similarity between people, before he can grasp the ways in which they differ.

How are people different from each other?

Tyler⁷ points out that there are two contrary views concerning human differences. On the one hand is the premise that all

⁵ Franz Boas, *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), pp. 13–14.

⁶ Marguerite L. Alstrom aided in the preparation of the next several pages.

⁷ Leona E. Tyler, *The Psychology of Human Differences*, rev. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956).

men are created equal and that education can overcome all handicaps and inequalities. This view admits no limitations and creates intolerance of the person who does not seem to live up to his potentialities and opportunities. Contrasted with this is the belief that differences are unalterable facts and that society should use these varied gifts to enrich the "common life." This belief rationalizes the existence of a privileged class and soothes the conscience when contemplating an oppressed or underprivileged group of people.

The moderate view holds that no two individuals are identical, and each person should be considered as a unique unit. Everyone has his own special pattern of aptitudes and interests, his own limitations, and his own quality of intelligence. Research has proved that all living creatures differ from others of the same species. Even one-celled creatures have been found to have individual patterns of behavior. If this be true of simple organisms, how much more pronounced must be the individuality of human beings! The supervisor must learn to understand and accept these differences, and then use them constructively.

This leads to a significant question: *Is it possible to predict behavior, to anticipate degree of ability, to assume certain personality characteristics on the basis of the group to which an individual belongs?*

Can we expect George to have more mechanical aptitude than Lucy has? Will 58-year-old Johnson learn a new task more slowly than his 29-year-old son? Will Lars Olsen be a harder worker than Antonio Petruzzi or Juanita Rodriguez? Is there a correlation between skin color and intellect? Who will be more successful in school: little Robbie, whose parents are both college professors, or Jan, whose mother and father were peasants before immigrating to the United States in the recent past?

Psychological research

In order to answer these and related questions, psychologists have developed methods to evaluate some human traits quantita-

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tively, and in the past half-century they have performed staggering amounts of work in measuring and comparing these traits. A vast amount of research has been conducted in analyzing differences between groups: men and women, old and young, white and nonwhite, and many others. The results of all this prodigious study cannot fail to interest anyone who deals with people.

One of the most intensively studied areas is that of differences between men and women. The psychologists found that there were marked differences in the sexes' *average* interests, attitudes, and personality characteristics. If, for example, interest in a specific subject is measured in 1000 men and then divided by 1000, and the interest in the same subject is measured in 1000 women and then divided by 1000, there would probably be variation between the two figures.

Individual differences versus differences between groups. But the differences between individuals within the same group will be much greater than the differences between the averages of the groups as a whole, and there will be much overlap between the two ranges. Even if the men's group has a far higher average interest in the subject than does the women's group, there will be many women who have more interest in the subject than do many men. The differences in men's and women's abilities are smaller, and there is a wider overlap.

In comparing other groups, the psychologists were forced to the same conclusion again and again. Occupational groups, for instance, differ in their averages, but there are wide overlaps. Measure the native intelligence of 1000 engineers, add the figures, and divide by 1000. The average thus obtained will be higher than the average intelligence of 1000 laborers determined in the same manner. But some of the laborers will have a higher degree of intelligence than some of the engineers.

Effects of crossbreeding. Comparing nationality or racial groups in the United States presents problems, because our social structure does not confine them to a well-defined area. Almost all so-called "races" or "nationalities" consist of hybrids

who are the result of crossbreeding.⁸ This is just as true of the so-called "Nordics" as of those with darker skins. (Scientific evidence does not support the belief that such crossbreeding produces poor stock. Indeed, evidence exists to the contrary.) The history of almost every country tells of conquerors who entered, intermarried, carried off captives to their homeland, and thus introduced "new blood" into both the conquered nation and the conqueror's country. In the United States, this blending goes on still, in a more peaceful fashion. It is difficult to find people whose ancestry within the past few generations does not include at least one member of a different nationality or ethnic group. Thus, comparing people on this basis makes mandatory a certain amount of arbitrary definition.

Treat people as individuals. These studies, too, follow the pattern of different averages, but overlapping ranges. Lucy may be far more mechanically inclined than is George; Johnson may learn more quickly than his son; Antonio and Juanita may be the most industrious members of an organization, while Lars is the laziest; and Jan may grow up to be a college president, while Robbie spends his life in an institution for the mentally defective. The task of classifying people becomes more and more complicated as we progress in our systematic analysis. *It becomes ever more apparent that the only logical, accurate way to deal with human individuals is as individuals.* The supervisor must develop tools and techniques for this approach, as well as ways of thinking.

Implications for management

The lesson to be learned by personnel management is that not only should greater care be exercised in the original selection of employees, but also in their placement as a result of subsequent study and observation on the job. That is why the supervisor of the future will spend more time in cooperating with the personnel office in an effort to fit people into the organization. Those

⁸ L. C. Dunn and Theodioxious Dobzhansky, *Heredity, Race, and Society* (New York: Penguin Books, 1947), p. 98.

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who do the fitting will pay attention not only to vocational skills, but also to the psychological and social variations among people.

Mental health. People vary a great deal in their mental health, emotional stability, and adjustment to social relationships. Probably no one is entirely "normal" all of the time, but there is nevertheless a considerable percentage of humans who seem perpetually maladjusted. Some psychiatrists have estimated that one out of five workers is a problem case. Science does not as yet have a complete explanation of the causes of these mental and emotional difficulties that plague so many of us, but progress is being made. Psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and vocational counselors are able, in a large number of cases, to help troubled persons to adjust themselves to a normal life of work and play. This process is sometimes referred to as mental hygiene or mental therapy.⁹

The line supervisor's job. Line supervisors are rarely expert mental hygienists, but this fact does not bar them from playing a very important part in helping workers to develop healthy mental, emotional, and social adjustments. They can do this in three ways, all of which should have a larger part in supervisory training programs than has been accorded them in the past. First, the supervisor can be trained to recognize and detect symptoms of mental and emotional maladjustment. Second, he can be trained to conduct the initial interview with troubled workers; in most instances he can dispose of the matter, referring aggravated cases to the staff specialists in the personnel department. Third, he can be trained to create a social atmosphere or climate that will tend to make people happy in their work, create team spirit, and minimize obsessive preoccupation with personal troubles. These concepts will be enlarged upon in later chapters.

Human behavior is only partly rational. Although man is dis-

⁹ Recent years have seen the rise of a new branch of medicine, psychosomatic medicine, practitioners of which are usually psychiatrists. There was a time when psychiatry was not fully accepted by the orthodox medical profession. Much of the controversy centered around whether a functional disease, meaning a disease for which there is no apparent physical explanation, could exist. Progress in this area has been aided by research in chemistry and biology.

tinguished from other animals by virtue of the fact that he thinks and reasons,¹⁰ he is only partly a rational animal. A tremendous proportion of human behavior is irrational in nature. Some persons seem to have a greater innate need for a factual or scientific explanation of things in general, while others tend to seek a supernatural explanation. That is why there sometimes seems to be a conflict between science and religion.

The supervisor should try to understand the causes for irrational behavior that interfere with management objectives. Those that are cultural in nature, springing from early family and community environment, can probably be partly altered by training. Others may be inborn, and thus resistant to change. For instance, hospital attendants are often averse to handling the dead and will resort to every artifice and ruse to shift this responsibility to someone else. On the other hand, there are a few persons, perhaps relatively small in percentage of the population, who seem attracted by the handling of the dead. Another example of irrational behavior was discovered in a large hospital where both low-status laundry workers and trained nurses retained an unwarranted awe of bacteria in linens that had been thoroughly sterilized.¹¹

It is highly important for the supervisor to remember that behavior is usually not the result of a careful weighing of the facts and the choice of alternatives. Perhaps the preponderance of our behavior is the result of unconscious motivation. That is why the good supervisor is one who seems to have a high capacity for sensing when and how workers may react on a nonrational basis. It also explains why persons with high intellectual development sometimes become emotional and petulant about the failure of the masses to behave in a particular manner. The intellectual expects human beings to behave rationally, whereas human nature is only partially rational.

¹⁰ Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹¹ Cornelius C. Webster, *The Institutional Community as a Factor in Administrative Management of a Public Agency*, Unpublished thesis (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Library, 1949), pp. 86-87.

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One of the difficulties in discussing rational and irrational behavior is that what seems perfectly rational to some will seem highly irrational to others. Thus, management logic has traditionally thought that workers being paid piece rates should put forth their utmost effort, each striving to secure the highest possible paycheck. But it is well known that workers have a logic of their own about this and that they will regard it as to their interests to establish a rate of production that will be rather uniform for all.

One should hesitate before saying that workers are irrational in this matter, because examination will reveal factual considerations which, at least partially, support their viewpoint. That these considerations are social in nature will be illustrated by an examination into the reasons for the success of incentive pay in some plants and its failure in others. Accepting the factor that some industries are better adapted physically to incentive pay, the next important consideration is management's recognition that a factory or office is a social unit.¹² Management and supervision will be able to understand the causes for a great deal of what seems to be the irrational behavior of workers if they recognize the part social factors play in making people behave as they do.

While all humans are social beings and gregarious in nature, individuals nevertheless vary considerably in their capacity to mingle socially with others. The informal working teams so often overlooked by supervision contain some members who are highly sociable and others who are much less so.¹³ The informal or indigenous leaders who almost invariably spring up in these unofficial working teams seem to know intuitively the degree of sociability of the members. If given a chance by supervision, the team will adjust itself to these variations among people. Those

¹² Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954), pp. 363-72.

¹³ Moreno calls them *Stars* and *Isolates*. J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934), pp. 24-25.

who want to be near others and who easily adapt themselves to working with others should be permitted to work in groups. Those who tend to be less communicative and more individualistic should be permitted isolation and privacy to the extent that it does not interfere with the purposes of the team.

Why are people different from each other?

There has been a long-standing controversy about the explanation for the differences in people. Those who emphasize the role of heredity will say, "What do you expect? Look at his parentage!" Those who would discount heredity and attribute differences to the influences of environment exclaim, "Well, of course it was the way he was brought up!"

This controversy has raged not only among the uninformed, but throughout the ranks of science. Recently, however, even the extremists in the two camps have modified their views. Contemporary psychology has clearly proved that human beings do not inherit "instincts"—behavior functions *in toto*—but rather that every trait and every reaction manifested by the individual depend upon the interaction of his heredity and environment.

The effect which an environmental factor has upon a person will be influenced by heredity factors, and vice versa. The interaction of the two are so complex and subtle that it is virtually impossible that a particular trait or behavioral pattern can be traced to one or the other. The effects of the genes interacting with environment produces many thousands of separate and unique aspects of physical structure and psychological make-up.¹⁴

The case of twins. Thus, no two people can ever be precisely identical. Identical twins are the only ones who begin life with the same heredity, but even they cannot have exactly similar environments. In John's environment is his identical twin, Joe, and vice versa. Incidents which may be trivial in themselves occur to John but not to Joe. Other events take place around Joe.

¹⁴ Anne Anastasi and John P. Foley, Jr., *Differential Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 112-17.

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The accumulation of these varying influences may create radically differing personalities as they mature.

Biological factors. Another question that has been often asked concerns the extent of constitutional, particularly biochemical, factors' influence upon human variability. Does body build or other physical attributes have a close relationship with personality characteristics? The answer to such questions has not been decided with finality, but present evidence does not seem to point to the existence of constitutional factors which underlie and influence both behavior and physique. This problem is complicated by the fact that people have created social stereotypes to which they expect persons with certain physical characteristics to conform.¹⁵

The rotund, apple-cheeked man may be a jolly joker not because of some constitutional factor, but because throughout his life people have expected him to be good-humored and amusing and encouraged his every tendency in that direction. The slight, round-shouldered youth with the horn-rimmed glasses may spend his evenings absorbed in his studies because he has been told 17,937 times, "Obviously, you were born to be a scholar." The muscular girl who is devoted to sports, the pale, quiet woman who "looks like an old maid" when she is still in her early twenties, the handsome man who leaves a string of broken hearts behind him and never adjusts to monogamy—these and many others may be simply fulfilling the duties of the roles handed to them early in life.

In summary, then, we may say that a person begins life with certain tendencies and with ceilings on his development in any direction. Society, his family, his ethnic group, then operate on him constantly, exaggerating some of his tendencies and leaving others to lie dormant permanently. He may reach the ceiling on developing one of his abilities, while another is never exercised at all. His character, personality, needs, and drives are shaped by the play of environmental factors upon his hereditary factors.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

What can one do about it?

In the final analysis, it is not important whether the trait under consideration should be labelled as primarily environmental or primarily hereditary. Wide discrepancies in human abilities are facts which must be faced. Some people are bright and some stupid, some high in mechanical aptitude while low on verbal or literary factors. Even the most extreme environmentalist would not maintain that management could do much to alter individual achievement and performance for many of these people.¹⁶

Supervisor must accept people as they are. A personality that has been formed by countless influences over a period of several decades cannot be remoulded by even the most skilled supervisor. It is unrealistic to cling to an imagined picture of the ideal worker and to toil over subordinates in an effort to transform them into reasonable facsimiles. Until the supervisor evolves an *acceptive* attitude, he is doomed to frustration. Irritating personnel situations arising from undesirable characteristics should often be approached as placement problems. The supervisor makes the wrong approach if he becomes critical of persons for behavior over which they may have relatively little control. This fact constitutes the basis for the placement hypothesis advocated in later chapters.

Some people can sense at least twice as well, move twice as fast, and lift twice as much as others. In typical business and industrial jobs, these individual differences may be exaggerated or diminished, but they do not disappear except where there is deliberate control keeping productivity at a level low enough to accommodate the slowest worker. Even in jobs where the poorest performers have been weeded out by quits and discharges, and where the better performers have left for better jobs, there remains a substantial difference in performance. . . . More important than differences among individuals in potential and actual performance are the differences that are found within the individual. The human being as a productive unit is not superior in all respects nor inferior in all respects. . . . Clark Hull investigated individual differences in a variety

¹⁶ Leona E. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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of traits and found that the "trait variation" within individuals is almost as great as the variation among individuals.¹⁷

But people do change. Acceptance of people does not rule out aiding them to adapt themselves to the work situation, while at the same time adapting the work situation to people. Many characteristics, attitudes, work habits, and mannerisms are superficial enough to be vulnerable to change. A living person is constantly changing; he will not be tomorrow exactly the same as he is today. Through his on-the-job contacts the supervisor can assist his subordinates in a desirable direction. Later chapters will discuss this more fully.

Personnel administration of the future will be increasingly concerned with promoting a harmonious relationship between the worker and his working environment. Workers will not be regarded as commodities but as sensitive human beings, rather stolid and sturdy, but also quite malleable. In short, the supervisor of the future will succeed or fail to the degree that he is successful in handling his human problem.

Culture

The term "culture" as used by anthropologists and sociologists refers to man-made environment, the influences that the individual unconsciously absorbs and that govern his behavior.¹⁸ Culture in this broad sense consists of knowledge, belief, tradition, custom, art, and law. It is the conventionalized behavior of society to which all conform.¹⁹ Culture consists not only of action and behavior, but also of objects and things that express and maintain conventional understandings, such as dress, utensils, houses, means of transportation, weapons, and churches.

¹⁷ Rensis Likert and Stanley E. Seashore, "Increasing Utilization Through Better Management of Human Resources," *Manpower in the United States: Problems and Policies*, William Haber, et al., eds. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), pp. 24-25.

¹⁸ Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), p. 17.

¹⁹ Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 132.

Artifacts of management culture. Examples of the physical manifestations of culture in the management field are paper forms, machines, drafting tables, executives' desks, buzzers, filing cabinets, and telephone equipped automobiles. Culture has a tremendous influence on our lives, though it seldom enters our conscious thoughts. Our resistance to change accounts for much of the stability of social institutions, facilities, and manners; yet culture does change.

Human behavior is influenced by culture. While culture is common to all mankind, it varies in its manifestations. In some societies women perform the necessary agricultural functions. Ruth Benedict has shown that the Indians of British Columbia are acquisitive and competitive, much like ourselves, while the Zunis of New Mexico tend to suppress competitive and aggressive behavior.²⁰ A child is much more likely to be encouraged to become an opera singer if he is born in Italy than if he comes from a farm in midwestern America. England accords higher social status to governmental administrators than to industrial managers, whereas our culture reverses that situation. In certain sections around the eastern Mediterranean, the customer is supposed to go through a haggling ritual before consummating a purchase. Some cultures sanction polygamy; ours places a strong tabu thereon. Because the manifestations of human nature are so greatly influenced by culture, the realization that cultures vary greatly should make one hesitate in uttering dicta about human nature.

Culture concept is related to study of management. What bearing does the concept of culture have on the study of management? *First*, the study of any aspect of human behavior without attempting to understand the culture in which it operates is tantamount to observing something that does not exist. *Second*, culture has a profound influence on motivation and work habits, as evidenced by the fact that financial incentives operate more effectively on the middle and upper income brackets than they

²⁰ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1946), pp. 52-119, 160-205.

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do on those accustomed to a subsistence standard of living.²¹ The culture of the latter group has conditioned its members to be satisfied with fewer things; the pain of work is more to be avoided than lack of money. *Third*, culture sets work habits and may be responsible for both good and bad performance. Thus the London police for many years recruited country boys because they had no urban alliances and possessed a certain naiveté combined with lack of sophistication which permitted more satisfactory indoctrination. Certain employers have favored persons with rural origins because they resisted unionization. The low production of the British coal industry in the 1940's was attributed at least partially to the inability and unwillingness of both management and labor to alter traditional work habits and production methods. A *fourth* influence of culture on work performance has to do with patterns of personal behavior. There are those who say that a culture produces a basic personality which is formulated in the first few years of a child's life and which resists change thereafter. It has been said that the basic personality is molded by institutions, individual experiences, and philosophical principles, all of which are cultural in nature. It is admitted that physiological influences affect personality and perhaps to a large extent account for individual variation from the basic type found in all cultures.²²

Management subcultures. Management situations are undoubtedly influenced by both the over-all culture of the community and the management culture within the plant itself. Every community will have a number of management subcultures influencing the work habits of the population. Many of these subcultures are very much alike; for instance, the operation of retail establishments in a particular town, or the running

²¹ Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker," *Industry and Society*, William Foote Whyte, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1946), pp. 123-47.

²² Francis Hawley, *The Indian Problem in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1948), pp. 5 ff.; John J. Honigsmann, *Culture and Personality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

of Iowa farms. But there are many management subcultures that are very distinctive; the operation of a ship is still governed by centuries-old tradition.

An example of a modern management subculture of a distinctive nature is the administration of hospitals where there often develops a rather rigid social stratification with respect to doctors, nurses, technicians, and laymen. Vivid examples of the influence of culture is offered by labor unions. An apt illustration is the resistance of the older craft unions to the replacement of the all-around mechanic by the division of trades into several semi-skilled operations. This is particularly true in the building industry, where technological change threatens to alter the role of the carpenter, for instance.

Changing human nature

The opening sentence of this chapter posed the problem of whether human nature can be changed. It would seem that human nature can be changed in at least four ways, two of which are in the realm of biological science. The *first* is to breed better human beings, just as better strains of livestock and corn have been produced. The pursuance of this avenue of thought leads one into morasses of philosophical, religious, and political controversy. Suffice it to say that the improvement of the human race in this manner has been advocated seriously for decades by the Eugenics movement. An interesting and challenging phantasy along this theme is contained in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*.

The *second* biological approach to changing human nature is through psychosomatic medicine. Up until very recently psychoanalysis and Freudian approaches tended to set the pace for treating people who suffered from mental difficulties. As this is written, much more emphasis is being placed upon biochemistry and the relationship between body and mind.

The first method of changing human nature is in the area of social reform and therefore not available as a management tool. The second is entering the management realm through the new

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departments of industrial medicine in a few great industrial corporations such as duPont, General Motors, and Caterpillar Tractor. The *third* and *fourth* approaches are available to management directly. These are (3) cultural change, or changing the environment of the work place, and (4) changing behavior through education and learning.

The most obvious means of bringing about cultural change in a management situation is to alter the social climate. A good example is the new "sensitivity" training which attempts to make top management aware of the importance of human reaction to management decisions and actions. The objective is to make the entire hierarchy aware of the importance of two-way communication, consultative supervision, and person-to-person interactions. It is now realized that one cannot alter behavior merely by teaching the techniques of human relations. First, the management culture must be made receptive to the new ideas.

The American public has so thoroughly accepted education and training as a means of altering behavior that no special pleading should be needed here. The last four chapters of this book deal specifically with the question of altering supervisory behavior through training.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why should Stalin have supported Lysenko's ideas?
2. What is the relation of the nature-nurture controversy to supervision?
3. Is the following statement true or false? "There are greater differences between individuals in the same race than between the superior persons of different races." Discuss.
4. What is meant by the statement that people have a right to be different? Is it absolute?
5. How does man differ from other animals?
6. What are the Mendelian laws?

7. Discuss the relation of psychological research to placement.
8. Define "culture." In a broad sense, of what does it consist?
9. What are four ways to change "human nature"?

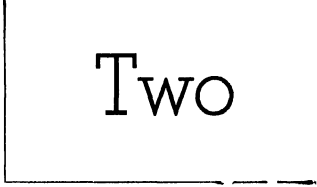
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Two

ORGANIZATION
and
MANAGEMENT

3

Organization as a supervisory activity

ORGANIZATION is essentially a matter of relationships—man-to-man, job-to-job, department-to-department—and these relationships are closely associated with planning and control.

Relationships

The most sensitive aspect of organization from the standpoint of human relationships is knowing one's duties and responsibilities. Thus, in the most effective organization one takes orders from only one person, his own immediate supervisor, and there is a minimum of conflicting orders from different persons. People know what tasks they are expected to perform and the standard of production to be achieved. There is coordination, seldom disrupted by different persons or groups being assigned to accomplish the same job. In the healthy organization everyone knows who his boss is; there is no conflict of authority.

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Planning

Planning is closely related to organizing because it involves using forethought to create the relationships that will be most productive. While planning has hitherto been regarded as a staff activity, the lower supervisors are being brought more and more into the process. Thus in the following chapter it will be stated that the tendency is toward having foremen handle budgets of their own, which means that they must do budget planning. It is their responsibility to see that the necessary personnel are on hand at the time when needed and that they have the required tools and materials.

Control

The word *control* is coming to have a rather precise technical meaning in management terminology. It refers to the flow of *information* about the progress of operations and production and is sometimes referred to as *feedback*. That is why planning and control go together: planning sets production goals; control tells you how you are doing in attaining those goals. The lower supervisor has in the past been mainly the reporter who fills out the forms containing the data relative to production. The actual planning was done by a staff agency known as the *production control department*. Sometimes the production departments have their own clerks, an arrangement which raises a problem about their relation to the foremen. Progressive management is, more and more, making these people administratively responsible to the foremen, while under the functional supervision of production control. (The meaning of *functional supervision* is explained below.)

Personnel

This book emphasizes human relations, so it seems appropriate at this point to indicate that organization means *relationships between people*. The fundamental lesson of the last half of the volume is that the most crucial part of the supervisor's

job is his face-to-face dealing with people. This is a vital part of the process of organizing because it involves the question of how individuals are getting along in their jobs. The supervisor must face the vital task of evaluating the performance of individuals. Furthermore, he must take the action which the facts turn up during the process of evaluation. This often means disciplining or starting the firing machinery, which is what supervisors least like to do, but it is a prime mark of distinction between strength and weakness.

The evaluation of personnel is an organizing problem because it involves relationships. The main reason why supervisors hate to attack bad personnel situations is because they are afraid of the resentment of not only the people involved but also their associates. A later chapter deals with the informal social organization, and shows why the effective supervisor is one who can deal with personnel problems without creating resentment that will upset the social equilibrium. To be able to do so makes one a champion at organizing.

Organization concepts

There is a body of standard practice in business organization that no supervisor can violate without courting trouble. It is partly based upon the wisdom of the race, learned by trial and error and passed down from age to age, but its modern standardization should perhaps be credited to the scientific management movement of the last fifty years.¹ One need not be particularly concerned as to whether the commonly accepted rules of organization should be called *principles*, *theories*, *proverbs*, or some other term.² The point is that there is a pattern of business organization that is followed rather uniformly by most successful organizations. This pattern of behavior can be broken down into

¹ The father of this movement was, of course, Frederick W. Taylor, and some of his followers were: Frank Gilbreth, Henry L. Gantt, Harlow S. Person, Morris L. Cooke, and Harrington Emerson. See George Filipetti, *Industrial Management in Transition* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1946).

² Herbert A. Simon, "The Proverbs of Administration," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 6 (Winter 1946), pp. 53-67.

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six, eight, ten, or a dozen specific rules that the good supervisor had best obey whether he be the assistant foreman or the vice-president.

Some of the most commonly mentioned ingredients of formal organization are:

1. the hierarchial or scalar principle, 2. unity of command, 3. principle of staff and line, 4. delegation, 5. control, 6. coordination, 7. span of control, 8. grouping or division of labor.

These will be discussed below with special attention to their relation to the task of supervision.

In a later chapter there will be considerable discussion of informal organization and its impact upon the principles of formal organization. It should be stated here, before false assumptions arise, that there is no necessary inconsistency between the rules of good formal organization and informal social organization. The supervisor should not deprecate the rules of formal organization because of a mistaken belief that some vague entity dubbed "human relations" is more important. The basic assumption of all that follows is that good human relations must be preceded by substantial conformance to the dictates of good formal organization.

1. *Hierarchial principle.* Jim Blake, lead man, is responsible to Joe O'Brien, assistant foreman, who in turns reports to Peter Jackson, foreman. These three supervisors are the lowest links of a chain of command that is also a part of a hierarchy.³ Now the word *hierarchy* may seem to connote a formidable concept, but hierarchy is, in fact, a rather simple and natural thing. Whenever men get together and organize themselves for accomplishing a particular purpose, they form a *hierarchy*.⁴ In other words, they group themselves around leaders with ascending and descending levels of authority.

³ Sometimes referred to as the *scalar principle*.

⁴ Note how hierarchies form naturally in all forms of human activity. See Carleton S. Coon, *A Reader in General Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1948), p. 343; and Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1942), pp. 366-81.

A great corporation may have as many as a dozen levels of supervision from the president in New York to a lead man a thousand miles away. When shown on an organization chart, such a hierarchy inevitably takes the form of a pyramid with many more supervisors at each successively lower level. Thus there is only one president, but there may be three or more vice-presidents and scores or hundreds of foremen, department heads, regional managers, division heads, and superintendents. The chart usually shows the supervisory positions in the form of boxes connected by black lines that represent the line of command, authority flowing downward from the higher supervisor to each succeeding supervisor. Thus a black line shows that Peter Jackson supervises Joe O'Brien, who in turn supervises Jim Blake.

But some organization charts also have hatched or broken lines that do not follow the line of command. They depict staff, functional, technical, or control authority.⁵ Some units or people exercise a limited influence on operations because they have specialized knowledge and talent. For instance, there is Mr. Wilson from engineering research who designed the new machines recently installed. He was on the shop floor in constant contact with Jackson, O'Brien, and Blake, all during installation and tryouts. He helped "iron out the bugs" for the first few weeks, and now he comes in from time to time to see how things are going. More will be said about this when the line and staff principle is discussed below. Here it is merely necessary to indicate that there are many legitimate and wholesome cross-contacts in hierarchies.

2. *Unity of command principle.* Unity of command means that there is one person in each organization unit who has authority to make the decisions appropriate to his station. It means that each employee has a single immediate supervisor who is in turn responsible to his immediate supervisor, and so on, up and down the *chain of command*. In a good organization everyone

⁵ Terminology is not well standardized in this area.

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knows who this immediate *line* supervisor is. Important communications and orders are transmitted *through channels*, which implies that they are given to an employee by his own immediate supervisor, on the one hand, and by an employee to his own supervisor on the other. While all large organizations must provide lines of communication shorter than the chain of command, these should not violate the spirit of unity of command. An organization that does not permit healthy cross-contacts is in danger of becoming so rigid and stratified that it will not function properly. However, it is necessary for each employee to know or sense what behavior is required in order to preserve his essential loyalty to his own line supervisor. It is ordinarily wise for a supervisor to bow to the dictates of the chain of command, even in those cases where his personal feelings strongly disagree with a matter of policy laid down by his supervisor.

3. *The staff and line principle.* Every large organization has a number of people with superior knowledge and skills whose primary duty consists of aiding others to do a better job. The specialists who do the aiding are ordinarily referred to as *staff people*, whereas those whom they aid are referred to as *line people*. It is possible to spend a great deal of time philosophizing, arguing, and debating about whether an employee is staff or line, but such speculations would not be fruitful from our standpoint. It is sufficient for the supervisor to understand that large organizations require an increasing number of specialists whose duty it is to aid the line. Thus on a given day, Peter Jackson, the foreman, may be contacted by the time study man from the standards department, an industrial relations counselor, the cost accounting specialist, a production control engineer, a training man, and a chemist from the research department.⁶ The relationship between the staff people and the line supervisors has been known to cause friction, usually because the staff takes an intellectual and scientific approach to its problems. This gener-

⁶ See the explanation of the different types of staff supervisors in John M. Pfiffner, *Public Administration* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1946), pp. 84-91.

ates a critical attitude because it involves change of methods and behavior on the part of the line, which tends to resent such change.⁷ However, there is no reason why they should not learn to work harmoniously together.

Lack of cooperation between the two constitutes a warning that the organization is not entirely healthy. Novices in the study of organization sometimes jump erroneously to the conclusion that there is such a thing as a "straight-line" organization, which is sometimes referred to as "military" organization. Nothing could be further from the truth, because few organizations have made greater application of the staff principle than modern military units.⁸

4. *Principle of delegation.* Each supervisor should have the power to make decisions appropriate to his station; this is one way of stating the principle of *delegation*. The making of decisions should ordinarily be delegated to the lowest possible level of the hierarchy. Every supervisory level has its own sphere of policy making.

Thus it is appropriate for Jim Blake, lead man, to decide whether Tom and Jerry should work at adjacent machines. Joe O'Brien, assistant foreman, should decide whether Blake's group or Jones' group should work at punching or pressing. Peter Jackson, the foreman, might decide which jobs should have priority in the day's work.

⁷ Eliot D. Chapple, "The Analysis of Industrial Morale," *The Journal of Industrial Hygiene and Toxicology*, Vol. 24 (September 1942), pp. 163-72. One of the best discussions of staff-line tensions is contained in Burleigh B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945), pp. 75-84.

⁸ See Urwick's discussion of application of the staff principle in military organization in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, eds., *Papers on the Science of Administration* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937), pp. 57 ff. For further discussions of the relation of specialists to the line see Thomas R. Jones, *Theories and Types of Organization*, Production Series No. 83 (New York: American Management Association, 1929); Arthur W. MacMahon, John D. Millett and Gladys Ogden, *The Administration of Federal Work Relief* (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1941), pp. 244-88; and Edgar W. Smith, *Organization and Operating Principles*, General Management Series No. 112 (New York: American Management Association, 1930), p. 40. See also Urwick's review of Herbert A. Simon's *Administrative Behavior in The Management Review*, Vol. 37 (May 1948), pp. 269-70.

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There is a tremendous tendency on the part of people in supervisory work to fail to delegate. Strong, vigorous, and determined people want to make all of the decisions; suspicious and skeptical ones do not trust their subordinates enough to give them the power to make decisions. The latter are sometimes referred to in the vernacular as "snoopervisors," because they are continually irritating people by excessive immediate supervision. There are also insecure supervisors who, by their own reluctance to make decisions, force their superiors to bear the load.

It is open to controversy whether failure to delegate arises from inherited or innate traits, or whether people can be trained to delegate. For purposes of improving supervision, it seems necessary to proceed on the basis that failure to delegate flows in large part from faulty organization and that observance of the principles of good organization will go far to counteract the evils of poor delegation.⁹

5. *Principle of control.* One of the most important features of good formal organization is what Fayol called *control*.¹⁰ It consists of supplying to those in key positions the information necessary to know whether the organization is accomplishing its purpose. Furthermore, it forms an automatic method of ascertaining when the unpredictable human factor goes wrong. Thus, the smoothly functioning organization is distinguished by a network of internal checks whereby the actions taken by one person are always known to another. It is more than mere accounting, because it includes factors, such as inspection of administrative processes, that are not dominantly fiscal in nature. It embraces all means by which information relative to policy, results, and operations flows through the hierarchy, as

⁹ John M. Pfiffner, "How to Delegate Authority," *Processes of Organization and Management*, Catheryn Seckler-Hudson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948), pp. 189-93, reprinted from *Public Management*, Vol. XXV (December 1943), pp. 351-53.

¹⁰ Henri Fayol, *Industrial and General Administration* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. Published for The International Management Institute, 1930), pp. 77-78.

well as those devices, such as centralized purchasing and centralized employment, that give standardization to operations.¹¹

In a large organization, control is often exercised by central and specialized departments such as cost accounting, production control, statistics, and personnel. However, there are many things that the lower supervisors can do to carry out the principle of control in their own bailiwicks. Higher supervisors will have clerical and technical aid to help them, but lower supervisors can use their own informal memoranda for similar purposes. Thus a production schedule can be charted; requisitions for materials can be checked selectively; budgetary, cost, and production statements furnished by the central staff agencies can be studied in order to determine the strategy to be taken.

6. *Principle of coordination.* There is a natural centrifugal tendency in organization; and unless properly coordinated, the units composing an organization will tend to grow away from each other and become independent. Individuals want to be free from restraints, to be secure and immune from what they consider to be arbitrary change. Units of the organization erect fences of isolation around themselves and build up a vested interest in maintaining the *status quo*.

Little people try to protect this vested interest by fostering an aura of importance, resisting coordination under the pretext that it is "good for other people but not for us because we're different." There is also a tendency for organization units that should work together to manifest an irrational antipathy toward each other. In modern technical management institutions the high state of specialization often creates antipathy based upon alleged professional dignity. Thus, in hospitals the relations between physicians and the business staff always create special problems.

In some organizations, the sales department does not like the production department; and in newspapers, the advertising and editorial departments are frequently at loggerheads. However,

¹¹ L. Urwick, *Elements of Administration* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 97-116.

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one should not gain the impression that this phenomenon is characteristic only of highly educated professional people and top management. It also occurs in the more humble walks of life, an apt manifestation being the jurisdictional disputes among labor unions. [The problem of coordination, then, is one of getting people in an organization to work together harmoniously to achieve a common goal with a minimum expenditure of effort and material.]

7. *Principle of span of control.* The principle of *span of control* means that the number of persons reporting to any executive should be limited to those whom he can effectively supervise.

Some authorities have suggested an arbitrary maximum, sometimes as few as five or six, but this is a rule of thumb.¹² The number reporting will depend upon how much time one has to give to each subordinate, how routine is the work, the amount of planning and control that is required, and the ability of subordinates to work on their own.

8. *Principle of grouping or division of labor.* A hierarchy is a composite of groups of people, and, as a result, *grouping* becomes a central problem of organization. A most apt example of what is meant is offered by the traditional infantry regiment in which squads make up a platoon, platoons a company, companies a battalion, and battalions a regiment. Modern technology has called for a different grouping, based upon specialization and *division of labor*.

A development of this is the assembly-line principle, perhaps the most significant technical contribution of the new scientific management movement, which provides that a number of different people shall work on successive operations in the production of a final product. The most familiar example is the Detroit automobile assembly line, although this principle is the heart of most large-scale modern production. From the standpoint

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53. For the reasoning upon which this figure is based see V. A. Graicunas, "Relationship in Organization," from Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-87.

of human relations, it will always be a matter of argument whether this has resulted in good or bad for the rank-and-file employee.¹³

People are grouped under formal organization on several different bases, those most often mentioned being purpose, process, persons or things served, place, and time. When grouped according to purpose, those who are producing the same product or service will usually be found in the same department. People can also be grouped on the basis of a process, such as carpentry or stenography. They can be grouped on the basis of those whom they serve; examples of such grouping are the public health nurse dealing with tuberculars and the retail department selling to children. Place grouping deals with grouping by region, and time grouping involves grouping by shift.¹⁴

The formalization of organization

The formal organization should be distinguished from what is usually referred to as "informal organization." The latter includes cliques, unauthorized communication, the exercise of power through unofficial channels, and the rise of unofficial (indigenous) leaders. But the most striking characteristics of unofficial informal organization are its elusive and intangible web of sentiments, beliefs (often irrational), folklore, tradition, ritual, and myths.¹⁵ These will be touched upon and related to the problem of supervision in later chapters; here we wish to distinguish unofficial organization from the official formalization that organizations usually attain.

Many organizations, especially small businesses or young municipalities, start out with little or no written statement of departmental organization. Take, for instance, the inauguration

¹³ Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest, *The Man on the Assembly Line* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952); Arthur N. Turner, "Management and the Assembly Line," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 33 (September-October 1955), pp. 40-48.

¹⁴ Gulick and Urwick, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁵ F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 379-84, 511-23.

of a partnership in which Fred Simpson, accountant, pairs up with George Jacobs, engineer. In the past it has been possible for such a partnership to originate and endure for years with no written agreement. Indeed, the understanding between the two men may never have been fully stated in spoken words between them. They have a machine shop with from six to twenty employees. Simpson stays in the office and Jacobs runs the shop. A reliable mechanic by the name of Ira Stevens is known as the foreman, but his duties have never been defined, and the employees usually look to partner Jacobs for supervision. Gradually the business expands, the war having given it an extraordinary impetus. The problems of management, coordination, and control require ever greater formalization, including incorporation, engineering of operations and product, production control, inventory control, central purchasing, and departmentalization of personnel functions. The government's manpower restrictions force the first plant-wide written job descriptions and organization charts. The entrance of the unions also forces greater attention to job analysis because the vast majority of grievances flow from controversies over the job ratings of individual employees.

The overwhelming trend of circumstances today is in the direction of formalizing organization and procedures. Indeed, alert management is constantly wrestling with the problem, often with considerable emotion. It seems difficult to generalize about the extent to which organization structure should be formalized in writing, but the better managed organizations are undoubtedly going in for it more than they did formerly. There may be those who would say that this has been forced upon them by external circumstances, such as government control, rather than by the dictates of good management. These would undoubtedly argue that formalization makes for stratification and rigidity which handicap initiative, stultify healthy exercise of discretion, and mechanize a process which by its very nature should remain largely personal. While there is much truth in such arguments, it is nevertheless true that an organization manual written in a succinct prose form setting forth the duties, ac-

tivities, and responsibilities of the several units is becoming a necessity in large scale organization. In addition, although there are certain relationships that charts cannot depict, they are nevertheless useful as setting forth the norms of organization.¹⁶

The degree of formalization required in the supervisory job varies from organization to organization. *The formalization of organization* means the degree to which it operates according to written plan. In most organizations the lower supervisors are spending more and more time on the formalized paper-work aspects of their jobs. They write the first drafts of job descriptions, they prepare the job breakdowns on new procedures, they review organization charts, and they prepare personnel time schedules for vacations and shifts. No standard-practice manual is worth much unless the line supervisors have determined what should go into it. The lower supervisors also prepare the production reports that form the basis for the control statistics used by the higher echelons.

Functional authority

Functional authority is the influence exercised by specialists because of their superior knowledge and skills.¹⁷ Thus a safety supervisor may have the authority to take certain action when he discovers unsafe conditions, although he would be wise to induce the line supervisor to take the corrective steps himself. The accounting department may prescribe the manner in which departmental accounts are to be kept. An engineer in charge of machine tools may prescribe the manner and for what purposes specific tools are to be used, and shop foremen must accede to his desires.

Military has it too. It is sometimes said that military organization is a straight-line organization, meaning that there is a direct line of command from top to bottom, with no infringe-

¹⁶ Ernest Dale, *Planning and Developing the Company Organization Structure*, Research Report No. 20 (New York: American Management Association, 1952), pp. 147-58.

¹⁷ Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1950), pp. 203-8.

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ments on the authority of unit commanders. However, a modern military organization has a great deal of functional supervision, because of both size and technical specialization. Thus, an officer who has taken special post-graduate training in nuclear physics will be attached to an artillery division to supervise the introduction of atomic cannon. He will be on the staff of the commanding officer and will work directly with the regimental, battalion, and battery commanders. They will give his opinions the deference merited by his superior knowledge, but the unit commanders will retain administrative or "command" authority.

Organization manuals and job descriptions often contain some such phrase as "administratively responsible to so-and-so, and subject to functional supervision from so-and-so."

Manner of exercise important. The multiplication of functional lines could result in disorganization, conflict, and lack of coordination. Nevertheless, it is impossible to abolish the influence of technical specialization. Any solution must be a compromise. The most helpful solution is to exercise functional authority without infringing on the administrative authority of the line commanders. This can be accomplished by careful delineation of authority combined with a tactful, cooperative, and consultative approach to the exercise of all types of authority. In modern large-scale organizations, the two must learn to get along together.

Functionalism rampant. There is danger in having too many functional controls at the level of immediate supervision. Taylor advocated a system of functional supervision which has perhaps been least followed of all of his contributions to management theory and practice.¹⁸ Instead of receiving his orders from one boss, the worker would be answerable to eight: the gang boss, speed boss, inspector, repair boss, three clerks in the planning office, and a shop disciplinarian. As a matter of fact, all of the functions which Taylor parcelled out to the several supervisors

¹⁸ Frederick W. Taylor, *Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), pp. 99 ff.

are often handled by different people in modern shop practice. The difference, today, is that the foreman is regarded as the coordinator for all of them and the only "boss" in the traditional sense.

The Swedish experiment. A system of functional supervision had grown up in the Swedish Telephone system, especially at the exchanges.¹⁹ In 1951 an experiment was conducted in which a new type of line supervision was introduced in the experimental group, while the old functional supervision was maintained in the control group. There was a considerable improvement resulting from the new line supervision as compared to functional supervision. Operators took fewer breaks, contacts between operators and the supervisor increased, and supervisors performed a wider variety of supervisory activities. Supervisors spent more time on training and listening-in, and operators answered more calls. There was a significant increase in friendliness among operators, in willingness to submit to inspection, and to leadership. Many of the hypotheses tested yielded inconclusive results, but the over-all verdict was quite in favor of unitary supervision in preference to functional.²⁰

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is the technical meaning of the word *control* in management terminology?
2. How is evaluation of personnel related to organizing?
3. What are eight commonly mentioned ingredients of formal organization?
4. What is meant by unity of command?
5. What is the staff principle?
6. What is the natural centrifugal tendency in organizations?
7. Distinguish between formal and informal organization.

¹⁹ Gunnar Westerlund, *Group Leadership: A Field Experiment* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1952).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-33.

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8. What is meant by functional authority?
9. What did the Swedish experiment show relative to functional supervision?

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4

The economics of supervision

A MERICAN business is carried on in an environment that is competitive in spite of the fact that monopoly and governmental control may at times interfere with the free action of competitive forces. On the American business scene today we see oil competing with coal, natural gas with electricity, railroads with trucks and busses, private automobiles with public transportation, cotton with rayon, and silk with nylon. In the manufacturing field, one of the more familiar types of competition is that of obsolete production methods with newly developed technical processes.

The supervisor in the business world is an arbiter between two economic forces working in opposite directions. Management must be economy-minded, perpetually struggling to reduce the unit costs of production, whereas workers are constantly bringing pressure to bear, both individually and through their organizations, to better their economic status. The super-

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visor is a member of management, expected to reflect the economic thought of management in his daily contact with workers. The pressures in the other direction from workers are reflected in factors such as the constant demand for increased wages and the conscious limitation of production by the social organization of the workers.¹

The supervisor's position as economic middleman, while perhaps often fraught with frustration and resignation, is not without some hope. There are certain fundamental economic concepts based upon facts that the good supervisor should know and be able to support and defend.

Prices and economic survival

The individual worker's personal interest in preserving his job is to a considerable extent linked with the economic survival of his employer. To be sure, there are many people who can secure a job elsewhere with ease, but most workers cannot move readily to a new job. The preservation of one's employment is thus dependent upon what the economists call the *interplay of prices in a free market*. If the employer's products and services are not competitively priced, he will not sell them. The result cannot be other than layoffs and unemployment for some.

The prudent employer will immediately try to reduce his unit costs of production so that he can meet his competitors' prices, or even price his product lower than others. If he is able to cut prices, then his competitors will look for methods to cut their own costs, perhaps again below his. These are the kinds of pressures under which businessmen live, and they generate a type of psychic insecurity that may be as real from the standpoint of mental strain as any experienced by the rank-and-file employee.

There may be those who believe that our economy is no longer competitive in nature because of both monopoly influences and governmental controls. An eminent economist whose judgment is respected in business circles has recently stated that the

¹ See Chapter 8.

. . . view that competition is less vigorous today than formerly is one of the most pervasive myths of the age. As a matter of fact, the economy is becoming more competitive, not less so, and will continue to become more competitive. . . .²

He goes on to list three principal factors contributing to this growing intensity of competition: (1) *the rise of chain stores and mail-order houses*; (2) *increase in technical knowledge*; and (3) *the huge expenditure by both industry and government upon industrial research*.

The lower supervisors should be led to appreciate these competitive pressures, even though they may not be close enough to the problems of selling goods or services actually to feel them at first hand. This becomes largely a matter of communication from top management relative to the competitive position of the organization. If layoffs are necessary because accounts have been lost to competitors, the lower supervisors should be told why, and their participation solicited in either lowering costs or improving quality, as the need may be.

The entire organization, from general manager to janitor, should be cost-conscious. It may be difficult to impress upon the employee that by exercising a certain watchfulness and care in his own job, his savings of a few cents a day will be important, but there should still be a constant effort to make the organization as a whole feel that economy is a virtue.

A plant or organization whose operating costs are so high that it will have to cease operating if they go higher is often referred to as a *marginal plant*. It is just barely holding its nose above water and will go under with the next wave of competition.³

An organization may be marginal from a cost-of-production standpoint for one or a combination of many reasons. It might be technically obsolete and therefore unable to compete with

² Sumner Slichter, "How Big in 1980?" *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 184 (November 1949), pp. 39-43.

³ This is an oversimplification of the economist's concept of marginal costs. For a discussion of marginal costs by an orthodox economist see Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, 8th ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), pp. 403 ff.

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newer and basically more efficient plants. Such a plant may be made to survive by substituting labor for the deterioration of capital investment, the workers being required to work for lower wages and to drive themselves harder.⁴ Or its market outlet may be so favorable that it can survive in spite of high cost of production, as in the case of the units of a large chain store organization or a plant that is nearer to the market than more efficient competitors. Individual plants with costs that are theoretically marginal can survive because other factors are more favorable; nevertheless, alert management will always be apprehensive about plants operating near the margin. The problem in supervision is to make the lower supervisors feel that it is their responsibility to keep costs as low as is consistent with payment of competitive wages and proper maintenance of capital investments.

In recent years there has been considerable emphasis upon the break-even point, which usually refers to the volume of business needed to make gross receipts equal operating costs before any profits are made, expressed in percentage of capacity.⁵ Thus a hotel may have to rent 85 per cent of its rooms in order to break even. Break-even points were usually lower in the 1930's than during the postwar period. The rising costs of doing business expressed in terms of wages and productivity of labor may be largely responsible, but there may be a psychic factor arising from the many years of a seller's market during the 1940's when all producers operated at capacity.

Wages and profits

The classical economist maintains that there are three factors in production: capital, land, and labor. Each is entitled to its

⁴ For a case example, see William J. Goode and Irving Fowler, "Incentive Factors in a Low Morale Plant," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 14 (October 1949), pp. 618-24.

⁵ Fred F. Gardner, "Break-even Point Control for Higher Profits," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 32 (September-October 1954), pp. 123-30; Allen W. Rucker, "Clocks for Management Control," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 33 (September-October 1955), pp. 68-80.

share in production, capital receiving profits or interest, land's share being called *rent*, and wages going to labor.⁶ These concepts form the basis for considerable speculation in the literature of economics, but for our purposes it seems necessary to discuss only those current issues affecting industrial and labor relations.

What is the nature of capital? The economist views capital as being not money, but as the things other than labor and land used in production. These are, for example, machinery, buildings, raw materials, automobiles, chairs, and furniture. One of the big issues is concerned with how such capital should be accumulated. The traditional capitalistic—free enterprise economy with which we are familiar justifies the accumulation of capital by individuals in the form of personal wealth. This personal wealth is accumulated in the form of savings and is reinvested in business.

In recent years there has been a tendency for the government to invest in capital goods, a practice frowned upon by many who advocate retention of the free enterprise system, and they base their opposition on the belief that government investment in capital goods is an opening wedge for socialism and ultimately will lead to abandonment of private ownership of capital. The point to be remembered is that every economic system, whether it be more or less capitalistic or socialistic, must provide for recurring capital investment in factories, machines, ships, railroads, office buildings, theaters, churches, furniture, and numberless other items.

The supervisor's contacts with the problem of wages and profits probably will be limited to questions concerning wages. There are several aspects of the problem with which he should be familiar, however. The main one, perhaps, is whether the employer is making enough to pay adequate wages, whatever they may be. If the employer is a prosperous corporation whose financial statements are given wide publicity in the newspapers, the amount of profits for any given year may seem excessive, es-

⁶ See Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 504 ff.

pecially to persons who are not familiar with corporate finance.

An averaging of the profits of American industrial corporations over a period of years would reveal profits to be negligible in comparison to the total national income. Thus a transfer from profits in order to increase wages would ordinarily mean relatively little to the workman.⁷ It comes as a surprise to many people that in some businesses, such as retail, the net profit is often a cent or less out of every dollar of goods sold, and that it is less than 5 per cent for corporations as a whole. In the prosperous year of 1948, American corporations earned 3½ cents on every dollar of sales.⁸ This ratio continued through 1952.⁹

The business system of the United States can be likened to myriads of huge furnaces which, to survive, must constantly be fed fuel in the form of capital. In order to provide an increasing number of jobs for an expanding population, there must be new blast furnaces, assembly lines, retail stores, transportation systems, warehouses, theaters, schools, and churches. These all require the investment of new capital which can be acquired in one of three ways: the traditional manner is through investment of savings by private persons; the second source is the plowing back of profits by businesses; the third and more recent source is capital investment by government either through taxation or borrowing.

The extremely high rates of income taxation in the higher brackets has adversely affected the first source of capital in recent years. Another factor that deters investment by private individuals is a psychological carry-over from the stock market crash of 1929 that makes many people averse to speculation. In the heyday of private capitalism prior to 1930, private persons invested quite regularly in what is often referred to as "risk" capital.

These investments consisted of speculative common stocks

⁷ Harold G. Moulton, *Controlling Factors in Economic Development* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1949), pp. 294-95.

⁸ *Wages, Prices, Profits* (New York: National Conference Board, 1949), p. 8.

⁹ See *Profits in Perspective* (New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1953).

in new businesses, usually sold by a syndicate of New York Stock Exchange brokers. In the last twenty years, persons of wealth have increasingly avoided this type of investment in favor of conservative and stable securities. The result has been that with increasing frequency business has had to secure its new capital either from its profits or from the government.

There was a long period from 1930 to 1945 when the average American was timid about placing his savings in stock market investments. This was perhaps partly due to new laws that placed several limitations upon marginal dealings in stocks. Prior to 1935 a person with \$100 could buy \$1000 worth of stocks, leaving them with the broker for security. If they went down enough to wipe out the \$100, the broker would sell them automatically, thus causing the speculator to lose his investment. Now the Federal Reserve Board governs the amount of margin so that brokers must require stock buyers to cover a considerable portion of their purchases with cash.

After 1930 there was a tendency for a larger portion of capital investment to come from government. This was originally sparked by depression spending and later by the needs of defense and war. Furthermore, the investing public had become timid as the result of the great depression and the stock market was dormant as a source of capital.

After World War II the government began to sell its industrial defense plants to private investors. In the early 1950's the stock market again became active after twenty years in the doldrums. The new administration pursued a policy of "getting government out of business." The American economy was again expanding on dollars being furnished by private investors through the stock market and the network of investment brokers.

Some controversy arises over the practice of plowing back, or the reinvestment of profits in the enterprise. Sometimes it is said that this practice arises from the desire to escape paying adequate wages and to avoid excessive income taxes. Stockholders also often protest that the profits that are reinvested should be paid to them as cash dividends. The fact remains that

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American business could not have maintained its tremendous expansion of capital investment during the 1940's unless there had been a great deal of plowing back of profits.

Another problem that ties in very closely is that of maintenance and depreciation. Machines wear out, buildings acquire leaky roofs, retail store fixtures become outmoded in style long before their physical usefulness has gone. Thus, money must constantly be spent to maintain capital investment in proper operating condition. This wearing out of capital investment through use and time is referred to as depreciation.

The steps necessary to keep capital investment at its original level or value are referred to collectively as maintenance. Accountants engage in long discussions about whether or not the value of investments can be kept current by proper repair and refurnishing or whether it may also be necessary to reduce the value, particularly on the books, and provide a special savings account so that there can be total replacement at the end of a depreciation period.

It is not for us to decide about the intricacies of depreciation which bother the accountants and engineers, but we should recognize as a fact that physical plants, whether buildings or automobiles, need the constant reinvestment of capital in the form of maintenance.

A business may go on for some time without making adequate provision for maintenance. This may be due to inadequate revenue, a deliberate policy to milk the organization of funds that should go partially at least to maintenance and depreciation, or to other causes. Some marginal businesses may operate on such a policy for many years, but all substantial businesses give due recognition to the necessity for maintenance.

Wages and productivity

A single, great, fundamental truth underlies the entire question of wages: there is only one substantial source for increased wages, and that is increased productivity. Productivity per man hour has increased in American industry an average of 2 and 3

per cent in practically every year since the beginning of the twentieth century. This startling fact has led one prominent economist to predict that in 1980, 70,000,000 workers will be supporting a population of 175,000,000 on a 30-hour week with a per capita output 50 per cent greater than in 1948.¹⁰

Such increased productivity comes not from transferring wealth from the rich to the poor or from transferring business profits to workers, but rather from the fact that American industry has been able, and will continue, to increase both its total output and its output per worker employed.

Another aspect of this remarkable achievement is that the increased productivity does not come so much from anything the worker has done to make himself more productive, but rather from the increase in capital investment per worker combined with technological and engineering improvement. The advances have been made in the areas of increased mechanization arising from research, technical progress, improved management, and engineering. Indeed this very progress has often been achieved in the face of vigorous opposition by workers, both organized and unorganized, who feared that mechanization would require fewer workers and thus deprive some of their jobs, or that the new machines would make their skills obsolete.¹¹

The question naturally arises as to whether the benefits of this increase in productivity have been passed on to the worker and, if so, whether future increases will also be so distributed. If one is speaking of the individual laborer or the employees of a particular plant during a specified short-run period, the facts of distribution may not be obvious. However, the long-term record indicates that increased productivity has been passed on to the worker, slowly in the beginning, perhaps, but rather rapidly since 1900.¹²

¹⁰ Slichter, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), Ch. V. Also Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 28-29.

¹² Moulton, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

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The present high physical standard of living in the United States, unsurpassed anywhere in the world, has come about by virtue of the fact that the product of American industry has been passed on to the rank and file. Even during the depression period of the 1930's those on relief had a higher material standard of living than the working people and farmers in most other parts of the world.¹³

There are those who may agree with this fundamental thesis that the key to higher wages lies in greater productivity, but who would argue that we have not solved the problem of equitable distribution of what we are able to produce in ever greater quantity. There are even those who say that this problem of more equitable distribution can never be solved within the framework of nineteenth century capitalism and free enterprise.

This particular controversy is as old as the recorded history of man. It generates arguments, emotions, and antagonisms which frequently separate brother from brother. Here in the United States we seem to be on our way to solving this conundrum according to our own traditional method of gradual reform. We seem to be forced by circumstances to do things that run contrary to previously accepted concepts of economic individualism. Thus, we have relied upon social legislation to force a more equitable distribution.

Examples of this type of legislation are workmen's compensation, social security, and compulsory collective bargaining between employers and unions. Such measures have always been the subject of bitter political controversies, and those favoring wider distribution of the national income have been regarded as radical and subversive. However, the fact remains that these reforms have taken place and that new ones will continue to become accomplished facts without materially altering the fundamentally competitive nature of the American business system.

The key to the American high standard of living is still, and will continue to be, the ability of our economy to maintain an

¹³ *Vide* current indignation over appearance of television antennae over homes of persons on public relief.

ever-increasing productivity per worker employed. That higher productivity is the key to a higher standard of living under socialism as well as under private enterprise is a fact that the coal miners of England must be forced to realize.¹⁴

Communications

The principal problem in conditioning the lower line organization to be cost- and economy-conscious is one of communication. The first thing for top management to remember in this respect is that the clichés of the higher echelons may carry either positive or negative connotations to the rank and file as well as to the lower supervisors. Thus "welfare state," "free enterprise," and "the American way" may be meaningless or carry to management connotations that are different from those carried to many employees.

The problem becomes one of making the individual worker feel that reducing waste is directly related to the continuation of his own job. In this sense, it becomes more than merely a matter of communication, because the worker must be brought to identify his own interest with that of the organization as a whole. This is a universal problem of large-scale organization, and it results from the ever-increasing interdependence of both individuals and groups upon each other. It is a mature organization in which the rank and file member feels a sense of belonging, a responsibility akin to the highest form of citizenship. He has a sense of corporateness, the feeling of responsibility that leads individuals to understand and act in accordance with the proposition that in many things the common interests require the individual to subordinate his own interests. That is the problem of management today; indeed, it is the problem of leadership, whether it be in the Podunk Bottling Works or the United Nations.

How then are we to communicate to the lower supervisors the economic facts of American life so that they will feel them with

¹⁴ R. Vance Presthus, "British Public Administration: The National Coal Board," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. IX (Summer 1949), pp. 200-210.

a conviction that will counter specious economic propaganda? The first step should be to develop a language or phraseology that has laundered out the emotional loading of the Executives' Club. It is quite all right to have an emotional loading—indeed, it may be desirable—but it should take into account the possible emotional reaction of those to whom the communication is addressed. Thus, fulminations against super-security as being contrary to the American way may fall on deaf ears, whereas the facts about the strategic status of the company as to costs, and hence jobs, may have effect.

The next step is to make the rank and file feel identified with the organization. This ties in directly with the sense of belonging, the generation of teamwork, the practice of consultative supervision, and the development of social satisfaction referred to at greater length in other chapters.

The next step is to develop clarity and frankness in the presentation of data relating to the financial status of the organization. Clarity and frankness are inseparable because the feeling is widespread that financial statements are deliberately rigged to hide assets, and that this is done in order to avoid the payment of higher wages. This is a problem that can be solved only by long and continuous effort to convince employees of management's sincerity and desire to be frank. Even then it becomes necessary to surmount the mental barrier that even intelligent people throw up against accounting statements or the simplest mathematics of finance. The only approach to the problem seems to be the elementary teaching tactic of stating simple truths over and over, perhaps striving for variety in medium of presentation, but all the while patiently emphasizing points that appear naïvely elementary to executives. If American high wages are due to high productivity, which in turn arises from research, technical improvement, and management ingenuity, why must this information be confined to the *Atlantic Monthly* and *The Management Review*? Should there not be a way of saying these things through the employees' magazine, the bulletin board, and other media that reach the rank and file?

Proprietor-mindedness

The big problem in large-scale organization is to induce individuals to become organization-minded. People in the higher management group tend to feel that they have a personal stake in the organization, but the members of the rank and file have very much less of this feeling.

One has heard a great deal in recent years about the desirability of recognizing the lower supervisors as members of management. There is a danger that in practice this laudable objective will be achieved more often by lip service than by giving the foremen the duties which will lead them to become vitally involved in the management process. If they are to become managers in fact, they must be allowed to function as managers—to do the things which managers do. If it is desired that they be proprietor-minded, they must play the role of a proprietor, at least to the extent that large-scale organization permits it. What are some of these activities?

Make him manager of a cost center. The modern trend in management control emphasizes the need for establishing cost centers throughout the organization. A cost center is a sub-unit which forms the basis for cost accounting. In substance it is a device for rendering a profit-and-loss statement or balance sheet for each sub-unit. This permits not only top management but also each subordinate head to know who is out of line on costs. It also stimulates a supervisor to take a proprietorship or entrepreneur attitude toward his unit. He knows that if costs are out of line, he will be held to account, and that he must do what a prudent proprietor would do to protect his financial position.

Detroit Edison Study. A study conducted at the Detroit Edison Company left little doubt that the supervisors who are concerned about costs tend also to be more competent in other supervisory activities.¹⁵ Thus they are also more concerned about such matters as production and absences. But lower super-

¹⁵ Floyd Mann and Howard Baumgartel, *The Supervisor's Concern with Costs in an Electric Power Company* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, 1953).

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visors reflect the influence of their own department heads relative to cost-consciousness.

When department heads delegate responsibility and consult them about budget decisions, lower supervisors become more sensitive to costs. Such delegation is not only associated with concern about keeping costs down; it also stimulates foremen to maintain the records which tell them where they stand cost-wise. In other words, responsibility goes along with accountability in making supervisors conscientious about costs.

Cost-consciousness is not an isolated trait in its relation to delegation, because those department heads who delegate budget decisions also stand high on delegation in general. They delegate to, and consult with, lower supervisors on a wide range of management matters. An interesting sidelight was offered by supervisors whose superiors did not delegate: they wanted more authority in making cost decisions.

Give him a budget of his own. It has been the practice too often in the past to regard budgeting as an adjunct of higher management alone. The concept of the cost centers cannot work well unless budgetary decisions are decentralized sufficiently to allow the chief of a cost center to act as a manager. Organizations will differ, of course, in the extent to which budgetary decisions can be decentralized as far as the foreman level. It seems probable, however, that more can be done along this line than hitherto has been thought either desirable or possible. For instance, there was a foreman who insisted on retaining factory space which he was not using. But when cost figures showed his space rental charge to be sharply out of line, he voluntarily asked to be relieved of the room he was not using.

Let him in on staff work. The lower line supervisors should be "in the know" about the staff work that affects them. There was a time when staff work was conducted in an atmosphere of detachment from the line, but this is probably changing in most virile organizations. It is more and more understood that staff recommendations, in order to be adopted, must gain the acceptance of the line organization.

Let him participate in establishing work standards. The contemporary emphasis on costs and productivity has been accompanied by a growing interest in what constitutes a fair day's work. In the past, the setting of productivity standards and rates was too often regarded as a unilateral function of the stop-watch people. It is now more and more becoming a cooperative venture engaged in by the supervisors and the union. It is especially necessary to get agreement in these days of rapid change in production technology when rates can so quickly get out of line.

In the Elgin Watch Company, changes are discussed in meetings with the supervisors. There is complete interchange and communication. Supervisors are trained in the principles of incentive systems, and employees are also made to feel that they have a part in them.¹⁶

Give him information about the course of business. Foremen should be "in the know" about the competitive or sales position of the organization. The Parker Pen Company holds bi-weekly meetings for supervisors for the purpose of passing on information concerning sales.¹⁷ They are told how sales compared with those of previous weeks or years, procurement problems are discussed, and they receive reports of dealer reactions and what salesmen and customers are saying about the quality of the product. An outside opinion survey relative to the product resulted in acceptance of rigorous quality control by the entire shop organization.

Give him a personal financial stake. The logical final step in attempting to make lower supervisors feel like proprietors is to establish a financial reward dependent upon their own good management. It goes under various names: bonus, profit sharing, or foremen's incentive. Fundamentally, the problem boils down

¹⁶ Donald Atkins, "Strengthening and Extending Wage Incentives," Manufacturing Series No. 208 (New York: American Management Association, 1953), pp. 18-25.

¹⁷ Philip Hall, "Stimulating Proprietor-Mindedness: One Company's Approach," Manufacturing Series No. 208 (New York: American Management Association, 1953), pp. 26-35.

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to what steps a large, impersonal organization can take to make a foreman feel the same intimacy and pride of ownership that the small businessman has toward his own enterprise. Surely, to secure full involvement he should be made to feel that his own income is to some extent dependent on the steps he takes and the energy he puts forth to better the economic position of the organization.¹⁸

Economic education. Many members of management and the business community have been alarmed at what they believe to be the workers' indifference to the "free enterprise system." The consequence has been a widespread effort on the part of industry to introduce the rank and file to the basic concepts of economics. The editors of *Fortune* have attempted an evaluation of what they term the "Great Free Enterprise Campaign," and have come to the conclusion that "it is not worth a damn."¹⁹

The reasons given for this alleged failure to capture the ears and minds of the rank and file are not simple. Among those given are reliance upon salesmanship, which has been effective in disposing of goods and wares but less so in winning minds to concepts and ideas. Furthermore, Whyte claims that the business community committed a fundamental tactical error in jumping emotionally to the conclusion that America had to be sold to Americans. The campaign was conceived in fear of political trends and in hope that these could be reversed, but this was not openly admitted. Instead, the tack was taken that only one section of the community believed in America and that all others were somehow enemies.

Methodical approach needed. What is needed is a methodical approach based upon facts rather than exhortation. There have been several efforts to do just this.

The Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago has conducted its basic economics course in several large cor-

¹⁸ Arthur B. Winter, "Sharing Department Cost Savings and Over-All Plant Profit with Supervisory Personnel," *N.A.C.A. Bulletin*, Vol. 30 (May 1, 1949), pp. 987-97.

¹⁹ William H. Whyte, Jr., and the editors of *Fortune*, *Is Anybody Listening?* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1952), p. 7.

porations. Emphasis is placed upon how the economic system works rather than on its rewards. Meetings are held in the plant. Although there must be at least some presentation, the objective is to induce the trainees to think for themselves through conference participation and discussion. The university trains conference leaders from selected employees of the corporation, and these in turn lead the in-plant meetings. Simple and attractive pamphlets dealing with economic concepts are furnished the participants.

The subjects covered include managing one's personal income, competitive prices in action, and the relation of productivity to living standards. Classical economic concepts are discussed under such headings as capital, wages, profits, and the ups and downs of the business cycle. Other topics are security and opportunity, America and the world economy, and money and banking.

Before-and-after testing leaves little doubt that economic knowledge is increased as a result of these conferences. It also seems likely that some change in heart and conviction takes place as a result of using the conference procedure, which induces people to draw their own conclusions instead of being exhorted to believe what management wants them to. An official of the Republic Steel Corporation, one of the pioneers in this program, states that a friend argued with him, "you ought to tell your supervisors what they should believe."²⁰ The official replied that if people know the facts about the economic system "we will take a chance on their believing it."

American ideals course. The Stanford Research Institute was commissioned to prepare and supervise the presentation of an American Ideals Course for the Food Machinery and Chemicals Corporation. It was given in the evening on the employee's own time and attended also by wives and families. The content consisted of topics related to the constitution, political system,

²⁰ E. S. Bowerfind, "Using Supervision to Spread Economic Understanding," Personnel Series No. 145 (New York: American Management Association, 1952), pp. 39-42.

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economic development, and the business system. It was a sort of synthesis of American history, basic economics, constitutional law, and industrial sociology. Presentation was by lecture and films followed by discussion, and some basic reading material was handed out in advance. One discussion section conducted entirely in a nondirective manner proved to be not as acceptable to participants as lecture and discussion. Both outside and company discussion leaders were used in about equal proportions and with equal acceptance.²¹

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Describe briefly the opposing economic forces that a supervisor is continually called upon to arbitrate.
2. According to Slichter, what are the three principal factors contributing to the growing intensity of competition?
3. What is the break-even point?
4. What are the three factors in production postulated by the classical economist?
5. What is the nature of capital?
6. Where does industry secure its investment capital?
7. What is considered to be the only one substantial source for increased wages?
8. What can be done to make supervisors cost-conscious?
9. How is this problem related to decentralization?
10. How can the foreman be put on the management team?
11. What methods give the most promise in economic education?

SELECTED READINGS

Books and monographs

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²¹ For topical coverage see Bertrand Klass, *The Stanford-Food Machinery American Ideals Course* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), pp. 39–41.

- HERON, ALEXANDER R., *No Sale, No Job*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.
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- ARGYRIS, CHRIS, "Human Problems with Budgets," *Harvard Business Review* (January-February, 1953), pp. 97-110.
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5

The supervisor and the union

THE part to be played by the lower supervisors in relationships with the union has been neglected in the literature on collective bargaining and industrial relations.¹ This seems unfortunate since harsh and arbitrary supervision has frequently been mentioned as a cause for the rise of unionism. Furthermore, much of the difficulty arising from current administration of collective bargaining contracts can be traced to tactless and thoughtless supervision. Training of foremen and shop stewards in the fundamentals of collective bargaining and in the nature of the labor agreement is a highly essential aspect of developing good relations.²

¹ The principal works seem to be: Glenn Gardiner, *When Foreman and Steward Bargain* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945), and Benjamin M. Selekman, *Labor Relations and Human Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1947).

² George W. Taylor, *Government Regulation of Industrial Relations* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1948), p. 352.

The entry of unionism, whether into the shop, office, or government bureau, has tended to end the days of arbitrary and driving foremanship, with the result that the supervisor must now become a leader rather than a driver. The sense of security and equality of power possessed by the workers makes it necessary for the supervisor to lead by persuasion rather than by blind ordering. As one writer has put it, "collective bargaining has changed the foreman from an absolute to a constitutional monarch" who is guided by the rules and regulations contained in labor laws, collective bargaining agreements, or civil service rules and regulations.³

Dual loyalty possible

Recent researchers have revealed that American working men see no conflict in "the co-existence of their company and their union. But much more; they want neither one to destroy the other. They want their union to respect their management. They want their management to give the union its right to a voice in determining working conditions."⁴ Multiple loyalties are not only possible, but natural. In those plants where employees expressed high regard for management, they also respected the union. Where they did not like management, they held the union in low esteem.⁵

Private compared with public management

It would seem that public and private management of labor relations are moving toward each other in actual practice. Industry is taking on more and more of the legalistic job security aspect of civil service procedure, while governmental employees are becoming more widely unionized. The chief difference, as this is written, lies in the emphasis placed on day-to-day bargain-

³ Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954), pp. 195-96.

⁴ Theodore V. Purcell, "Dual Allegiance to Company and Union-Packing House Workers," *Personnel Psychology*, Vol. 7 (Spring 1954), pp. 48, 57.

⁵ Symposium, "Dual Loyalty in Industrial Society," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 76 (December 1953), pp. 1273-80.

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ing at the shop level in private industry. The office of steward is less likely to be found in civil service. However, a similar pattern of relationships exists in both types of employment as far as immediate supervision is concerned, because the steward is becoming less important in industry. The grievance procedure tends to short-circuit both him and the foreman.⁶

Three phases of collective bargaining

There are roughly three phases of personnel administration wherein the supervisor deals with the union: (1) negotiation of the contract, (2) day-to-day administration of the agreement, (3) the appellate or judicial phase. These will be discussed successively. While the lower supervisors are mainly concerned with the second phase, or day-to-day administration, their part in the other two should not be dismissed as being negligible.

Lower supervisors neglected. During the period when the union is first entering the plant, the lower and middle supervisors are likely to be neglected. It is a period of tension, especially when management has yielded with considerable reluctance to collective bargaining. Emotions run high, and there is a desire to entrust the delicate aspects of negotiation to confidential and trusted representatives of management.⁷ Consequently, an aura of secrecy surrounds the actual negotiations, which may be conducted off the premises in a hotel or in a distant city.

Union communication faster. During the 1930's, when militant unionism was spreading rapidly into new areas, the union line of communication from the negotiating table to the shop was often faster than that of management. Indeed, foremen were

⁶ Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 34-42.

⁷ For discussion of the negotiation process, see Dale Yoder, *Personnel Management and Industrial Relations*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 691 ff.; Leonard J. Smith, *Collective Bargaining* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946), pp. 21-54; Walter H. Carpenter, *Case Studies in Collective Bargaining* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953); Harold W. Davey, *Contemporary Collective Bargaining* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951).

often embarrassed by having their subordinates boast to them about concessions unknown to the foreman. His line of communication from above had been shut off entirely, while that of the union was often left open. This, along with other grievances, was responsible for the movement toward unionization of foremen, especially during the early years of World War II.⁸

Bringing foremen into negotiations. Since unionism and collective bargaining have been accepted as a normal part of industrial life, many companies try to draw the foreman into the negotiating phase, at least to the extent of keeping the supervisory forces informed about the course of negotiations. One method of achieving this objective is to have supervisors from the lower levels constantly present at negotiations. Sometimes the foremen are designated to attend upon a rotating basis, so that the maximum number will have a chance to observe and feel the pulse of negotiations. It is increasingly the practice for a committee of workers to participate in the negotiations on the union side and for a representative group of supervisors to sit in on the company side.⁹ The lower supervisors' role in this respect should not be altogether passive, on the receiving end of communications only. Some opportunity should be given for the expression of their opinions about the large number of subjects that go into the contract, because these same lower supervisors bear the major responsibility for fulfilling the contract provisions. Hence it would seem folly to undertake the annual

⁸ American Management Association, Research Report No. 6, *The Unionization of Foremen* (New York, 1945), and American Management Association, Research Report No. 7, *The Development of Foremen in Management* (New York, 1945), p. 14.

⁹ "During negotiations some companies seek to get their views to the employees directly. This they have done by convoking general meetings, by sending out letters or pamphlets, by publishing advertisements, by posting notices in the plant, and in a few cases by distributing printed copies of the verbatim record of the bargaining sessions."—Neil W. Chamberlain, "Group Relationships," from E. Wight Bakke and Clark Kerr, eds., *Unions, Management and the Public* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948), p. 369. Originally published in Neil W. Chamberlain, *Collective Bargaining Procedures* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1944), p. 103.

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renegotiation without consulting them concerning how specific provisions have worked out in practice.

The dynamics of unionism at the work level

The lower supervisors in a unionized establishment often find themselves the focus of several opposing forces, especially if the union leadership is characterized by considerable militancy. In the first place, as at least nominally a member of management, the supervisor is the constant recipient of communications to follow certain policies and to do particular things that in many instances he considers to be unwise or impossible to fulfill. In the second place, he is very near to the informal social organization of the shop or the office and cannot avoid being influenced by the sentiments, beliefs, and culture of the people whom he is expected to supervise. These sentiments and beliefs are not infrequently opposed to the colder logic of management, which is often communicated to him from some aloof and remote echelon above. Third, the supervisor must deal with union officials, one of whom—the shop steward or chapel chairman—may be his immediate subordinate and subject to his work orders.¹⁰

The difficult task of the lower supervisor is frequently heightened by the rivalry between management and the union for the loyalty of the workers. In their struggle for union security, the union leaders feel constantly impelled to demonstrate some concrete achievements to the members. In an establishment where collective bargaining has existed for some time and where it has become an accepted part of the landscape, workers can be divided into two categories relative to their union attitudes. A group of old-timers are strongly union-minded because they went through the militant organizing era and remember the alleged injustices of pre-union days. The younger members will tend to take the benefits won by collective bargaining as accepted facts and no longer a matter for controversy. Hence, the

¹⁰ See Fritz J. Roethlisberger's reference to the foreman as a double-talker, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double-Talk," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 23 (Spring 1945), pp. 286-87.

union officials feel spurred to do something to prove their worth.

Union officers. This union militancy has its most constant impact on the lower supervisors in the day-to-day administration of the contract, particularly in those organizations where the union has perfected its organization of shop stewards, committeemen, and business agents. These officers are the ones who have immediate day-to-day contact with the workers and working conditions. They are in constant touch with foremen and supervisors in ironing out disputes that arise under the contract, the common term for which is *grievances*. In its struggle for the loyalty of the worker, the union will attempt to defend the employee in grievance situations in a manner that will enhance the prestige of the union. Union officials have even been accused of manufacturing grievances on rather flimsy grounds just for the purpose of creating a dynamic atmosphere of controversy that will give the impression that the officers are earning their pay.

Foreman is forgotten man

A recent study of a representative cross-section of unionism in plants revealed that the foreman is still the forgotten man,¹¹ much as he was in the early 1940's. Some of the grievances quite characteristic of that era have not entirely disappeared.

Lack of authority and status. While he was ostensibly a member of management, the foreman felt that he was not given the authority and status that would make him an integral part of the management team. He was left out of consideration in contract negotiations, often being made to look ridiculous because management's concessions to the union contradicted his statements to the workers.

Pay and job security. Pay concessions, particularly relative to overtime for hourly workers, frequently left the supervisor with a take-home envelope smaller than that of those whom he supervised. The supervisors were denied the job security against

¹¹ Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*

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arbitrary treatment that the union afforded rank-and-file workers. Perhaps the foreman's principal grievance during those years of full employment and premium overtime was the feeling that foremen were discriminated against as to pay. The situation was magnified when concessions such as retroactive wage settlements were not accorded to the foremen.

Unionization of foremen. For these reasons, foremen started to unionize themselves, and the movement was progressing successfully when, in 1947, the Taft-Hartley law ruled that employers are not required to bargain collectively with foremen. It is still, however, legal to bargain with them on a voluntary basis.¹²

Must act as coordinative leader. Many progressive managements have begun to realize the importance and difficulty of the foreman's job and are trying to correct the evils of the past and at the same time to provide supervisors with the tools and skills necessary to operate in the new environment. The most casual observer will note that supervisors in a union situation play a role that requires a coordinative type of leadership, as well as tact, patience in consultation and listening, objective fact-finding, and emotional stability. These details of the supervisor's job lead to consideration of the second phase of his collective bargaining duties—the day-to-day administration of the contract at the work level.

Administrative phase of collective bargaining

The factor that perhaps distinguishes the trade union from other types of employee organizations is that the former has organized itself to operate at the work level where it acts as a buffer between supervision and the worker. The reasons why the union has entered the arena of the shop and office are amply set forth as follows:

In practice, under nonunion conditions supervisory authority is frequently misused. At best, supervisors are bound to be influenced by their like or

¹² Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

dislike of individual workers and to make errors of judgment. At worst, the work force becomes a hotbed of intrigue, favoritism, and "shop politics." Workers may be obliged to make regular "gifts" to their foreman as a condition of holding their jobs, and larger gifts for promotions and other favors. Against this sort of thing the individual worker is helpless. He cannot with impunity go over the head of his foreman to higher officials of the company. He can quit the job; but this is a step which most workers, for reasons already noted, are extremely reluctant to take. During depression periods even this recourse is denied to the worker, and he must accept passively whatever treatment his supervisors choose to mete out to him.¹³

The shop steward. The lowest official of the union is usually called the *shop steward*, though he may be referred to as the *shop committeeman* or the *chapel chairman*, as in the printing trades. The shop steward is a worker, often elected by his fellow-workers, who is expected to put in a full day's work for his employer, except for a small amount of time that can be devoted to union business. Stewards vary in their approach to their jobs just as individuals vary in other human activities: some are lazy or energetic, interested or lackadaisical, unassuming or overbearing, truculent, officious or helpful and courteous. Contracts frequently state the amount of time that stewards may devote to union business. Aggressive stewards may tend to abuse this privilege, thus giving rise to tension between the steward and the supervisor. Such a situation is not conducive to discipline in the traditional sense, and the lower supervisors will need the sympathetic understanding and strong backing of their superiors.¹⁴

Dual allegiance. It was pointed out above that the American workingman sees no inconsistency in being loyal both to the company and the union. This means that the old concept of undivided authority, or unity of command, must be modified in day-to-day relations. Relationships cannot be conducted on

¹³ Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁴ John Cameron Aspley and Eugene Whitmore, *The Handbook of Industrial Relations* (Chicago: The Dartnell Press, 1948), pp. 201-202, 258; Clyde E. Dankert, *Contemporary Unionism in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), pp. 423-39.

the basis of standing on each other's rights. There must be a certain give and take. That is why both foreman and steward should know not only what is contained in the contract, but also how to control their emotions and feelings under stress.¹⁵

Consultative leadership on both sides. The situation requires on the part of both the foreman and steward the consultative-coordinative type of leadership that is advocated in subsequent chapters. The pattern of this type of leadership includes listening, counseling, recording, sympathizing, and taking action in an atmosphere of friendly conciliation tempered by sufficient firmness and decisiveness to maintain respect. Such a pattern of behavior runs contrary to traditional concepts of leadership at the work level. To modify the behavior of the lower supervisors along these lines, they must be assured that their superiors not only approve but also give them hour-to-hour and day-to-day backing in their new consultative role.¹⁶

The supervisor has a new role that is characterized by conciliation and consultation with union officials; nevertheless, he should have a well-developed sense of when to stand his ground and say "no." When dealing with the steward, the foreman should conduct himself in a manner that reflects inward strength, even when he is quite aware of lack of power to act. It may even be desirable to take action on moot questions and allow them to be appealed for ultimate settlement. There is nothing that more readily invites disdain in man-to-man relationships than indecision and the type of evasiveness that takes refuge in lack of authority.¹⁷

Decline of the steward. Recent research indicates that the office of shop steward is not as important as it was formerly. People do not want to become stewards. He is often by-passed in the grievance process, acting as a mere messenger boy between officers and members, so the office frequently remains unfilled. Higher union officials may be jealous of the steward,

¹⁵ Selekmán, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁷ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

desiring to take credit unto themselves for settling grievances and getting concessions. Union officers are afraid that a militant steward, by demanding things not provided in the contract,¹⁸ will upset the equilibrium which they maintain with management.

The steward's role. The good supervisor sees that the steward does not abuse the privileges that are set forth in the contract. Thus it is usually stated how much company time may be devoted to union business and other matters, such as whether solicitation of membership and collection of dues may be carried on during working hours. The role of the steward will depend in many cases largely upon the make-up of the individual occupying the office.

Not every steward will be a zealous protector of union rights. However, there will be those who will take advantage of their position to escape responsibility for doing the employer's work. Indeed, there may even be those who will use union business as a subterfuge for doing no work for either the union or the employer. The following advice by Glenn Gardiner would seem appropriate:

Unless specifically provided for, the steward's rights are merely those of other union members. He is subject to the same rules and regulations as to workmanship and conduct. Some stewards seek additional privileges not specifically accorded them in the terms of the union contract. As a rule, however, foremen will be well advised to hold union stewards to the same privileges as are enjoyed by other employees, except for those rights and privileges definitely written into the union contract.¹⁹

Supervisor should adopt a listening attitude. A competent shop steward usually likes to secure the credit for settling a grievance, thus raising the question of the proper action to be taken when an employee approaches a supervisor without consulting a steward. Under these conditions it would seem proper for the supervisor to listen until the employee's story indicates

¹⁸ Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. Courtesy of McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

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whether a matter of interest to the union is involved. If union involvement becomes apparent, the supervisor should call in the steward to listen to the entire story.²⁰

When the steward brings in the grievance himself, he should be given opportunity to present the facts fully. Sympathetic listening will tend to minimize the steward's tendency to exaggerate the gravity of the complaint. On the other hand, evasiveness and curtness will cause the steward to overdo his presentation to compensate for the supervisor's obstructiveness.²¹ The courtesy to be accorded the steward should in no case deprive the supervisor of face-to-face contact with the aggrieved employee. Although it is usually best to listen to complaints with both the employee and the steward present, there is nothing to prevent the supervisor from talking with the employee in private when circumstances seem to justify it. This may serve as a desirable internal check when the steward's demands do not reflect the desires and sentiments of the employee.

Pass information on to union officials. The most satisfactory relationship between supervisors and stewards will be fostered by free and easy communication. There is nothing that incenses union officials more than to receive *ex post facto* notice that a decision has been made, frequently without a hearing.²² Union officials like very much to be "in the know." They regard it as part of their duty to be alert, and a part of their political stock-in-trade is to create in their constituency confidence that the officers are not only on the lookout but just a little bit smarter than the folks on the management side. The lower supervisors must of course be governed in their communicativeness by the policies of their superiors. It nevertheless seems good advice for them to cultivate behavior that is as open and frank as their management environment will permit.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.

²² Paul Pigors, *Effective Communication in Industry*, Lt. Rush Toland Memorial Study No. 1 (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1949), p. 71.

Clinical versus legalistic approach

The lower supervisor operates in a dual capacity: (1) as a buffer between his superiors and the workers, and (2) as a focal point between two different philosophies and approaches to the settlement of industrial disputes. Selekmán has called the former *the clinical approach* and the latter *the legal or juridical approach*.²³ The conflict between these two methodologies runs throughout the social sciences. Familiar examples are to be found in the commitment of the insane, the handling of the juvenile criminal, and more recently, in the area of public health.²⁴

The heart of the clinical approach is that problems of human behavior should be settled on the basis of face-to-face dealings between the principals in matters of abnormal conduct. Thus, the lower supervisors should be encouraged and trained to conduct themselves in such a manner that the greatest number of disputes will be settled between the foreman and the steward at the work level.

The grievance system under collective bargaining has often tended to become more legalistic than clinical in approach. The contracts have often become huge volumes that state in considerable detail the ruling law in industrial situations. The great labor statutes such as the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley law have created rights on the one hand and criminal penalties on the other, and these have resulted in litigation on a large scale. Lawyers have entered into those aspects of collective bargaining that many believe are not strictly of a legal nature.²⁵

²³ Selekmán, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

²⁴ The clinical professions have long tended to advocate abandonment of the legal commitment of the insane and commitments by courts of law in favor of commitment by an administrative clinic of specialists. Juvenile courts in the most advanced states have long been clinics rather than courts, even though they have been manned by legally trained persons. A recent attempt to force the clinical approach by law is advocacy by public health officials that they be given power to compel the treatment of venereal disease.

²⁵ Disputes relative to the right to engage in labor consultation and practice have arisen between lawyers on the one hand and management consultants on the other.

There has thus arisen what Sumner Slichter has termed *industrial jurisprudence*, which is a system of law and legal procedure so widespread and all-pervading that the tenor and spirit of labor relations tends to be juridical in approach.²⁶ Whether this is good or bad is necessarily a matter of opinion.

For our current purposes it seems that the lower supervisors must adapt themselves to the requirements of the legal method, and this resolves itself into securing evidence and recording it in such a manner that it will stand up in court, whether that court be a grievance committee or the Supreme Court of the United States.

The judicial phase

The supervisor's dual personality is again evidenced by the fact that under formal grievance procedure he is a judge of the court of first instance, and a prosecution witness on appeal. It has been advocated above that he act as a clinician in the first instance, as do judges of courts of law when handling juvenile and domestic relations cases. Instead of merely pronouncing judgment as to guilt or innocence, he should attempt to conciliate and settle the dispute, thus obviating the necessity for appeal.²⁷ Perhaps the soundest advice that can be given to a supervisor in this respect is that he should handle all grievance cases from the beginning with the possibility in mind that they may be appealed.

Build the record. This means that he must prepare a careful record, not only in the case of employee grievances, but also where discipline or dismissal may be involved. Advocates of a high degree of management discretion look with considerable distrust and regret upon this legalistic approach to personnel relations. However, the matter has now arrived beyond the philosophic stage and become accomplished fact. Employees are now in a position where they can appeal a large number

²⁶ Sumner H. Slichter, *Union Policies and Industrial Management* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1941), pp. 1-8.

²⁷ Chapter 20 deals with formal grievance procedure in some detail.

of management decisions that affect them personally. The result is that supervisors must be in a position to present the type of evidence that will stand up ultimately in a court of law, because labor cases can be, and often are, appealed to courts of law. This is one of the principal reasons for the requirement that all grievances be originally presented in writing.

Obtain/and preserve the evidence; marshal witnesses. In cases handled under a system of personnel jurisprudence, the supervisor not only is a witness himself but also must marshal the testimony of others. Often fellow-employees are reluctant to testify because of fear that they might become involved in unpleasant recriminations by fellow-workers or management. Thus, the good supervisor usually finds it necessary to keep some sort of record of incidents. This sort of thing is distasteful to many people, not only because of their aversion to keeping records but also because employee groups frown upon the maintenance of any type of record that will reflect adversely upon fellow-employees. As long as personnel administration continues to become ever more judicial in nature, however, there seems to be no alternative to training line supervisors to prepare careful records that will stand up as evidence at hearings. It will be seen, then, that the second and third phases of collective bargaining are very closely allied as far as the line supervisor is concerned. While attempting to settle amicably those disputes that come to him in the first instance, he must also be preparing for the possibility that he will become both prosecutor and witness if his decision is appealed. Thus, he must act as a friendly conciliator, pouring oil on troubled waters, while preparing to present the same type of air-tight legal testimony that prosecuting attorneys and policemen present in courts of criminal law. This analogy may be startling; nevertheless, it is realistic.

The governmental supervisor

The view is widely held that the pattern of industrial collective bargaining cannot be applied to governmental employment. The issue is one that generates considerable heat and

great diversity of opinion.²⁸ An exploration of these issues and controversies would require time and space beyond the immediate purposes of this chapter. The task at hand is to determine whether the behavior advocated for the line supervisor under collective bargaining is applicable to governmental supervisors. This cannot be done without stating one's own opinion as to what the situation should be.

Nature of the activity. Whether there should be collective bargaining in a given organization should be determined not upon the basis of whether it is governmentally or privately owned but by the nature of the activity itself.²⁹ Public employees on all levels of government have been at least partially organized for many decades. However, the conditions of a union shop have not usually prevailed except in isolated situations where the conditions of work approximate traditional craft unionism, as in the Government Printing Office and the building trades. White-collar employees have tended to join a multiplicity of their own organizations, usually not affiliated with the trade union movement. Thus, any attempt to inaugurate collective bargaining would be confronted with the fact that, instead of a single union, management would have to deal with several.³⁰ At least partially because of this fact, organizations of governmental employees have operated at the policy and legislative level rather than at the work level. In other words,

²⁸ There is an extensive literature upon unionism among governmental employees. The issues are well-posed in Gordon Clapp, Chairman, *Employee Relations in the Public Service* (Chicago: Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1942), and Sterling D. Spero, *Government as Employer* (New York: Remsen Press, 1948).

²⁹ This coincides with the author's interpretation of Leonard D. White's position in "Strikes in the Public Service," *Public Personnel Review*, Vol. 10 (January 1949), pp. 3-10.

³⁰ The point has been made that many industrial firms must bargain with a multiplicity of unions, some firms having scores of separate contracts. However, the situation is somewhat different in that business firms are usually dealing with a single union for each of the functional groups, such as pharmacists, plumbers, machinists, linemen, printers, and musicians. In government, where white-collar tasks predominate, members of several employee organizations may be working in a single room, while as many more employees may belong to none.

their principal activity has been lobbying, and at this they have often been successful.

Hence, public employee organizations usually have not been organized to act as buffers in the day-to-day contacts of supervisors with workers. This situation is changing, however, with the result that the shop steward is appearing on the governmental scene. This is particularly true in areas of governmental employment where large numbers of low-salaried, unskilled workers have occupations similar to those of workers in the industrial unions. These are, as a rule, occupations that characteristically pay a subsistence wage, such as hospital attendant or janitor. In public utilities, such as electric power and urban transit, that are municipally owned, similar conditions may be found. With the unionization of white-collar and office workers spreading in the field of private employment,³¹ it seems not unreasonable to believe that the collective bargaining pattern developed there will follow into government after time lag.

Government supervisor deals with union representatives. The conclusion is that the pattern of behavior advocated earlier in this chapter for the supervisor under industrial unionism is not inapplicable to the supervisor in government. The latter will usually have to deal with union representatives from time to time, even though he is not operating in a union shop. Moreover, the civil service system has long been based upon that type of personnel jurisprudence that is becoming so characteristic of unionized industry. The governmental supervisor must be prepared to defend his actions in a public hearing in an ever-expanding area of activities. Finally, the governmental supervisor will be increasingly confronted in the years to come with the unionization of his employees. It is believed that if he follows the advice contained in this chapter he will emerge with credit

³¹ *Collective Bargaining in the Office*, Research Report No. 12 (New York: American Management Association, 1948) and *Survey of Personnel Practices in Unionized Offices*, Research Report No. 13 (New York: American Management Association, 1949).

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and dignity from those irritating situations that inevitably occur when the union enters an organization.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by *dual loyalty*?
2. What are the three phases of personnel administration wherein the supervisor deals with the union?
3. What three basic problem-solving situations often develop around the lower supervisors in a unionized shop?
4. Why is the foreman sometimes referred to as the forgotten man?
5. Describe the status and duties of a shop steward.
6. What procedures, in general, should a supervisor follow in the handling of complaints and grievances?
7. How are complaints and grievances handled in public administration?

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6

Human aspects of internal checks

THE word *control* has come to be associated with the flow of information about the current status of operations and production. This was touched upon briefly in chapter 3 in the discussion of concepts of organization.

There is another aspect of control generally referred to as *internal checks*. Effective organization requires a system that will automatically discover errors, whether made by machines or men. The system will also send up danger signals and initiate corrective action.

This is based upon the same principle as *feedback*, the discovery of which has made automation possible. When an error occurs, production stops automatically, as the result of electronic controls. The error is corrected, and production resumes without human intervention.

In the sense it is used here, feedback consists of communicat-

ing results and achievements, the sender being the actual *doer*, the receiver being the one who directs or supervises and who can make corrections if results are not as expected. Wiener¹ has compared the management organism to the human or animal body, the brain being the control center. Impulses are constantly going from all parts of the body to the brain. If the stomach says, "I need more blood," the brain has it delivered.

The corresponding situation in management exists when up-to-the minute performance data are constantly sent to the control center where corrective action can be taken, either by the volition of a human being who issues a corrective order or in automation by an electronic cell which stops the machine, takes corrective action, and starts it again.

Human error

The internal checks referred to below really constitute feedback as applied to the factor of human error. They seek to prevent error in the first place; but if error takes place, it is detected before harm is done, and corrective steps are taken. In one case, the machines are subject to error; in the other, human beings.

What are some checks? Some of the most common types of internal checks include the various forms of inspection, reporting, and auditing. Such checks are not possible without the planned work flow which makes possible checking and the definite placing of responsibility. Internal checks constitute an integral phase of the process of organizing.

Resistance to checking. Some resistance to internal checks may be expected, but this can be overcome if communication has taken place. If the reasons are explained, reasonable people will readily understand the need to guard against human error. Furthermore, they will accept checking if it is applied to all alike and if it becomes a regular phase of operating procedure rather than being irregularly applied to suspected individuals.

¹ Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954).

Indulgency pattern

The attitude toward controls and internal checks will depend upon what the organization is accustomed to. In general, if laxity toward the enforcement of regulations prevails, a sudden attempt to become stricter will meet with resistance. This was the situation in a gypsum mill and mine.²

The old management had been lax and lenient, allowing an "indulgency pattern" to grow up. Tardiness went unnoticed; workers were permitted to wander off the job without accounting for their time; men set their own work pace, and pressure for production was unknown. There was no attempt to "load" jobs in order to require the full time of workers, who therefore had free time which they regarded as their own to use as they pleased. The taking of company property for private use was not only tolerated but regarded as a job perquisite.

The top management of the company, located elsewhere, sought to change the situation when a new manager was sent in from the outside. Among the measures taken to break the indulgency pattern were daily and weekly reports from supervisors on production results, accidents, and breakdowns. Restrictions were placed on freedom of movement, talking, and horseplay. Disciplinary measures were formalized by the production of a written warning notice.

The point to be emphasized in this connection is that many of the measures taken are standard practice in well-run organizations. They were resisted in this case because they constituted an attempt from the outside to change overnight the socially approved behavior.

Honesty

Operations involving the handling of money or access to merchandise and supplies are always subjected to a variety of running checks. If they were not, the losses would perhaps be greater than the percentage of profit. It may come as a shock

² Alvin W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954).

to people-minded persons that dishonesty is an almost universal phenomenon.³ People in the business world have always known this, and those enterprises that have continued to operate have taken steps to control temptation. It is interesting to note that recent sociological research has recognized this problem and has given experimental validity to the experiences and hunches of the businessman.⁴

It should be emphasized that the taking of money or goods by a worker from his employer is not confined to persons of the criminal class. Indeed, the study just mentioned found that most of the offenders were unmarried girls from sixteen to nineteen years of age, in many cases from good homes.⁵ It should be emphasized that internal checks are not designed primarily to thwart a handful of habitual thieves who elude the personnel department at the employment portals, but to help respectable, God-fearing, normal citizens of the community to resist temptation.⁶ Furthermore, the stealing of cash and merchandise is not a product of dire need, poverty, and subsistence wages.⁷ It is due, among other things, to the desire for luxuries, the need to keep up with one's neighbors, an absence of frugality in other members of the family, or to gambling. A part of the problem is our inaccurate definition of the word "theft." Many people who swear that they "have never stolen anything" will readily admit taking hotel stationery. Employees feel that they have free access to small items and services. They may take their cues from bosses who have no qualms about using company property or asking subordinates to do personal jobs on company time.

³ Some recent studies in this area are: Donald R. Cressey, *Other People's Money* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953); National Industrial Conference Board, "Industrial Theft Control: A Survey of Company Practices," *The Management Review*, Vol. 44 (April 1955), pp. 249-50.

⁴ Duncan Grant Morrison, "Dishonesty Among Store Clerks," *Sociology and Social Research* (September-October, 1948), Vol. 33, pp. 25-32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁶ My early experience in the marketing of petroleum products and my years of intimate contacts with municipal officials have verified this. Pilfering tank-wagon agents and absconding city treasurers have usually been persons without criminal records, often with quite responsible family connections.

⁷ Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

The best approach to the dishonesty problem is to recognize it quite frankly and approach it from the standpoint that in business there are dishonest situations rather than dishonest people. Even though the concept has no validity, it has value from the standpoint of internal morale and public relations.

Workers should be told quite frankly that their work is being checked; that business establishments find this is necessary because there are always people who will take advantage of laxity. It should be said that internal checks are operated constantly and with impartiality, being directed at situations rather than at individuals. Furthermore, employees can be told that because checks provide proof of honesty as well as of transgression, they are for everyone's protection. The types of internal checks to control dishonesty are manifold and vary with the situation and task; however, they have several things in common.

In the first place, the universal management principle of undivided responsibility must prevail. There must be some one person who can be held accountable for property and money.

Second, there must be a record that cannot be altered. This usually takes the form of an original copy with a series of carbon duplicates, all bearing the identical serial number, so that if one is altered or lost the others remain as originally prepared. The system usually provides that these carbon copies go to different places and offices, so that tampering would require their interception along several different routes. Thus, copies of a department store sales slip go to the credit department, the statistical department, the customer, and perhaps to others. A traffic officer's citation book has carbon copies for the city comptroller, the traffic court, and police headquarters. In each of these instances, a copy also remains in the books of the sales clerk and the officer.

The third universal phase of internal checks is that of constant auditing by someone who is organizationally independent of the operator. The term *audit* here is used not only in the sense applying to accounting but also to a wide variety of double checking. Thus, it is common practice that the person paying out or receiving money shall not be the one who determines the amount. For

instance, the applicant for a business license applies at one window where the receipt form is made out and sent by pneumatic tube to the cashier's window. There the applicant presents his stub, pays his bill, and receives his license. This double checking goes on constantly and periodically in all establishments handling cash and property. Thus, the totals on the cash register tape must correspond with the contents of the cash drawer. The contents of underground gasoline tanks must balance out with the sales as recorded mechanically by the pumps. In order to maintain the system of double checks, some organizations have found it desirable to break up collusion by periodically transferring or rotating individuals who have to check on one another.

Taking property for personal use is fairly general where employees use items and articles that they can transport upon their persons without immediate or obvious detection. Department stores have had to establish parcel check-out systems and door guards at exits. Hospitals offer one of the most vexing environments in three separate activities: the handling of patients' personal property, the control of narcotics, and the access to linens and groceries. One of the principal problems offered in narcotics is the fact that dummy pills can be substituted for the real thing, with the result that the count remains accurate.

Large public institutions handling indigents and insane persons have found it necessary to check in the clothing and personal belongings of entering patients, have the count authenticated by two separate attendants and, if possible, by the patient himself, and then to place it under lock and key in a storage place that is the responsibility of only one person. The pilfering of linens and supplies can be controlled only by tight organization, administration, and supervision combined with accurate records and constant checking and inventory. The fact that normally honest people engage in this type of pilfering is attributable to the type of management laxity that gives the widespread impression that a reasonable amount of taking is condoned by management.

Morrison's study of dishonesty among store clerks indicated

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the following as being the most effective means of lessening or eliminating dishonest practices:

Give each clerk, whether full or part time, a complete training program emphasizing the store's policy toward customers and clerks.

Explain fully the checking system used and why it is used.

Emphasize and use the positive side of the shopping report.

Praise as well as censure on the basis of the report.

Insist on a strict routine being followed at all times.

Warn the clerks about borrowing. Assure them that the firm is behind them and will aid in any temporary financial need.

Be above board and fair with the clerks.

If any irregularity occurs, treat it as an irregularity. Don't brand the clerk as a criminal.

Be lenient even with confessed dishonest clerks. Give them a chance to make restitution, but check them continually. Tell them you are doing so.

If they don't respond to this treatment, get a full case and bring them to trial if possible. If this is impossible, fire them anyway.

Avoid every possible opportunity for dishonesty.⁸

Paper check on work load

Because the subject of work loads and standards is tremendously complex, attention will be directed primarily at the paper checking-devices that are used for informing supervisors about the work being carried on. The first truism about such records is that, in general, the people who have to prepare them do not like them, at least in the beginning. This may arise from many elusive causes, but three stand out very prominently. *First*, people do not like to be checked upon at all, and they rebel against preparing a record that may constitute a report of success, mediocrity, or failure. *Second*, most of us do not like to write and make out reports, especially when it must be done after a hard day's work. *Third*, most people do not write easily, even the educated ones, and many of those who prepare the basic

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

records of any organization are barely literate. The result is that those who wish to place on written record the continuous results of operations face the disheartening task of overcoming mass inertia.

It should be said parenthetically, however, that the new data-processing machines are in some respects reducing the necessity for operating people to write. An example is offered by IBM's new "mark sense" data card, whereon the information is indicated by special graphite pencil instead of punched holes. The pencil marks are made by the shop clerk or supervisor at the scene of operations, thus eliminating the key-punch operation. It has the further virtue of involving the shop socially and ideologically in the control and communication process.

These negative factors should not be regarded as controlling. All successful organizations have found it necessary to make records of accomplishment, to be used for purposes of supervision and control. These usually take the form of a statistical report based upon original records made out at the production levels and passed on up the supervisory hierarchy. In merchandising, the sales slip is almost universal as an example of this basic record. The foremen in factories prepare production reports; operators of motor vehicles turn in mileage records that frequently designate routes and stops. In public administration, the basic records are the arrest and investigation reports made by policemen, attendance reports at playgrounds, and reports on school attendance. These basic data are summarized for purposes of supervisory and management control into master reports that give the type of tactical and strategic information that the chief desires. Thus, the sales manager will have information that shows how sales compare with those for at least one previous year. The metropolitan chief of police will find on his desk each morning a statistical report showing the crime situation for a previous 24-hour period. These reports, of course, will be cumulative; that is, they will give weekly, monthly, and annual comparisons.

Gardner has indicated that industrial foremen try to adjust their output and earnings record to a "straight-line" or a level

without violent fluctuations.⁹ They have learned that such a practice will be the safest, will avoid the necessity for explanations, and will circumvent embarrassing questions. This is based upon the almost universal phenomenon that variation from the norm calls for explanation. Traffic policemen will tend to issue a number of citations not too great to call down the wrath of the motoring public, yet large enough to satisfy their superiors. Pressure is often placed upon policemen to turn in a certain number of "shakedown" reports based upon interrogation of suspicious persons encountered while on patrol. Experience indicates that when the pressure becomes too strong, these reports may be faked by using either fictitious names or those secured at random from sources such as the telephone directory. The lesson to be learned from this is that there is a normal tendency to regulate both reports and production to approximate a figure that will satisfy the expectations of one's superiors and to avoid setting a standard that cannot be maintained with comfort either by one's self or one's fellow workers.

It is probable that the type of report that arouses more opposition than any other is the summary diary of a day's performance. Many sales organizations require salesmen in the field to fill out a rather elaborate daily report that contains not only a recapitulation of the sales consummated, but also a listing of the prospective customers called upon and other information, such as travel time, route, and mileage. Other organizations have experimented with the *ad-lib.* chronological diary of the day's activities as exemplified by the following, taken from reports made by a ranger in the United States Forest Service.

8 A.M.—8:30 A.M.

Miscellaneous office routine and telephone calls.

8:30 A.M.—9:30 A.M.

This hour spent on revision of patrol schedules and estimating mileage needed to comply with Fire Replanning.

⁹ Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Mocre, *Human Relations in Industry*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1950), p. 184.

9:30 A.M.—11:00 A.M.

Fire Control Assistant D—called, and time was spent discussing funds available for guard's mileage and travel required to meet plans of patrol in Fire Replanning.

11:00 A.M.—12:00 NOON

This hour was spent with public calling for information and in the issuing of burning and fire-use permits.

1:00 P.M.—1:30 P.M.

Conferred with Dr. S— of E— Lake Canyon Tract concerning flood control project to prevent damage during future highwater to special-use cabins. Mr. B— called concerning improvements on a mining claim.

1:30 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Left headquarters, going to S— Substation of E— Company to arrange for field inspection of transmission lines. Returned to headquarters at 3:30 P.M.

3:30 P.M.—4:30 P.M.

Reading informative publications.

4:30 P.M.—5:00 P.M.

Reading and disposing of mail received.

As indicated in a previous chapter, the information in such diaries has many uses, among them the budgeting of the time of people in supervisory positions in that organization. It applies only to persons who spend a considerable proportion of their time in the field and not to those who are primarily office workers. This type of record is not easily introduced and will be resisted by an organization that does not see some immediate usefulness. I personally know of one engineering organization where it failed. Any success achieved in the Forest Service accrues from the policy of gradual adoption and the universal management training program that has characterized the Forest Service to a greater degree than most civilian public organizations.

Many organizations provide a daily report form to be filled in by operatives who work in the field and are remote from direct supervision. These forms are frequently printed with boxes and spaces for specific types of data and probably fur-

nish in the final analysis the same type of information sought in the anecdotal diary previously quoted. Such reports usually contain automobile information and have further objectives: the control of expense and some check upon the efficiency of travel planning. There may be a column for listing the institutions and addresses of persons upon whom calls were made. The form may call for classifying the call under specific categories; a public health nurse, for example, might classify her calls under headings such as social hygiene, maternal, or child hygiene.

There are certain types of records that are protective in nature from the purely legal viewpoint because they may be offered in court as evidence, not only for purposes of protection but as proof of violation. Law enforcement officers and inspectors who step upon the property of others or who invade what the citizen regards as his inviolable domain of personal liberty should build a record that will justify their actions. The traffic officer asks the motorist to sign the citation, not as an evidence of guilt, but to authenticate the fact that the charge was made personally to the alleged offender.

An employee receiving a formal notice of unsatisfactory service is requested to sign the form which reports the interview. This signature is not a confession of guilt but for purposes of authentication. If the employee refuses to sign, the fact that the interview was held, that the supervisor and employee were present, and that the latter was informed of the charges against him are attested to by the signature of another supervisor either present at the original interview or called in for the purpose.

A favorite defense of those who would escape dismissal proceedings or avoid legal action is to declare that they were not informed of their derelictions or that they did not receive written notice as alleged. A familiar device for authenticating delivery and receipt is the red acknowledgment card that the recipient signs upon the delivery of registered mail. Civil service utilizes this type of documentary evidence in hearings where it may be alleged that the employee was not informed of the charges against him.

Almost all agencies that render a service to individuals, or in which people are the primary objective of operations, utilize a case history type of record. This is true of all medical institutions, from the thousand-bed hospital to the private office of the individual physician and dentist. Case histories also form an integral part of the professional or technical procedures in social work, public health nursing, and police administration.

In personnel administration, the employee's folder or dossier will constitute a case history if properly maintained. It should be said in this connection, however, that there is strong sentiment against perpetually maintaining the records of counseling interviews. The American sentiment in favor of individual freedom is so strong that it discourages the intermingling of damaging information with normal personnel records. This probably accounts for the fact that case records are ordinarily considered confidential and are not available for public scrutiny, particularly hospital, medical, and juvenile delinquency records.

Case records constitute internal checks from several standpoints. It is assumed that some supervisor will constantly peruse the case records for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are adequately prepared, whether the professional quality of service is being maintained, and to check on work load. The supervisor can also utilize the case history for training purposes in periodical conferences with individual workers.¹⁰ Case histories also serve the purpose of protecting both the organization and individual workers against charges of malpractice and dereliction of duties.

Scheduling

Most experienced and successful supervisors, when asked to discuss the factors entering into good supervision, will give high rating to the maintenance of a steady and optimum work load. One of the most useful tools, both in arriving at what constitutes an optimum work load and in maintaining it, is pre-planned scheduling. In manufacturing, such scheduling usually

¹⁰ Violet H. Hodgson, *Supervision in Public Health Nursing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 215-16.

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takes the form of determining the relative time at which each operation or event will take place. It is largely a matter of providing the flow of materials, the arrangement of machines and tools, and setting the time for the various applications of manpower.

This same principle of scheduling can be used in many office operations.¹¹ Scheduling of routes for those who travel is a very common practice. Public utilities route meter readers in rotation by months and days, their production being articulated with the preparation and mailing of accounts by the office force. Postal authorities are constantly studying routes followed by mail carriers and adjusting them to variations in work load. The same is true of routes followed by municipal public works departments in picking up garbage and trash. The latter involves a public relations angle because the householders will be disappointed if collection is not made on the specified day.

The advantage of scheduling and routing is that such practices force both supervision and workers to consider the question of what constitutes a reasonable or optimum work load. How many meters can a man be expected to read in a day? What are the factors entering into the determination of a mail carrier's route? Why do important documents pile up on a particular desk? How many cases can a probation officer carry efficiently, and how often should he visit each one?

The fact of scheduling stimulates people to think in terms of standards because the schedule has to be stated from the standpoint of standards. There will normally be differences of opinion between management and the worker, yet worker resistance can be reduced by using the conference and the participative approach to scheduling.

There are numerous scheduling devices, the important element of all being communication to the worker of what is expected. A familiar graphic device is the Gantt chart, which

¹¹ Mary Cushing Niles and Henry E. Niles, *The Office Supervisor* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1935), pp. 209-21; L. E. Isaacson, *Recent Advances in Office Practice—A Schedule Board for Clerical Control*, Office Management Series No. 91 (New York: American Management Association, 1940), p. 37.

depicts graphically just what is expected. Horizontal bars are set opposite vertical columns of things scheduled to be produced. Progress to date is indicated by a neighboring bar with contrasting hatching. Thus, a Gantt chart is used to schedule the planting and harvesting of vegetables on a large California farm where vegetable production is a year-round operation. The same institution also has a Gantt chart depicting the coordinated planting and harvesting of flowers and bulbs.¹² The meter reader's loose-leaf book has a separate page for each customer, and on this is shown successive readings. Because the sheets are arranged in the order to be followed and the expected production for each day is known, the rendering of bills will recur automatically each month. The facts of scheduling are sometimes communicated by a large bulletin board located in the shop or office where it will attract the most attention. Scheduling is not an isolated process; rather, it is a phase of all other management control devices, such as job analysis, definition of task and duty, and definite setting of authority and responsibility.

Checking for accuracy

Many operations have a normal probability of error great enough to justify some sort of double check. Perhaps the most universal example is proofreading. Engineering plans are always double checked by other engineers as a matter of course; and because of possible failures during earthquakes and floods, California law requires that plans for dams and schools be checked by state engineers in many instances. Clerical work often requires some checking,¹³ but in this checking there are at least two human factors that must be considered. The first is the almost instinctive resentment that people have toward even the most reasonable invasion of their own little domains. They may tend to regard even routine checking as personal criticism. The second is the natural result of the management technician's

¹² Henry L. Gantt and Wallace Clark, *The Gantt Chart: A Working Tool of Management* (London: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 1938).

¹³ Niles and Niles, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-208.

tendency to overlook the human factor and give the checking a metallic and harsh ring.

The remedy lies not in the excessive multiplication of checks. There is evidence that the law of decreasing returns sets in not only because of increased cost per error discovered but also because of the human tendency of individuals to become more lax when it is known that the system will find the errors. The proper way to meet the situation lies in the familiar old credos of delegation and job description on the one hand and participation on the other.

People should be led to understand why accuracy is necessary, that normal, and even exceptional, human beings are prone to err, both as to judgment and in routine matters. They should be informed of the deleterious consequences of such errors and should be impressed with the desirability of reducing them to a minimum. Efforts to secure acceptance of checking as a routine matter should avoid any implication that criticism is directed toward individuals. Emphasis should be placed upon prevention and training; check and double-check should become so thoroughly integrated into operations that they blend imperceptibly into the social organization. They become the natural and unquestioned thing to do.

So much has been said elsewhere in this volume about delegation and job description that here they will be mentioned only as means toward securing natural and easy internal checks. In the first place, checks will be better accepted if it is known that management policy requires and expects them. Hence, the principal internal checks should be written, coupled with definition of who is to check and who is to be checked. Delegation should be accompanied by internal checks, which, if properly articulated and reported, will furnish the supervisor with the information he could otherwise acquire only by constantly peering over shoulders. Supervisors do not have to be omnipresent in order to be aware of what goes on. Well-ordered management checks will accomplish the same purpose without damaging morale. When the checking system is accompanied by the type

of leadership that makes employees want to avoid error and derelictions, they will not only support the system but will supplement it with one of their own.

Inspection

There are three broad types of inspection: (1) physical product, as in factory production; (2) open inspection of persons and services, as in the military; and (3) undercover or "gumshoe" inspection to detect irregularity.

It is now generally accepted that inspection of the product should be carried on by someone outside the line of command of the shop organization. The inspection should not be subject to the orders of the production supervisors.

An interesting case occurred in a paper mill where, under the collective bargaining contract, the inspectors were required to be members of the union.¹⁴ This went along all right during the seller's market of World War II; but after the war, customer complaints began to come in. Upon investigation it was found that the inspectors were reluctant to crack down on the slipshod work of union members. When the facts were laid before the union they agreed to relinquish jurisdiction over the inspectors who were given management responsibility for the quality of the product. Customers' complaints ceased immediately.

Statistical sampling. A considerable proportion of manufacturing inspection is carried on by statistical sampling. A chart shows a curve depicting tolerances of error. In some shops these charts are posted where the operatives can see the trend of the actual achievement curve as against the curve showing the tolerances permitted.

Inspection of services. In the Swedish telephone system there was formerly a functional supervisor who listened in on the switchboard operators without the girls' knowing about it. A

¹⁴ Clark Kerr and Roger Randall, *Crown Zellerback and the Pacific Coast Pulp and Paper Industry*, Case Study No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1948), p. 19.

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change to line supervision was also accompanied by a system wherein a special light burned so that the girls could know when they were being listened in on. The girls liked the new system better and thought that they were being watched much less, even though the time spent by the floor supervisor in listening was actually greater. This means that people will accept personal inspection if (1) they know it is being done and (2) if it becomes a part of normal operations procedure carried out by their own supervisor.¹⁵

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by *feedback* and what is its relation to management control?
2. What are some typical internal checks? What are some justifications for them?
3. Why did the social organization resist the new management at the gypsum mill?
4. What types of internal checks are recommended to control dishonesty?
5. What problems are encountered in maintaining paper checks on work load?
6. How can preplanned scheduling be used to maintain optimum work load?
7. What are the three broad types of inspection?
8. What does the Swedish telephone case reveal about how to carry on inspection?

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¹⁵ Gunnar Westerlund, *Behavior in a Work Situation with Functional Supervision and with Group Leaders* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1952), p. 233.

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7

Human aspects of work simplification

THE scientific management movement originated by Frederick W. Taylor and continued by his enthusiastic disciples has always been the subject of controversy among social-minded persons. The record is quite clear that labor, either organized or unorganized, has usually looked upon work improvement methods as inimical to its best interest.

Objective evidence of this is furnished by the famous congressional hearing which treated Taylor in much the same manner that suspected communists are treated before the investigating committees of today, the chief difference being that Taylor talked volubly. The verbatim record of this hearing, running into several volumes, is interesting source material for

a history of management.¹ One result was the enactment of legislation restricting the use of stop watches in governmental establishments as well as by contractors furnishing munitions to the War and Navy departments.²

Resistance to change

Fear of job loss. There are several very understandable reasons why workers intuitively object to work measurement and technological change. Perhaps the principal motivation is the fear that if the job is completed too quickly, or if it can be done with fewer workers, unemployment will result. It is a matter of perpetual controversy as to whether improved procedures actually create unemployment.

The conservative engineering and business viewpoint is that technological change does not create unemployment but actually makes additional jobs if scientific progress and economic law are permitted to pursue their normal courses and are unhindered by legislative handicaps. Those who differ might admit this to be true for the long run, but they would add that the workingman has learned from the suffering of experience that machines and improved production processes have in fact deprived him of jobs.

Desire for security. There is also the universal human longing for security (discussed in Chapter 13). People do not want to have the even tenor of their lives disturbed by learning new ways of performing their work. This is as true of supervisors as of production workers. Complete changes mean that the supervisor will have to alter his habits and thinking as well as put forth greater effort at the time of installation and change-over. Skilled workers are fearful that technological change will make

¹ Frank Barkeley Copley, *Frederick W. Taylor, Father of Scientific Management*, Vol. II (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923), p. 346 ff. For the type of utterance then quite prevalent, consult *Congressional Record*, Vol. 53, Appendix, Parts 1-13, 64th Congress, 1st Session, "Exit the Stop Watch," Extension of Remarks of Hon. Clyde H. Tavenner of Illinois, In the House of Representatives, Friday, August 8, 1916 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 1817-26.

² These restrictions have now been removed.

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their skills obsolete and thus deprive them of both the status and premium pay commonly appertaining to artisanship. How this has happened in the shoe manufacturing industry is vividly portrayed in the Yankee City studies.³

Supervisors also resist change. The aversion toward studies aimed at improvement of methods prevails in the white collar and clerical branches and is not uncommon among those in management and supervisory positions. Human organizations tend to become static because of the desire to preserve vested interests.

High status people often insecure. Persons in positions of authority are often just as insecure as those performing more humble tasks, the casualty ratio among industrial executives being much greater than commonly supposed. Whether in high or low positions, people are often apprehensive about their status in the organization, and such apprehension is reflected in their resistance to change, which they fear may demand effort and performance beyond their competence or willingness to deliver.

As organizations grow older, senior members tend to build up areas of autonomy around which they erect fences that effectively bar the prying eyes of the methods-improvement men. This phenomenon, though not absent in private industries, is especially prevalent in many government organizations. For elective financial officers in state and local government it is a defense mechanism—a smokescreen to cover their personal or technical inadequacy. Elsewhere I have indicated that in times of prosperity, organizations can afford to overlook overstaffing and similar situations that would demand economy in times of stress.⁴

Work simplification programs that seek to stimulate the participation of rank-and-file workers often encounter the resistance

³ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory—The Strike: A Social Analysis*, Vol. IV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 66–89.

⁴ John M. Pfiffner, "When Organizations 'Go Soft,'" *Personnel*, Vol. 23 (May 1947), pp. 374–83.

of the lower supervisors. The two principal reasons for such opposition are fear that their own shortcomings will be revealed and apprehension that subordinates will attract attention that will be to the disadvantage of the supervisor.

Don't rock the boat. Human organizations tend to resent and isolate those who demonstrate superior intellectual or technical competence. Informal groups find ways and means of disciplining those who indulge in intellectual criticism of the way things are done. Since normal drift in organizations is toward stability and equilibrium, the drive for constantly greater production and achievement must come from the top. The lower supervisors are human and, therefore, vulnerable to the natural inertia and resistance to change characteristic of men when they become cogs in large-scale organizations. In defense of his own security and personal equilibrium, the supervisor resents a display of brilliancy on the part of a subordinate. If the latter is credited with suggesting a means of simplifying work and reducing costs, the supervisor tends to think that, because he did not think of the idea himself, he has been criticized by implication. Often the supervisor tries to protect himself in these instances by criticizing and minimizing the value of the idea when the employee first presents it to him; later the same supervisor may present the concept to his superiors as his own brainchild. This has the effect, often deliberately planned, of discouraging employees from suggesting improvements and putting in their place those intellectuals too bright for the comfort of their superiors.

Introduction of change

How not to do it. Some new machinery was being introduced into a factory making gypsum wallboard. There had been no consultation with the union, supervisors, or employees. It was a unilateral move on the part of management to force greater productive efficiency. Both the foremen and workers resisted the change, believing it to be a speed-up. The foreman in charge refused to run the machine at its potential speed because that

would have deprived him of the opportunity to make up for loss in case of breakdown. He wanted some production leeway to play with in emergency.

But perhaps the chief bone of contention was a driving, cursing functional supervisor who travelled from plant to plant to supervise the installation of new machines. He took over the leadership from the regular foremen who became workers during this learning period, a fact which raised an issue of breach of contract with the union.

The functional supervisor was trying to reduce the change-over time from one type of board to another from twenty minutes to four minutes, as in other plants. However, the machinery which received the product had not been modernized along with that which produced it. There was constant tension. Old foremen were replaced for failure to fall in line with the new drive for efficiency. Upward communication was blocked, and the result was a wildcat strike.⁵ It should be mentioned in passing that this was only one of the causes of the strike; nevertheless, it is a good example of how not to introduce technological change.

Overcoming opposition

The first and fundamental thing to be understood is that no approach to securing the acceptance of change will be successful unless it is understood that opposition and resistance are usually based on emotion and sentiment. Thus, a purely intellectual approach to the overcoming of resistance will usually achieve only minimum results. The employees must be made to feel that their status, tenure, and income will be maintained, insofar as possible, until they can adjust themselves to new techniques or new jobs. Moreover, management and supervisors must appreciate the sentiments and fears of employees regarding technological change and give them considerate treatment. The fears should be allayed by positive emotional appeals

⁵ Alvin W. Gouldner, *Wildcat Strike* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1954).

that give evidence of top management's appreciation of the human factors involved.

These can take the form of advance notice of changes, consultation on proposed methods when new techniques are introduced, and patience and encouragement in teaching new methods. It has also been discovered that employees will respond when it is shown that proposed changes will be for the welfare of the organization as a whole. In other words, communication and candor will reduce opposition that otherwise might thrive on secretiveness and arbitrary imposition from above.⁶

Job methods training

A method used very widely during World War II was supervisory training that emphasized work simplification and methods improvement. The industrial effort was supervised by an organization known as Training within Industry. This organization developed brief standardized training courses that aimed at summarizing what experience seemed to indicate was good in both the human and methods aspects of supervisory training. The two courses that bear directly on this subject, job instructor training and job methods training, were administered to many thousands of supervisors both in industry and government.

Job analysis

The basic approach to all these efforts takes the form of leading the supervisor to do his own homemade job analysis. The procedure in supervisory training courses almost invariably consists of stimulating the trainees to assume a questioning attitude toward every detail of the work under their supervision. Thus Job Methods Training of World War II developed a four-step plan as follows:

⁶ John W. Riegel, *Management, Labor and Technological Change* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942), pp. 82-100.

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Step I: Break the Job Down

1. Complete breakdown into details (everything that is done) —differs from JIT breakdown where only *important steps* are noted.

Step II: Question Every Detail

1. *Why* is a detail necessary?
2. *What* is its purpose?
3. *Where* should it be done?
4. *When* should it be done?
5. *Who* is best qualified to do it?
6. *How* is the best way to do it?

In that order question each detail completely.

Step III: Develop the New Method

1. Eliminate unnecessary details (usually answered by *why?* and *what?* Step II).
2. Combine and rearrange details (usually through *where?* *when?* *who?* Step II).
3. Simplify all necessary details (*how?* Step II).

Step IV: Apply the New Method

1. Tell the proposal to the boss.
2. Tell the new method to the operators.
3. Get final approval of all concerned (safety, quality, quantity, cost).
4. Put the new method to work.
5. Give credit where credit is due.

Participation

This bringing of job analysis to the line supervisor is of comparatively recent practice, although the vocational education people have advocated it for decades.⁷ The early job analysts in both industry and government were staff people who often tended to assume an attitude of aloofness toward the line. Time and motion study and rate-setting were regarded as intricate technical processes that could be understood only by industrial engineers. Although this fundamental attitude still prevails,

⁷ See, for example, the writings of Charles R. Allen, especially *The Foreman and His Job* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1922), p. 137 ff.

many industries make gestures toward placating the natural curiosity that workers have about the way in which rates are set. Indeed, the industrial engineers are frequently found in the department of industrial relations where they participate in the settlement of grievances, 80 per cent of which may pertain to job rating matters.

In spite of the protestations of his enthusiastic apostles, the fact remains that the early followers of Taylor were primarily interested in technical aspects of work measurement. It may be unfair to accuse them of being insensitive to human factors; probably their intentions were good, but they tended to overlook the human element. After all, they were representatives of management, and the management stereotype of that day was impatient with any digression from the prevailing credos. One-way communication was much more prevalent then than now.

The Harwood Study. An experiment in a garment factory sought to ascertain the effect of participation upon the introduction of change in method.⁸ There were three groups: (1) a control group which was instructed in the new method by lecturing without participation; (2) a group which participated through representation; and (3) a group of which all members participated in designing the changes. They were measured on three points: (1) turnover, (2) aggression toward supervision, and (3) rate of production after change.

Participation groups were high. This study came up with a clear-cut finding that acceptance of change is positively related to the amount of participation. The high participation group picked up productivity sooner after change, and it had less turnover and aggressions against supervision. The group which participated through representatives was lower than the one

⁸ Lester Coch and John R. P. French, Jr., "Overcoming Resistance to Change," *Human Relations*, Vol. 1 (1948), pp. 512-32; reprinted in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Company, 1953), pp. 257-79. Lois C. Lawrence and Patricia Can Smith, "Group Decision and Employee Participation," *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 39 (October 1955), p. 334.

with complete participation but higher than the control group which did not participate in planning the changes. A similar follow-up experiment showed definitely that productivity is higher when production goals are set through group discussion than when individuals set their own goals.

Participation by rank and file. Efforts to secure participation by the rank and file in work simplification have usually taken two forms, the labor-management committee and the formal suggestion plan. An effort is made to set up a committee consisting of representatives of both labor and management that will operate in the field of work simplification separately from the normal collective bargaining procedures. In unionized industries, it naturally happens that the union leaders who participate in methods improvement conferences are often the same as those who engage in the collective bargaining processes. In World War II, the War Manpower Commission aggressively stimulated the organization of labor-management committees in war industries; these committees were coupled with a system of citation and awards for those who turned in useful ideas.⁹ Sometimes the practice was fitted in with the formal suggestion plan.

The Baltimore and Ohio scheme, which probably has had the longest successful record, consists of the men in overalls sitting around the table with the supervisors and engineers, usually in a shop setting. They deliberate and confer on easier and simpler ways of doing their work. The advantage of this system is that decisions can often be made on the spot. Minutes are kept so that items must be acted upon and cannot be lost or deliberately abandoned through lack of attention.

Selling productivity

The studies of the causes of industrial peace, conducted by the National Planning Association, pointed out several instances

⁹ For some insight into the status of labor-management committees today see Frederick H. Harbison and John R. Coleman, *Working Harmony: A Summary of the Collective Bargaining Relationships in 18 Companies*, Case Study No. 13, (Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1953), pp. 33-37.

in which workers were induced to become production-conscious in unionized industry.¹⁰

Incentive pay and bonus. When production workers were put on an incentive pay system plus a bonus, the old patterns of resistance had to be overcome. Management had to convince the union officials and workers of its sincerity. Workers had to be led gradually into feeling the fruits of bonus productivity, to be convinced that it was not a snare and delusion which would be taken away once management had achieved immediate objectives.

Joint consultation. In this system, rates are set through joint consultation. Union members were in one instance trained in time-study methods on company pay and time. No rate change is ever put into effect without getting union approval. If a new job is to be set up the job description is worked out jointly.

No rate-busting. Bonus rates cannot be changed unless there is a change in method or process. This tends to overcome the almost universal apprehension on this point that if one becomes too productive the company will reduce the rate.

Emphasis on problem solving. One of the main issues between management and labor centers around job control: how a job is to be performed, the rate of productivity, and, of course, the pay. Management has in the past considered job methods and production standards as belonging exclusively to management "prerogative." This was an area of decision belonging to management by nature and right, and it could not be surrendered to the collective bargaining process.

Companies which had sold productivity to the rank and file, however, had avoided making an issue over *authority* and *right*. The emphasis was on problem solving, always approached in a consultative manner. Questions of right and prerogative were carefully avoided.

¹⁰ See particularly Frederick H. Harbison and King Carr, *The Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Company*, etc., Case No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1948), pp. 20-21.

Suggestion systems

In any discussion of suggestion systems among industrial people with broad experience, mixed sentiments are almost certain to be expressed. That they will work and pay great dividends if properly administered has been demonstrated, but there are powerful negative factors to be overcome. The first, and most important, step to be taken is making sure that top management genuinely believes that workers have ideas and that it is willing to encourage worker participation in methods improvement. If the leading executives regard a suggestion system merely as a gadget to support boasts about humane labor relations or as a paternalistic indulgence, it would seem better not to inaugurate the venture. Under such sponsorship, a suggestion system is doomed to become routine and stereotyped. This has been a rather common experience.

Opposition of supervisors. Not less important than the indifference of management is the frequent opposition of supervisors, who are apprehensive on at least three points. First, they fear that management's acceptance of a worthwhile idea advanced by an employee implies a criticism of the supervisor for not having suggested the idea himself. Second, supervisors often tend to be jealous of their subordinates, and resent recognition that is not centered upon themselves. Third, supervisors are subject to the natural inertia and resistance to change that plagues all humanity. Furthermore, if an organization is coached to think constantly in terms of change, there may develop a sort of tension that affects some individuals adversely, particularly those supervisors who tend to be nervous and fretful about their responsibilities.

It is the responsibility of management to overcome these basic fears of supervisors and to make them feel that they will be rewarded and not criticized when their subordinates manifest an interest in methods improvement. The supervisorial training program must drive home the impression that supervisors will be judged to a considerable extent by their record in developing men—that it is an honor of the highest order to be the head of

a unit that has a reputation for producing both ideas and leaders. Some organizations have given supervisors an annual bonus based on the accepted suggestions from their units.¹¹

Resistance of labor

Labor frequently opposes suggestion systems, undoubtedly for the same reasons that it resists technological change. There is a feeling that they will produce speed-up, that improved methods will result in the same work being accomplished in fewer man-hours, and that lay-offs and unemployment will result. Evidence exists that this labor opposition can be overcome during periods of high employment and brisk business activity, such as the early 1940's. The most successful suggestion systems have been those that have striven to gain the cooperation of the workers by explanation, training, and enlightened labor relations.

Occasionally, an ostensibly progressive management will refrain from establishing a formal suggestion system because it believes that the same ends can be accomplished by less formal means. They want to encourage that type of day-to-day give-and-take in which the workers and supervisors discuss their jobs as a normal part of the production process. They feel that a formal suggestion system sets up barriers to the exchange of constructive ideas and opinions between workers and supervisors.

Many suggestion systems have failed because of ineffective and lackadaisical administration. Here, as in any other activity, the precepts of organization must prevail; these precepts include definite location of responsibility and authority, the orderly flow of work, and definite follow-through.

Setting up a suggestion system. The first principle seems to be the old familiar one of placing responsibility on a single individual. Some firms have placed their suggestion systems under an

¹¹ William E. Owen, "How GE Runs Its Suggestion Plan," *Factory Management and Maintenance*, Vol. 100 (May 1942), pp. 78-80; Charles R. Riker, "Foremen and the Suggestion System," *Supervision*, Vol. 5 (September 1943), p. 6.

ex officio committee, but this device has not usually been successful. There is no objection to having a committee, or a series of committees, review suggestions; but such a committee should have only judicial functions and should not be the official head of the suggestion system. The person in charge of the system should have personal qualifications that will secure the confidence of both top management and the workers. Some of the most successful systems give him a staff of persons skilled in methods improvement and work simplification. It is the duty of members of this staff to review proposals and then make an investigation of their feasibility on the working floor. A suggestion system which aims to preserve the anonymity of suggesters will, of course, have difficulty with such a direct approach. The usual practice is to have conveniently located boxes that have a slot for inserting the proposals as well as a shelf from which suggestion forms may be obtained. One company has set a standard of one box for every fifty workers.¹²

The paper work connected with the system must be well planned, usually including a standard form to be used by the worker in writing up his proposal, standard working papers for the investigator, and a docket binder for filing.¹³ Procedures must be meticulously followed in order to impress on the working force that suggestions actually do receive consideration. There is probably no more deadening influence than to have the grapevine say that suggestions are subject to all sorts of delay and indifferent consideration. The vast majority of all suggestions inevitably must be rejected, and for this reason every possible effort must be made to convince the employee that his suggestion received due consideration.

One well-known management consultant approaches this problem by selling the entire staff on the combination of work simplification and a suggestion plan. The selling approach is

¹² Ezra S. Taylor, *How to Conduct a Successful Employees' Suggestion System* (Chicago: Privately printed, 1942).

¹³ P. L. Schneider, "Here's the Paperwork Needed for a Good Suggestion Plan," *Factory Management and Maintenance*, Vol. 100 (May 1942), pp. 78-80.

spear-headed by a series of training conferences attended by top management itself, this being an absolute condition laid down by the consultant before accepting the assignment. The unit charged with the administration of the suggestion system has considerable responsibility for the success of the work simplification training program. The word "suggestion" is minimized, and the name given to the movement is "work simplification." There is a definite attempt to sell the spirit of work simplification to the entire working staff. Suggestions are investigated directly upon the floor by research technicians and are not surrounded by the cloak of secretiveness and anonymity that frequently shrouds suggestion setups.¹⁴

The method of figuring cash award that seems to have most authoritative approval is the one based on a percentage of the savings and with no flat maximum. A niggardly reward of five or ten dollars for each suggestion used defeats the plan in advance. A fairly reasonable award is 50 per cent of the net savings that result during the year following adoption of the suggestion. Because in most cases this has to be an estimate, and because gross savings are more easily estimated than net savings, 10 per cent of the gross can be taken as roughly equivalent to 50 per cent of the net. Prompt payment is vital, and the check should be issued as soon as the savings can be estimated.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why do workers object to work simplification or technical change?
2. What errors did management make in the gypsum factory case?
3. What are some devices which can be used to overcome opposition to change?
4. On Job Methods Training, what are the steps, and how is each step accomplished, in making a job analysis?
5. What lessons can be learned from the Harwood experiment?

¹⁴ A. H. Mogensen, "How to Set Up a Suggestion Plan That Will Work," *Factory Management and Maintenance*, Vol. 100 (May 1942), p. 75.

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6. How can one overcome union resistance to job change? What successful approaches were revealed by the National Planning Association's study?
7. What factors must be considered in the successful operation of a suggestion system?
8. How would you go about installing a suggestion system?

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Three

SOCIAL ASPECTS
of
SUPERVISION

Informal organization

EVERY management hierarchy has its own social system.¹ This social system is partly formal and partly informal. It may be healthy or it may be unhealthy. It may be closely identified with the aims and purposes of management policies or it may be undercover and subversive in nature. This social system is sometimes referred to as *informal organization* or *social organization*.² It often seems to be irrational and illogical in basis and emotional in content. It arises spontaneously and without apparent plan or design from the sentiments, sympathies, traditions, and belief stereotypes of people who work.

Informal organization is manifested by diverse elements: the rivalry of vice-presidents, creating tension throughout the whole

¹ Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry*, 3rd ed. (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955), pp. 23-47.

² On informal organization, see Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 114-23. More recent works include: Herbert A. Thelen, *Dynamics of Groups at Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 95-103; Chris Argyris, *Organization of a Bank* (New Haven: Yale Labor and Management Center, 1954).

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firm, the cliques of workers who associate for ethnic or other reasons, the dissatisfied employees who curtail production through tacit understandings, and the informal leader who speaks up in times of emergency. Some of the healthier aspects of informal organization are the teamwork that increases productivity, the social situations that make people happy at work, and the cooperation that gets the job done when formal organization fails. In short, informal organization includes all those relations and interrelations that grow out of the natural tendency of people in the hierarchy to associate and behave after the pattern of small informal groups.

Noncharted activities permitted

The health of the informal organization has a profound effect upon management objectives. The Ohio State studies in executive leadership, which investigated scores of actual field situations, indicated that different executives have different behavior patterns and that *all* of them have relationships and contacts that violate hierarchical lines. It was suggested that a certain amount of deviation from formal structure is essential in getting work done, although extreme deviations may hamper rather than promote efficiency.³

Thus, it can be said at the outset that there is no clear dividing line between how much or how little informal organization is needed to maintain the health of an organization. A proper balance should be based upon an adequate formal structure. Natural, innocent, and healthful deviations from the letter of command are permitted, the limiting factor being the extent to which they undermine substantial loyalty to one's own line supervisor.

Bad formal organization breeds informal relationships

Another instance where an informal organization aids rather than subverts management objectives is where the formal organization is faulty. When weaknesses prevent the attainment

³ Carroll L. Shartle, "Leadership and Executive Performance," *Personnel*, Vol. 25 (March 1949), pp. 370-80.

of objectives, the result is that an informal organization arises to do the job.

This often happens in an old and stratified organization where a relative or pensioner occupies an important post that he cannot adequately fill, and leadership is supplied by some other person with lower formal status. The owner of a business put his young sons in as vice-presidents over a sales manager who actually made things go. The latter, in fact, operated on several supervisory levels simply because it was necessary to do so. In an organization that has good morale, an informal organization will arise to substitute for ineffective formal leadership. This is one reason why informal or indigenous leaders so often appear.

Satisfying social needs

Informal organizations also arise where the social needs of employees are not satisfied. Where the work itself does not occupy the entire attention of the person or does not give continuous satisfaction for the entire work period, there will be a tendency to supply the deficiency by some sort of social activity not related to the work. This is one of the outstanding reasons for the rise of cliques (discussed later in this chapter). It also explains why there is so much horseplay even in the best-managed offices. People sneak off to the basement to shoot craps; they organize football pools, overstay their coffee hours, congregate in the washroom, and abuse the privilege of conversing while at work. Activities of this kind are probably not wholly due to lack of social satisfaction in the work situation. Loose and ineffective supervision is surely partly responsible. However, one of the attacks that a supervisor should make upon the problem is building up the social satisfactions that people get while they are actually at work so that they will not seek them in activities that interfere with production.

Resisting harsh management

Undercover informal organizations frequently arise to resist harsh management practices. An organization that combines

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authoritarian leadership with absence of upward communication is almost sure to have an informal organization that resists management objectives. Such an underground organization will develop indigenous leaders spontaneously; and if oppression becomes unbearable, it will stamp individuals who are not members of the organization as "informers" or "management spies." In extreme circumstances, these latter will be punished by the informal organization.⁴

Facilitating communication

A legitimate function of informal organization is to effect communication where official channels are too slow. Even healthy organizations have grapevines that facilitate official communication as well as unfounded rumors. However, a widely prevalent example of the function of an indigenous leader is communicating upward in those instances where the one-way communication of management runs contrary to the desires and sentiments of the organization.

A group of physicians, when ordered to abandon their staff dining room and eat in the patients' dining room, ordered bed service for their patients so that the dining room would be vacant when they ate. This social crisis, and the subsequent negotiation that resulted in the physicians' winning their point, was led by a doctor who was the indigenous leader, even though he had no higher formal status than his colleagues. The conclusion is that informal organization will facilitate communication and that it also will provide for communication in those instances where the formal organization has obscured or blocked it.

Slowdown of work pace

A widespread manifestation of informal organization is the restriction of production by employees. Thus, the "rate buster" is one of the most despised persons in the workaday world. The informal organization will set its own work pace, and it will dis-

⁴ For a discussion of organizations under stress see Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 287 ff.

cipline members of the informal group who produce markedly in excess of that standard, but it will also show its disapproval of those who fail to carry their load.⁵ This type of informal organization is clandestine and difficult to detect. It is, perhaps, based upon unconscious, unwritten, and un verbalized patterns of behavior. Indeed, this is universally true of the behavior of small informal groups. That is why a study of informal organizations must probe irrational forms of group behavior.

The struggle for power

Another universal aspect of informal organization is the struggle for power. A familiar and apparent example is the struggle between unions and management, especially in the early organizing stage. Later, when the unions gain recognition, they become a part of the formal organization, although there are still many informal aspects of the relation between the union hierarchy and the management hierarchy.⁶ However, there are other extremely important instances of the struggle for power that are not so apparent. These struggles often center around people near the top of the hierarchy; group is pitted against group and department against department. Thus, the rank and file may be attracted to a popular vice-president who is a candidate for the crown of the general manager or the president. A rival for the position, unpopular with the informal organization, may seem to be preferred by those higher up. Both men may be very competent and may perform in a manner that furthers the best interests of the organization, yet the rivalry may reach the point where the decisions of subordinates are based upon their estimate of the effect these decisions will have upon the outcome of the struggle.

Ingredients of informal organization

What, then, are the ingredients of the informal social organization? There are certain rather universal phenomena that pre-

⁵ The Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund, *Partners in Production* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1949), pp. 69, 116.

⁶ Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-116.

vail wherever people work together. First, people band into informal groups that may or may not correspond to hierarchical groupings. Second, growing out of this tendency is the informal or indigenous leader. Third, an informal status system assigns roles to individuals. Fourth, an underground communication system is rapid and subtle. Fifth, a belief-system exists that often runs counter to management logic and seems irrational to the management mind, but is nevertheless very real.⁷ Sixth, the formal theory of hierarchy is often modified in practice by a pattern of internal conflict characterized by personal antagonism, factionalism, and struggle for power.)

Primary groups. People band into small informal groups in practically all activities of life. Early sociologists used the term "primary groups" to indicate the smallest unit: the family, for example.⁸ Such informal groups are frequently referred to as cliques. These groups are characterized by intimate association based upon a personal understanding that is spontaneous, unspoken, and habitual in nature. The behavior of the members of informal groups is based upon intuitive or habitual understanding of what a member will do under particular circumstances.

The atmosphere of the group determines the behavior of the members, and the members will punish those who transgress. Various individuals are assigned roles and tend to behave in the manner expected of them. The atmosphere or morale of the group is set by an informal or indigenous leader who often works through lieutenants loyal to him.

(The most important implications of group theory from the standpoint of the supervisor is that these informal groups are very strong and that they govern the behavior of workers to an

⁷ Perhaps the best field study of informal organization is contained in F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939); consult index. See also Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), pp. 330-31.

⁸ Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929). Note especially, Ch. III, "Primary Groups," pp. 23-31.

extent that often interferes with formal supervision) Indeed, the lower supervisor often finds that the social organization frustrates his carrying out policies that his superiors expect him to enforce.

Cliques. Contrary to fairly widespread belief, a clique need not be subversive in objectives and underground in its operation. Often there are healthy cliques. A clique is an intimate association of a few; it is characteristically self-centered, exclusive, and isolated, and frequently it is snobbish. A study of cliques in an office discloses that they fall into two main categories: (1) on-the-job interests, (2) outside social interests. The on-the-job interests are: (1) occupational grouping; those doing the same kind of work, for the most part, belong to the same clique, (2) seniority, and (3) physical proximity. The first of these findings coincides with a Western Electric study which indicates that there is a relationship between the formal organization of job skills and the informal cliques.⁹

The study shows that the personal factors that lead to cliques are: (1) age, (2) clothes, (3) physical attractiveness, (4) marital status, (5) education, (6) religion, and (7) race. The occurrence of factors such as clothes, physical attractiveness, and marital status is probably due to the fact that most employees were women. This fact also accounts for the rejection by all of the groups of an exceptionally fashionable and good-looking woman who, as a result, had to leave the organization. This particular organization worked better under a supervisor who permitted the natural development of these cliques than under a previous supervisor who tried to suppress them.¹⁰

Building teams

The supervisor must understand how people group together voluntarily if he is to weld his group into natural working

⁹ Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 513 ff.

¹⁰ Howard E. Gompert, *A Field Study of the Clique and Its Role in the Informal Social Organization*. Unpublished Student Report. (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1949), p. 12.

teams.¹¹ Such an understanding will enable him to place employees so that those most likely to comprise a good team will be seated near each other. On the other hand, the good supervisor will hesitate to break up functioning teams without giving thought to the possibility that production will be adversely affected. Natural groups tend to stratify: members get to know each other, like each other, and become used to each other. Certain individuals are rejected by the group, which sets up its own pattern of behavior for isolating such people. The structure of groups usually shows that some people possess unusual ability to attract personal loyalty, whereas a few are rather universally rejected.¹² These relationships, based upon feeling, sympathy, habit, and folk convention, tend to become stable. They form the basis for the social satisfactions of the members, with the result that attempts to break the group may bring resistance. Employees have been known to refuse advancement rather than leave a group, and wildcat strikes have resulted from what were believed to be arbitrary transfers.

Military teams

A remarkable example of what can be done in this respect was offered by the training of the German army for World War II. Realizing that there had been certain failures in this respect in World War I, the builders of the Wehrmacht deliberately set out to generate natural groups at the level of the platoon, in which noncoms were natural leaders. However, emphasis was placed upon developing the team rather than the leader. The bottom echelons consisted of primary social groups that possessed such high grade morale that they resisted in units long

¹¹ E. Wight Bakke, "Teamwork in Industry," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 66 (March 1948), pp. 213-20.

¹² For the Moreno method of analyzing groups see Helen Hall Jennings, *Sociometry of Leadership* (New York: Beacon House, 1947), pp. 3-11; J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934).

after over-all strategy had failed and the larger units had begun to disintegrate.

The chief factors in this solidifying of the group seem to have been the stern but benevolent authority of the noncommissioned and junior officers, the constant living together of ethnically related men, the maintenance of adequate food and medical supply bases, fanatical devotion to line commanders, and the spiritual leadership of the Fuehrer. A crucial factor was, perhaps, the relaxing of the rigid authoritarianism of the sergeant and lieutenant and the development of flexibility and self-reliance. This enabled these groups to generate their own natural leadership and keep on fighting when the formal leader became a casualty.¹³

The Hawthorne Experiment

The concept of teamwork in motivating production has been developed and espoused in a series of published researches emanating from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration and made under the leadership of Elton Mayo. Mayo stated that the most important finding of an experiment in the Western Electric plant at Hawthorne "was unquestionably in the general area of teamwork and cooperation."¹⁴

The great truths of social science are so commonplace that they are not always immediately recognized and observed. Engineering experimenters, failing to find a relationship between degree of lighting and degree of production, inadvertently made their "discovery" during the process of obtaining the girl workers' assistance in their project. By "consultation with the girl workers, by clear explanation of the proposed experiments and the reasons for them, by accepting the workers' verdict in special instances . . . the girls became a self-governing team and a team that cooperated wholeheartedly with management."¹⁵

¹³ Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* (Summer 1948), pp. 280-315.

¹⁴ Elton Mayo, *Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1945), p. 82.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Importance of supervision

The vital importance of competent, careful supervision in developing teamwork and abolishing the conditions that hinder and decrease production has also been borne out by research. During World War II the Harvard Business School group under Elton Mayo made field work studies that sought the reasons for the high ratio of turnover and absenteeism in war industry.¹⁶ Mayo has summarized his views, which are the result of two or more decades of research and are based largely on field investigation supplemented by scholarly exploration of written materials. From the standpoint of the broad over-all picture, Mayo sees contemporary social disorganization as a chief cause of turnover and absenteeism.

Prior to the industrial revolution, society was more or less stable. One belonged to an established primary work group, either to the peasant family or to the craft team of master, journeyman, and apprentice. In either case the focus of work centered around a family-home-shop axis. The development of large factories resulted in a profound loss of security for the worker. He is no longer a member of a primary group, even if he stays in the same factory, for there he is constantly shifted from one set of associates to another; he "belongs" nowhere.¹⁷ Moreover, his life outside the factory is subjected to social chaos that seriously impairs the possibility of establishing himself as a member of other primary groups.

The development of teamwork in production seems dependent on the existence of organized operations. Mayo's study shows a definite correlation between absenteeism and turnover, on the one hand, and the maturity of an organization on the other.¹⁸ Indeed, the presence of absenteeism and turnover is indicative

¹⁶ John B. Fox and Jerome F. Scott, *Absenteeism: Management's Problem*, No. 29. (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1943); Elton Mayo and George F. F. Lombard, *Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry of Southern California*, No. 32 (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1944).

¹⁷ Mayo, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁸ Mayo and Lombard, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

of poor organization.¹⁹ It was found in the California aircraft study that charts of absenteeism and turnover conformed to a rather uniform pattern when depicting a large subdivision such as a department. Differentiations appeared only when small work centers were charted, revealing, for the first time during the study, groups that had uniformly low or high records. When the attack was then directed toward work centers with low turnover and absence, it revealed that *the significant factor is the quality of supervision at the team level*. Analysis of the behavior of a lead man and his assistant foreman revealed a pattern of supervision that was thought to produce group solidarity. The lead man devoted most of his time to facilitating the work of others; not only on the mechanical and productive side, but also on personal problems. Especially significant is the fact that he had time to listen to the irritations and frustrations of their lives; he let them get their troubles "off their chest." In addition, the lead man functioned as a troubleshooter and facilitator, as a buffer between his men and the rest of the plant.

The natural leader

It is impossible to speak of natural groups without discussing the natural leader, sometimes referred to as the *informal leader* or the *indigenous leader*.²⁰ He is usually distinguished from the official leader who has been designated by management, although there may be circumstances where the two are the same. For our purposes, since we are studying small groups or cliques, the informal leader is usually not an official leader. The reason for this is not always clear, but may be due to the fact that the clique is not officially recognized. This is not a satisfactory explanation, however, because indigenous leaders can be identified. They often seem to be persons of considerable seniority who command the respect of the group but who do not seem to possess the personal qualities or training necessary to official leaders. Supervisory jobs today often demand technical

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁰ A subsequent chapter will deal with supervisory leadership at greater length.

and educational proficiency not possessed by many persons who would otherwise become official leaders. Yet there is something more subtle about the creation of a natural group leader. One of the most common manifestations of such leadership is the respected old-timer who acts as a buffer between employees and management in situations where communication has broken down. A great deal more research is needed before one can generalize on this subject with confidence.

What are some of the characteristics of the indigenous leader? In the first place, there are many types of indigenous leaders, and it is possible that the same group may have a different leader for different purposes. Perhaps the most distinguishing trait of a leader in small cliques at work is his natural and intuitive "feel" for folk sentiment, particularly in situations where the informal organization has had to go at least partially underground. Such a person may not conform to the preconceived stereotype of leadership qualities: aggressiveness, competitiveness, and the outward display of dominance. Indeed, one should not be surprised to find that the leader of a clique is not prominent and that his personality characteristics tend to be plain and folksy rather than flamboyant and flashy.

Informal work methods

Higher management in a department store inaugurated a straight commission system for compensating salespeople.²¹ This resulted in abnormally high earnings for some and very low pay for others. Individual competition led to certain practices which resulted in low morale and poor team spirit. Salespeople would steal customers from each other and fail to spend a requisite amount of time arranging stock. Contrary to the sentiments of top management, the group connived with a lower supervisor to set up a system of pooling, whereby everyone would receive the same pay.

²¹ Nicholas Babchuk and William I. Goode, "Work Incentives in a Self-Determined Group," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16 (October 1951), pp. 679-887.

Morale improved immediately. The group took over some of the functions of management, such as division of labor, distribution of work tasks, planning, communication, and discipline. These working arrangements developed informally by a small group were adopted officially by the company and installed throughout the store.

In another case, set-up men, inspectors, tool-crib men, and lower supervisors connived to thwart the formal organization's concept of what time standards should be. The remarkable aspect of this case was that, from their viewpoint, they felt that they had to do it in order to get out the work and to fill their quotas. The formal organization's concept of how to get the desired productivity went contrary to that of the informal, so the latter used its own ways and means of getting out the work.²²

Communication needed. The above two cases should not lead one to jump to the conclusion that informal methods are necessarily superior. Management was perhaps at fault in not thinking through the human factors involved. Moreover, there was probably a failure to communicate and explain the logic behind the formal organization's thinking. Thus it was found that workers accepted an incentive system better (1) when their foreman tried to get them to follow the standard sheet, and (2) when he did a good job of explaining the reasons for changes in the labor standards.²³

Status

Status refers to the position of the individual as it is determined by the attitudes, opinions, and regard of the members of the group to which he belongs. Status may be formal or informal, depending upon whether the organization or the group

²² Donald Roy, "Efficiency and the Fix, Informal Intergroup Relationships in a Piecework Machine Shop," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60 (November 1954), pp. 255-66.

²³ Gerald M. Mahoney, *Supervisory and Administrative Practices Associated with Worker Attitudes Toward an Incentive System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, 1953). Mimeographed.

is formal or informal. Thus, the status of the foreman is formal, while that of an indigenous leader under him is informal.

Status is probably more important to management than is indicated by the attention directed toward it in the past. Thus, management-minded people tend to become emotionally antagonistic when workers insist on seniority as a means of preferment, not realizing that all the workers are trying to do is establish status for the great undifferentiated mass of humanity. Recognition of seniority is the common man's clamor for status that he believes he can obtain in no other way.

It is customary to think of status only in terms of military rank, but it is not uncommon to find a symbol of status attached to a civilian hierarchy. In Washington, for instance, there is a pattern of the symbols and privileges of status that would probably reveal a fair degree of uniformity upon examination. Those in the top salary brackets tend to have their own diningroom. Bureau and division chiefs will have panelled offices and rugs of a distinctive hue. A colored messenger sitting at a desk in a corridor is almost a sure indication of high status within. Whether or not the secretary sits in the same room with the chief has some relation to status, and whether or not one is entitled to an ice-water bottle on his desk or to an automobile with chauffeur. In most organizations there is a level above which the long lunch hour is permitted. In many companies, there are varying degrees of separation created by the fact that some employees may not receive overtime pay.

In the discussions arising from the revolt of the industrial foreman during the early 1940's, it was frequently pointed out that they wanted the symbols and privileges of management if they were to be given management status. Among the symbols of such status that were mentioned were monthly payroll rather than hourly, freedom from punching the time clock, privilege of eating in the management diningroom, special parking facilities, distinctive badges, and special locker rooms.²⁴

²⁴ *The Development of Foremen in Management*, Research Report No. 7 (New York: American Management Association, 1945), p. 57.

Gardner states that "status anxiety" is a generally prevalent factor at all levels of industry.²⁵ It consists of being worried and disturbed about a variety of things, such as what the boss thinks about one, the deference to one's status accorded by others, a pay raise to someone else but not to oneself, and bringing outsiders in at pay and status higher than those with seniority. Status anxiety may seriously impair one's usefulness by producing neuroses, insomnia, hypertension, and gastric ulcers. Such disturbances often occur toward middle life when the person is confronted with the fact that he has progressed as far as his ability and competence seem to justify. He has reached, in Gardner's words, his "ceiling of attainment."²⁶ Most persons make this adjustment without serious shock to their personal equilibrium, but such may not be the case with those having power drives incommensurate with their abilities. One approach to this problem might be to devise means of ego satisfaction for the rank-and-file employee—some variety of status for the little fellow.

Status for the little fellow. One of the biggest problems in the motivation of people at work is the creation of some sort of recognition and prestige for the great mass of submerged humanity that never can expect to achieve hierarchical status. The need for ego satisfaction exists for the humble worker just as for the manager or supervisor. If people are not accorded some sort of status recognition, the voluntary and spontaneous social organization will tend to supply it for them.

Seniority as a status factor. The almost universal respect the workers have for seniority as a status system is a device that is quite as universally deplored by management. Even when seniority carries few if any concrete rights or preferments, people will be heard to refer to their seniority with a certain possessive pride and sentiment. It is their sole claim to status in a work environment that offers a minimum of ego satisfaction. With

²⁵ Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–63.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 263–65.

the possible exception of the higher managerial and technical categories, the younger workers seem to accept the seniority system without protest.

There is no denying that seniority does have its positive aspects, especially in these days of high and costly turnover. The twenty-five year button, with its annual award banquet, can become a positive force toward internal social solidarity and dynamic motivation. It is only when seniority becomes the instrumentality of restrictive practices, such as requiring layoff of the most competent and promotion of the less qualified, that it becomes a negative factor.

Coupled with seniority is the status of skills: a journeyman's rating is achieved only after serving specified periods as an apprentice. Modern engineering and organizing genius, however, have tended to push the skills of the manual crafts out of the factory. This is very well illustrated by the shoe business, which in the old days was organized as a hierarchy of manual skills. Workers acquired elementary skills in the beginning positions and progressed by stages through a job hierarchy until they were able to turn out a whole shoe and, later, handmade portions of a shoe. Status of skills carried with it social status in the community and gave personal stability and ego satisfaction not only to the older workers but also to the younger ones who were on their way. The introduction of machinery broke down the skill hierarchy in the factory; skill now obtained only among the engineers who invented and perfected shoe machinery. Mechanization of shoe manufacture not only eliminated job skills in the factory but also upset the social stratification of the community by robbing it of its status system. Warner and Low explain the first shoe strike to occur in Yankee City, and the subsequent unionization, in terms of these phenomena.²⁷ The little fellow, plagued by depression and unemployment and humiliated by loss of skill status, protested by strike and unionization.

²⁷ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, Yankee City Series, Vol. IV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 87-89.

The little fellow is always striving for the security and satisfaction of recognized status. He wants social stratification. Management, on the other hand, wants flexibility and discretion and the power to hire, fire, and transfer people at will. Hence, the little fellow constantly strives to tie the hands of management, to keep the latter from dealing with him arbitrarily. He secures the enactment of civil service laws that assure job status and protect him from unmerited discipline and dismissal.

Under collective bargaining, 80 per cent or more of the grievances have to do with job status. Though some will say that this is due almost entirely to economic considerations, there are deeper implications. There is infinitely more personal and social satisfaction in being a tree surgeon rather than a tree trimmer, a detective rather than a flatfoot, a custodian rather than a janitor. People at work also like to establish possession over certain aspects of the job: a work location indicative of seniority, a particular desk or machine, an acknowledged right to the more desirable tasks.

Management wants discretion. Management is apprehensive of efforts to thwart managerial discretion. This is undoubtedly back of its objection to seniority as a basis for promotion or lay-off. There is justice in management's desire for discretion; however, one suspects that it will be regained, paradoxically, through the means that management feared—namely, consultation, communication, cooperation, and collaboration.

Hierarchical stratification is something indigenous, something that people bring about spontaneously and defend through the informal social organization; they defend themselves against the one-way edict from the top because they fear it. Hence they dig in by means of civil service laws, unionization, and subtle forms of social pressure. In this sense, social stratification with its emphasis on job status becomes a security weapon.

Another aspect of status for the little fellow deserves more exploration and understanding. This encompasses marks of distinction and recognition, such as the lapel button for stated

periods of service. It is well known how prized the campaign badges became to the enlisted man in World War II. There is need to identify the wheel horse more closely with the institution, the wheel horse being the average worker who turns in a good day's work consistently over considerable periods of time. Perhaps too much attention has been devoted to giving status recognition to the competent and elite. The campaign badge and the division shoulder patch went to the private as well as to the general, to the slow as well as to the fleet, to the rear as well as to the forward echelons. It may be that the wheel horse can in many cases secure identifying status in activities other than the immediate work situation—in the bowling team, the credit union board, musical organizations, and the dramatic club. It is hoped that some students will be stimulated to explore this problem of giving ego-satisfying status to the little fellow, the deserving wheel horse who cannot hope to enter the supervisory hierarchy.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by informal organization? Discuss briefly.
2. What usually happens when management fails in leadership?
3. Name six ingredients of informal social organization.
4. Describe three on-the-job interests that may create cliques.
5. What factors are significant in securing teamwork?
6. What was the significance of the Hawthorne experiment?
7. What is the relation of absenteeism and turnover to supervisory leadership?
8. What is an indigenous leader?
9. Are informal work methods necessarily superior to those officially prescribed?
10. How important is status as it applies to work satisfaction?
11. Why do rank-and-file workers prize seniority as a status factor?

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9

Communication

COMMUNICATION figures prominently in all problems of human relations. Wherever there is conflict and lack of understanding among men, there is also failure to communicate.¹ A great deal of what Gardner calls “status anxiety” could be dissipated by a few words of explanation.¹

Failure to communicate

A great deal of wear and tear on human nerves is caused by management's inadvertent failure to tell why certain actions were taken. For instance, George Redmond has been keeping a set of cost account ledgers, but the load has been getting him a little behind. Furthermore, illness at home has necessitated some absence. He comes to work one morning and sees

¹ Burleigh B. Gardner and David C. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry*, 3rd ed. (Homewood, Ill: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955), pp. 260-63.

that another person is working on the same books at a neighboring position. Because no one has ever told him that he is to have a helper, he begins to worry, unaware that management's intention in the matter was entirely benevolent and kindly. The assistant was merely transferred for a few hours or days to catch up the backlog, but nobody had told George.

Although this instance refers to the personal tensions and anxieties of an individual, the tremendous importance of failure to communicate becomes evident when the myriad of cases in which such apprehensions occur are considered. But this is only one of several varieties of the breakdown of communication. There was an attempt to save money by substituting plastic for cloth butchers' aprons in the commissary of a huge hospital. Without consultation even with the supervisor of the butchers, the purchasing department ordered plastic aprons for all the butchers, who regarded the move as an affront to their professional dignity and promptly sabotaged it by seeing that the plastic aprons were cut to pieces by the end of the first day. Subsequent communication and consultation resulted in the butchers recommending the adoption of a different plastic apron.²

Communication must be two-way

The problem in management is one of two-way communication, and it is no exaggeration to say that in most management situations communication is not as complete as it could or should be. The bars or dams blocking communication operate in both directions.³ Certain types of information do not go up

² Cornelius C. Webster, *The Institutional Community as a Factor in Administrative Management of a Public Agency*. Unpublished thesis (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Library, 1949), pp. 106-107.

³ A British biologist claims that failure to communicate in a social organization is due to the incomplete evolution of social institutions. The nervous system of the higher mammals required millions of years to develop automatic coordination. Modern technological society will develop automatic coordination after a period of evolution which permits the development of a communication apparatus similar to the central nervous system. John Thompson MacCurdy, *The Structure of Morale* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1943), pp. 163-67.

the chain of command while others are hindered in going down.

Size of organization. One of the principal causes of absence of such communication is the sheer size and vastness of modern hierarchies. The persons occupying key positions at the several levels are extremely busy and harassed individuals whose desks become bottlenecks of communication by virtue of the tremendous physical tasks placed upon them. Conventional organization channels become so long that communications either do not go through at all or are watered down before reaching the other end.

Layers of insulation. At one naval shipyard several persons independently referred to the existence of "layers of insulation" somewhere between the master and the lead man, who is the lowest supervisor. Such "layers" were not created intentionally but were effected by several causes, all inadvertent in nature. These included the lack of time, failure to understand the need for communicating that which one knows exceptionally well, and absence of that communion of souls which accompanies the birth of an idea on the top echelons. By the time a communication arrives at production levels it has lost a considerable part of the sparkle, warmth, and aura of importance that accompanies the birth of an idea in the higher staff realms. Effective communication must be accompanied on its long hierarchical journey with some of the spirit of participation that made it seem so important at inception.

Deliberate sifting. Some barriers to communication downward are attributable to deliberate sifting at various points along the line of command. Supervisors may neglect to circulate information through sheer force of inertia. They may weed out some because it is judged irrelevant in their peculiar situation, or they may deem it advisable to stop circulation at their particular stations for reasons having to do with security and strategy. Moreover, management culture has never been receptive to uninhibited communication downward. The old saying that "what they don't know won't hurt them" has been characteristic of authoritarian and paternalistic leadership in the past.

Master of the mysteries. Little people with authority over others, often referred to as “masters of the mysteries,” gain some sort of satisfaction out of possessing a store of information that is not common property. They frequently use this situation as a means of controlling others who must come running to them for information that should have been disseminated for the good of the organization. Furthermore, secretiveness can be a protective device for the insecure, particularly for those who are occupying positions that require skill and competence beyond their own attainment. Spreading a blanket of mystery shields one’s shortcomings, often serving to sustain mediocrity for long periods of time unless external circumstances force penetration, shattering the facade.

Under-rating intelligence of rank and file. Another human obstacle to communication downward is a tendency on the part of management people to under-rate the intelligence and sophistication of the masses. The paternalistic attitude may have its commendable aspects, yet such an employer is more likely to find himself today in the same situation as the parent whose child was better informed about life than himself. Modern democratic life—the outlets provided by education and the extension of literacy—has furnished the means for circumventing traditional channels of communication established by society. Whether for good or for evil, the fact remains that “papa knows best” is becoming a less satisfactory answer to all human problems. This accounts for the greater effectiveness of propaganda in an authoritarian-paternalistic society than in a democratic one.⁴

Kowtowing to status. Much of the failure to communicate downward is due to the cultural setting that fosters smugness, self-righteousness, and sycophancy. It is almost the universal cultural heritage of mankind that superior hierarchical status has been associated with ritual, ceremony, and at least nominal alliance with the deity—a combination of circumstances that has

⁴ Peter F. Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (New York: The John Day Co., 1946), p. 159.

called for unquestioning obedience, outward manifestation of deference, and obsequiousness on the part of those with lower status.

Although ritual, accompanied by military and clerical attire, has vanished from the modern business and governmental hierarchy, at least in the United States, the fact remains that status symbols partaking of the same nature and answering the same purpose tend to survive. Green rugs and rose rugs have higher or lower status significance, as the case may be, and the same is true with the presence or absence of limousines and chauffeurs and separate lunchrooms.⁵

The perquisites of office and the glamor of status tend to impress upon the incumbent the fact that he is a rather extraordinary sort of person. Not only does he now possess a rose rug and an oversized desk, a silver-plated water bottle and mahogany panelling on his walls, but he is also moving in a realm of concepts, ideas, philosophies, and traditions that correlate highly with those physical attributes of status—the kind of things that one talks about in the close-knit privacy of equals but discusses reluctantly elsewhere. This phenomenon is undoubtedly responsible for a great deal of the failure to communicate effectively in an administrative organization.

Give the boss good news. Information, as Burleigh Gardner has pointed out, is filtered to give the boss what those below believe he wants to hear.⁶ Thus, foremen keep their own independent records of production, to be sure that the record kept officially looks good.⁷ In certain situations involving faulty supervision, records will sometimes be falsified or “boilerhoused” in order to show the figures that are expected.⁸ The difficulty in communication upward is not caused primarily by the lower

⁵ The Pentagon Building has a diningroom for generals (and now presumably for Navy flag rank). Large civilian departments have exclusive diningrooms for persons of higher salary status.

⁶ Gardner and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

⁸ William F. Whyte and Burleigh B. Gardner, “Human Elements in Supervision,” *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 4 (Spring 1945), p. 5.

supervisors and the production workers but results from the relationships between top management and middle and lower supervisors. The top expects certain standards of productivity which the rank-and-file thinks are too high. The foreman is in between, so he does the human thing: he tries to please both.

The open door

It is often assumed that any employee is always free to enter the door of his supervisor and speak frankly about anything upon his mind. The theory goes even further in assuming that the employee may with impunity short-circuit his own supervisor and go to higher supervisors who will be delighted to listen to him in confidence. The difficulty with this "open door" theory is that, despite all the good intentions of management, the fact remains that certain human obstacles prevent its practice. Among these are: (1) the natural apprehension of authority that inhibits many people from expressing even harmless ideas in the presence of supervisors, (2) the pressure of the management atmosphere that deters even the bolder workers from the hazards of bypassing one's immediate superiors, and (3) the preoccupation of management with its own burdens and its resulting impatience with the seemingly petty complaints of individuals. As a result, those who have the temerity to avail themselves of the "open door" may be stamped as troublemakers or malcontents.

Management must listen to criticism unemotionally. The chief difficulty with the "open door" policy has been that the organizations of the past have not provided a cultural setting in which unpleasant news and constructive criticisms can flow upward easily. The best approach in the short run is to create a management environment that will foster free interchange of ideas. Criticism, ceasing to be criticism, will then become a tool for analyzing the situation on a consultative basis by all concerned, irrespective of status. People in supervisorial status will be conditioned to conduct themselves with emotional equilibrium. The expansion of collective bargaining, for one thing, has taught management that, to be successful in industrial relations, it must

control its emotions even in the face of what it considers to be fantastic and presumptuous charges and demands.

Organization of communication

Recent experimental studies have shown that the communication network *should be planned and organized*.⁹ There may be those who believe that communication would be facilitated by a laissez-faire system which encourages everyone to communicate with everyone else whenever he thinks he has something to say. Research evidence seems to point to the contrary.

Over communication. There is also some reason to believe that it is possible to over communicate. This may assume the form of taking people away from production for the purpose of reading or listening, or less efficient informal channels may be used instead of the more efficient formal ones. When a proposed rearrangement of office space was leaked through the grapevine, partly to serve as a trial balloon,¹⁰ it caused a great deal of anxiety and loss of time in speculative discussion. The result might have been much better if formal media had been used.

Short-circuiting the line of command. Every large management institution provides channels of communication that are shorter and more direct than the line of command. Most of these channels have the approval of the organization in general. Others, such as the Inspector-General of the Army,¹¹ are set up specifically for the purpose of providing hurdles over known ob-

⁹ Harold Guetzkow and Herbert A. Simon, "The Impact of Certain Communication Nets upon Organization and Performance in Task-Oriented Groups," *Management Science*, Vol. 1 (July 1955), pp. 233-50; this replicates certain experiments reported by H. J. Leavitt in *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Vol. 46 (1951), pp. 38-50.

¹⁰ Alan McClean, "An Industrial Psychiatrist Looks at Employee Communication," *Personnel Journal*, Vol. 33 (February 1955), pp. 340-43.

¹¹ United States Army Regulations, Article LXVII. Although the office of the Inspector-General was primarily set up for control purposes, there is one particular phase in its provisions that is designed to permit enlisted men to complain to a representative of that office at a specified time and place. Contact with World War II veterans gave me more than one actual story in which complaints by enlisted men to the Inspector-General had produced an amelioration of conditions.

stacles—such as, for instance, a formal suggestion system established by top management to overcome objection or inertia, or the rival union hierarchy that has evolved outside the normal area of hierarchical authority and against the desire of management.

Staff specialists contact the line directly. Staff agencies and functional supervisors are examples of communication channels set up by management to provide shorter lines. The shorter lines of communication furnished by staff persons who contact the line directly raise certain human problems and questions that have inevitable repercussions upon communication. For one, the staff people are regarded as theorists and idealists who are out to bring perfection into a world they never made. The line organization is continually goaded to improve methods and increase production.

Staff people incur suspicion as a result of their easier access to top management where, it is charged, they tend to be critical of the line in order to make the staff look good.¹² As a rule the large hierarchies tend to build up at each principal level subordinate staff agencies that become bottlenecks because they plan procedures and operations to flow through themselves. They succumb to the universal behavior pattern of empire building. Thus, a directive or procedure issued from the top and designed for universal application may be watered down by each subordinate staff agency to suit its own concepts of control.¹³

House organs and employee magazines. A survey of house organs revealed that employees would rather read serious articles about the company than gossip matter relating to fellow employees. When asked to rate reader interest in specific articles, a communication from the president of the company came out highest.¹⁴ Another study of 700 company magazines revealed that they emphasized employee social activities, company sports

¹² Gardner and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹³ Comstock Glaser, "Where Shall We Locate Staff Services," *Personnel Administration*, Vol. 8, No. 6 (February, 1946), pp. 13-18.

¹⁴ Lewis H. Spence, "The Role of a Free Press in Employee Communications," *Personnel Journal*, Vol. 33 (December 1954), pp. 247-53.

activities, with brief news reports about the company. They avoided discussion of the controversial issues about which management feels deeply.¹⁵

Union publications, on the other hand, emphasized articles on controversial issues which unions favor and which are often diametrically opposed to the viewpoints of management people. It was pointed out that in order to get into this field, company publications would have to be better edited than in the past. The "picnic and bowling team" kind of writing would have to give way to a more serious and analytical type of journalism.

Union channels faster. During the period of accelerated unionization in the 1930's, many companies found themselves reluctantly engaged in collective bargaining for the first time. Company negotiations were carried on at the top level, while the union might send the business agent and president of the local in addition to its international representatives. News concerning the course of negotiations would frequently travel very rapidly down the union line of communication; as a result, foremen were often embarrassed because workers and shop stewards knew more about personnel policy than they. Together with the improvement in collective bargaining procedures and their gradual acceptance by employers, methods have been devised to keep lower supervisors as well informed as lower union officers. Thus, foremen are now often invited to sit in as observers at all negotiations.

The union also provides a method of communicating upwards by circumventing the normal channels. In order to cover their own ineptitude, or because they share the universal feeling that the squeaking axle gets more grease than it requires, the lower supervisors often smother the gripes of the little fellow. The union channel of communication is designed to buck this defense-in-depth that the normal hierarchy sets up to smother complaints.

The grievance system. The formalized grievance system has

¹⁵ Fred C. Foy and Robert Harper, "Round One: Union vs. Company Publications," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 33 (May-June 1955), pp. 58, 59.

become the heart of administering industrial relations in the unionized plant. To date, the union has furnished the principal method for the production worker to communicate from the very bottom to the top.¹⁶ The production worker is in constant contact with his shop steward, committeeman, or business agent. Nevertheless, if management can adjust itself to permit normal, internal communication upward, it, rather than the union, may ultimately win the loyalty of the employee. In any case, there is no doubt that full and complete communication upward is a prerequisite to humanizing the management institution.

Rumor

Indiscriminate gossip becomes inevitable when people gather and discuss matters about which they are not informed. The "grapevine" is a universal phenomenon. The following factors seem to be related to rumors: (1) *Absence of fact*. Rumors flourish when management has failed to communicate downward. The grapevine flourishes when management assumes a secretive attitude; the grapevine languishes when formal communications give the information which people want. (2) *Stress*. Rumors tend to develop when people are under stress and restraint, in prisons, certain military situations, and institutions under authoritarian leadership.

Allport's research. Three behavior patterns that Allport and Postman have found in the rumor process are (1) levelling, (2) sharpening, and (3) assimilation. According to the first, a rumor tends to grow shorter, more concise, and more easily grasped and told as it circulates; according to the second, those items of the story that remain become more pronounced and assume greater importance; according to the third, the details of the rumors are selected, arranged, and even altered to suit the intellectual and emotional content existing in the listener's mind. There is an assimilation to principal theme, to good continuation, to expectation, to linguistic habits, and by condensation. Further-

¹⁶ Jerome F. Scott and George C. Homans, "Reflections on the Wildcat Strikes," *American Sociological Review* Vol. 12 (June 1947), pp. 278-87.

more, there may be assimilation to self-interest and prejudice.¹⁷

The rumor clinic. One means of dealing with false rumors is to establish a rumor clinic. Anyone, anonymous or identified, can file a rumor on any subject. Management answers it directly if it is signed. Such answers become a part of a set of articles which are printed monthly in full-page advertisements in newspapers. It is said that these advertisements have become the best-read feature in the papers in one city.

How to minimize rumor. The following rules can undoubtedly be advanced for minimizing and controlling rumor:

- Disseminate facts that will tend to make rumors unnecessary.
- Reduce the social distance between top management and the lower supervisors, so that communication from the top down will be natural and spontaneous rather than forced and strained.
- Open the channels of communication upward, so that sentiments, hopes, emotions, and longings will have a natural outlet rather than explode under stress.
- The supervisory hierarchy should try to understand the emotional elements that cause stress.

Information

Communication is identical with the flow of information.¹⁸ Authorities seem agreed that employees want information about the organization for which they work, and that the flow of information to them will develop a sense of belonging—an important factor in stimulating teamwork and group cohesion. They would like to know about the flow of work as it relates to their own particular job—the trite example of the gadget punched out on one's own machine fitting into the tens of thousand of parts that make up the finished airplane is a case in point.

Management people tend to be secretive. Among the reasons why workers are uninformed is the natural secretiveness of

¹⁷ Gordon W. Allport and Leo Postman, *The Psychology of Rumor* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1947).

¹⁸ For a recent authoritative work on the media of communication, see Charles E. Redfield, *Communication in Management* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

persons with superior hierarchical status. A niche in the higher supervisor levels seems to smother the natural inclination of people to talk about things in general. It encourages extreme circumspection, for experience has taught such people that injudicious speech can boomerang. The informed person, moreover, assumes that what he knows must be common knowledge everywhere, and the result is that he becomes oblivious of the need to pass on essential information. Greater attention should undoubtedly be paid to methods and means of informing the workers.

Cultural and ideological differences. Much of the failure to communicate is semantic in nature. The communications of management, as we have seen, imparted on its own level and in its own terms, is often interpreted within the framework of a completely divergent cultural setting and belief system. Consequently, employees may distrust financial reports because they think that they are rigged by accountants to cover up profits. A representative of industrial management has written that too many reports are protestations of virtue—of how good management has been to the workers, and of the large proportion of wages that must come out of the “total divisible income.” He concludes that it is unwise to stress paternalistic security provisions such as old age pensions and health insurance, and that extolling “free enterprise” tends to cause resentment when the implication is that a request for higher wages is tantamount to subversive action.¹⁹ In unionized industry and in the public service, the failure to transmit information results in a clash between the management and the union hierarchies, both jockeying for power and the loyalty of the workers.

Relationship of jobs. Before terminating the discussion of information, a final word should be said on the importance of informing workers about the relatedness of job duties other than their own. Thus, hospital employees must be told why tubes and needles are sterilized; if sterilization becomes a purely mechani-

¹⁹ Keith Powlison, “Explaining the Facts to Employees,” *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter 1947).

cal process, it may be neglected. A complete knowledge of work flow operations cannot but help carry the production process to intelligent and cooperative ends.

Desire to communicate

Much of the difficulty in communication arises from the fact that people either do not want to tell the complete truth or else do not want to hear it. For this reason industrial engineers fail in their attempts to explain rate-payment plans, or personnel technicians fail to make employee groups understand the mechanics of efficiency rating. In other words, the key to the enigmas of communication must be found in cultural, social, and psychological causes that may not be apparent, and in situations that are fundamentally fraught with conflict of interest.

Much of the failure to communicate results from inability to bridge gaps between cultural, social, and intellectual levels. Failure is partly due to the mechanics of language, a problem which has been very amply pointed out by Rudolf Flesch.²⁰ Indeed, the word "Fleschized" has been coined to indicate the process of editing manuscripts so that they will be read by wider audiences. He has graded reading according to difficulty, and this is how his scale applies to magazines and periodicals:

Very Easy	(0-1):	Comics
Easy	(1-2):	Pulp magazine fiction (confession, detective, Western)
Fairly easy	(2-3):	Slick-paper magazine fiction (family and women's)
Standard	(3-4):	Slick-paper magazine articles and digest magazines
Fairly difficult	(4-5):	Literary and quality magazines
	(5-6):	Academic journals and quarterlies
Very difficult	(6 or more):	Scientific and professional journals

²⁰ Rudolf Flesch, *The Art of Plain Talk* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), p. 136.

Semantic difficulties

There is another difficulty in the mechanics of language often referred to by the writers on semantics. This is the lack of preciseness of meaning in words, many of which have several different meanings. Several examples exist in the literature of management, a familiar one being "function." In mathematics, "function" has a very specific technical meaning; but in everyday usage, *to function* has the same connotation as "to do, to operate, to perform." It also means *duty* when it is said that "one's function is to guard the doorway." Yet in organization and management, a *function* is a "specialty," a functional type of organization being one in which the controls are exercised by several specialists' bureaus rather than by integrated command. A functional supervisor is a specialist outside of the line of command who, lacking "line" authority, nevertheless exercises the indeterminate authority of ideas, expertness, and specialized skill and knowledge. The concept of functional supervision was treated more fully in Chapter 3.

Take also the word *staff* which means (1) one who assists another, (2) the entire personnel of an organization, and (3) in a loose way, any body of persons closely grouped around a formal leader. In addition, the verb *to staff* indicates the hiring process.²¹

The necessity to simplify language cannot always be attributed to a low intellectual and educational level. The problem is not what people *can* read, but what they *will* read. Effort should be directed not toward destroying the content by reducing it to the kindergarten level, but rather toward saying the same thing in such a simple way that the maximum number of adults will read it.²² Except in the case of very advanced scientific and philosophical presentations, it is usually possible to do this.

Standardization of terminology. The fact that words have varied, rather than precise, meanings leads many organizations,

²¹ S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1947), pp. 114-24. Discusses varied meanings of same word.

²² Flesch, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

as they gain professional maturity, to attempt standardization of terminology in their specialized areas. One of the foremost examples in the area of management has been the development of the job dictionary by the United States Employment Service. This was an attempt to establish uniform short job descriptions and titles for all of the work performed by manual crafts throughout the United States. Accompanying each job description was a lexicon of vernacular job titles so that the folk meaning in Maine, for example, could be translated easily into the folk meaning in Tennessee.²³ The recent rise in importance of industrial relations has created some problems of terminology, and these have been tackled by Dale Yoder and his staff in their *Industrial Relations Glossary*.²⁴

Cultural bars to communication. One of the principal reasons for failure to communicate is the clash between science and tradition. There is a lag between the folk culture of the past and a rapidly moving technology. This is evidenced by the difficulty encountered in attempts to install improved methods of production where the opposition springs not only from fear of job loss, but also from a feeling of security in customary and habitual work methods and of apprehension coupled with insecurity in proposed changes. People fear that they will not like to work in that manner, will not be able to learn how, will have to work at a faster pace than one can stand, will be removed from the primary social group to which one is accustomed. There are also instances where long-standing methods of performing work acquire a certain sacredness, the alteration of which would in some

²³ In the garment industry, for example, a label sewer may be known also as a label-machine operator, a label sticker, a ticket sewer, a trade marker, or a work-ticket boy. And in the tobacco industry, an ordering-machine operator in one region may elsewhere be called a leaf-house man, a leaf-ordering-house man, a leaf softener, an ordering-box operator, an ordering man, a steam-box tender, or a steam-ordering controlman. Division of Occupational Analysis, United States Employment Service, *Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Vol. II: Occupational Classifications and Industry Index* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949).

²⁴ Industrial Relations Center, University of Minnesota, Bulletin 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, April 1948).

way violate traditions based upon family, community, or regional sentiment. The old man becomes a sage or oracle who speaks for his sanctified ancestors who are allied with the deity.²⁵

Supervisor should understand cultural differences. Translating this into the problems of supervision, one would say the good supervisor understands the folklore, traditions, and the culture of the major groups with whom he deals. Otherwise, communication will often be difficult and incomplete. A familiar example is the perpetual problem encountered by the forest service in trying to keep the "poor whites" of the South from purposely burning the forests in order to create a temporary flush growth of grass for cattle. A study of one such situation in Louisiana by a professional research organization indicated that lack of communication was a principal basis for misunderstanding.²⁶

In a factory, communication can often be hindered by the fact that the unions, or even nonunion workers who have developed a certain solidarity, develop a culture of their own which is considerably at variance with management culture.²⁷ It is a set of attitudes, sympathies, and ingrown beliefs combined with habitual and patterned methods of reacting toward specific situations. The key to communication springs largely from bridging this cultural gap.

The conclusion would seem to be that communication between supervisors and employees cannot be based on rational and intellectual appeals alone.²⁸ Feelings and emotions color the acceptance and interpretation of facts to such an extent that a purely rational appeal may fail. Furthermore, feelings and emotions may vary considerably with formal status, with the result that what makes a vice-president emote may leave an

²⁵ Wendell Johnson, *People in Quandaries* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 65-66. Johnson calls this "ventriloquizing."

²⁶ Rensis Likert, "Opinion Studies and Government Policy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Vol. 92 (November 12, 1948), p. 341.

²⁷ Whiting Williams, *What's on the Worker's Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920).

²⁸ Paul Pigors, *Effective Communication in Industry*, Lt. Rush Toland Memorial Study No. 1 (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1949), p. 47.

ordinary employee either unaffected or amused. John L. Lewis may produce ulcers and hypertension in the high echelons of the coal industry, but not among the miners.

Running away from bad news

Emotional flare-ups caused by disinclination to hear bad news are perhaps responsible for the lion's share of failure to communicate. A supervisor may be honest and sincere in his avowed desire to communicate; but when actual situations promising unpleasantness arise, he may avoid the issue by refusing to communicate. It is often easy to rationalize that such action is justified. For instance, if a group of employees request altered working conditions, it is easy to reason that they are led by a group of professional malcontents or trouble-makers and that they do not represent the desires of one's tried, true, and loyal employees. Another example is the frequent failure of conference procedure because of disinclination to communicate downward.

Emotional bars to communication. The step-up and step-down conference procedure has been accepted enthusiastically at the level of immediate supervision, only to collapse somewhere in the middle and top echelons. This has been partly due to an emotionally-based disinclination of the higher supervisors to communicate downward. Such conference procedure, to attain its maximum effectiveness, must provide a constant flow of information ordinarily possessed only by the top officers of the organization. There are undoubtedly certain strategic facts that must be kept under security and may not be imparted to the rank and file of the organization. In business, one does not want to reveal his hand to his competitor, so a certain competitive strategy has to be confined to a small group. Military units must also keep certain plans of action tightly held within a select group of top brass. The purchase of land for public improvements offers an outstanding example of the need for secrecy in public administration: any advance publicity would lead to a speculative

hike of prices. There is, nevertheless, a huge area of information that can and should be transmitted to employees.²⁹

Effects of size

In small organizations there is frequently a personal contact between the rank-and-file employees and the owner or principal personality. As the organization expands, these contacts become less frequent, resulting in impersonal relations. Rank-and-file employees like to feel that they have had personal contact, even though infrequent, with the chief and his principal subordinates. Despite the fact that such contact is often fleeting and momentary, it nevertheless often results in a certain tendency toward loyalty and identification with the aims and purposes of the organization.

The physical difficulties encountered in trying to communicate with widely scattered employees seem insurmountable. There are various techniques and devices that have been tried with some success. First is the public address or radio system with loud speakers in the plant, the chief speaking to all workers, on company time.³⁰ In one case the talks made by the head of a world-wide organization to employees in the headquarters plants were transmitted in book form to those more remotely located.³¹ There have also been instances in which large industrial concerns have hired air time to broadcast facts about the company, primarily to its own employees, but incidentally to all who care to tune in. On the other hand, programs meant for a general audience reach many employees. In other instances, where a firm constitutes a principal source of employment for a community, time is rented regularly on local stations for the purpose

²⁹ For an excellent survey of what various companies are doing along these lines, see Policyholders Service Bureau, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Telling Employees About Business Operations: The Company* (New York, 1948).

³⁰ Roswell Ward, *The Personnel Program of Jack & Heintz* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 41-42.

³¹ Robert Johnson, *Robert Johnson—Talks It Over* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Johnson & Johnson, 1949), p. 174.

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of talking not only to the firm's employees but also to their families.

This chapter has been devoted primarily to the "why" of communication rather than the "how." The reason for this springs from the belief that the major blocks to two-way communication are emotional, psychological, and cultural rather than technical. He who sincerely desires to communicate must first understand himself. He must be willing to receive unpleasant news and to impart information that should be imparted, irrespective of his initial emotional disinclination to do so. If these emotional and cultural blocks to communication are overcome, the physical means and techniques either are available or can be devised to suit the occasion.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What lesson in communication is pointed up by the butcher case?
2. What are some hindrances to two-way communication?
3. How can you most effectively convey unpleasant news and criticisms to the boss without hurting your status or position?
4. What was the principal finding in the survey of house organs?
5. What are some steps which may be taken to minimize rumors?
6. What mistake is frequently made by management in the dissemination of information to employees?
7. Describe the "Fleschized" system of editing manuscripts so that they will be read by wider audiences.
8. What is meant by semantics? Why is it a problem in hierarchical communication?
9. What is the role of culture in communication?

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Belief systems and attitudes

PEOPLE have preconceived attitudes and beliefs about how others will act and should act. These preconceived attitudes are based only partly on fact, objective research and analysis, their source lying rather in tradition, folklore, social sentiment, birth, and upbringing.¹ One of the greatest influences upon the supervision of people at work is this tendency of people to think about other people in accordance with stereotyped patterns. People working in any particular organization will tend to think about others in the same organization along the lines of a vocational stereotype.²

¹ For discussion of the anthropological concept of belief-systems based on culture, see Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kelly, "The Concept of Culture," *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Ralph Linton, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 78-106.

² The concept of stereotyped thinking has been substantiated in experimental research. See Allen L. Edwards, "Four Dimensions in Political Stereotypes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 35 (October 1940), pp.

Two stereotypes for each occupation

There may be two stereotypes for any given occupation, one based upon the habitual and ingrained belief system of those who are members of the occupation, and the other a stereotyped manner of thinking that outsiders have toward a particular vocation. In the tension that often arises between technical staff people and the line, each side tends to have a stereotype toward the other. Take the case in which the top echelon has informed a line organization that a production specialist is to be attached for the purpose of solving costly production bottlenecks.

The line supervisors would not be human if they did not generate certain apprehensions that in turn cause them to have preconceived notions about the production specialist. They will rationalize that he will be a college graduate, theoretical and impractical; that he will do his utmost to make the line look bad in order to make himself look good; that his recommendations will overturn and upset the normal and secure mode of life; and that he will recommend the discharge, transfer, or demotion of personnel.

The production specialist, on the other hand, cannot help but know that he is being sent into a situation that is vexing to management. His experience and vocational knowledge tell him that he is likely to find certain situations with the following factors present: (1) faulty organization, layout, and work flow; (2) obsolete production techniques; (3) failure to weed out superannuated and incompetent supervision; and (4) vested interests of individuals and pressure groups. The result is that the production specialist expects to run into considerable stub-

566-72; W. S. Gregory, "A Study of Stereotyped Thinking: Affective Reactions to Persons as the Basis for Judging Their Nationality," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 13 (February 1941), pp. 89-102; Nathan Schoenfeld, "An Experimental Study of Some Problems Relating to Stereotypes," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 270 (June 1942), pp. 5-14; Morris Siegel, "Horns, Tails, and Easter Sport: A Study of Stereotypes," *Social Forces*, Vol. 20 (March 1942), pp. 382-86; Max Meenes, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of 1935 and 1942," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 17 (May 1943), pp. 327-36; Seldon C. Menefee, "The Effect of Stereotyped Words on Political Judgments," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1 (August 1936), pp. 614-21.

bornness, opposition, resistance, and often sheer stupidity. This fact molds his vocational stereotype toward line organizations in general.

These situations lead to opposed vocational stereotypes, but it should be noted that each is logical and rational. If each side tends to conform to and behave in accordance with the preconceived stereotype that the other side has postulated for it, only friction and tension can result. The value of knowing about these stereotypes is that supervisors can adapt their behavior to situations by knowing themselves. For instance, both the line supervisor and the production specialist, by knowing what each expects of the other, can channel his own behavior away from conflict and toward cooperation.

Public opinion stereotypes

The example just given relates to a specific management situation, but stereotyped thinking prevails in public opinion.³ These stereotypes are largely what the anthropologists would call "cultural in origin," meaning that they spring from the patterns of thought and behavior relating to family, social and economic status, land of origin, early upbringing and social alliances.

Opinion scales administered to different peoples in the Near East revealed that literate subjects of different countries had somewhat similar stereotypes about Americans, Russians, Jews, Armenians, English, Negroes, and Italians.⁴

The application of these concepts to administration and management was aptly pointed out by Alexander H. Leighton in his study of the relocation of Japanese-Americans at Poston, Arizona, during World War II. There he found a divided administration in which the people-minded administrators held views and employed approaches divergent from those of the finance and construction people, whose views Leighton calls stereotyped.

³ See the term as used by Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922).

⁴ E. Terry Prothro, "Cross-Cultural Patterns of National Stereotypes," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 40 (August 1954), pp. 53-59.

Stereotyped thinking on the part of government personnel in Poston caused them to miss opportunities to secure responses from evacuees upon which work depended and which other administrators less stereotyped in their thinking were able to obtain. Unfortunately, stereotyped rather than realistic thinking was sufficiently common to warp the process of converting official policies into action—with the result that cost of operation was increased while stresses on the people were made more severe and eventually reacted as additional stress on the government employees too.

It is often found that government employees believe that means are ends, with the result that those who deal in construction, fiscal matters and book-keeping come to value the routines of their duties more than the accomplishment of the aims for which the organization exists in the first place. Had the Fiscal Department in the Center had a system of belief that gave human nature and human reactions a place of value comparable to that allotted to details of procedures, it would never have allowed evacuee wages to get three months behind any more than it would have let its own wages get three months behind, and it would have treated evacuee complaints very differently. Similarly, when hospital supplies arrived after a three-month delay, the warehousemen would not have attempted to keep them in the warehouse for a week while they made a detailed inventory.⁵

Leighton goes on to state that the administrator must recognize these varying belief systems and conduct himself so that his own stereotype will not clash directly with both groups and individuals in the organization.

The following paragraphs attempt to set forth some stereotype beliefs held by management, the lower supervisors, and workers. These belief stereotypes are offered for illustrative purposes with the full knowledge that they probably do injustice to individuals in each category; however, they do conform fairly accurately to the belief systems held by typical members of each group. If the author is accused of injecting his own belief systems into these analyses, any resulting controversy should stimulate healthy constructive criticism.

Management's stereotypes

Those in the higher echelons of an organization are usually there because they have manifested such qualities as drive,

⁵ Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), p. 309.

shrewdness, judgment, energy, enthusiasm, and ambition. Perhaps above all, they have demonstrated ability to survive in a competitive milieu, and in the business world this requires a certain hardiness that is rare among men.⁶ Hence, the management stereotype flows from two sources: (1) the kind of people who find their way into top management positions; and (2) the pressures that mold their behavior and thoughts. Consequently, it should not be surprising that these men should judge others on the basis of the qualities upon which they, themselves, have been judged.

Personal competition emphasized. Foremost among these qualities is ability to produce and survive in a competitive world. They are accustomed to being rated on their ability to deliver concrete results. The latter may be measured in the form of dollars or cents on the financial statement, or it may be the number of tons of crushed rock delivered this year as compared to last.

Measured production as a way of life. Top management tends to place a high value on measured production as a method of judging and rewarding others, even those at the bottom of the scalar ladder. Being himself conditioned to competition as a mode of life, and accustomed to having his own degree of success judged in terms of dollars and cents, he places rather high value on money as a motivator, perhaps overemphasizing its importance as applied to rank-and-file employees.⁷

Management person is highly motivated. The successful executive is also a rather energetic fellow who relishes his job, with the result that he often puts in long hours, driving at a fast pace. As a result, he becomes impatient with others who do not seem similarly motivated, and often his irritation on this point erupts

⁶ Largely verified in Chapter III, "The Mind of the Employer," Sam A. Lewisohn, *Human Leadership in Industry* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945), pp. 22-43. Mr. Lewisohn is described as President, Miami Copper Co.; Past President, American Management Association.

⁷ See Elton Mayo's reference to the "Rabble Hypothesis." Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1945), pp. 34-56.

in emotional fulminations against the laziness of people in general.⁸

It is desirable and necessary to evaluate personnel. The top management man has learned by painful experience that people have to be judged objectively on the basis of their value to the organization. The successful executive has handled scores of difficult personnel cases, many of which involve actions that pull at the heartstrings and stir deep human sentiments. These latter he has had to subordinate to the best interests of the organization as a whole. If he did not do so, the organization would not remain healthy or survive. An unconscious by-product of this very natural and justifiable trait is a certain impatience with those human weaknesses that interfere with efficiency. This partially explains why the current emphasis on human relations has ordinarily resulted from outside pressures, such as unionization, rather than springing internally from management itself.⁹

Authority is a one-way street. Another behavior pattern that conditions management behavior is perhaps characteristic of human leadership in all walks of life. Its sources are deeply rooted in tradition and the universal heritage of mankind. This is the concept that authority is a one-way street and that any questioning of authority is tantamount to treason. Those who rise to top management positions are strong individuals with that tendency toward patriarchal thought and behavior traditionally associated with strong men. They have innate qualities of self-assurance, and the entire history of mankind has decreed that the judgment of such leaders shall not be questioned by ordinary people. Hence, the newer approaches to worker motivation through consultation, participation, and two-way communication are often viewed with misgivings.¹⁰

⁸ Alexander R. Heron, *Why Men Work* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948), p. 24.

⁹ Lee Stockford found that higher supervisors have less social service interest, as measured by Kuder, than lower supervisors. "Selection of Supervisory Personnel," *Personnel*, Vol. 24 (November 1947), pp. 186-99.

¹⁰ It must be remembered that democracy is an innovation in human affairs. Anglo-Saxon political democracy goes back hardly more than a century or two.

These broad strokes of a brush are perhaps too all-embracing; yet anyone who has participated in conferences on supervision with lower supervisors, personnel workers, and training people inevitably hears the complaint, "This is all good and we believe in it, but how are we to convince our management that it is so? Even though they give their word-of-mouth assent, how can we induce them to consult and communicate?"¹¹

Staff people's stereotypes

The last quarter of a century has seen the introduction of staff services into both government and industry, with the result that there is a tendency toward an intellectual stereotype in contrast with the action stereotype described above.¹²

More literate and educated. Staff people tend to be highly educated in some particular subject matter, whether it be engineering, finance, or industrial relations. Most staff people do more reading and are closer to the literature in the field than are their action colleagues on the line. The outcome is that the staff person is usually more in sympathy with advanced and progressive theory, which in turn makes him impatient with the line's unwillingness or inability to move as rapidly as the staff believes desirable. Hence, many staff people develop an obsession to the effect that line management is reactionary, stubborn, and often stupid.

The staff people in the personnel and industrial relations field who have been educated in some branch of the social sciences tend to be much more sympathetic to employee viewpoints than does line management. They tend to be people-minded and socially minded and may become quite unhappy about the course of events when placed in the center of a bitter labor-management controversy.

Proximity to top management. Staff people often become

¹¹ My hypotheses are supported in Everett C. Hughes, "Queries Concerning Industry and Society Growing Out of Study of Ethnic Relations in Industry," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 14 (April 1949), pp. 211-20.

¹² Richard R. Myers, "Myth and Status Systems in Industry," *Social Forces*, Vol. 26 (March 1948), pp. 331-37.

members of the top management team, where they are in a position to influence decisions. This affects the line man's stereotype of staff people in two ways: (1) it creates a certain deference because of the staff man's influence, and (2) the line may tend to resent such influence.

Supervisors' stereotypes

Supervisors tend to have certain attitude patterns toward top management.

Authority not clear. There is a fairly general feeling that authority is not clearly defined, that actual authority is considerably less than is depicted in written job descriptions, and that supervisors have responsibility without authority.

Ivory tower versus dirty hands. Top management is out of touch with actual operating conditions at the work level, with the result that it often expects supervisors to behave and achieve in accordance with theories unworkable in practice. The double talk situation develops, wherein the supervisor tries to make management believe that he is doing what is expected, though actually he is operating in a contrary manner dictated by working conditions that management does not understand. The more intellectual and progressive type of supervisor often develops the same type of impatient-with-management complex evidenced by staff people. Thus, it has been the author's experience that the type of supervisor who attends university extension courses voluntarily tends to become critical of what he believes to be management's unwillingness to embrace progressive personnel and supervisory practices.

Distrust of subordinates. There is a stereotyped supervisory reaction to workers, conditioned by the supervisor's attitude toward his own security: the supervisor should not tell or teach them too much. He obtained his knowledge and skill in the hard school of experience, and other people should do likewise. He is suspicious of the subordinate who is constantly suggesting improvement and change. The chances are that he may be one of those discontented intellectuals who are poorly adjusted to

life and therefore not satisfied to continue long on any one job. On the other hand, some of his ideas may be good; and if the boss hears about him, he will blame the supervisor for not thinking of the suggested changes himself. (This last is also related to the double talk pattern in that lower supervisors are close enough to the workers to feel very much as they do about persons who attempt to attract attention by superior effort. World War II developed a symbolic colloquialism, "eager beaver," to express this.)

Workers' belief systems

Apprehension of authority. There is a worker stereotype toward supervisors that pervades almost all occupations. Its key-stone is probably a rather universal fear of the boss, more politely termed "apprehensions of authority." It is alleged that people who join labor unions have an almost universal desire to "tell the boss to go to hell."¹³

Such a fact is alleged to account for the very high turnover in the lower labor categories during a stiff labor market. Workers who become unhappy about their relations with their superiors, especially where there is no safety valve for settling grievances upon the spot, simply settle the matter by leaving and finding immediate employment elsewhere.

Supervisors play favorites. There is also an extremely prevalent belief that supervisors like to play favorites, which in turn offers a partial explanation for worker emphasis upon seniority as a means of preferment. It also accounts for the widespread worker opposition toward efficiency rating plans and pay schemes in which progress is based upon efficiency.

Management neglects human values and sentiments. There is also the worker stereotype belief about management that envisions the latter as being interested in profits and having few if any human sentiments. The workers probably feel that man-

¹³ Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg, "Motives for Union Membership," *Human Factors in Management*, Schuyler Dean Hoslett, ed. (Parkville, Mo.: Park College Press, 1946), p. 186.

agement regards them as being members of a rabble rather than responsible members of society. Prior to the widespread unionization of the 1930's, workers in the basic industries expected foremen to be shouting and cursing drivers, rather tough fellows whom Whiting Williams so aptly described in his book based on his own personal experiences in basic industries in the 1920's.¹⁴ /

Under the new unionization of labor relations, foremen have had to abandon the drill sergeant behavior pattern, and this was one of the reasons for the discontent in the ranks of foremen in the early 1940's. Many of the old timers had considerable difficulty in changing their habits of supervision to conform to the altered relationship between management and labor.

The attitude of the worker toward work. It seems to be a fact that the vast majority of salaried workers and wage earners would prefer to do other things than work at their jobs. The particular type of work that they are doing seems to them to be one of the least satisfying phases of their lives. The following quotation from Peter F. Drucker may be an extreme view because of the peculiar nature of the automobile industry. Yet it would seem to express attitudes very widely held, although probably in varying degree from occupation to occupation.¹⁵

For the great majority of automobile workers, the only meaning of the job is in the pay check, not in anything connected with the work or the product. Work appears as something unnatural, a disagreeable, meaningless and stultifying condition of getting the pay check, devoid of dignity as well as of importance. No wonder that this puts a premium on slovenly work, on slow-downs, and on other tricks to get the same pay check with less work. No wonder that this results in an unhappy and discontented worker—because a pay check is not enough to base one's self-respect on. Perhaps the best way to sum up is by quoting a craftsman of the old school whom I met years ago. He had just decided to leave a well paid job in the automobile industry. When I asked him why he was unhappy in De-

¹⁴ Whiting Williams, *What's on the Worker's Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), p. 178.

¹⁵ Peter F. Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (New York: The John Day Co., 1946), p. 179.

troit, he said, "The whole place is on relief; even if they have jobs, they still behave and act as if they were unemployed."

A very prevalent belief on all sectors of the working front is that it is not good for the individual to work too hard. Thus, the newcomer who turns out too much work is subjected to social pressure that makes him conform to the production standards the group deems appropriate. While much of this springs from spontaneous group antagonism toward the "eager beaver," there is also much honest conviction among individuals that superior effort will not be recognized. There is no sense in being creative, resourceful, and ambitious except within the confines of the boss' own desires. Therefore, the thing to do is to study him and satisfy his demands, but only to the extent necessary to keep him in good humor.

Workers are skeptical of improvements proposed by management that might seem to threaten security. The introduction of new machinery and technical methods is almost certain to encounter some resistance from the worker groups. The latter are also somewhat apprehensive of what they believe to be management's attempt to exploit them through the device of scientific management, which might bring about more production per man hour.

Skilled workers resist alterations that will break down whole craft trades, such as machinists, into subordinate occupations that can be performed by unskilled persons. There is also a vague un verbalized sentiment that prevails in the social organization of workers to the effect that if they exert themselves too much, production will exceed market demands and they will be out of jobs. Hence, the thing to do is to offer resistance to speed-up in order to make the job last the maximum number of pay checks.

Inside and outside bureaucracy

There is an antigovernment stereotype widely held by political and economic conservatives, including businessmen, chambers of commerce, the rightist press, and probably most of

the middle-of-the-rovers. Indeed, the belief system about to be described probably prevails among people of all walks of life. A survey based upon interviews with a cross section of the population, indicated that the attitudes held by most people about bureaucracy sprang from some experiences resulting in frustration—they could not get something they wanted.¹⁶ There were complaints of official stupidity, blundering, conflicting orders, complicated routine, and rigidity. On the organization side there were complaints against overstaffing, duplication of authorities, and too many bureaus, that bureaucrats are power-hungry people who interfere with liberty and personal rights, desiring to regulate every phase of life.

The bureaucrat possesses an extraordinary mania for personal security and intrenches himself so that change and progress are made impossible. Bureaucracy also represents something sinister because of its very bigness, possibly the kind of thing that Justice Brandeis cried out about in his protest against large-scale organization as an increasing feature of American life. It transforms the warm, personal aspects of a once simple life into a way of life that is complex, impersonal and cold.

Bureaucrat's stereotypes. The government bureaucrat usually has his own stereotype, which is just as critical of the citizen as the citizen's view of him. This attitude is particularly prevalent in governmental activities that render some sort of social service to mankind and are largely understaffed. The bureaucrat in these instances is asking the common citizen to rise to a social consciousness that would make him bigger than his own ordinary self.

The traffic policeman knows that by strict enforcement, he can save many lives in the space of a year. Yet, the ordinary citizen resists such enforcement. The sanitary engineer and the public health administrator know that sewers and sewage disposal plants are badly maintained, yet citizens are very reluctant to provide the money necessary to construct and maintain them.

¹⁶ Goodwin Watson, "Bureaucracy as the Citizen Sees It," *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. I (December 1945), pp. 4-13.

Recreation experts agree that there should be a public playground within one-fourth of a mile of each child's home; yet this standard is far from achieved. Planning officials who approve the design of subdivisions tend to demand a pattern of community development that subdividers are reluctant to provide. The Food and Drugs Administration insists on standards that food processors resist.

This sets a pattern of bureaucratic thought that usually is entirely overshadowed by the preceding antibureaucratic stereotype. Thus, the specialized bureaucrat is frequently setting for humanity a standard of conduct that the man in the street is not prepared to follow. The bureaucrat is a specialist in a particular line of activity, and he interprets the dictates of social need. The law under which he operates has been democratically made, and as he interprets it his mandate is clear. Yet in America the law is also democratically followed, which means that observance is often quite short of what the law might conceivably expect.

In this situation, the bureaucrat who feels very deeply about the justice of his position may tend to become petulant about the citizen's failure to live up to his social obligations. In this sense, the bureaucrat is expecting the citizen to observe a code of conduct that run-of-the-mill human nature may lay down for itself in the law but fail to observe in practice.

The social service workers' stereotype. There is a family of occupations or vocations once considered to be exclusively charitable and philanthropic in nature but now increasingly governmental. These include not only social case work, both public and private, but such activities as recreation, prevention and control of delinquency, public health, and community social organizations in general. The leaders of thought in this field tend to be people-minded and community-minded.

Anyone who has attended conferences dealing with community problems can recall people of this persuasion who have, with emotion, insisted that human values are greater than fiscal considerations. They tend to feel that poverty and underprivileged social status are due to environment and misfortune

rather than to individual laziness and irresponsibility. They favor a scientific and fact-finding approach to the cure of bad social conditions, believing in reconstruction and rehabilitation rather than in the inevitability of poverty and indigency.

The finance stereotype. The belief system of finance officers can be understood only in the setting of their necessities. It must be remembered that the comptroller or treasurer in any considerable undertaking is personally responsible and bonded for the integrity of millions of dollars in money and property. The entire objective of a fiscal officer is to conserve money, supplies, and property. He knows that to do this he must set up systems of accounting and controls and internal checks so that he can trace every transaction to some record. The result is that he has a respect for paper work and records far beyond that possessed by people in other organizations and walks of life.

Furthermore, he knows, often by sad experience, that a considerable number of people will steal money and pilfer goods, with the result that control measures to prevent such eventualities must be set up. Because finance people are property conscious, they tend constantly to think in terms of savings, economies, and conservation of assets. As a consequence, their view of human reaction and motivation more nearly approaches that of the rabble hypothesis than the people-centered approach of the social workers.

Legal stereotype. The lawyer has a stereotype about administration that is more pronounced in its attitudes towards public administration than towards private management. This may be due to the lawyer's mental saturation with the British legal and political philosophy of the eighteenth century. The common law's characteristic attitude toward government featured extreme laissez faire and the less government the better.¹⁷

The trend of Anglo-Saxon constitutional development for the last 1,000 years has been to put the executive under strict legal controls and to give more powers to the legislative branch.

¹⁷ John M. Pfiffner, "The Role of the Lawyer in Public Administration," *Southern California Law Review*, Vol. 20 (October 1946), pp. 37-57.

Moreover, the genius of the law tends to be conservative because it is based upon precedent, with the result that a professional methodology that is conservative in basic approach is bolstered by a traditional distrust of executive power and authority. Thus, we find that the legal mind in public administration tends toward strict construction, by which is meant that administrative officials have only those powers that are specifically created in the law.

This preciseness is not bad in itself, for it probably tends toward protection of the citizen in his personal life, but it does result in the very thing that the man in the street criticizes in bureaucracy. The lawyers who frame new statutes, constitutions, and charters know that they go into great detail in order to insure that the desired power will be granted or, on the other hand, that undesired power will be denied. The end result is more paper work and a multiplication of red tape, because the lawyer and the line officials want the route to be clear in case of litigation. Their purpose is to establish the type of record that will stand up in a judicial type of hearing.

The conflict of stereotypes

The point to be made here again is that in all aspects of administration and management there is some conflict of belief stereotypes. Thus, the citizen regards the bureaucrat as being inefficient, incompetent, power-mad, and dictatorial, while the bureaucrat fumes at the citizen, first for not supporting desirable public services financially, and, second, for not observing the code of conduct that the citizen has asked the bureaucrat to enforce.

The finance officer approaches the problem of public relief from the standpoint of how much money it will cost, while the social worker insists that human values should prevail over financial considerations. Management thinks that workers should react favorably to incentive pay, but the latter set their own rates of production, believing that the rate will be cut if they produce too much.

A nearly universal clash of stereotypes in the business world occurs between the credit department and the salesman. The latter is struggling competitively to sell more goods to people who do not have to buy from him. He becomes so sensitive and solicitous about the customer's good will that he becomes irritated at the methods used by the credit department to collect from customers who are slow in their payments. The credit department on the other hand tends to regard the salesman as a sentimental dupe who is constantly being hoodwinked by dead-beats.¹⁸

There is potential conflict between the legal and administrative stereotypes. The administrator thinks that the lawyer is constantly conspiring to eliminate desirable management discretion. He feels that the lawyer forever searches for reasons why particular things cannot be done, instead of helping the administrator by finding legal authority for doing desirable things.

So it goes through the almost unlimited range of belief systems possessed by groups and individuals who are conditioned by their occupation, status, early conditioning, present environment, and even heredity. The coordinating type of administrator of the future will understand these stereotypes and know how they were arrived at and conditioned. Above all, he will be aware of the fact that he has a stereotype of his own, and in his dealings with others he will be tolerant of theirs.

Changing attitudes and beliefs

Can human nature be changed? Can the patterns of thought that govern man's behavior be altered? These matters were discussed in Chapter 2 when posing the age-old question of the relative influences of heredity and environment. So far as the genes or heredity govern the way one thinks, little can be done to alter it except through controlled breeding of the human

¹⁸ Joseph M. Goldson and Lillian Lowe, "Manager Meets Union," *Human Factors in Management*, S. D. Hoslett, ed. (Parkville, Mo.: Park College Press, 1946), p. 81.

race. However, it seems certain that environment as expressed in the culture concept of the anthropologists has considerable influence upon how people think.

Furthermore, it seems certain that culture can be changed and, as a matter of fact, is constantly changing, especially in our dynamic Western World. Consequently the minds of man working in an administrative or management subculture can be changed both consciously and unconsciously.

Human beings are often influenced by feelings rather than rational thought. Successful leaders in many walks of life are intuitively aware of this, particularly the politician, salesman, showman, and evangelist. It seems possible that in the early days of training administrators, too much emphasis was placed upon logical analysis, upon formal organization study, time and motion study, work flow, and layout, for example. More and more it is becoming evident that the administrator must possess insight in addition to the powers and skills of logical analysis. He must in some way be made aware of, and trained to deal with, the subconscious, emotional, and irrational behavior of both individuals and groups. The administrator who would influence and change the belief systems, habits, and customs of people might pay attention to the following possible procedures:

- He should understand the behavior of people in general, not according to the formal and stilted concept of the management class, but through the eyes of the sociologist and anthropologist.

He should understand what makes people join labor unions, why low-paid workers in general are addicted to high job-turnover and absenteeism, and what are the social and living conditions that produce the major personnel problems.

- He should know his own people, those who work for him and those who are the object of his administration.

The knowledge of these people should not be the formal and idealized one that persons in top management positions often like to believe exists. The whole problem of understanding the human structure of an organization is related to maintaining

two-way communication, one of the points mentioned and discussed at greater length in the chapter on communication.

- The dominant method of securing change should be through persuasion and facing the facts rather than through fear and threats.

Fear has its place in motivating people to do that which they should do, but it should be the same type of fear that motivates management—a fear that is based upon an understanding of basic facts. For instance, there was the case of a small marginal steel plant that had become unprofitable and was about to be abandoned.¹⁹ When the facts were put before the union, the workers became apprehensive about the future of their community, homes, and jobs, and decided to save the plant. Furthermore, there is probably a place for the type of fear that makes the individual apprehensive of the consequences of his own wrongdoing. However, such fear is not effective unless one has undergone the type of therapeutic change that motivates him to act properly in the future.

- The administrators who would influence people to alter long-established practices deeply rooted in their culture should work through their own leaders and groups.

Thus, the Indian Service had some difficulty in getting its wards into modern hospitals because of the opposition of the tribal medicine man. Often the method of approach was to work through the medicine man himself, even going so far as to have medical doctors extend him professional courtesies and make a show of professional deference. When it becomes necessary to alter or to run contrary to long-established local customs, a factual conference in which it is carefully explained why particular administrative steps must be taken is frequently effective. For instance, when the TVA had to move hundred-year-old graves that would be flooded by the reservoirs its dams created, trained social workers first made case studies and then individual approaches to the families whose permission was needed. The

¹⁹ Harold J. Rittenberg, "The Fruits of Industrial Peace," *Harvard Business Review* (Spring 1940), Vol. 18, pp. 285–87.

graves were moved to appropriate locations, and the transfer was accomplished entirely in accordance with community practices and sentiments. When the Indian Service had to reduce the herds of Acoma Pueblo because of over-grazing, the approach was made directly upon a factual basis through tribal leaders and government. Long and arduous explanations made in widely scattered localities told just why over-grazing was causing tribal lands to erode and the top soil to wash away.²⁰

- Where it is known that the change cannot be made quickly but must require a period of time for acceptance, the techniques of planting an idea and letting it grow often brings results.

This emphasizes another principle in gaining cooperation in human relations: the one who would influence must often suppress his own ego and fertilize and feed that of the one who is to be influenced. Thus, management consultants have long ago learned that opposition of an administrator to management change often can be dissolved by planting the idea of change with him and then fostering the belief that it was his own brain-child. Some have even gone so far as to impute that the one offering the opposition actually suggested the idea himself in a previous conference. When this is done deftly, it would seem to be effective in a high percentage of instances, although there may be those who might question the ethics of such procedure. However, it certainly should not be interpreted as unethical for an administrator to allow the leader of one of his constituencies to believe that he was the original proposer of an idea that the administration decided to foster and propagate.

- One of the best ways of influencing people or changing their attitudes and customs is to know their feelings and sentiments.

As indicated above, such understanding is dependent upon maintaining a two-way system of communication, free and unimpeded. It is well known that at the present time such communication does not exist. Top management has an idealized

²⁰ John Collier, "United States Indian Administration as a Laboratory of Ethnic Relations," *Social Research*, Vol. 12 (September 1945), pp. 282-85.

pattern of thought that it naïvely expects will be passed down and accepted unquestioningly by workers. On the other hand, top management, being made up of human beings, wants good news instead of bad news and that is the kind of information it receives, except through the union line of communication. That is one reason why management does not like union leaders who tell them the unpleasant things that the whole hierarchical system of communication is designed to shield from their sensitive ears.

Application to management

The preceding discussion of belief systems and attitudes may seem to the intelligent reader to be a recapitulation of the commonplace. He may ask of what possible utility such a detailing of the obvious may be to the study of management. The answer is that the members of the groups possessing these belief systems are not aware that they are stereotyped; indeed, they are for the most part convinced that their thoughts are the one and only truth, the genuine highway to salvation.

It has become almost trite to say that a dominant characteristic of our technical age is the multiplication of technical specialists, each apparently trying to get its own independent and autonomous way. The job of the administrator is to develop coordination and cooperation among these specialists. The distinguishing characteristic of the administrator is the generalizing mind with the faculty for coordination. An understanding of the belief systems, mental sets, and stereotypes of the various groups with whom it has to deal is a vital part of the generalizing mind's equipment. It is a stabilizing influence that acts as an antidote to the type of dogmatism that disturbs equilibrium.

Riegel's study of the introduction of technological change into the manufacturing process covered fifty plants in the Detroit area, including many industries besides the automotive.²¹ A survey of employee attitudes conducted during the course of the

²¹ John W. Riegel, *Management Labor and Technological Change* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942), pp. 1-9.

study indicated that this group believed that such change displaces workers and causes unemployment. Specific cases where men had been replaced by machines were detailed with some bitterness.

It was also believed that, in addition to complete unemployment, the machines contribute to underemployment and irregular work, with resultant decrease in annual earnings. Attitudes were more marked in large and prosperous firms where the employees felt the company was already making sufficient profit. It was also strongly felt that technological improvement resulted in reclassifying the jobs downward, and therefore reducing hourly rates, and in making skills obsolete. The men were under the impression that new methods increase strain and fatigue and that speedup adds to accident hazards.

There was considerable evidence to indicate that employees were much more inclined to accept change gracefully in those companies where management had taken pains to inform them in advance and to explain the reason for and the nature of the proposed change.²² A successful procedure seems to be the calling of meetings, attended by employee leaders, shop stewards, and foremen, at which the advantages of change to the employee are explained. The necessity to meet competition is fully set forth, and assurance is made, when sustained by facts, that employees will not become unemployed. Once the improvement program is established, similar means must be constantly pursued in order to obtain employee cooperation and to minimize opposition.

One device consisted of transferring employee objectors and union stewards to the research department where they would participate in actual development. Unionized companies found it essential to have periodical and complete discussions with union officials. Soliciting the participation of employees in improving methods was very helpful in relieving tension, but success depended to a great extent on the ability of the technicians to establish friendly and natural relations with the workers.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 36-40.

Here again, as elsewhere, the formula for overcoming antagonistic belief systems consisted of: (1) information in advance; (2) full and complete explanation of the reasons for change; (3) solicitation and stimulation of participation by workers; and (4) assurance that threat to personal security will be minimized. The three C's are communication, consultation, and collaboration.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What are the two stereotypes ordinarily applied to any given occupation?
2. What four situations are you, as a production specialist, likely to find in an organization?
3. What are some stereotyped ways of thinking likely to be found among management people?
4. What are some essential aspects of stereotypes affecting staff people, supervisors, and production workers?
5. What essential aspects affect legal, social service, and finance stereotypes?
6. How does an understanding of stereotyped thinking aid the supervisor in his human relations?
7. What are some rules to follow which might aid an administrator in altering stereotypes which interfere with organization goals?
8. What were Riegel's findings in his study of the Detroit automobile industry?

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Conflict, cooperation, and morale

HUMAN institutions are pregnant with the seeds of conflict, rivalry, and tension; and management hierarchies are no exception. Such conflict situations are universally prevalent in human affairs, so that the following examples must surely recall to the reader's mind some similar incidents in his own experience. An earlier chapter referred to the vocational stereotype that causes people to think and believe in accord with certain patterns dictated by the occupation itself. A similar situation prevails in connection with the occupational antagonisms that exist in all types of organizations.

As conflict—difference—is here in the world, as we cannot avoid it, we should, I think, use it. Instead of condemning it, we should put it to work for us. . . .

—Mary P. Follett.¹

¹ Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick, eds, *Dynamic Administration: the Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follet* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940), p. 30.

Occupational conflict and antagonism

People ally themselves mentally and emotionally in favor of their own occupational grouping and against some rival occupational grouping. This sort of conflict situation, flowing largely from the apprehensions of vested interests and threats to security, often has little rational basis. Sentiments, emotions, and feelings of this type are generated in all human organizations. Oftentimes the conflicts amaze the outsider because they seem to spring from vocational antagonisms in areas that the man in the street believes should be closely allied in sentiment and background. In the university, this antagonism often exists between the school of business and the department of economics, the school of social work and the department of sociology, and between the experimental and the clinical psychologists. In the practice of medicine, a similar rift has frequently existed between the general practitioner and the psychiatrist.

A dramatic example is furnished by the highly publicized resistance to unification of the national military units. Much of the rivalry between the services is deep-rooted and longstanding; for instance, the Navy and the Air Force, the Army and the Marines.²

Vocational conflicts often create problems relative to the orthodox concepts of unity of command. Thus, there is usually some friction between the deck officers and the engineering officers on a ship. This may reach the point where the captain and the chief engineering officer are perpetually hostile toward each other, such tension being felt by the crew on both sides. Legally the captain is in supreme command of the ship, of course, but he often has to be extremely tactful in his relationships with the engineering people.

Business institutions frequently evidence conflict based upon fundamental differences in purpose, one vocational stereo-

² See Hanson W. Baldwin's account of how the Army publicity failed to mention the small detachment of Marines on Corregidor and Bataan, allegedly in retaliation for the publicity given the Marines in World War I: "Our Worst Blunders in the War," *The Atlantic*, Vol. 185 (February 1950), pp. 30, 32.

type being pitted against another in situations where both must work together and usually do, though not without some strife. Friction is common between the sales and credit departments, the advertising and editorial offices of a newspaper, the production engineers and the line organization of a factory. Anyone familiar with public administration will readily recall similar antagonisms¹ between a police department and a county sheriff's department in the same locality. Most organizations whose operations are based upon a high degree of specialization, as hospitals are dependent upon medical men, contain the seeds of strife between business management units and the specialist. The one is highly cost-conscious, whereas the other regards costs as secondary to functional objectives.

There are also many work-flow situations where personal contacts are fraught with tension. Whyte mentions in his study of the restaurant business that every restaurant has three common tension points: (1) between the customer and the waitress, (2) between the waitress and the chef, (3) between the counter-man and the dishwashers.³

Tensions arising from public contact. A type of the first-mentioned form of tension exists in most businesses at the point where employees constantly contact the general public directly. The most obvious example is, of course, the game continuously going on between the retail salesperson and the customer. In certain lines of retail selling this can lead to emotion and suppressed aggression, particularly in cases where women serve women, as in wearing apparel. There the girls constantly build up feelings of antagonism that result in tensions that may be relieved in four ways: (1) talking back to the customer; (2) controlling the customer through various devices; (3) taking emotions out on fellow workers, and (4) crying. Whyte found the crying among waitresses sufficiently prevalent to merit discussion at some length.⁴

³ William Foote Whyte, *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948), pp. 104 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

The tension points prevail in all forms of human organization and constitute an eternal problem of supervision. In public administration the contact with the public comes at counters where one pays one's taxes, applies for licenses, obtains building permits, or any of the other thousand and one occasions when the general public enters the city hall, courthouse, or Federal Building. The impression prevails that public employees are less skillful at controlling their emotions under these tensions than the employees of private business.⁵

Good management minimizes conflict. The fact to remember is that much of this tension can be minimized by the observance of good management practice. Whyte in his report furnishes the example of a bartender who maintained amicable relations with waitresses by the simple expedient of analyzing his job and breaking it down into component parts.⁶ (This expedient is what Job Instruction Training courses tried to communicate to millions of trainees during World War II.) The bartender systematized his work, served the girls on the basis of "first come, first served," played no favorites—and tension evaporated. Whyte's example demonstrates the inseparability of the tenets of good management from the practice of human relations.

Perhaps the most familiar conflict in the industrial area takes place between the union and the management hierarchy. Usually the entrance of a union in a plant is fraught with conflict and packed with emotion. The union hierarchy is arrayed against the management hierarchy in a state of open warfare. Later, formal acceptance comes, but the cooperation needed is not wholehearted. As time goes on there is a tendency to accept unionism both intellectually and emotionally, and the two hierarchies, although remaining separate, are articulated so that they work harmoniously together as part of the formal organiz-

⁵ This is one of the most important problems in public management and is in need of some thoroughgoing research to test the emotion-packed generalizations that prevail.

⁶ Whyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81.

ation.⁷ The conflict then becomes one of trying to define the boundaries between the task of management and that of the union. As one writer has put it, "management is now trying to secure recognition from the unions."⁸

Individual hostility

Thus far the discussion has been directed to the type of conflict that is associated with social groups, such groups being based largely upon vocational lines. However, a tremendous amount of dissension and antagonism exists between individuals, the origins of which have been obscure, but are now being widely investigated by psychiatrists and clinical psychologists.⁹ Individual hostility flows from many complex sources about which scientists are not in agreement. Here again one runs up against the heredity-versus-environment controversy, Freudians versus the experimentalists, and the internal medicine people versus the psychiatrist. Happily the antagonisms among these groups of scientists seem to be diminishing, and the practitioners are even learning to work in teams to attack the problems of abnormal behavior of individuals. For our purposes it seems reasonable to assume that some hostility arises from the social situation, and that is something about which management can take action. Thus, it is now recognized that insecurity is responsible for much hostile action. Merely making this statement does not settle the problem, however. Rather, it opens up a controversy about the amount of security good for people. However, in a management situation much hostility can be removed by two-way communication and by developing a sense of belonging, devices that are often emphasized in these chapters.¹⁰

⁷ Symposium, "From Conflict to Cooperation," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 5 (Fall 1946), p. 30; for two case examples reported in some detail, see: Benjamin M. Selekman, *et al.*, *Problems in Labor Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1950), pp. 580-651.

⁸ Neil W. Chamberlain, *The Union Challenge to Management Control* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 49.

⁹ For a discussion of the frustration-aggression hypothesis advanced by some psychologists, see Norman R. F. Maier, *Psychology in Industry* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1946), pp. 57-79.

¹⁰ Erich Lindemann, "Individual Hostility and Group Integration," *Human Organization*, Vol. 8 (Winter 1949), pp. 5-9.

Communication and catharsis reduce hostility. The supervisor should encourage a relationship of intimate communication between himself and those whom he supervises. If supervisors are conditioned to function in this manner, conflicts arising from the hostility of individuals will be minimized. Line supervisors cannot be qualified to deal with all problems of individual hostility and, therefore, management organizations must avail themselves of the services of those specialists who do possess the requisite knowledge and skills. A great deal of the work maladjustment of individuals flows from improper job placement.

Fundamentally, the answer to individual hostility is much the same as that to group conflict: namely, give it an outlet that will tend to dissipate its virulence. In the case of the individual, this is the cathartic listening type of interview in which the individual relieves his tensions by letting them pour out to a willing listener. In the case of group conflict, the process of relieving tensions is through two-way communication, consultation, and participation. In other words, the best available remedy would seem to be more democracy in management institutions.

Conflict frequently centers around a struggle for power between individuals. It is interesting, if not fruitful, to speculate whether a conflict situation creates hostile personalities or vice versa. As in all cases involving these issues, the answer is undoubtedly that some people are motivated by their genes to be aggressive, competitive, and ascendant. However, one need not depart from orthodox concepts of genetics to say that management institutions often create conditions that encourage the expression of such traits. Lasswell has proposed that there is a democratic pattern of leadership and a democratic leadership personality,¹¹ a hypothesis that, it is believed, applies to supervisory leadership. It cannot be emphasized too often that supervisors should be conditioned in the spirit and techniques of coordination and cooperation.

¹¹ Harold Dwight Lasswell, *Power and Personality* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 108-205.

Management prerogatives

Perhaps the most emotion-packed issues in the area of labor relations are, and will continue to be, the galaxy of issues and subissues surrounding that indefinite and largely undefined area termed "management prerogative."¹²

The traditional philosophy of management has been that management should be judged by results and that management's methods and procedures are of no concern to outsiders. Strategic decisions made by management must be backed up by a high order of judgment. The proper use of judgment is particularly important in dealing with the human factor, because people who work vary tremendously in their ability and willingness to assume responsibility or adapt themselves to particular tasks and positions. Hence, one of the foremost ingredients of the management job has been discretionary power to utilize the services of individuals as the necessities of the organization seem to demand.

Now comes militant unionism with its demands that the bargaining contract contain provisions fettering this discretionary power of management to deal with individuals in accordance with its own judgment. The same thing happens under civil service laws, rules, and regulations, except that here the restrictions apply to persons of higher status as well as to the rank-and-file.

What are some of the problems that irk management, that management believes hamper its essential purposes and prevent the exercise of proper management skill and judgment? The answer is that they are legion, as will be evidenced by any reference to collective bargaining contracts and civil service regulations. Sunday work must be rotated; people must be laid off in accordance with seniority, rather than their value to the organization; the employee's preference must be given consideration in scheduling vacation time; transfers must take into consideration the employee's wishes, or they may become formal grievances; promotions shall be governed by set rules and regulations,

¹² Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

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rather than by management favoritism; discipline and dismissal are subjected to a semijudicial procedure that requires proof of the charges made. In other words, one considerable phase of management prerogative—namely, the power to exercise judgment and take action adverse to the interests of individuals—is being severely restricted all along the line.

*Should labor participate in methods improvement?*⁹ Another area where management prerogative is being challenged is that surrounding participation in the improvement of production. Labor itself is not unanimous on this, as is the case in most collective bargaining issues. Some labor leaders, including many leaders of A.F.L.-C.I.O. craft unions, feel that they do not want the responsibility of participating in traditional management areas having to do with improvement of production. They state that collective bargaining will be injured if the union tries to usurp management prerogatives and that collective bargaining will be on much firmer ground if it recognizes that there is an exclusive area for the union on the one hand and for management on the other. The difficulty lies in determining which area is exclusively management's and which is dominantly the union's. Some unions have had to get into the production control area because of the nature of the business. For instance, in the garment industry the unions hired their own industrial engineers for two purposes: (1) to guard against the speedup of their own members, and (2) to bring better management practices to small and weak employers who predominated in many sections of that industry. The current trend in most manufacturing fields would seem to be in the direction of labor-management cooperation along the lines of joint production committees and suggestion systems.

Labor's interest in company finance or ability to pay. There is a third area that is probably more emotion-packed than the other two: the demand on the part of union leaders in certain of the mass production industries to inquire into the financial condition of the companies. This practice arises, of course, in connection with questions about the financial ability of the em-

ployer to meet the demands of the union for higher wages and broader perquisites, such as pensions and the shorter work week. It raises the question of what is a reasonable profit and proper return on invested capital. A steel industry officer during the 1949 strike declared that the steel industry had never received a proper return on invested capital. This whole question of profits and return upon capital is tremendously complicated, yet it seems inevitable that this very issue will go to the heart of industrial collective bargaining in the years just ahead. The issues revolve around the matters discussed in Chapter IV relative to the economics of supervision. Should stockholders receive future dividends on profits plowed back into the business? What is the proper charge for depreciation? Why should there be such disparity between the compensation for top management positions and that for the rank and file? Should the books of a corporation be opened to the detailed inspection of union representatives? Should the union have some say about the manner in which the accounts are maintained? These issues are hot and strike at the very heart of one of the most prized prerogatives traditionally appertaining to management.

Cooperation

The quotation from Miss Follett at the head of this chapter to the effect that a certain amount of conflict is healthful, if used constructively, seems sound. Competition, rivalry, and opposition produce social health, provided institutions and behavior patterns provide peaceful means for resolving conflict.¹³ The institutions and behavior patterns that permit healthy con-

¹³ Similar concepts are expressed by certain applied anthropologists who conceive of morale as expressed in terms of equilibrium and disequilibrium: Eliot Dinsmore Chapple and Carleton Stevens Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), pp. 43-69; Eliot D. Chapple, "Anthropological Engineering: Its Use to Administrators," *Human Factors in Management*, Schuyler Dean Hoslett, ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946) pp. 271-76; Burleigh B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry*, Homewood, Ill. (Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945). See also E. Wight Bakke, *Adaptive Human Behavior, An Outline for the Study of Human Relations in Industry* (New Haven: Yale Labor and Management Center, 1949).

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lict have certain similarities, although they may take various forms.¹⁴

The five ingredients of industrial democracy

Five fundamental ingredients necessary to permit and encourage healthy conflict are:

1. Two-way communication
2. Rank-and-file influence of policy
3. Responsible management
4. Industrial Bill of Rights
5. The rule of law

Two-way communication. First, there must be an opportunity for subordinates at all levels to speak their minds with impunity. This applies both to matters involving feelings of injustice on the part of individuals and to constructive criticism about the manner in which affairs are carried on. Management hierarchies are already setting up institutions to fill this need. Some of them have been forced by unionism; others have been advanced and installed by enlightened management. The establishment of a grievance system is an example that comes readily to mind. The individual worker is furnished channels through which he may air freely his own feelings about the variety of matters that trouble him. Where a grievance procedure is buttressed by militant unionism, the rank-and-file employee can complain fearlessly. The whole process of collective bargaining has served to open channels of communication, and the institutions arising out of it are becoming an accepted part of American culture. Even the

¹⁴ In a previous edition of this chapter there was postulated an analogy with political democracy, saying that the latter had the following five essentials: (1) legalized opposition (His Majesty's "loyal" opposition); (2) the right to be skeptical, combined with freedom of speech; (3) executive power in some sense responsible to popular sentiment; (4) guaranteed personal rights, liberties, and perquisites; (5) supremacy of the law (equality before the law). The analogy was abandoned in this edition because of a feeling that the institutions of political democracy may not be adaptable in all respects to the running of management institutions. However, it is believed that the fundamental principles of these five points are basic to good human relations in all types of human institutions, although the means of applying them may vary considerably as between an industrial corporation and a governmental unit.

strike and picketing have become such an accepted ritual that management furnishes heated sheds, coffee, and radio for the pickets. This procedure contrasts sharply with the violence of a few decades ago.¹⁵ Two examples of attempts by modern management to encourage upward communication are furnished by suggestion/plans and the conference, the latter being used with increasing frequency. The first is an attempt to induce individual employees to think constructively about the improvement of work methods. The second is gradually creating a pattern of executive behavior that encourages subordinates to voice constructive criticism.

Rank-and-file influence of policy. Cooperation cannot replace conflict unless means are provided for the rank and file, not only to communicate their sentiments and feelings upward, but also to assure that these communications will be received, considered, and acted upon. This cooperation pertains to the extremely touchy issue of management prerogative discussed above. It seems possible to reconcile the concept of management prerogative with employee participation in policy, provided one accepts the hypothesis that there are as many levels of policy making as there are steps in the hierarchy. Policy is not something that supermen decide upon in a rarified atmosphere uncontaminated by outside influences. It is, rather, a continuum wherein there are various gradations in policy making from bottom to top and from top to bottom.¹⁶ Thus, it may be appropriate for the higher echelons to establish the policy that coffee hours shall be staggered, leaving it to lower supervisors to determine how they shall be staggered and even permitting individuals to voice their preferences. Each is a policy matter in that a plan of action has been determined, the nature of the action being appropriate to its scalar level.

The influence of the rank and file upon policy has been insti-

¹⁵ Mary Heaton Vorse, "An Altogether Different Strike," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 200 (February 1950), pp. 50-57.

¹⁶ Paul H. Appleby, *Policy and Administration* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1949), pp. 15-24.

tutionalized in several cases, a self-evident example being collective bargaining. American management institutions have unquestionably tended toward increasing use of conference and deliberative methods in recent years. The idea was expressed by Mary Follett when she said that conflict should be resolved by ascertaining the law of the situation. In discussing such concepts as "the illusion of final authority," "the law of the situation," "constructive conflict," and "power-with" versus "power-over," Miss Follett states that power does not reside with formal position in the hierarchy, but with capacity to act in accordance with the law of the situation. The latter is ascertained through conference, communication, deliberation, study and research, opinion of experts—all of which will usually suggest a plan of action that is apparent to all.

Such a plan is often self-evident, without the necessity of putting it in words.¹⁷ Hence the person who occupies an executive or supervisory box on the organization chart is not required by that fact to assume the role of an omnipotent demigod with unimpeachable judgment. He is rather one who confers, listens, reads, deliberates with advisers and subordinates, and then acts, rarely upon the basis of instinctive hunches, but usually as the facts of the situation dictate.

Apprehensions relative to the use of consultative methods are groundless if it is realized that most management conferences should not reach decisions through the counting of hands or heads. It should be more widely emphasized in management training that conferences will conform to a pattern if permitted to develop naturally. This pattern will usually go through the following steps: (1) the subordinates fail to speak up in the presence of their superiors; (2) when after a time they become sure that they can speak up with impunity, a conflict situation arises not only between the superior and his subordinates, but perhaps between members of the group; (3) if proper time is permitted to elapse, these conflicts will subside through their own catharsis, and the group will begin to come together

¹⁷ Metcalf and Urwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-286.

through its own thinking; (4) the law of the situation will emerge; (5) it will usually not be necessary to take a vote to ascertain the dominant opinions and sentiments, because they will emerge in the form of a "sense of the meeting," rather than in a vote of "yeas" and "nays." A new day in human relations would emerge if management people could be made to realize that this pattern is inevitable and that their apprehension of meetings where there is free discussion by subordinates is groundless.

Responsible management. Third, there is no question but that the business management of America is coming to feel an ever-increasing responsibility for those broad matters of policy that fall under the category of the general welfare. The discussion of executive responsibility offers certain complexities because both industrial and governmental executives have responsibilities to several constituencies. The matter would be much simplified if the responsibilities of executives were wholly to their own employees, but employees constitute only a fraction of the total constituency.

The business executive has responsibility first to the stockholders or owners; second, to the board of directors; third, to the customers; fourth, civic responsibility as a prominent and powerful community leader; and, fifth, responsibility to the employees working in his plant. It seems fair to say that industrial executives of the nineteenth century often tended to emphasize the first type of responsibility to the exclusion of the others. There are happy signs that this is changing, however, and such change is a good omen for the future of industrial relations.

In discussing the responsibility of the industrial executive, it seems necessary to distinguish between a responsibility based upon the mechanics of hierarchy and one that springs from a sense of duty to all five constituencies listed above. Indeed, it would seem that good internal human relations with one's own employees must spring from this broad base in which there is an identity of interests among stockholders, top management, middle and lower supervision, the rank-and-file employee, and

the community. The executive of the future must be increasingly aware of his multiple responsibility.¹⁸

This multiple responsibility cannot be discharged effectively unless higher management is more closely in touch with the sentiments, feelings, folklore, culture and ideology of its rank-and-file workers than has been the case in the past. This involves the establishment of effective two-way communication and the wider participation of the rank and file in the affairs of the industrial community. The latter entails a recognition that there is such a thing as an industrial community in which workers are human beings possessed of pride, aspiration, human dignity, and multiple other human facets, which in the past have too often been suppressed or ignored. What we are saying is that good human relations are inseparable from a sense of social responsibility on the part of top executives, and that this responsibility must be sincere rather than an improvised façade.

Industrial Bill of Rights. The fourth ingredient in management democracy pertains to the efforts of rank-and-file employees to insure themselves against arbitrary treatment, to be recognized as human beings, and to obtain recognition of certain rights and perquisites. Humanity is constantly striving for security and stability; individuals are digging in, creating vested interests, and stratifying organization for purposes of security. They organize into pressure groups, whether the American Federation of Labor or the American Medical Association, designed to enhance occupational status and security and to obtain advantages, rights, and perquisites. It is quite understandable that management should be fearful of the tendency toward stratification, because it goes to the heart of the controversy relative to "management prerogative."¹⁹ Management people are undoubtedly justified in their demand that responsibility should

¹⁸ See Robert Wood Johnson, "Human Relations in Modern Business," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 27 (September 1949), pp. 521-41.

¹⁹ The same controversy raged in British constitutional history over the preservation of the royal prerogative. The British saved face by retaining the form while transferring actual power; thus there is still a royal prerogative, but it is exercised by the king's ministers who are responsible to parliament.

be accompanied by authority; that they should have the power to make required policy decisions; that such power involves a certain flexibility that cannot be straitjacketed without injuring managerial effectiveness. An organization cannot be healthy or survive outside threats unless those in the top echelons have the authority to make strategy decisions and make tactical moves that may interfere with the personal comfort, security, and fortune of individuals.²⁰

The controversy goes to the roots of the ills that now afflict humanity rather universally: the people of the world demand security, but there are certain economic, biological, and social barriers to its attainment. The controversy as to whether security is attainable has gone on for centuries and still waxes hot. To be dynamic and healthy, an organization must deny certain individuals the status they desire and may even deprive them of the status they now possess. Thus, security must be relative if organization is not to stratify and stagnate. Yet our institutions will continue to adapt themselves to the current demands for security. As each new step is taken to establish security for the rank and file, there will be those who raise warning cries of impending danger.²¹ Whether for ultimate good or eventual calamity, the current experiments pointed toward economic security will continue their course of trial and error. If predictions relative to increase of productivity and national income prove valid, certainly there seems reason to believe that the nation will be able to afford considerably more security for the average American than had hitherto been thought possible.

The problem, then, will be to achieve the nice balance between personal security and management prerogative that will keep organizations healthy. The world will always need dynamic and adventurous leadership, even the type of boldness that some would designate as recklessness. But these leaders

²⁰ I discussed this problem, with considerable sympathy for the management viewpoint, in "When Organizations 'Go Soft,'" *Personnel*, Vol. 23 (May 1947), pp. 374-83.

²¹ Peter F. Drucker, "The Mirage of Pensions," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 200 (February 1950), pp. 31-38.

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will have to exercise their special gifts for venture within the framework of an industrial society that respects the rights and dignity of low-status people. There will be those who despair of reconciling management prerogative with individual security, but the experience of mankind in other areas indicates that a healthy and efficient balance can be attained.

The rule of law. The fifth element in management democracy demands that rules be established so that supervisors must treat everyone equally. It is the guarantee against arbitrary treatment, the bulwark against supervisorial tyranny and despotism. Designated as "industrial jurisprudence,"²² its institutions include grievance procedures, bargaining contract provisions, civil service hearing procedures, rules and regulations, and labor laws. Indeed, it embraces the whole gamut of laws, procedures, and devices that have sprung up to establish a reign of law within management institutions. The laws have often tended to interfere with management prerogative by forbidding the disposal of a problem case by arbitrary discharge. Under civil service in many jurisdictions this use of law applied, not only to the rank and file, as in unionized industry, but also to the higher status personnel as well. The viewpoint taken in this book is that this situation is an accomplished fact that must be faced realistically and that it is not a prop to be leaned upon in order to evade responsibility. The chapters on the supervisor's clinical job present a procedure that, if followed, will harmonize management prerogative with the rule of law.

Morale

Morale is an elusive subject of which there are as many definitions as there are definers, for it means different things to different people. Psychologists would say that morale relates to the individual, while the social sciences would probably see it as a social phenomenon. The applied anthropologists have approached it in terms of social equilibrium and disequilibrium.

²² Sumner H. Slichter, *Union Policies and Industrial Management* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1941), pp. 1-8.

Pollyannas might view morale in terms of happiness and optimism, while social reformers might see it as associated with the standard of living and poverty. Freudians would probably in some way associate it with emotional stability, while the religiously inclined would probably interpret morale in terms of one's spiritual faith and fulfillment. Because of the difficulty of defining morale and the multifarious approaches to its study, we have purposely avoided discussing it up to this point.

An operational definition. Rather than define it in terms of specific characteristics and ingredients, it would seem better from the standpoint of the problems of supervision merely to attempt an operational approach. Hence it seems sufficient to say that *high morale is a complex combination of many factors that make people do what the organization expects them to do. Conversely, low morale is a combination of factors that prevent or deter people from doing what the organization expects them to do.*

It would be an over-simplification to try to isolate one or two or three of these factors and say that they constitute the essence of morale.²³ The same would be true of generalizations about the relation of democracy, autocracy, and laissez-faire to morale. However, in the following chapter the hypothesis is advanced that a particular type of leadership on the part of supervisors will go far in attaining the goals of the organization. In general it consists of combining good management practices with a communicative, consultative, democratic approach to dealing with people. This does not overlook the fact that in particular situations, such as in battle, a certain authoritarian control may be demanded.

Measuring morale. There are roughly two ways of measuring morale, depending on definition. If one accepts the operational definition set forth immediately above, then morale can be measured by checking the extent to which the organization is

²³ Goodwin Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale: Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues*. 1942, pp. 344-48.

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achieving results—measurement of productivity, profits, or other norms of goal achievement.

If, on the other hand, the social science definition is accepted, another approach is called for. One such definition “is the amount of satisfaction achieved through being in a social organization.” In this case morale is tested by attempting to get at the sentiments and attitudes of employees toward the organization by means of the opinion polling technique now so familiar to most people. Sentiments are known as emotion-packed attitudes. Where the indicators point toward low morale it may often be desirable to conduct an attitude survey, which may be the polling type or it may follow the method of the depth interview often used in termination interviews to find out why people leave voluntarily.²⁴

The conclusion to be reached concerning morale is that low morale can be raised by supervision, the pattern for such alteration being implicit in all of the pages of this book.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Cite some examples in which occupational and group antagonisms exist. Why do such conflicts exist and how are they maintained?
2. What are some tensions arising from public contact with employees?
3. What can the supervisor do to reduce hostility between individuals?
4. What is “management prerogative,” and why and with whom does it produce conflict?
5. Describe what you believe to be the proper working relationship between management and union. How can this be attained?

²⁴ For discussions of attitude-survey techniques, see Dale Yoder, *Personnel Management and Industrial Relations*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 760; Maier, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–56; A. W. Kornhauser, “Psychological Studies of Employee Attitudes,” *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, Vol. 8 (May-June 1944), pp. 127–143; R. S. Uhrbrock, “Attitudes of 4,430 Employees,” *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 5 (May 1934), pp. 365–77.

6. What constitutes two-way communications that will insure effective cooperation?
7. How can the rank and file influence management policy?
8. Name the five steps of the pattern that will normally result in successful management conferences.
9. Contrast Pfiffner's operating definition of morale with the social science definition.
10. What are the five elements of society to which the executive is responsible?
11. What is meant by an industrial Bill of Rights?
12. What are the five ingredients of industrial democracy?

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Four

MOTIVATION

Supervisory leadership

THIS chapter has been considerably rewritten for this edition because of the research carried on during the last ten years. It was possible to postulate certain hypotheses relative to desirable supervisory behavior in the first edition, largely because of the preliminary work of such persons as Mayo and Lewin and their followers. Today, one is able to draw upon the findings of the Michigan Survey Research Center and other studies which were not yet fully reported in 1951.¹ The result is that many generalizations that were formerly mere hypotheses now rest upon some basis of proof.

The generic hypothesis. The first chapter of this book stated the *generic hypothesis*, which assumes that certain patterns of behavior are more desirable and successful than others in deal-

¹ Because this chapter is based largely upon original research, the form of citation found in psychology journals is used. The numbers in brackets refer to bibliographical listings at the end of the chapter.

ing with other people. The opinion was expressed that such behavior patterns tended to be universal, cutting across cultural boundaries. It is believed that this observation applies to supervisory leadership, providing the limitations of social science research data are kept in mind [20].

The students of human behavior must necessarily deal with tendencies rather than hundred-per-cent certainties, which is another way of saying that there are exceptions to most generalizations about leadership. For instance, reprimanding in front of others is quite generally regarded as questionable practice, yet there may be exceptional instances when it is justified.

Correlation and probability. The studies mentioned below utilize statistical procedures based upon correlation and probability. Correlation is concerned with discovering whether a particular supervisory practice is associated with high or low group productivity. Groups which are both high and low on production are observed, and the behavior characteristics of the supervisors of high production groups are presumed to be desirable. These correlations are said to be highly *significant* if they reach the 1 per cent level of probability and quite *significant* if they attain the 5 per cent level. The 1 per cent level indicates that variations from the expected behavior should occur only one time in a hundred, the 5 per cent level, five times in a hundred.

Lewin's experiments showed that people can be conditioned to act or behave according to specific patterns of leadership. In Lewin's particular experiments, graduate students were conditioned to function alternately and acceptably as democratic, autocratic, and laissez-faire leaders. A corollary of this assumption is that the personality factor may be overvalued in leadership and that popular stereotypes of ascendancy, drive, exhibitionism, toughness, and colorful vocabulary may not be as important in developing supervisors as was once supposed [4, 23].

Behavior emphasized instead of traits. While traits are important and must be studied, especially at the time of selection, the

major approach to the development of supervisory leadership should be directed at conditioning the organization to the form of supervisorial behavior that will motivate people to do that which the organization expects of them. This is supported by recent research which points toward the fact that leadership is specific to the particular situation [21].

Research findings relative to supervisory behavior fall under the following four categories: (1) organizational factors; (2) relation to subordinates; (3) relation to superiors; and (4) social factors.

Organization factors

There is a general area that can be variously classified under organization, management, and administration. Social science research has tended to ignore or overlook this area because social scientists are often not management oriented and sometimes even have an antimanagement bias. However, the recent studies at Michigan and USC have shown that it is a significant factor in supervisory behavior.

Must be a coordinator. The supervisor must above all things be a coordinator, which is another way of saying that he must be a manager or administrator. He must coordinate both things and people, but it must be understood that in a management institution the two kinds of coordination are not separable. The assumption is often made that it is sufficient for a supervisor to be amiable, friendly, and sociable, but experimental studies indicate that there seems to be no significant correlation between mere sociability and supervisorial skills. Thus Guilford found that cooperativeness was much more important in choosing industrial foremen than sociability. The two are not the same. Cooperativeness means tolerance and understanding of other people and of their human weaknesses and the ability to get along with people. A person low in this factor is likely to be a fault-finder and a general all-around griper and critic.

The reason for the low correlation of amiability or sociability in supervisorial skill lies at the heart of the failure of manage-

ment people and social reformers to understand each other at times. A good supervisor has to be objective about people, and in doing so he has to perform some unpleasant chores. In other words, he has to do the dirty work that goes with responsibility for people. Simply stated, he has to "talk turkey" to people about their shortcomings and frequently this must result in disciplining, transfer, demotion, and even discharge. This negative aspect of the supervisor's job is set forth here as a necessary prelude to the more positive side of his human relations job.

It seems desirable to dispel a certain tendency to believe that the human problems of management can be solved by a Pollyanna approach, that all one has to do is smile, be amiable, and dispense enormous quantities of praise. This is not true, because human beings are imperfect, and management leadership still requires a certain mixture of firmness, fortitude, objectivity, and decisiveness in dealing with the human factor.

Must be an organizer. The effective supervisor establishes clear-cut lines of authority, avoids giving conflicting orders, and lets people know specifically what they are supposed to do. He takes charge in such a manner as to leave small doubt as to who is the leader. Functional specialists have little need to interfere in his bailiwick to correct malfunctioning. He conducts himself so that his superiors do not find it necessary to give orders and directions to his people [4].

The supervisor in an autonomous situation, such as a forest ranger, finds it advisable to put his job and work assignments on paper. Thus, he will prepare his own homespun organization chart and written job descriptions, posting them so that all concerned can see. He writes down work plans, provides copies of rules and regulations, and makes available copies of standard practice procedures.

The latter factors were not so characteristic of some supervisors in an aircraft factory as in the case of forest rangers. Such results might be explained on the basis that the aircraft supervisor operates in an atmosphere of rigid production control by staff agencies. These entities lay out the work flow, saying who

is to do what, thus reducing the organizing job for the immediate supervisor [4].

The good supervisor plans a job before he starts it and then lets each person know his duties and responsibilities. He considers all important factors in advance, sees that the necessary materials are on hand when needed. Furthermore, he schedules the work, setting target dates when various phases of the job are to be completed. He sees beyond the immediate problems of today and plans for exigencies that are likely to arise in the future. For him operations do not become a perpetual series of crises, because he has foreseen what emergencies might arise and is prepared to meet them in stride [4].

Here again planning was found to be more important for the semiautonomous forest ranger than for the aircraft supervisor under production control.

The Michigan people also found planning to be an important ingredient of supervisory activity in an insurance home office and among railway right-of-way maintenance crews. The effective supervisors spent more time on supervisory work, such as planning, instead of themselves helping out at production jobs [6, 7, 8].

It has already been stated that the supervisors of high production groups tend to formalize their relationships more than those of low production groups. Furthermore, the former do not regard paperwork as so much of a burden as do the latter. They consider the reports and records which they prepare as necessary and useful. One study also showed that supervisors on higher levels have a more favorable attitude toward paperwork than immediate supervisors [26].

Delegation. The Michigan studies found that the supervisors of low production groups practiced closer supervision over their subordinates than did supervisors of high production groups. The behavior of those supervisors who practiced close supervision included checking up on employees more frequently, giving them more detailed and more frequent work instructions,

and issuing limitations on freedom of the individual to do the work in his own way [6, 7, 8].

Closeness of supervision is related to participation and motivation. Those workers who are under close supervision tend to have less job satisfaction, lower esteem for their supervisors, and diminished company loyalty [6, 7, 8].

Those members of higher management who would like to see immediate supervisors create an atmosphere of satisfying freedom should practice delegation themselves. In other words the climate of delegation is set by example from above. This is true not only of delegation but for human relations practices in general. Foremen cannot be expected to establish a permissive atmosphere for their own work groups when they are themselves subject to a restrictive type of supervision [6].

The good supervisor spends more of his time on supervisory activities *per se*. These include planning, scheduling, making out reports, seeing that materials are on hand, and liaison with people outside of the immediate work group. The supervisor will get higher group production if he engages in expediting activities rather than performing production work himself. There are places for working supervisors, and it may occasionally be salutary for the supervisor to pitch in and by example motivate his group. Nevertheless, it is normally much better for him to supervise rather than do his journeyman stint [6, 7, 8].

Informal leaders. Informal leaders are more likely to emerge in situations where the formal organization fails to satisfy the needs of workers. Thus, among railroad maintenance crews it was found that the low production groups had more informal leaders than high production groups. Informal leaders were those who spoke up for the men when they wanted something. But in the high production groups the supervisors spent more time on supervision; they did the things that supervisors are expected to do, whereas the supervisors of low production groups tended to shirk their supervisory responsibility [7]. Thus it may be said that informal organization will be at a minimum when the formal organization is operating as it should.

Relation to subordinates

People-oriented. The supervisor of high production groups is more likely to take a personal interest in the people under him. This personal interest extends to both on-the-job and off-the-job problems. He is sympathetic and willing to listen; he does not "fly off the handle" when he is irritated. One study that found a high correlation between employee-orientation and productivity stated how a supervisor should behave:

. . . does he give you straight answers, avoid you when he knows you want to see him about a problem, criticize you for happenings over which you have no control, delay in taking care of your complaints, keep you informed, give you recognition, show interest in your ideas, follow through on his promises, explain to you the "why" of an error to prevent recurrence, give you sufficient explanation of why a work change is necessary . . . ? [22]

The effective supervisor is a good counselor. His people feel free to approach him for the purpose of discussing personal problems, and many do go to him for this purpose [4]. The supervisor of high-producing groups is more likely to favor a counseling approach to his job than his low-production counterpart, because the former has a better relationship to his people. The low-producing chief will rationalize his own failure to counsel by saying that people do not want to talk about their personal problems with their supervisors. This is true as it applies to him, because his people do not have sufficient confidence in him to want to approach him. On the other hand, the satisfactory relationship which workers have with supervisors of high production groups undoubtedly provides that type of mutual association that motivates people to talk to each other about matters of private concern [6].

Job helpfulness. The good supervisor is seldom impatient with an employee who asks for help. He often goes out of his way to help someone with a job problem. If he does not know the answer or possess the information needed he takes time out to secure it. He is willing to show how to go about performing a new job when asked. He sees training as a part of his job and does

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not hesitate to groom employees for promotion by teaching them new techniques [6].

A study of absenteeism at the Detroit Edison Company showed that frequency of absence is associated with freedom to discuss job problems with one's own supervisors. Members of work groups with infrequent absences felt free to discuss job problems with them, and the same was true of personal matters [11].

Discipline. He who would generalize about human behavior is frequently confronted with paradoxes. Thus far the effective supervisor has been painted as a warm, friendly, outgoing, approachable human being. But unfortunately there are times when he is required to say "no"; he must discipline, reprimand, and even discharge for cause. The ideal supervisor is one who can perform easily and effectively in either of these roles. At first glance it might seem that they are opposite in nature and that the same person could not possibly perform in one role today and the other tomorrow and still maintain personal integrity.

The approach to supervision postulated in this book is based directly on the proposition that the two roles are not inconsistent. Far from being in conflict with each other, they are really separate phases of a continuous process. Some people simply will not respond to generous and sympathetic treatment. They will not produce, they will disobey rules and regulations, and they will take antisocial attitudes. The good supervisor will not allow people to run over him or to "get away with" sub-standard performance or behavior [4]. He knows how to deal with rotten apples without contaminating the good ones in the barrel. This know-how is referred to as the *clinical approach*.

Pressure and drive. People will follow strong, driving leadership, especially when they need support, assurance, and guidance. They will follow a leader who has negative traits and characteristics, but who nevertheless commands their confidence [14].

The willingness of a group to accept strong and firm leader-

ship seems associated with the organization's stability. When the stability is threatened, the group will accept strong leadership more readily than when there has been a long stretch of equilibrium. A dominant type of leadership is more readily accepted by an organization that has rather definite short-term goals than one wherein the objectives are of a long-term nature and less easily defined [28].

This may be truer of the plant superintendent level as was the case with the leader portrayed by Argyris [1, 12]. In this case a plant was deeply in the red and facing collapse. A new superintendent took hold of things in a very dominating and authoritative manner. He was organization centered, practiced close supervision, and set up production goals accompanied by controls to assure their attainment. He was continually interacting with the lower supervisors, "riding" them, and goading them, producing personal tension in them. Yet they respected him and regarded his behavior as appropriate and necessary. But, above all, he put the plant in a very favorable profit position; his tactics succeeded from the standpoint of overall goals. While the immediate supervisors respected him, they *did not feel that they could use his tactics on their level*.

Relation to superiors

Superiors set the climate. The warm, people-centered social climate postulated by the consultative and participative approach to supervision is often diametrically opposed to that practiced by the top executives of the organization. The top executives are, by nature, pushers, prodders, and go-getters, intent on getting out the work. Under such circumstances it is difficult for lower supervisors to practice the human relations approach which is taught them in the very training classes authorized by top management for them [12, 17].

Those who advocate the people-centered approach realize that there is much to be said for the production-centered approach by top management, and that some of this type of leadership may be necessary when dictated by time and place. Yet

they are also convinced that some means must be found to induce top management to behave in such a way as to foster a people-centered approach at the production level. No ready solutions to this problem are available, but they may come through some type of clinical therapy in which managers are led to see the damage that they do to those things in which they often express a long-run belief.

The supervisor is a middleman and hence a double talker. It should be emphasized early in this discussion that the type of leadership that is needed at the lower levels may not conform with the leadership pattern expected by higher management. This has already been noted by two investigators in recent years. When Quentin W. File submitted the early drafts of his pencil and paper test, "How Supervise?" to management representatives and to writers and theorists, the reaction of the two groups was different. Roethlisberger referred to the persons practicing this type of leadership as:

. . . men with extraordinary skill in the direction of securing cooperative effort. These men, at all levels, perform an 'administrative' function, the importance of which is too little recognized. Much of their time is spent in facilitating the process of communication and in gaining the whole-hearted cooperation of men. Many of them are not too logically articulate, but they have appreciation for a point of view different from their own. Not only can they appreciate the fact that a person can be different from themselves, but more important still they can accept his right to be different. They always seem to have the time to listen to the problems and difficulties of others. They do not pose as 'experts'; they know when to secure the appropriate aid from others.

Such 'administrators,' selfless and sometimes acting in a way which appears to be lacking in ambition, understand the importance of achieving group solidarity—the importance of 'getting along,' rather than of 'getting ahead.'

. . . a greater proportion of them are found at the lower levels of management, because the logic of promotion in business organization seldom recognizes their skills [27].

Although the lower supervisor must have two faces, one turned toward the warm human atmosphere of the shop or office

and the other toward the production drive of top management, this does not mean that he should be a Casper Milquetoast.

The Michigan study of the Prudential home office showed that the employees in high production groups are more likely to be critical of company personnel policy than those in low production groups [8]. The USC study of the Forest Service revealed that higher rated supervisors are more likely to be critical toward management policy [15]. However, one should not conclude from this that in order to become a good supervisor he should start disagreeing with his boss on most points. As in all human relationships one must utilize tact and moderation; above all, he should be sure that he is right before telling the boss that he is wrong. Nevertheless, a little spunk and willingness to stand up for one's convictions are welcome marks of the strong personality when accompanied by the restraint dictated by good judgment.

Hierarchical influence. Employees of high production groups perceive their supervisors as having more influence with superiors than do employees of low production groups [24, 4]. The strong supervisor can get wage increases and other benefits; his people believe that his decisions will be backed up by topside. This is perhaps an attribute of other qualities rather than a behavioral factor in itself. In other words, the neophyte who wants to be an effective supervisor should not behave immediately as though he had great influence with his boss. Such influence must be earned and used circumspectly.

Authority. The effective supervisor feels that he has adequate authority. He can make decisions appropriate to his level without getting approval from above [4]. He feels secure in his own position and is confident his decisions will be backed up by higher echelons. As a matter of fact there is considerable evidence that the strong leader creates his own sphere of authority. He obeys the law of the situation instead of consulting the book prior to every move he makes. General Lucius D. Clay has stated this concept admirably in his declaration that he "would never be satisfied with the individual who is not continually seeking to

add to his responsibilities, to increase his authority and who in case of doubt never hesitates to make decisions which are not being made by others perhaps more directly responsible . . .” [3].

Decisiveness. The effective leader is decisive; he does not avoid decisions which have to be made. He is not afraid of “sticking his neck out,” but he, of course, exercises prudence and good judgment in these matters. He does not put off the making of important decisions, nor does he sit tight during tense situations [4]. He does not run away from and avoid unpleasant personnel actions [19]. “Passing the buck” is not a matter of habit with him. He is not afraid to speak up in conference when he is sure of his ground.

It was stated above that workers in high production groups do not perceive themselves as being under close supervision. By the same token, the supervisors of high production sections do not perceive themselves as being under close supervision from their superiors [6, 7, 8].

Relation to clients and customers

The supervisor sets the example for the rest of the organization by his public relations conduct. In critical incident studies in the Forest Service and the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors’ Insurance it was found that a fourth to a fifth of the critical activities of supervisors related to public relations [25]. It seems reasonable to suppose that this would hold good for any client-centered activity, such as merchandising or hospital management.

In dealing with difficulties concerning persons outside the organization, the supervisor should not run away from trouble, but should go directly to the disaffected person and try to settle the problem with face-to-face dealings. He should not get angry or be sarcastic when talking to people, but should practice tact and diplomacy at all times. He should arrange his activities so that the required amount of time can be devoted to external affairs as distinguished from internal management. He should

not use written communications as a means of avoiding unpleasant personal contacts. Matters involving tension and misunderstanding are best settled by "bearding the lion in his lair" and talking things through [4].

Social factors

A work group will make a better team and hence be more productive if a democratic social climate is maintained. This means that the supervisor should maintain two-way communication and be a helpful and sympathetic listener. He should be people-minded while at the same time striving toward fulfilling organization objectives. In other words, good teamwork is most likely to result when the formal leader is also fulfilling the needs of the group for social leadership. Some recent research in the conduct of deliberative conferences indicates that a conference may require dual leadership [13].

Two types of group leadership. Some research being carried on at Harvard University in the area of conference leadership suggests that a deliberative group not only needs, but tends to designate two leaders. One is the task leader and the other the social leader. It is difficult for one man to play both roles because if he emphasizes task he tends to lose some of his popularity, and if he tries to keep his popularity he tends to lose task leadership.

. . . the tendency is for these positions to be held by two different men. Each is in reality a leader, and each is important to the stability of the group. The task leader helps to keep the group engaged in the work, but the pressure of decision and work tends to provoke irritation and injure the unity of the group. The best-liked man helps to restore this unity and to keep the members of the group aware of their importance as particular individuals, whose special needs and values are respected. These men complement each other, and they are both necessary for smooth operation of a committee [13].

The supervisor as clinician. A previous chapter dealt with the supervisor's relation to working teams and small primary social groups. It emphasized the importance of teamwork and participation in stimulating workers to produce. However, there is

another side of *Homo sapiens* that should not be overshadowed by our recent preoccupation with his membership in a team or primary group. It should be remembered that he is also an individual. Inasmuch as individuals differ, it seems reasonable that the supervisor should be trained to take cognizance of such differences.

The supervisor should be a clinician in his own small way. The many types of clinicians vary and even violently disagree in their fundamental concepts, but they all have one thing in common—the case study approach. Among the many professional groups that follow the procedure of case study are the clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, social workers, educational counselors, and physicians. These professional clinicians have elaborate procedures in which tests are administered, interviews recorded, and case records are made.

One can already hear protests to the effect that lower supervisors can hardly be expected to become clinicians because it requires years of professional schooling to acquire skill in the callings mentioned above. Others will point out that the lower supervisors will not possess the fundamental competence and will not be disposed to spend sufficient time away from production to do a clinical job in their personnel relations. It is difficult to disagree with these viewpoints, yet it would seem that some attempt should be made to train the supervisors to take a more objective attitude toward the people for whose work they are responsible. Therefore, it is merely proposed that the supervisors be trained to follow a fact-finding approach to their personnel problems, which is essentially what professional clinicians do. To be sure, the latter's conceptual patterns and insight into human behavior are much more mature than those of the supervisor; nevertheless, it would seem entirely possible to expect supervisors to be objective and factual.

In the first place, it should be recognized that people who work are human beings and not merely production machines. As human beings they are subject to the vagaries of mankind, including illness and sensitiveness. It is the supervisor's job as a

clinician to know as much as possible about how the individuals in his group react as human beings; which ones can stand a great deal of praise and which ones can not; which one wilts under a curt word and which one is seemingly impervious thereto. The supervisor's job as a clinician is to know as much as he can about his people individually, and to deal with them upon an objective and factual basis, recognizing that individuals differ one from the other in important respects.

How to think about people. The supervisor should be taught to think about people in much the same manner as does the social anthropologist. This variety of social scientist has for decades been carrying on field studies of extremely diversified human cultures in all parts of the world, as a result of which he has learned to think objectively about people. While he does not deny that people brought up as Polish peasants may react differently from Yankee farmers, he is nevertheless convinced that these differences are due more to environmental than to biological causations. Fundamentally, human beings are very similar, whether Eskimos or Arabs. Their differences are due to their cultures, but cultures are constantly changing—a phenomenon evidenced in America where the second and third generations reject the culture of their immigrant parents and grandparents. Thus, the Nisei were much more American than Japanese in 1941. Many a Polish, Italian, or Jewish family is rent by discord because those born in America take on American culture while the elders try to teach them reverence for the old country's ways. But what has this to do with the task of the supervisor?

The knowledge that men are fundamentally more alike than different is a sobering and civilizing influence. It produces tolerance and the desire to understand attitudes and behavior that vary from the accepted norm. People seem to be suspicious of the stranger; the in-group reacts spontaneously and defensively against the out-group. We are amused at the foreigner's accent when he tries to use our language, forgetting that we would be in his position should we go to his country and attempt to use his language. We all tend to possess what may be termed the pro-

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vincial mind, especially those of us who have old American or Yankee blood in our veins.

The following is an attempt to break down the provincial Yankee stereotype:

1. People of Anglo-Saxon stock are superior persons whose names are Brown, Smith, or Nelson.
2. People who have strange un-English names make good manual laborers, but not clerks and professionals.
3. People who speak our language with a strange and amusing accent must be inferior.
4. People who cling to old world cultural survivals are peculiar (the marching band at the Italian funeral; the Jews wearing hats in church).
5. A dark skin is *prima facie* evidence of inferiority.

Yankee culture is not necessarily superior. It should be cautioned at this point that the Yankee should not be too thoroughly condemned for his stereotype, because the cultures that he looks down upon have their own provincial stereotypes. Thus, the first generation Japanese on the Pacific Coast waged an energetic but losing struggle to make Japanese culture survive among their offspring. They undoubtedly thought it superior to the American culture that engulfed the Nisei. The orthodox Jew has clung for centuries to his religious practices, which have survived in spite of persecution by the dominant culture. The bearded Orthodox Greek priest offers a strong contrast to the Yankee minister. The point is that the people of the dominant group should not regard the cultural survivals of minority groups as symbols of inferiority. These people might feel very deeply, and perhaps in many respects correctly, that their culture is superior to that of the Yankee. In short, there is bias on both sides.

The main point is not to look down on people because they belong to a particular race or ethnic group. While individuals have a great many differences, such differences are not fundamentally "racial" in nature.

Whereas heredity accounts for a great deal of the differences between individuals in any particular group, the differences between ethnic groups can be traced to environmental or cultural

causations. If some Jews tend toward brooding and introversion, it might be explained by their feeling of persecution; if American Negroes have a lower educational attainment than American whites, it is probably due to their inferior educational opportunities.

How to think about ethnics. Leighton has stated the proper supervisory behavior as follows:

1. Do not think of people as racial, national, or class stereotypes.
2. Think of people as a wide range of different kinds of personalities who possess certain fundamental characteristics in common with all other groups of human beings.
3. Think of basic similarities and national or cultural differences as matters to be perceived and understood in the furtherance of administration [9].

How a clinician acts. The supervisor needs to be trained in the pattern of face-to-face contact with people that runs with fair uniformity through the various clinical procedures. The latter may vary considerably in their therapeutic concepts, but this core of uniformity during analysis and diagnosis is quite evident whether it be social work, educational counseling, or psychotherapy. The clinician controls his feelings toward others, being entirely nonjudgmental in his approach. He must be patient with those whose intellectual reactions are not as quick as his own. In other words, he must "suffer fools gladly." He refrains from assuming a moralistic and critical attitude until all of the facts are in. He listens patiently to the other fellow's own story, encouraging him to be frank in those matters in which hesitancy is normal [18].

The objectivity of the clinician is exemplified in the supervisor by a certain reserve that Bogardus calls "inscrutability" [2]. It is the trait manifested by the poker player whose facial expressions and actions lead his opponents to believe his hand to be other than what it is. It has been variously referred to as the art of minor insincerity, and as "benign chicanery." Although this idea might seem morally shocking to some, it is merely another way of saying that the successful leader in all walks of life learns

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to mask his own feelings. When he is angry toward a colleague he tries to suppress expressions and acts that would manifest such ire. When he has a particularly warm feeling for one of his subordinates, he also suppresses the expression of such sentiment lest it be interpreted by others as unwarranted favoritism.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is one of the principal limitations of social science research data?
2. What are some organizational factors that provide effective leadership?
3. Why did organizing and planning show up as more important for a Forest District Ranger than for a foreman in an aircraft factory?
4. Discuss the relation of delegation to leadership.
5. Discuss those factors which produce desirable superior-subordinate relationships.
6. Is it possible for a supervisor to be people-oriented and yet say "no"? Explain.
7. Is it ever desirable for a leader to drive his group?
8. What is meant by the statement that the supervisor is a middle man?
9. Describe a supervisor's healthy attitude toward authority.
10. What were the two types of group leadership emerging from the Harvard Studies?
11. How does the social scientist think about people?
12. How does the clinician act in dealing with people?

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13

Motivation and incentives

A MANAGEMENT institution is composed of a few highly motivated people at the top plus a relatively inert rank and file. The big problem is to motivate the latter.

The motivation pattern

There is a strong temptation to simplify the problem of motivation and incentives by separating it into two divisions: financial and social. It would perhaps be fair to say that management people tend to believe more in financial incentives, whereas social scientists are attracted by social factors. Each is probably influenced by his own vocational stereotype. The truth would seem to be that people are influenced to behave in a certain manner by a group of factors rather than by one or two factors.

Definition of morale. This brings us back to our operating definition of morale: *a complex combination of factors that cause people to do, or fail to do, those things that the organization expects of them.* What are the factors that produce high morale?

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A recent psychological analysis extracted from a sampling of attitude surveys those factors relating to how employees felt about their jobs. Five of these factors appeared with constance and regularity. "In order of consistency of demonstration these elements seem to be (1) economic and related rewards, (2) adequacy of immediate supervision, (3) effectiveness of the organization as a system, (4) satisfaction with the job itself, and (5) compatibility of fellow employees" [23].¹

This pattern has been modified somewhat for the purposes of this chapter, but the essential categories of the study just reported have been retained. The following are not listed in any order of precedence or importance, because it is believed that motivation is multiple; it is a matrix, gestalt, or *pattern*. As the brief cases reported below will illustrate, it is not desirable to separate financial from social incentive. Financial incentives seem to work best where the social climate is favorable.

These, then are the major components of our motivation pattern:

1. Considerations having to do with people as individuals
2. Considerations having to do with people as members of social groups
3. Financial incentives
4. Organization and management incentives
5. Supervision received

One should hasten to emphasize that they are not separate entities, but overlapping, interlocking, and interdependent. Thus individual security could just as well be discussed under either "People as individuals" or "Supervision."

People as individuals

People are different. It should be re-emphaized that people vary greatly and that individual differences are such that what will motivate one may not equally motivate another. This observation is tied in with the fact that many people do not seem to act rationally, at least according to the rationality standards

¹ This chapter being based considerably on recent research findings, the documentation refers to bibliography at the end of the chapter.

of those who judge them. Thus there are many irrational and nonrational motivations and incentives that govern the behavior of those at work. However, it must be reiterated that what is irrational to one may be entirely rational to the other. Management might believe it irrational for workers to fail to produce up to their full capacity, whereas workers might be entirely rational in feeling that such performance would lead to the setting of speed-up standards that would in the long run tax their strength and create unemployment.

The clinical supervision concept. The knowledge that people are different is basic to the concept of clinical supervision. The supervisor needs to know his people as individual human beings. Each requires different handling in some respects, and the skillful supervisor will learn how to vary his approaches to suit the occasion and the person.

These differences apply not only to work pace, skill, and intelligence [20, 21], but to emotional make-up. Some people can stand up under criticism very well, whereas others are crushed by the slightest critical hint directed their way. It is in this area of emotional stability and all-around maturity that individual differences are the most difficult to handle. The supervisor should *not* imagine himself a therapist for those who are emotionally and mentally ill, but he can learn how to individualize his approach to people. This is the essence of the clinical methods set forth later in this book.

Human dignity. It is easy to manufacture and mouth high-sounding phrases about human dignity, but one is now able to marshal research evidence that relates human dignity to high group productivity. The effective supervisor looks upon his workers as equals in the human community to which they belong. Each is to be treated with respect and consideration. The supervisor's designation as official leader does not mean that he has achieved sanctified status. He is, rather, a person who has been assigned to coordinate work efforts. His status is functional (directed toward a purpose) rather than personal. He can accomplish this purpose best by combining good organization and

management techniques with consideration for the sensibilities of workers as people.

Thus he listens to their problems patiently, whether personal or job-centered [3, 14]. He shows no favoritism and never acts in an arbitrary manner. The legal principle of equality before the law is applied to his relationships with people. He tolerates those who disagree with him, and questions do not irritate him. He observes the person-to-person amenities which people of good will practice the world over, whether they are high-born or lowborn, laborer or chief.

Recognition. The study of absenteeism at the Detroit Edison Company revealed that employees "who feel they are given full, or even some, recognition for their work and are not just taken for granted are absent less frequently." Furthermore, those supervisors who were recognized by management as "immediately promotable" had low absenteeism in their groups. A higher rate prevailed in the groups whose supervisors were rated by management as "questionable or unsatisfactory" [14].

How to praise

The giving of praise can constitute a very strong incentive, but the dangers involved are so great as to deter some from using it at all. There are those who will let down in their effort after praise, while in other instances it will be regarded by fellow workers as an example of favoritism. Another deterrent is the occasional narcotic effect of praise, requiring everincreasing doses to produce the desired response. While praise is an incentive, its dissemination is an art to be practiced with skill and judgment. Following are some guides that may be useful:

1. Praise should be fitted to the individual; thus some knowledge of how he will react is required.
2. Consideration should be given to the manner in which praise will affect the morale of the other employees.
3. Oftentimes indirect praise that reaches an individual in a round-about way is very well received.
4. It is often effective from the standpoint of group morale to praise the work rather than the individual worker.

5. Praise that is too lavish may lose its effectiveness.
6. Be sure that the worker who is being praised believes that it is deserved. He should sense the supervisor's sincerity and feel that the praise is not given for an ulterior purpose.

Happiness and satisfaction. There is a tendency to define morale in terms of happiness and personal satisfaction. A recent study was initially based upon the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between personal satisfaction and productivity. The results did *not* bear out the hypothesis [16]. A person might work hard and produce very well while still having relatively low job satisfaction. That is why the operating definition of morale has been chosen for this book instead of that based upon personal satisfaction.

Job satisfaction is in some way related to one's personal aspirations, the extent to which the job utilizes one's skills, and expectations which one's social status postulate for him. However, it is hazardous to generalize in such a complex area. One thing seems fairly certain: it is possible for a person who is relatively dissatisfied to be a good producer. As was shown in the previous chapter on leadership, pressure from above will frequently motivate an organization to produce, even though such pressure creates tension in the people at the production level. Indeed, it is one of the main jobs of the supervisor to absorb and cushion such pressure to the end that it does not create unbearable tension below. Furthermore, groups composed of ambitious, upwardly mobile people can perform well even though the members are personally dissatisfied [24, 34].

Fear

Results of one's own wrongdoing. There is a logical place for a certain type of fear—it is the normal apprehension of the person who has emotional stability, fear of the results of one's own wrongdoing. On the other hand, fear of the arbitrary acts of others is, in the long run, more destructive than constructive. The well-adjusted person in any social situation is the one who carries on with confidence and poise. Worry, fretfulness, and

excessive anxiety are symptoms of pathology rather than health. The entire complex of motivations for the enlightened and free individual centers around democratic participation, communication, and social adjustment.

Probably there will always be extremes of opinion about fear and punishment as deterrents to wrongdoing and as incentives to greater effort; some will hold that fear is an utterly destructive influence; others believe that the fear of punishment for wrongdoing is a wholesome and cleansing influence. One can find both attitudes in the fields of education and criminology, for example. Some educators play down fear and punishment and try to make interest and participation the leading motivations in learning, while their critics look back with nostalgia to the good old days of reading, writing, and arithmetic, abetted by the rod. In the field of law enforcement there is a tendency among policemen, whose duty it is to catch criminals, to be critical of lenient prison programs and such rehabilitative methods as parole and probation.

Fear of arbitrary authority. It is the fear of arbitrary authority that is destructive and harmful, a view which may explain why one so frequently encounters the declaration that employees desire fair play above everything else. They will put up with sternness and firm discipline if they feel that it is being administered justly and to all alike, but they are apprehensive of caprice and resent favoritism.

Administering punishment. Punishment may correct a single situation, but it will not eliminate a maladjustment that is due to complex causes. Indeed, the modern approach to dealing with those situations that normally call for punishment is that of rehabilitation and readjustment of the individual to his environment (this is discussed in the chapter dealing with problem cases). While the fear of the consequences of deliberately committing a wrongful act may constitute a wholesome influence on behavior, the fact remains that punishment is not generally regarded as a constructive work incentive.

If punishment has to be administered, an effort should be

made to see that it is in accordance with the sentiments of the worker group—that they believe that it is just and deserved. Indeed, the most constructive way of administering punishment is to have it imposed as a social sanction; for example, worker resentment of continued tardiness because of the overload on the faithful ones.

Individual security

It is impossible to discuss the question of security without entering an area of controversy charged with emotion. Traditionally it has been supposed that men would not put forth their best work efforts except under duress, fear of job loss, and rather close disciplinary control. It would seem unnecessary to take a stand in this controversy if one accepts the fact that considerable job security now prevails in most large enterprises, including both industry and government, and that, rather than waste time in continued resistance, this is a fact now to be met realistically. Indeed, there is even a new school of so-called *dynamic psychology* which says that job security may have positive values in the area of work motivation.

Security can be a constructive motivator. Douglas McGregor published in 1944 an article setting forth a series of considerations, the main import of which runs to the effect that security can be a constructive motivator [29]. He starts out by stating that his discussion is based upon the point of view of dynamic psychology. He refers to the superior-subordinate relationship and the condition of dependency attached thereto. There is a cultural conflict between this universal dependency of the worker upon his superior and the concept of individual responsibility for his own economic destiny.

Security against arbitrary action of supervisors. Workers need and demand security against their supervisors. Management often tries to assure them of this through certain paternalistic personnel devices, but workers strive for more certainty through union contracts and civil service laws. The three major aspects of the superior-subordinate relationship affecting security are:

(1) an atmosphere of approval; (2) knowledge of what is expected of him; (3) consistent discipline. It is further claimed that when the worker has achieved a status of security relative to his superiors, he will seek constructive and healthy avenues of independence. If deprived of security, he will seek such independence by means based on fear and hatred leading to friction and strife.

Participation is essential. McGregor goes on to state that the establishment of this democratic independence will stimulate the subordinate's constructive participation in the affairs of the organization. As he becomes more aware of his superiors' problems, he becomes more understanding and tolerant of the ideology pervading the management culture; and if his constructive propensities are cultivated by creative leadership, he is stimulated to help achieve the objectives of the organization as a whole and to protect it. McGregor disbelieves that such participation is impossible at the lower levels of the hierarchy but goes on to emphasize that security for the individual employee is its *sine qua non*. Security, participation, loyalty, and production are the essential raw materials from which the creative management matrix will be fused.

Security by law

Both unionized industry and public personnel administration work under a system of security based upon law and frequently referred to as personnel jurisprudence or industrial jurisprudence. Both private and public managers have resisted any encroachment upon their powers to deal arbitrarily with personnel whenever they thought it in the interests of management to do so. This is the primary reason for industrial management's opposition to unionization and collective bargaining, and for public management's impatience with what some managers tend to regard as restrictions placed upon good management practice by civil service laws and regulations.

Management wants the right to fire. It is not difficult to understand why both public and private managers are irked by re-

strictions upon their authority to make management decisions relative to personnel. Managers must realize, however, that public opinion is rapidly changing toward the concept of a personnel jurisprudence that will protect workers against arbitrariness without depriving management of the authority it requires in dealing with problem cases. Management of the future will not deal with problem cases by firing them and dumping them into the hands of already overburdened families or charitable institutions.

Placement rather than discard. The new management must have a social viewpoint which recognizes that every human creature is to have a right to an occupation commensurate with his capacity and willingness to work. This inevitably entails an expansion of the clinical approach to personnel administration. In the beginning, managers raised under the old regime of hire-and-fire will find it difficult to adjust themselves psychologically to the new personnel jurisprudence and its clinical approach; but as the new socially-conscious generation of managers develops, it will be found that the abolition of the right to deal arbitrarily with individuals will release creative and productive impulses not hitherto thought to exist.

Social incentives

It will be remembered that the Western Electric study began as an engineering experiment to determine the relationship of lighting to productiveness. When it revealed no correlation between measured production and the amount of light, the investigation was extended to cover social relationships. Elton Mayo, who was intimately related in an advisory capacity with the Western Electric study, later came out emphatically for teamwork and the development of small working teams at the level of immediate supervision [15, 18].

Teamwork correlates highly with productivity. The most extensive studies of the relationship between group phenomena and productivity have been carried on under the leadership of Rensis Likert at the University of Michigan. Likert has uncov-

ered "increasing evidence . . . that the superior's skill in supervising his subordinates *as a group* is an important variable affecting his success: the greater his skill in using group methods of supervision, the greater are the productivity and job satisfaction of the work group" [10].

Among other things, these Michigan studies showed that high production was associated with higher group solidarity and group pride. The high-production groups would perform well when the foremen were absent. They also had less absenteeism. The supervisors of the high-production group identified themselves with employees. They were people-centered rather than production-centered.

Likert has summed it up admirably by stating that "every human being earnestly seeks a secure, friendly and supportive relationship and one that gives him a sense of personal worth in the face-to-face groups most important to him." The most important face-to-face groups are almost always his immediate family group and his work group. If his formal face-to-face work group is hostile, he develops new friendly informal groups. Human nature seems to motivate each of us to establish and maintain these friendly supportive relationships in those face-to-face groups in which we spend most of our lives. Either we successfully establish these friendly and supportive relationships or we crack up" [10, p. 16].

How to build teamwork. The supervisor who desires to build a team out of his work group would behave in the manner implicit in all of the pages of this book. *Consultation, Communication, Participation* and *Counseling* are the key concepts in such behavior. People feel free to approach him; he listens to their problems; he remains emotionally stable under stress; he is helpful; he builds up the ego and security of those who are dependent upon him.

But contrary to what may be expected, he does *not* run pink teas, circuses, and picnics. What one is trying to say is that the effective team leader, while being essentially people-centered, is also a good disciplinarian [3]. He does not shy away from

dealing with the outlaws of the group for fear of offending someone's sensibilities. He goes about handling tense personnel situations firmly but in a manner which minimizes group tension. Instead of resenting this, the team respects him for it, because a healthy group does not want to be contaminated by its own weak members. It prefers to see the weaker ones built into strong ones; but failing this, it will approve of their elimination.

Culture as motivation

Examples in primitive cultures. There seems little question but that culture has its effect upon motivation. Ruth Benedict pointed this out in her study of three primitive cultures evidencing marked contrasts in motivation. The Indians of British Columbia had a highly competitive culture in which people were urged to excel through the accumulation of wealth and the display thereof. A great man was one who accumulated many blankets, furs, and canoes, and then threw a tremendous party, called a *potlatch*, that outshone and shamed the feebler efforts of other wealthy men who had recently put on similar affairs. This was contrasted to the culture of the Pueblo Indians of our own Southwest wherein the tribal ceremonies, rituals, and mores aim to suppress individualism, and the economy emphasizes the social well-being of all, rather than competitive advantage of individuals [1].

Underprivileged workers in America. Allison Davis' study of underprivileged industrial workers in Chicago showed that culture and environment had a tremendous influence upon their work effort and accounted for much of the absenteeism, turnover, and low morale evident during the period of full employment during and after World War II. Three case histories show some of the problems involved. A Negro girl factory worker lived with friends in a room that was rotated on three shifts. She slept four or five hours a night with three to five in a bed. Because she was still young, she was able to perform effectively on the job, but the strain of living was reflected in frequent absences. A young couple of Polish extraction started their married life with some

middle-class ambitions of thrift and improvement of status but were so thoroughly overwhelmed by a deluge of babies that ambition evaporated into poverty, shiftlessness, and drunkenness. A young man of native American origin made several efforts to join the competitive game but was thwarted by lack of basic education plus the environmental factors of drink, loose companions, and unwholesome recreation in general [4].

The person in the working class family or the Negro is under such a tremendous stress for mere physical survival that he does not learn to be ambitious, to acquire skills and education. Poor living conditions, intermittent employment, the pressures of growing families, and illness produce an environment in which long-run middle-class ambitions cannot prevail. Work is not an opportunity to improve one's status, but rather an uninviting, unnatural burden to be avoided wherever possible. Thus, one lays off or quits the job even though, from the middle-class viewpoint, he and his family need money. Yet, in quitting or leaving the job, he has done something that is natural and understandable from the standpoint of his own cultural setting.

Wildcat strikes are cultural in motivation. Work stoppages in those industries dominated by the industrial unions can be understood not from the standpoint of employers' ideology but rather upon the basis just discussed. Longshoremen, automobile workers, coal miners, and many other mass production workers lead a day-to-day existence that runs a cycle from work to layoff or feast to famine, although there is seldom very much feast in the bourgeois sense. The vicissitudes of poverty, increasing family responsibilities, and general social pathology fail to produce the response expected by the Rotary-Horatio Alger-Chamber of Commerce complex.

Class outlook influences motivation. The most significant consideration in this respect is that one responds to that to which he is expected to respond. This response is set by associates, culture, and environment. If one is born into the middle or upper classes, he is expected to be a "success," which means that he must make money either as a corporation executive, a businessman, or a

professional person. He must strive to have an adequate home and symbols of success. He must enter into a tremendous competition for status and survival where such status and survival are measured by money income and the possession of economic wealth. If his natural propensities are toward scholarship, literature, or the arts, his status will be inferior to administrative and commercial leaders, whether judged by money and wealth on the one hand or by the prestige of his contemporaries on the other.

Subculture affects motivation. In the following case, *subculture* is defined by contrasting two subcultures which existed side-by-side. One was a gypsum board factory and the other a gypsum mine. Those who worked in the factory were characterized by low motivation, those in the mine were more highly motivated. The factory accepted "bureaucratic" controls, whereas the mine resisted them. The miners were independent in spirit and resisted close supervision although they worked hard under their own drive. In searching for a reason for this difference, the reporter of the case conjectured that it might lie in the workers' control of the machinery. The machine set the pace for the factory workers who had no control over it, whereas the miners controlled their own machines. If a machine broke down the journeymen miners banded together voluntarily to repair it. In the factory, machines were repaired by specialized repairmen [6].

Financial incentives

Attitude surveys conducted among American workers rank salary or pay fifth or sixth in the order of choices. The composite average of several such surveys indicates that the following are placed ahead of high pay: (1) steady work; (2) comfortable working conditions; (3) good boss; (4) opportunity for advancement [13].

These findings go so contrary to the traditional management viewpoint that recent researches have sought to clarify the apparent contradiction. The best explanation seems to be that when the employee answers abstract questions about job satisfac-

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tions, his mind is working in a realm different from the grievance level. In an analysis of exit interviews, pay grievances were mentioned twice as frequently as any other single topic [31].

A factor analysis of a number of studies revealed that when associated factors are combined under a factor called "Job Rewards," the "concrete economic return that the employee receives—his pay—is undoubtedly a focal point in determining his job attitudes" [23]. Stockford and Kunze found that Lockheed workers whose beginning pay was lower than they had received elsewhere had a less favorable attitude toward the company, and this tended to persist throughout their employment [32]. Hence, attitudes toward pay are conditioned by one's own perception of what his status should be [27]. Another study at the Detroit Edison Company revealed that there is a direct relation between absenteeism and how people feel about their wages [14].

Financial incentives are related to others. The only conclusion which seems plausible is that financial incentives are tremendously important in producing the will to work. But they must be viewed in combination with other factors, rather than considered as isolated motivators. This view is supported by the case studies set forth below. In each instance, financial incentives constitute an all pervading and over-riding factor. But they achieve their maximum effectiveness only when the employees are convinced that management is sincere and playing the game straight. The social factors must be right, in order for the financial incentives to work properly.

The Hormel Packing House. The situation prevailing at Geo. A. Hormel and Co.² has been described as one in which the work-

² The relative productivity of Hormel workers has recently entered the realm of controversy in professional literature. One analyst claims that Hormel high wages are not due to superior worker productivity, but to Jay Hormel's decision to share with workers the results of his own entrepreneurial acumen. E. J. McCarthy, "Wage Guarantees and Annual Earnings: A Case Study of George A. Hormel and Company," *The Journal of Business*, Vol. 29 (January 1956), p. 41. A trade union research director took issue with this viewpoint in Lyle Cooper, "Wage Guarantees at Hormel: A Comment," *The Journal of Business*, Vol. 29 (April 1956), p. 141. McCarthy rebutted in same journal, Vol. 29 (July 1956), p. 216.

ers actually sell a product to the company instead of their services. Wages are paid on an hourly time basis and each worker is guaranteed 52 weeks of work. Production norms are actually set through collective bargaining. It is a group incentive system and production norms apply to the group rather than to the individual. The individual's pay is determined by dividing the group production by the number of workers. The individual, however, is also entitled to an additional incentive for his production over and beyond the norm set by the group.

There is also a Joint Earnings Plan, whereby the employees receive yearly bonuses. This is based upon a formula which divides company earnings between employees and stockholders. A sliding scale gives the workers a proportionately larger share during bad years, and the stockholders a greater share during good years. In 1951 the average earnings of Hormel workers were 30 per cent greater than others in the industry receiving the same base pay. They produced 30 per cent more while putting in 20 per cent less time than other workers in the packing industry [2].

Lincoln Electric. Lincoln Electric is a non-unionized company which has become widely known through its profit-sharing bonus plan based upon individual incentive. Base pay is determined by piecework. Each individual employee is rated twice per year on his work, evaluated as to quality, quantity, supervision required and cost reduction ideas and effort. At the end of the year the two six-month ratings are averaged, and each employee is given a final rating. The latter is related to his base pay and determines how much of a bonus he will get. In the late 1950's, hourly workers received a total annual income of \$8500 to \$9000 each. The plant is very well managed from an engineering and production standpoint. Production workers are said to work in a permissive atmosphere free from close supervision. The relationship between management and labor is evidently quite satisfactory, but the company's publicity emphasizes the annual productivity bonus as the crucial factor in its success. Over 70 per cent of the workers own stock in the company [11].

The company states that its ability to involve "the whole man" of the production worker is due more to making him *customer-minded* than proprietor-minded. Great pride is taken in reducing the price of the product, an electric arc welder, while at the same time increasing wages. Furthermore, every worker is rewarded in direct proportion to what he contributes. Effort is lined directly to productivity.

An elective advisory board of workmen is said to be responsible for originating most of the ideas from which have accrued the many benefits that Lincoln workers enjoy.

The Scanlon Plan. The late Joe Scanlon, formerly a lecturer in the Industrial Relations Section at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a director of research and engineering, C.I.O., specialized in introducing principles of union-management cooperation into the attack on production problems and the stimulation of group productivity in the plant. On the basis of historical figures which relate actual payroll costs to sales value produced, an over-all productivity norm or target is set. Labor savings beyond that norm are divided between labor and the company, often on a 75-25 basis, but in many instances labor has been given 100 per cent. Joint productivity committees are established to induce the workers and management to suggest ways and means of reducing costs and increasing production.

Consultation and participation are stressed. It is said that Scanlon has turned plants sick from maladministration or from labor strife or financial hardship into cooperative social systems. All of the pressures are in favor of cooperation. The restraining influences that generate laggards, slipshod performers, controlled output, and the like are minimized. Workers themselves achieve an identification which reveals that low productivity on the part of anyone lessens the returns which all will receive. This places a premium on group effort rather than on individual competition [5, 22, 19].

The Nunn-Bush Plan. The Nunn-Bush Shoe Company has developed what it calls the "Share the Production" plan. It originally grew out of the desire to deliver 52 paychecks a year in a

business that is subject to seasonal lay-offs. When the books were examined nine years back to ascertain the relation of labor cost to income, it was found to be astonishingly constant at approximately 20 per cent. Each worker is given a production quota based on his past performance. His weekly paycheck is figured on a proportion of this figure and paid irrespective of how much he produced that week. In addition, his earned productivity beyond the quota is put in a fund and distributed at the end of the month.

The plant has an independent union. There is close cooperation between labor and management. All decisions affecting labor are made in a consultative manner.

A plan which was designed in the beginning to stretch out the paychecks over lay-off periods has turned out to have certain salutary effects upon both management and labor. It forced the former to *plan and schedule production* in a much more meticulous manner, because (1) it cannot afford to have excessive inventories on hand, and (2) it must guard against productivity getting ahead of the market. The salespeople were also consulted in order to adjust the market to planned production.

The major effect on workers has been in making them "management-minded." Everyone is, in a sense, in business for himself because his income is based upon individual production. Mr. Nunn has summed it up in the title to his book, *The Whole Man Goes to Work* [17].

Economic incentive varies with cultural factors

The anthropologists who have studied primitive man in all parts of the world have discovered that the effectiveness of economic incentive varies tremendously from culture to culture and that it is probably not correct to generalize that all men have a fundamental or innate urge to work harder in order to get more of this world's goods. Indeed, competitiveness in this respect is much more characteristic of the industrial cultures of western Europe and America than elsewhere in the world. Even in our own culture, the striving for financial advantage and preferment

is much stronger among the middle and well-to-do classes—the so-called bourgeoisie—than among the great masses of wage-earners. Furthermore, the personal satisfactions that come with activities entailing higher salaries are not always those that one could buy if he had money.

People in executive positions get many satisfactions from their work that they do not recognize or, if they do recognize them, do not admit. They receive rewards in prestige, power, and creativeness that are not available to the rank-and-file worker. When an assembly-line worker has the choice of working overtime and thereby earning the extra overtime pay, as so many millions did during the war, he usually weighs his need for the additional money against the general distastefulness of spending extra time at his machine.

Supervisor as a motivator

It is pleasant to mouth platitudes about the supervisor being the most important motivator. Happily, some research is now showing results which support this homily. A high relationship has been found to exist between productivity and an employee's attitude toward his supervisor [30].

Absenteeism and supervision. Two recent studies have revealed a very positive correlation between absenteeism and the quality of supervision in large-scale organizations. In the Detroit Edison Company, the supervisors whose groups had low absenteeism were rated by their employees as being good at handling people and being willing to go to bat or stand up for employees. They were also rated by their superiors as being "immediately promotable" [14]. A similar study in a manufacturing plant revealed that a supervisor with a low rate of absenteeism did such things as keeping a fine set of individual performance records. He also maintained individual attendance records and talked to his people regularly concerning them [26].

The good supervisor trains his people in correct job performance. An attitude survey of employee opinion was conducted among 350 employees of a company manufacturing home ap-

pliances. Special attention was directed toward finding out how they felt about the incentive pay system. The highest percentage of satisfaction with it was found among "workers who reported: (1) that their foreman tries to get the men to follow the method described in the standard sheet; and (2) that their foreman does a very good job of explaining the reasons for changes in labor standards. Conversely, the lowest percentage of satisfaction occurs among people who said: (1) that their foreman tries to get the men to follow the prescribed method, but that their foreman doesn't try to explain the reasons for labor standard changes" [12].

How to give orders

Don't shout. No longer is it regarded as necessary or advisable to shout orders in a peremptory manner, for today progressive thought and practice sees the order growing out of the job situation. Well-planned work flow makes the next step so implicit that workers who have good morale know what to do without a formal order. If a great deal of bossing is required, the plan of operation may be seriously defective.

Depersonalize orders. Mary Follett would depersonalize the giving of orders by uniting those concerned in a study of the situation to discover the "law of the situation," which all would obey. A cooperative conference approach would result in a mutually understood solution, which would constitute the order. This is just another way of saying that the scientific management approach lessens the need for giving orders. The standardization of procedures and scheduling of activities reduces old-fashioned bossing to an absolute minimum. In brief, this involves extensive and intensive job analysis, mapping the flow of work, reduction of instructions to writing, setting standards, keeping production records, time scheduling, and inspection or checking work. When organized intelligence is applied to laying out the work in this manner, the worker really can have more freedom from the objectionable form of bossing than in a situation where his next task is not known from hour to hour. Standard-

ized procedures lay out work and leave the execution to the workers.

The application of the principles of scientific management to the standardization of work should also tend to curb a fairly prevalent nuisance, the supervisor who gives an excessive number of orders. Such a person can create among his subordinates a nervous tension deterring to morale and production. Constantly apprehensive that some minor criticism will be made about what they are doing, the men are deprived of the self-confidence so necessary to good performance. One of the best ways of counteracting this tendency is to teach supervisors those organization and management techniques that facilitate delegation, thus enabling them to maintain control without participating in and scrutinizing every detailed operation.

Organization and management

The recent emphasis on human relations has tended to overshadow and even discount the importance of traditional organization and management factors in motivating people to work. However, the cumulative research evidence seems to say with increasing emphasis that the human factors and O & M factors are inter-related and interdependent.

A factor analysis of employee attitude surveys showed that one of the five principal elements involved in a wholesome attitude toward one's work place is "effectiveness of the organization as a system" [23].

Morale cannot be separated from work itself. A British industrialist not only permitted but fostered the efforts of a world renowned social science research institute in his plant [9]. He recently reminisced that these early studies were not as fruitful as might have been expected from a management viewpoint. In searching for an explanation, he thought that the trouble lay with studying morale as an entity in itself. The researchers had studied the social system of the factory without paying much attention to the productive system which was the very reason for the factory's existence.

Now management has gone with the other swing of the pendulum and is searching for answers in the area of formal organization. It has redefined duties, straightened out the overlapping of staff and line, rearranged the size of supervisory units, made specialists responsible to the managers on the production level, and increased the authority of the latter. It is studying morale not from the social science standpoint alone, but as a factor of the production organization itself [25].

Control and follow-up. The word "control" has such an authoritarian connotation that one hesitates to use it in a discussion dealing with human relations. Nevertheless, it has come to have such a definite meaning in O & M circles that a less harsh-sounding substitute would hardly do. Modern management theory sees planning as goal-setting followed logically by a flow of information relative to goal achievement. Planning tells people what they are to do and how much of it they are to achieve. Control tells management how they are doing.

A comparison was made between an experimental group and a control group of insurance salesmen. The former received regularly from the home office a series of reports showing what their production had been. The control group received no such reports. The experimental group also received personal letters suggesting remedial action. The performance of the experimental group was better than that of the others [33].

An experiment involving college undergraduates tested the hypothesis that in performing a repetitive activity "the degree of satiation will vary inversely with that degree to which the repeated activities are perceived as instrumental to some goal." The results showed that people are more highly motivated, even when performing repetitive tasks, when they are aware of group goals and receive information about performance. Satiation sets in more rapidly when there are no goals [8].

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What were the five motivational factors which appeared with constance and regularity in attitude surveys?

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2. Discuss the relationship between happiness and motivation.
3. Discuss the relation of fear to motivation.
4. Summarize McGregor's discussion of security.
5. What must management substitute for its old hire-and-fire philosophy?
6. What can a supervisor do to build teamwork?
7. How do cultural factors affect motivation?
8. What is the difference between the Lincoln Electric plan and the Scanlon Plan?
9. What is the relation of formal organization to morale?

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Participation

THE main hypothesis of this chapter is that there exists an area of participation, democratic in essence and spirit, that will actually produce more efficient results. *Participation* is a term that does not lend itself to precise definition because there are several varieties of participation. One can participate passively by representation in a works' council, his union, or merely by belonging to an informal social group in which he does not originate action. Participation also involves actual attendance and engaging in the activities of groups, such as staff conferences and interdepartmental committees. For purposes of this discussion, there is a third type of participation where the individual employee is encouraged to make suggestions about work improvement and is given maximum opportunity to make decisions in the normal course of his own job. This whole area is packed with controversy and often is charged

with emotion. It centers around the issue posed relative to management prerogatives in Chapter 11.

There are those who feel that participation, especially when it involves penetration by the union into the area of high management policy, cannot help but tend toward socialism. Others who would not go that far are still apprehensive on the ground that the extension of employee participation in management policy would result in the making of unwise decisions that would imperil the economic soundness of the enterprise. While conceding that these hazards do exist, it is nevertheless felt that there is a happy balance that will tend to increase production and efficiency. It will be achieved largely through trial-and-error experiment fraught with numerous disappointments and disillusionments. However, in the not too distant future, American management culture will accept many of the devices of participation discussed below as the unquestioned normal mode of procedure.

Three areas of participation

In general, the three broad substantive fields of participation are: (1) personnel policy, (2) high fiscal policy, and (3) production policies at the shop or office level. The first two will be eliminated from consideration in this chapter. The main reason for passing over the first is that it involves the area now covered by collective bargaining contracts and civil service laws in which employee participation is well established. The second, high fiscal policy, is as important as it is controversial, but is being by-passed here because it is not so directly related to supervision. Hence, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted chiefly to the third field of participation; namely, employee participation in production policies that apply more particularly to the supervisor's immediate job.

Conditioning the hierarchy

One of the first steps to be taken is to condition the entire hierarchy to believe in, and act in accordance with, the precepts

of two-way communication: consultation, cooperation, and coordination, so often emphasized in these chapters. Both the cultural heritage of leadership and the tremendous inertia that afflicts hierarchies make it difficult to inaugurate the practice of participation. The heritage of leadership has been dominantly one of one-way communication downward accompanied by unquestioning obedience to the edicts of the boss. Chapter Twelve has postulated a coordinative, consultative type of leadership for the modern supervisor.

Barriers to participation

The inertia that afflicts hierarchies springs from the preoccupation of supervisors with their production job, making them disinclined to give time to the discussion of over-all policies. It also springs from the disinclination of people in general to accept responsibility. The problem is further complicated by the widespread failure to delegate, a common fault among those who do accept responsibility. Because they go to the heart of the problem of participation, the two major management processes by which participation may be facilitated should be explored. These are *conference and delegation*.

Conferences and committees

Conferences and committees constitute a proved method of participation throughout the entire reaches of an organization. Even authoritarian organizations have meetings, if only to hear sacred words from the holy man, a tribal custom seems to pose the principal problem in this connection—how to introduce actual participation into the conferences and committee meetings. What are some of the road blocks or dams that prevent participation on the part of the rank and file who attend group meetings? Usually those in positions of leadership will proclaim with apparent sincerity and conviction that they actually desire to have participation and open discussion in the meetings, but it requires more than high declarations to secure it.

There is natural reluctance of people to speak their minds in

the presence of their bosses. It is primarily for this reason that foremanship training in its orthodox and traditional form is normally introduced by conference leaders who are not immediate superiors of the trainees.

A second reason for failure to speak up in conference is poor conference leadership, the tendency of the leader to do all the talking, to take up so much time that none is left for discussion, or to deprecate the opinion offered, so that the participant is made to appear foolish. If he is a boss, he may have stated his point so strongly that no one feels sufficiently secure to express a contrary opinion.

Foreman training conferences. The orthodox method of foreman conference training emphasizes the need for trained conference leaders who de-emphasize their own egos and who are skilled at drawing out the thoughts of others. There are probably relatively few organizations whose affairs are open books to its employees. Interest in discussion wanes when throttled, because apparently innocent data is stamped "top secret" and cannot be divulged. A certain type of management mind possesses a psychological trait of secretiveness in small matters; it feels that there is an area of information that should not be divulged to the rank and file. Undoubtedly there is justification for maintaining secrecy in certain areas, but one suspects that bumptiousness and obstinacy carry it beyond its necessary limitations.

Line supervisor should learn to lead conferences. One of the foremost needs in large-scale organization is the development in the line supervisor of the quality necessary to lead conferences. The introductory phases of conference training can be carried on successfully by bringing in trained conference leaders, either from the training department or from outside. But sustained conference work must be based upon the continuous participation of people in the discussion, consideration of work at their level, and leadership by their own supervisors. The difficulty is that executives and supervisors are chosen on the basis of qualities or abilities other than those required to lead conferences. As a matter of fact, conference leadership skills are com-

paratively rare and not as easy to inculcate as one would suppose. Indeed, one often wonders why more conference leaders do not result from the splendid conference leader training program conducted by the state and city school systems.

How to lead conferences. The human equation in conference leadership calls for a behavior pattern that clashes with the popular concept of leadership, just as the leadership qualities required of the supervisor vary from the personality symbols expected of him by top management. The conference leader de-emphasizes his own ego, striving always to secure the participation of the maximum number of conferees. He artfully curbs the superloquacious and stimulates the reticent; he constantly writes what people say on the blackboard, so that they can see it; he talks only enough to equalize participation and to sound the sentiments of the group. While there are many types of conferences, the spirit of conference leadership is expressed in the pure conference as described in the few preceding sentences. If participation by the rank and file of conferees is desired throughout an organization, the only way to secure it is to develop, in the executives and supervisors at the various levels, ability to lead a pure conference.

Some "do's" and "don't's" about conferences. Sustained interest and attendance will depend very much upon the manner in which the meetings are conducted, their vitality, and their ability to sustain interest. The meeting time should be set for definitely scheduled hours that are most convenient to the participants. For persons on the lower levels, it is probably necessary to hold the meetings at times when attendance is on payroll time rather than their own time. However, some firms have had notable success with foremanship dinners held after hours at which top management mingles on a fraternal basis with the foremen. Daytime meetings should ordinarily be held in the plant, but in a conference room away from the telephone, and instructions should be given that participants are not to be called away except in case of extreme emergency. Conferences set to meet at stated times should seldom be postponed to suit the con-

venience of higher executives; and when it is necessary to do so, a full and complete explanation should state the specific reasons why the conflicting appointment seemed to be more important than the regular conference. Consultative management, to be successful, must have the blessing and active support of top management, and a series of conference postponements will raise doubt as to whether such support actually prevails [16].

Shop conferences. The main purpose for training supervisors in conference leadership is to improve their consultative relationship with their own workers. The consultative-participative approach is not for the classroom alone but an integral phase of day-to-day work relationships. The informal shop conference brings the whole work group into the discussion of immediate production problems. In the Forest Service it is called a "tail board" conference because it is held at the tail board of a truck. In a naval shore establishment it is referred to as a "stand up" conference because the workers stand around the foreman at the scene of the work.

In the Detroit Edison Company it was found that groups whose foremen hold group discussions have lower absence rates. The same was true of the work groups of supervisors who create an atmosphere favorable to free and easy discussion of work problems [7]. Other research at Lockheed Aircraft showed that a large percentage of the group spoke up in conferences conducted by the foremen of high production groups and that there was relatively little hesitancy to speak up in opposition to a view expressed by the foreman. Moreover, such meetings were goal centered; they did not deal with trivia which could be handled by other means [15].

The Conference Research Program. A team of researchers at the University of Michigan observed a series of conferences. Some were actual business sessions, and others were experimental situations with an attempt to control variables [16]. A considerable number of influences were found to affect: (1) satisfaction of the conferees with the session, and (2) its

productiveness. From them the following broad guides have been abstracted:

1. Make the purpose of the meeting clear.
2. Leader should recognize whether the purpose is for exploration or decision.
3. Conferences are more successful when the members are task oriented rather than interested in personal aggrandizement.
4. The leader should exercise control of process but *not* of content.
5. The leader should keep the group "on the beam," maintain proper sequence and order in discussion, and summarize the consensus of the group.
6. Size does not seem to matter much between 3 and 20 members.
7. There should be an agenda, topics should be treated in related order, and only one item should be discussed at a time.
8. The leader needs to assume a more assertive role in groups which are not cohesive and which are characterized by cliques and conflict.
9. Individual satisfaction and group productivity are higher when it is known that the results of conference deliberation will have an effect on decision-making.
10. The leader should prevent the group from becoming bogged down in detail.

The McCormick Multiple Management Movement

A heartening development in recent years has been the encouragement by some firms of greater participation on the part of junior executives and middle supervisors. This has tended to take the form of a junior executive board that is given some vexing problems of internal management to study. Experience in two companies indicates that utilization of such committees has certain definite advantages to the business itself. It utilizes talent, which otherwise might go unnoticed, in bringing about reduced costs and improved methods. It helps to discover talent and to develop executives. Participants are given responsible experience in all phases of management and are conditioned to work in an atmosphere that encourages teamwork.

✓ *Delegation*

Subordinate officials and lower supervisors can be trained irrespective of previously acquired habits and inherited inclina-

tions to refrain from oversupervision and failure to delegate. These two pathological traits are separate and distinct in their manifestations, but perhaps both spring from the same psychological sources. Oversupervision means the propensity of the supervisor constantly to interfere in the work that people are doing. *Failure to delegate* means performing the work oneself instead of permitting others to have a hand in it. The persons guilty of the latter offense are often referred to as *detailists*.

Delegation pays off in both productivity and job satisfaction. Studies carried on by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan show that workers who are under general rather than close supervision are more productive and have greater job satisfaction [6]. The studies related to productivity were rather conclusive. Another one directed primarily at job satisfaction felt that the data, while not entirely conclusive, did nevertheless indicate rather strongly that the following conditions tend to create high employee satisfaction and high group productivity.

1. Where upper management grants a high degree of delegation to the first line supervisor.
2. Where upper management shows a high degree of responsiveness to the needs of workers, and
3. Where the section head generally is a warm person who delegates and allows considerable freedom of conduct [10].

Failure to delegate is a disease. Detailiasis is a coined word indicating a mental condition which may or may not be curable. Not much is known in a scientific way about how to induce people to delegate. The three broad approaches available are:

1. Job Analysis and Organizing
2. Education and Training
3. Mental Therapy

The good delegator is also a good organizer. The supervisor analyzes the work to be done and makes job breakdowns. He conducts job analyses and assigns to others the work which he does not have to do himself. He then lets these people know what is expected of them in quite definite terms. But he does not stop

there, because he sets up controls consisting of a flow of information of a follow-up nature.

The delegator knows what goes on. The act of delegation does not mean that he is leaving the organization to run itself in a laissez-faire manner. He plans what is to be done, tells people what they are to do, and then holds them to account. The point is that they enjoy a considerable freedom in their work, but know at the same time that they are being held responsible for results. They must be prepared at all times to render a report about how they are doing. Delegation is not abdication; it is the assignment of duties to the proper person at the proper level accompanied by a system of controls which coordinates the work of all.

A very familiar sight is the highly competent person who is bursting with health and energy and who loves to work eighteen hours a day. He fails to delegate not only because he feels that others will not be able to do the work as well as he could, but also because he loves the work so well that he is reluctant to relinquish any part of his enjoyment. By virtue of his sheer mental and physical prowess, this sort of person can often be quite effective until middle age starts to play havoc with his stomach, heart, and arteries. But in the meantime his behavior may have created much pent-up resentment among his associates and subordinates.

Job analysis approach. It is difficult to induce such a person to mend his ways while he is in full possession of physical power and vigor. If he cannot be persuaded to protect his health, he may be reached through his own business acumen and knowledge of economics. One approach to such a situation is to conduct a study which shows the amount of percentage of time he is spending on the several categories of duties. Such data can be obtained by the analyst staying with him and observing what he does for a period of a week or so. Or his secretary can record the nature of his activities by fifteen-minute periods. Analysis of such data will usually show that the executive is spending considerable time on activities which lower status, lower salaried, less talented people could perform. He can be shown that

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at his salary, he is costing the company \$500 for a job that could be done for \$250, and that his higher-priced abilities are needed for the more important operations. Such objective evidence of his intemperate expenditure of energy may induce the chief to delegate voluntarily.

People can be trained to delegate. Supervisory training courses should drill on the fundamentals of how to organize. A training course on "human relations" will not teach that subject if it omits the traditional aspects of organization. The act of delegation is composed of redistribution of duties and people can be taught how to do it. Such training should consist of: (1) job analysis, (2) work flow analysis, and (3) control. The latter is in many respects the most important because it is based upon the principle of knowing what goes on without constant snooping. It facilitates coordination while giving the individual an optimum amount of freedom.

Mental therapy. Failure to delegate may arise from fundamental personality structure, a problem which may be approached through group therapy or individual treatment by a psychiatrist. There is a recorded experience in which the executives of a federal agency requested group discussion under the leadership of a psychiatrist who was on the staff. Participants testified that they had been helped in the area of delegation, among other areas [17].

Individual therapy is difficult to bring about because of the reluctance of many people to admit that they are in need of it. The stigma attached to insanity is deeply rooted in our culture, with the result that people refuse to take the first step of going to a therapist. In another recorded instance, a combination of individual and group approaches was used. The problem was to get key individuals to accept leadership responsibilities in a democratic atmosphere after they had been conditioned to strong authoritarian direction. A consulting psychologist held therapeutic interviews with key persons, the objective being to get each to see his own personality difficulties. When some success was achieved in that direction, the group sessions were

inaugurated. The organization was changed from a one-man, top-down machine into a venture in which delegation was accompanied by acceptance of responsibility and cooperation [9].

Labor-management cooperation

There are in general two approaches to the motivation of workers to secure higher production. One is to emphasize the improvement of management procedures through staff work, including management engineering, production control, and time and motion study, and to combine this improvement with strict discipline from above. The other is to solicit the interest and cooperation of the rank-and-file employees in increasing production through some form of participation. There really need be no basic conflict between these two approaches, although it must be recognized that, in practice, those who advocate the one often seem emotionally set against the other.

The best management staff work can be attained in those situations where the production organization accepts and cooperates with the experts. Where such cooperation does not exist, it is common to find mutual suspicion accompanied by restriction of production and the thwarting of management purposes by the social organization of workers. This is so in both unionized and unorganized plants.

Cooperation through committees composed jointly of representatives from workers and management has had a considerable history during the first half of the present century in America, particularly in the railroad and clothing industries. The American Management Association's Research Report No. 14, published in 1949, indicated that this type of cooperation exists in other areas of industry and seems to be on the increase [1].

The report concludes that the areas of cooperation were chiefly those in which the possibility of conflict is small. For instance, the following noncontroversial topics ranked high on a table setting forth the frequency with which certain subjects are dealt with: accident prevention, regular attendance, and employee insurance plans. Much lower down the list were pro-

duction-centered items such as setting output standards, incentive systems, and production planning.

Organization of committees. The organization of labor-management cooperation committees tends to take on a certain hierarchical aspect in the larger plants. There will be a main committee for the entire plant, the duties of which are chiefly the formulation of general policies, coordination, and supervision. It passes on the problems of subcommittees and initiates new activities. There may be one or two subordinate layers of committees under this main committee. The subcommittees deal with specialized activities, such as safety and training.

Kept separate from collective bargaining. One of the principal objectives of this representation movement is to separate cooperation from collective bargaining, concentrating upon those problems that concern production as distinguished from the traditional content of personnel administration. Nevertheless, the unions remain very active in the cooperation system. The two dominant methods of choosing employee representatives are nomination by the union and election by all employees. In only 12 per cent of the cases studied by the A.M.A., representatives were selected by the nomination of management.

Not a universal panacea. It would be leaving a false impression to conclude that everyone covered by this rather extensive study was enthusiastic about cooperation. It would seem that even where cooperation has been practiced and continues with some promise of survival, the enthusiasm is not too great on either side. Labor leaders tend to regard it as a management device to eliminate conflict in those areas where it seems desirable to do so. Managements, on the other hand, prefer the more orthodox approaches through better supervision, incentive plans, discipline, and communication.

The N. P. A. Study. The National Planning Association's study of Causes of Industrial Peace found that the mere getting together of the two sides was more important than the actual problems solved. The participants' enthusiasm for the good will of these meetings becomes apparent. Discussions are held in a re-

laxed atmosphere, and people are given a chance to see each other in a different light. Even when they were unable to point to very concrete accomplishments, they would usually refer to the heightened good will and increased understanding [2].

British Joint Consultation. Recently there have appeared several research reports dealing with what the British call *Joint Consultation*. It has been defined as "periodic meetings of a formal nature between representatives of management and work people in a factory, basic wages and conditions of employment being excluded from the scope of discussion" [11, p. 9]. The studies published in the early 1950's were based upon developments which took place in the war years of the early 1940's. Talks with individual Englishmen revealed that the movement may have originated partly as an attempt on the part of management to fall in line with the social reform spirit of the times. One authority sees it as a logical development of the concept of industrial democracy advanced a half-century ago by Sidney and Beatrice Webb [11] who envisioned such democracy as coming through changes in the mechanical structure of the industrial order.

This emphasis on structure rather than substance may account for the disillusionment that is apparent in most of the reports. Joint consultation was a mechanical arrangement superimposed upon the existing factory structure. It consisted of meetings between members of management and elected representatives of the workers. Two items important to workers were excluded from discussion: matters customarily dealt with in collective bargaining and the methods of improving productivity which constitute the core of the American Scanlon Plan. Furthermore, the middle managers were short-circuited instead of involving the whole hierarchy.

The president of one of the companies whose joint consultation was subjected to thorough study has recently stated that attempts at industrial democracy must be oriented in work and productivity [14].

The social system of a factory cannot be organized in pursu-

ance of political analogies relative to structure. While paying tribute to the good which had resulted from the research study of the Tavistock Institute [4], the company's president expressed doubt that the joint consultation approach was the answer to British industrial problems. Instead, he advocated greater attention to the organization of the work itself, the internal structure of operations. Most successful American attempts along these lines have also been directed at increasing the will to work by getting the rank and file interested in the improvement of work methods.

Management has misgivings

Participation of the kind just described is often viewed with misgiving by management. Charles P. McCormick relates how at first there was apprehension that the younger, college-trained men would endanger the business through their radical political, social, and economic ideas, an apprehension that proved to be ill-founded, because the junior board has been quite conservative [8].

Why is the oldster apprehensive? The reluctance of senior executives to consult with their juniors is due at least partly to the old-timers' feeling of insecurity. The elder fears that his shortcomings will be revealed by the talented youngster. Furthermore, the overwhelming force of tradition in human institutions calls for unquestioning obedience on the part of junior members of the staff. The idea that subordinates should have the right to speak up about the operation of an organization is so recent in the evolution of human affairs that it happened only yesterday in terms of the entire history of man. Under these circumstances it would seem advisable that management participation proceed with a mixture of confidence and caution—confidence that there is now sufficient evidence that participation will influence production favorably, but caution arising from the knowledge that ventures based upon excess enthusiasm and deficient planning cannot succeed. Success will be more likely, first, when an atmosphere of mutual confidence exists at all levels of the hier-

archy and, second, when the matters initially tackled are those in which each side has community of interests, such as safety.

The Editors of Fortune. A survey conducted by the editors of *Fortune* came to three conclusions which seem also to be supported by the other studies cited in this chapter [13].

1. Participation must be an integral part of production operations, not ~~just~~ an "extracurricular frill."
2. The listening approach is basic, but the blowing off of steam and the resulting catharsis are not enough. The listeners must want the subordinates' opinions, and put meritorious ones to use.
3. There is no need to fear that participation will result in loss of authority; the danger lies the other way because employees "don't run far enough with the ball" [13, p. 137].

Oversupervision

Supervisors should be on guard to see that they do not indulge in oversupervision. On the contrary, they should constantly strive to maintain the maximum possible area of job freedom for each worker. Because he is supposed to be able to perform without supervision every operation within the jurisdiction of his trade, the journeyman in the traditional crafts probably has a greater area of freedom than most manual workers. He takes great pride in the possession of such skills and resents interference in those areas in which he considers himself adequate. This may account for the general practice in the building trades of rotating the straw boss positions among the journeymen. In the highly-engineered manufacturing processes that employ machine tools, as in the automobile and shoe industries, the workers' area of freedom is reduced to a minimum, which is one of the several reasons why the old crafts resisted attempts to turn their jobs over to engineers who designed machine tools to be operated by semi-skilled laborers. There are those, however, who feel that the worker can be given a greater sense of participation even in the mass production industries.

Importance of organization

The annoyance resulting from oversupervision relates directly back to failure to delegate and faulty organization. All

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supervisory training should contain the elements of good organization practice, some of the principal credos of which bear constant repetition because of their fundamental nature. The mistake is often made of thinking that they apply mainly to the higher levels of the hierarchy and are not of immediate concern to lower supervisors. A proper groundwork for participation cannot exist unless each individual worker knows how he stands in relation to his job, his boss, and to the firm in general.

Credos of organization

The credos of organization that are essential to creating this framework for participation may be listed as follows:

1. Each worker knows to whom he reports; in other words, who is his line supervisor.
2. Each worker should have but one immediate supervisor.
3. If the worker is under functional supervision from persons other than the line supervisor, the conditions thereof should be stated clearly, preferably in writing.
4. The worker should have a definite and clear understanding of just what work he is to do; preferably there should be written job descriptions.
5. There should be a system of internal checks that operate automatically to assure optimum performance and to reveal shortcomings and misconduct.

Time and space have been devoted to discussion of these elementary principles of organization because any plan that aims at changing the habits of those supervisors who are guilty of oversupervision must be based on these principles. They must be made to understand that work will go on quite satisfactorily, possibly even more satisfactorily, if they are not constantly injecting themselves into every detail and forever observing personal behavior with an eagle eye.

Manner of giving orders

Supervisors can also create the sense of participation through their manner of directing and giving orders. Instead of giving a peremptory order, the clever supervisor will permit the worker

to suggest the obvious procedure. People will agree to their own ideas, whereas they may resist those of others, particularly of those in authority. The successful supervisor knows this intuitively, and the result is that he refrains from giving arbitrary orders. Instead he asks, "Where do we go, Joe?" He may even flatter the workers by feigning ignorance even when he is very well informed, merely to give them the opportunity to say how the job should be done.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by "conditioning the hierarchy"?
2. What are some of the "roadblocks" that prevent participation on the part of the rank and file who attend group meetings?
3. How should a conference leader conduct himself? What were some of the main points coming out of the Michigan research on how to conduct a conference?
4. How can one delegate and still maintain effective supervision?
5. How can labor and management cooperate to secure participation?
6. Why did British Joint Consultation fail to achieve the results which might have been expected?
7. How can one know when he is engaging in oversupervision?
8. What are some organization credos which aid the practice of participation?

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Five

CLINICAL APPROACHES to the SUPERVISOR'S JOB

The supervisor's personnel job

THE fundamental hypothesis of this chapter, and the several that follow it, is that the line supervisor is a key personnel man. The organization that operates upon this basis regards personnel administration not as an end in itself but as a means of accomplishing the cardinal objectives of the line organization. This does not mean that the personnel staff units will be abolished or that they will necessarily be greatly reduced in numbers, but it does imply that their ideology and orientation will be different from that which has generally prevailed in the past. The personnel organization will tend to be more decentralized in operation and work in close coordination and liaison with the line units upon the levels where the goods are made if it is a factory, or where the services to the public are rendered if it is a government department.

Line organization must be conditioned

The above hypothesis is based upon the assumption that the objectives of good personnel administration cannot be achieved

unless the line organization has been conditioned mentally and emotionally to believe in them strongly enough to provide some of the momentum necessary to render accomplishment.

Supervisors avoid unpleasant personnel tasks. If the finger had to be placed upon a single weakness upon the part of line officials performing their personnel jobs, it would be on their unwillingness to face up to unpleasant personnel tasks, to face the realities of personnel situations even when the facts are known. This weakness of the line in personnel matters does not apply alone to the cancers of long standing, but is so universal a behavior pattern that it is evident even at the moment when a new employee enters.

Supervisors are reluctant to evaluate subordinates. Personnel people have fumed with righteous indignation for decades over the failure of supervisors to use the probation period as part of the testing process. The universal disinclination of supervisors to rate their employees is another manifestation of the difficulty referred to. The fact that people will not deal boldly with disciplinary matters, their reluctance to apply what everyone knows to be the proper solution to a particularly bad organization problem—these are indicative of this universal weakness of people who supervise others.

Supervisory training needed

It is our further hypothesis that this reluctance of the line to face up squarely to its personnel problems can be corrected through training, example, conditioning, and leadership from above. However, such an eventuality will require that line supervisors understand human beings as well as they understand machines and inanimate tools. There are basic elements of individual and group behavior that can be conditioned into the line organization, so that supervisors will react automatically and spontaneously in their interpersonal relations. It is true that there is a great deal about man that we do not know at the present time, but that is all the more argument for supporting and

subsidizing continuous research in the field of personnel management.

Social science research feeds training programs. Supervisorial training programs in both industry and government are now laying much stress on human relations. The content of these training programs will come more and more from the new research findings in psychology, anthropology, sociology, social work, and medicine. The amount of investigation and research that is being carried on in these fields is constantly increasing, and its emphasis is more and more upon the scientific method. The social sciences are beginning to venture out of their ivory towers and go into the market places and factories, where people work and live, which after all is the only place where scientific investigation of human relations can carry on.

Supervisors must learn to handle people. What does all this have to do with the supervisor acting as a personnel man in accordance with the keystone hypothesis set forth above? It is simply to the effect that the supervisor's personnel job is one of handling people. We are not particularly concerned with his relation to the classification of positions, determination of salaries, and other technical phases of personnel administration, although it is maintained that he should have a part even in those. However, our main objective is to induce management people on all levels to deal objectively with personnel problems and to accept responsibility for difficult and unpleasant personnel tasks that they now avoid. It is maintained that, for the most part, previous training approaches have failed to bring about continuous and long-run improvement in these respects.

Social science research

Need to become research-oriented. Management people must become research-oriented in the realm of human relations as well as in the areas of production and mechanics. The new approach must be experimental in nature. Trained investigators in the sciences mentioned above must be given their proper part in the experiment. The adjective "experimental" should be em-

phasized, because there is no royal road to achievement in these fields that is now known and readily applicable on a wide scale. It is a venture in which the practical men of the world of action must work cooperatively with the research-minded individuals of the new social science. It will be a relationship in the beginning in which only a few have the qualities and prerequisites for participation, because these two groups had much occasion for mutual suspicion in the past.

Social science becoming mature. The social sciences have matured very rapidly in the last decade. This maturity has been aided by the efforts of university people who have studied living organizations at firsthand, both industrial and governmental. Examples are Mayo and Roethlisberger at Western Electric; Worthy at Sears, Roebuck; Comrey at the Forest Service and at Lockheed; Likert at Prudential; and Shartle and his colleagues with the Navy and at International Harvester.

More validation of methods and results. Personnel management is also becoming more professional and mature as evidenced by the increased research orientation in the personnel journals. The articles published therein are tending to depart from the "How we do it in Podunk" approach, in favor of the reporting of research carried on by personnel staffs themselves. The current generation of personnel people is becoming dissatisfied with traditional answers and beginning to ask if there may not be better ways to accomplish their objectives, especially in the areas of human motivation, behavior, and morale. Just as the scientific method is supplying answers to production problems, so is it beginning to be applied to the problems of human behavior in management. This trend is especially evident in the May, 1956 issue of *Personnel*.

People are afraid of people

The greatest weakness in most administrative situations is the inadequacy of the key personnel to face up to personnel problems. This is partially due to the fact that personnel technology is as yet not so fully developed as it should be, but that is only a

partial answer—one that may be used as an unjustifiable excuse for weakness. The real malady lies in the fact that most people are afraid of other people; not afraid in the sense that one is apprehensive of physical jeopardy or loss of property, but afraid of the disapproval of one's own fellows.

Supervisors are reluctant to oppose group sentiment. The belief system/of an organization, its culture, and the intuitive sentiment of its members, all erect strong barriers against management's making judgments about its members. Normal pulls are in the direction of security, flat and uniform production curves, and conformity with norms established by the work community. The supervisor who would reprimand, discipline, or discharge a member feels that he is doing an unpopular thing, something that is disapproved by the humanity composing the organization. If he is in an organization the members of which have legal job security, such as civil service or unionized industry, the supervisor will often hesitate to deal with personnel situations in the positive manner called for.

Supervisor on trial in discipline hearings. His experiences before trial boards, where often he has been heckled by clever trial lawyers, have given him the feeling of being—as he puts it—placed on trial instead of the employee. However, this same reluctance to handle personnel cases boldly and objectively is found in all types of organizations, even those where there is entire freedom to hire and fire. It all adds up to the fact that most people are reluctant: (1) to go against the social sentiments of the group, whether real or imaginary, and (2) to deal face-to-face with people on matters that may involve unpleasantness.

Good supervisors face up to personnel problems. The first edition of this book ventured the opinion that psychometrists of the future would find that this ability to face problems would distinguish between good and poor supervisors. Now, research evidence exists to support this view [2]. The effective supervisor does not avoid taking disciplinary measures when the situation demands; he will not permit people to get away with violation of regulations. He can be firm in dealing with people when neces-

sary, and he will not tolerate poor work merely to avoid the unpleasantness of administering discipline.

Strong leadership tends to emerge to meet emergencies. The administrators who can effectively cope with these situations are probably more likely to emerge when the organization is under the type of stress that jeopardizes survival, as in a military unit in war time or a private corporation facing competition or depression. The social sentiments of an organization might permit less qualified persons to rise in flush and easy times, but adversity must inevitably bring forth the one who can and will swing the personnel axe in the interests of survival [1, 6].

Effect upon lower supervisors. In a healthy organization, the supervisors on all levels will face up to personnel problems courageously and objectively, but they cannot do so unless the rank and file are conditioned to such behavior. There are means of accomplishing both of these objectives, and the following several chapters will be devoted primarily to their exploration. The long-run solutions must be sought in research—basic research utilizing scientific method in so far as possible—scientific especially in spirit. There must be objectivity, a willingness to face facts that run contrary to deep-seated managerial or worker folklore.

Importance of social skills

Our next subhypothesis runs to the effect that people are afraid of people because *they are deficient in face-to-face social skills*. This is often true of persons who are strong in other respects, particularly in a technical specialty. Many a strong man is in agony and discomfort if trapped in the position where he has to listen to a subordinate's tales of domestic woe. Some organizations maintain an executioner—though he is naturally not so named—to break the bad news to those who are to be separated. Finance officers learn how to bend the regulations in order to do favors for those with whom they must associate constantly. The normal influences, the secular drift, and the constant magnetic pull are all in the direction of avoiding the necessity of looking squarely into the eyes of a troubled, vexed, frustrated, or mis-

fitted fellow member of the human race. The visit to the bed of an ill friend, the time given to the personal problems of a less fortunate member of the family, and face-to-face discussion with an erring employee are responsibilities that are postponed, often until an impending crisis forces one's attention to them.

The comfortable status quo. In our daily walk through life, we all desire to be disturbed as little as possible; we want the type of equilibrium that brings security and normalcy. As supervisors, we want our workers to do as they are expected (even though they may not know what this is); they should be healthy, satisfied, and not prone to upset the supervisor's equilibrium by doing things that irritate him or threaten his security. They should not criticize and agitate for higher wages or better working conditions. Each should turn out a good day's work without having to be prodded. If he does not conform to our ideas of what a good employee should be, or how he should act, most of us are inclined to protect our own equilibrium by a certain type of passive tolerance.

Refuge in subterfuge. We make excuses, saying that he is slow in developing, the press of one's own duties has prevented giving him the proper breaking in, or a better qualified person could not be obtained at the money paid. When we finally know that we have employees who are not well placed, who should not be allowed to remain where they are, and who should be replaced for the good of the organization as a whole, we start erecting defenses and resorting to subterfuges so that we shall not be required to take action that is unpleasant. We "kick people upstairs"; we hire additional personnel and reroute the flow of papers; and we take advantage of every opportunity to transfer our bad eggs to other supervisors.

Organization pathology

We act in this evasive manner because human institutions are not yet conditioned to deal automatically and therapeutically with pathological conditions as are biological organisms. Biologists have indicated that it required millions of years of biologi-

cal evolution for the human body to attain its present high state of coordination. The evolution of human social institutions must be measured in eras perhaps shorter than biological evolution, yet there is a certain analogy.

Biological analogies. Biological organisms have learned to succor and cure weak cells and tissues. We who are working in the field of human social institutions must search for a means whereby weak and misfitted persons will be recognized as such, as soon as possible, and appropriate diagnosis and treatment given. In the past, personnel practice when faced with this problem has consisted of discard, transfer, or downright evasion of supervisory responsibility. It is our contention that both management institutions and society as a whole will benefit if supervisors are conditioned to deal with these matters boldly, spontaneously, automatically, and wisely.

Defensive behavior. Much of the activity that we deplore in supervisors is due to the fact that they are acting defensively when dealing with their associates. Thus, the supervisor who is blunt in his actions may be taking this refuge to avoid an unpleasantness that he thinks will arise if he acts more directly. He is putting people on notice in an indirect manner. The supervisor who devotes himself to excessive detail and who fails to delegate does so because he would rather do a job himself than face the real or imagined tension involved in the successive corrective interviews required to train another. The snooping supervisor is also acting defensively, not in the constructive sense advocated in the device of internal checks, but in the negative sense of being basically afraid of people. We watch closely those whom we distrust.

Everyone watches the boss to see which way the wind blows. Supervisors are afraid of at least two kinds of people: their superiors and their subordinates. Gardner has aptly described how an entire shop organization eagerly strains for the slightest tokens of opinion or desire evidenced by the big boss. The personal psychology of everyone in a hierarchy is focussed upward, usually in a framework of apprehension. Nevertheless, there are

persons who seem able to work easily with their superiors even when opposed. Indeed, every supervisor has a certain obligation to adjust himself to the view point and *modus operandi* of his immediate superior, and supervisory training should emphasize instruction in this particular phase of human relations. People should be made to understand that conditions are never ideal in this world, that daily irritations are part of every person's lot in life, and that a certain amount of personal adjustment is required [3].

Political element in supervision. Most of us would probably be better off if we adjusted ourselves to the type of supervision we have, working through it rather than against it to obtain desirable ends. The good supervisor is, therefore, somewhat of a politician in relation to his own superiors, or one who acts as a common denominator. Supervisors should be conditioned not to fear their superiors but to meet them in the same way that the good salesman meets the tough customer.

Giving credit to subordinates. In theory, the supervisor is a developer of people, but in practice the theory runs into many snags. It takes a tremendously well-developed and stable character to recommend the promotion of a subordinate to a status coequal or superior to one's own. Such bigness occurs but rarely, and its greater prevalence is dependent upon more tangible rewards than organizations have offered in the past. How often has it been said that supervisors are hesitant to give credit to subordinates for ideas and improvements because of fear that higher management would criticize the supervisor for not having thought of it himself! How often has one heard of a supervisor belittling the suggestion of an employee only to dress it up in a transparent disguise and offer it as his own after an appropriate lapse of time! These complaints are among the principal reasons for the installation of formal suggestion systems that short-circuit the supervisor. It also partly accounts for the inclusion of work simplification in supervisory training programs.

Supervisor wants security and stability. Organizations tend to establish their own norms of achievement that gravitate toward

the average rather than the superior. Gardner has indicated that shop organizations strive for stability at established norms rather than for new norms superior to the old. Individuals seeking security set their own rates of production and cling to established ways of doing things. This permeates the entire edifice, with the result that the social organization, perhaps unconsciously, creates a certain inertia. Theoretically, the supervisor, as a part of management, is supposed to combat this inertia and stimulate his unit to greater achievement. Actually, the supervisor is as much subject to the stabilizing factors and pulls as are the workers. He wants certainty, stability, and the resulting security.

Seniority as a defense mechanism. There is also the factor of universal deference for the principle of seniority, mentioned several times previously in these pages. People like to believe that proficiency correlates significantly with time spent in actually working at an occupation or job. Inasmuch as the farther up one goes in the hierarchy, the greater the amount of seniority one has usually accrued, persons in supervisory positions like to pretend that supervisory ability is something to be acquired with the lapse of time. Because they suspect, perhaps correctly, that this may not be entirely true, they tend to use seniority as a defense mechanism against the inroads of young and more talented subordinates. The supervisor who minimizes new talent and hides from the newcomer his own worth to the organization is trying to dampen the talented junior's enthusiasm for innovation. This situation is especially aggravated when college-trained youngsters are breaking into a hierarchy where the supervisors have all come up the "hard way." Respect for seniority is often sacred, especially to the less progressive and proficient supervisors. Although not absent in industry, as Gardner has indicated, this kind of resentment has been especially prevalent in governmental activities invaded by graduates in public administration.

Disturbing influence of intellect. Perhaps the nub of the problem can be located in the supervisor's fear of the subordinate with superior intellect and training. I have written elsewhere that intellect is suspect: "Men of action, successful people in the

work-a-day world and leaders in manipulative production are often persons with minds untrained in the formal sense—a fact particularly true in the America of the past. They frequently seem to have an intuitive mistrust of intellect, and to view the intellectual approach with aversion.” The intellectual person has an inquiring mind; he quickly discerns the need for change, hence he is a threat not only to the personal security of those not similarly endowed but also to the equilibrium and stability of the entire organization.

Running away from problem cases. In an earlier chapter we insisted that the supervisory leader balance love of people with a certain shrewdness that places him on guard against those not worthy of complete trust and confidence. The realistic appraisal of the facts of life must lead to the inevitable conclusion that a considerable portion of humanity is composed of persons who are not well adjusted to their roles in life. Various estimates have been made of the number of industrial workers who are problem personnel cases, the percentage most often mentioned being in the neighborhood of twenty.

These are the people with whom the supervisor is least inclined to deal, partly because he does not know how, but largely because he is afraid of the unpleasant consequences involved. The result is that the normal method of handling a disciplinary case is to allow the bad practice to continue until it can no longer be tolerated, upon which occasion the supervisor explodes and angrily berates the culprit, often in the presence of his fellow workers. This is defensive action that could have been obviated, first by giving the supervisor more security through letting him know that it is definitely his duty to follow through on discipline cases, and, secondly, by training him from the very first day he assumes supervisory duties in the proper manner of handling matters of this kind.

The point to be emphasized here is that the supervisor who runs away from problem personnel cases until he can no longer avoid them is acting naturally and very humanly. If management wants him to act differently in such cases, it will have to create

a management setting congenial to such tighter supervision and educate the supervisory organization in the human side of handling such matters.

Effect of informal social organization. The supervisor is also afraid of the informal social organization. He is close to it, was once a part of it, and cannot help but be influenced by it. Worker groups tend to be bound together in a sympathetic bond of protection, particularly where the occupation has certain aspects that do not promote social prestige. It requires courage for a supervisor to take effective action when he knows that it will go counter to the sentiments of the group. There is a natural tendency on the part of workers to have sympathy for the underdog or the unfortunate person, even though his difficulties may be the result of his own dereliction. Therefore, the almost universal spontaneous group sentiment of those who work is to be apprehensive of the strict disciplinarian and to desire another chance for the erring member. Every supervisor has been a member of numerous such groups during his lifetime and working experience, and his natural inclinations are to act in a manner that will not arouse the outright displeasure of the group. However, the strong supervisor must occasionally find himself in a position where the correct action to take is the one that runs counter to current group sentiment. The good supervisor knows how to do this without violently disturbing the equilibrium of the organization, but here again the rank-and-file of persons in supervisory positions will have to be trained to do so.

Fear of personal implication. Another source of the supervisor's fear of his subordinates is their real or imagined knowledge of his own deficiencies, the fact that they may "have something on him." This does not necessarily imply that the supervisor has committed crimes or serious dereliction of duty. It is merely another result of the oft-repeated fact that the lower supervisors tend to be very close to the informal social organization and often a part of it. The social pressures to which they are subjected may cause them to make utterances that could be interpreted as disloyal. The supervisor may, from time to time,

with the knowledge of his subordinates, cover up or disguise errors or faults either of particular employees or his organization as a whole. The number of supervisors who steal, lie, and cheat is relatively so small that they are left out of consideration for the purposes of this chapter. However, because supervisors must succumb to some extent to social pressures from their subordinates, the apprehension that they feel toward their subordinates is probably very significant.

Fear is natural. During infantry combat training, soldiers are taught to expect fear and to realize that it is normal to be afraid of bullets, bombs, and bayonets. Perhaps we should tell our supervisors also that it is natural for all of us to be afraid of people in the sense outlined in the previous paragraphs. One of the principal reasons why presumably qualified persons refuse to become supervisors is their dread of responsibility. They shy away from the tension that accompanies dealing with human problems. In the management situation, supervisors have insomnia about their work largely because they are apprehensive about people and their ability to handle human situations.

Personnel administration, a clinical science

This brings us to the hypothesis that forms the theme of the next several chapters, namely, that the proper approach to personnel administration is clinical in nature. If the line supervisor is to do the personnel job properly, he must be conditioned to deal with people under circumstances that promise to be at least partially unpleasant.

Objections have been raised to the use of the word "clinical" to describe the relationship between supervisor and subordinate. Such opposition has come mainly from students who have had social work or psychology orientation and who have first read this book in connection with a course in management. They often react strongly against what they mistakenly believe to be the implication of the book: that every supervisor is to become a psychoanalyst. They see the possibility of amateur bungling doing great harm to disturbed people.

Emphasize method rather than professional content. A very great deal of thought was given to the suggestion that "clinical" be abandoned in favor of some adjective such as "consultative," but the decision was finally made to retain "clinical." This was influenced by the almost unanimous verdict of students with a management orientation, as well as professional colleagues, who see the need for improving the face-to-face relationships between supervisors and subordinates. Performance counseling and employee evaluation continues to be one of the foremost management problems. While this was being written, the mail brought a report of a workshop on performance counseling attended by production, management, and personnel staff people from Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the Navy, and North American Aviation.

It is believed that the correct relationship between supervisor and subordinate is largely clinical in *method*. There is this difference between therapist and supervisor, however: the supervisor must emphasize performance of job duties and productivity. He must evaluate employee performance and let the employee know how he is getting along. The supervisor is dealing with normally healthy people, but in doing so he utilizes the method almost universal in the clinical professions. He is a counselor (although objection has also been raised against using this term in such a connection).

What is clinical method? What does a clinician do that a supervisor should also do? If an employee is not performing up to standard, it is the supervisor's duty to ascertain why. In doing so he: (1) gets all the facts; (2) listens to the employee's story; (3) controls his own emotions in face-to-face relations; (4) makes an evaluation (diagnosis), and (5) helps the employee to help himself. This is good management practice under whatever name. There is little difference between this procedure and that followed in the "J" courses designated Job Instructor Training and Job Relations Training, which were used to develop many thousands of supervisors during World War II [5].

Supervisor should not try deep therapy. At one time in the

thought process leading up to these lines it seemed appropriate to say that the supervisor should never attempt to be a therapist. But on second thought, we are all therapists, after a fashion, whenever we try to help another person. The very object of supervisory training is to make supervisors sensitive to human reactions and thus to change their own deficiencies in this respect. Everything that a teacher does is to some extent directed toward improving the behavior of the pupil, and teaching (training) is a very important ingredient of the supervisor's role. So now it is believed that the supervisor must be somewhat of a therapist, but it should be emphasized emphatically that he should not try to be an amateur psychiatrist.

Problem cases. The problem cases in an organization are usually estimated to constitute from 3 to 5 per cent of the work force. Their effect upon an organization is entirely out of proportion to this ratio because of their influence on other people. Rotten apples contaminate the good. Chronic alcoholism, absenteeism, misuse of sick leave, and failure to produce are all matters that a supervisor will have to deal with many times during his career. Moreover, he cannot ignore the fact that a subordinate with a good performance record has personal problems which interfere with work. These situations force themselves upon management's attention whether or not they want to deal with them. What is attempted here is to rationalize a methodology that will give the supervisor some tools for this purpose.

Initial recognition and referral. It has even been said that the supervisor is out of his realm if he acts as a referral agent to persons in need of therapy. The point is made that referral is in itself a complicated process which can be performed only by a professional who is trained to recognize symptoms, make a tentative preliminary diagnosis, and thus recommend the correct type of specialist. This is sound from the standpoint of doctrine, but it overlooks the true nature of the superior-subordinate relationship in a management institution where behavior which is out of the ordinary forces itself upon the supervisor.

Relation to morale. Here one comes back again to the definition of morale which pervades this volume. Morale consists of a complex pattern of variables which influences people to do, or not to do, what the organization expects of them. The point is sometimes made that the supervisor should be primarily interested in production. The argument goes on to state that he is so busy with the purely mechanical phases of production that he cannot be expected to become a nursemaid to cry-babies [7].

This may have been all right in the old days of freedom to hire and fire at will, but today we are working under conditions of job security when removal procedure virtually becomes a criminal trial. The supervisor *must* handle difficult personnel cases, because they force themselves on him; there is no alternative. The attempt in these pages is to give him a few hints on how to proceed when confronted with people who do not do what the organization expects of them.

The referral problem offers few difficulties in an organization which affords medical or psychological staff services. However, very few units are equipped to handle emotionally disturbed people at the present time. Every large community has social services which purport to handle cases of this type, and sometimes the Council of Social Agencies has a directory giving information as to what type of service the various units accept. Moreover, the contact for such organizations as Alcoholics Anonymous is often in the telephone directory under that heading.

There are at least two difficulties confronting the supervisor acting as referral agent. The first and often the major one consists of the difficulty in getting people to go to a clinic or a therapist. The prejudice against those with either physical or mental abnormality is so great that perhaps most people hesitate to go for diagnosis or treatment. In this respect, however, the supervisor is not much worse off than the specialist, because he also has difficulty in getting people to take the first step. The supervisor's position is, in certain respects, more favorable because the work situation often demands that something be done.

The clinically-oriented reader will react against any suggestion of compulsion, but the realities of life in a production organization demand attention to the imperative of getting the work done.

Case work and authority. There is an extreme view among some social workers and clinical psychologists that no effective case work can take place other than in a completely permissive atmosphere, wherein the case worker has no authority over the client. This is an extreme view which fails to take cognizance of the fact that most counseling involves some authority. Even the case worker for the private social agency has the power to recommend or refuse aid. All therapy in mental hospitals and prisons involves authority.

Degree of authority is a continuum. The fact that some authority is involved in most counseling relationships suggests that there is a continuum which flows between the poles of absolute authority and absolute anarchy. Much of the confusion surrounding this matter arises from failure to distinguish between constitutional liberty and laissez faire. Some social scientists seem to equate liberty with license which has no restraints. To a political scientist or constitutional lawyer, liberty exists under a reign of law which puts upon people restraints which are decreed by their fellow citizens. The counseling situation should develop a tradition of constitutional freedom, not the absolute permissiveness of anarchy.

Supervisors can be trained and conditioned to talk over with their subordinates both job-connected and personal problems. They can at the same time be effective disciplinarians, using that term with the clinical rather than the top-sergeant connotation. Workers will open up and talk freely to a supervisor whose fairness and integrity they respect, even though they know that he has the power to make adverse recommendations relative to performance evaluation, job loss, transfer, suspension, or promotion. There is some evidence to support the proposition that an effective supervisor can function in this manner [2].

Back to the line

The personnel management of the past has tended to emphasize staff work which is accomplished through techniques and procedures that personnel people have often tended to regard as exclusive attributes of their guild. They have even tended to hold the line supervisors at arm's length. In government, this was partially due to the historical influence of spoils. The line organization was thought to be more closely allied with the politicians than the civil service agency. However, this tendency of the personnel unit to maintain a certain aloofness toward the line organization has been fairly prevalent in industry. The attitude has two possible explanations: the first is the combination of possessiveness, empire building, and ingrowing that is characteristic of all organizations, and the second is the mentality of the technician.

The technician stereotype

A technician is one who is trained and experienced in performing one or more of the technical jobs in personnel work, such as position classification, job evaluation, examining, interviewing, and wage analysis. Industrial practice usually involves the industrial engineer who is expert at time and motion study and at rate setting. These people usually possess the staff stereotype discussed in Chapter 10. They postulate a pattern of behavior for workers that is in conformity with the precepts of their particular specialty, but howl and fume because humanity does not conform.

They are critical of both higher management and the lower supervisors. Being highly educated, and therefore usually having a more advanced and progressive concept of what should be done, they become critical of higher management for not exerting progressive leadership and insisting upon the best practices in their fields. Technicians are usually college trained and therefore take the typical white-collar attitude toward labor matters, which tends to separate them socially from the line organization. They usually are not leaders in employee's organizations; they

lunch by themselves and maintain social ties with persons of their own background.

Another aspect of the technician mind is the tendency to believe rather strongly in the efficacy of a particular specialty and the consequent insistence upon carrying through procedures, even when the human factors in a situation would dictate compromise to a prudent person. The technician often seems oblivious to the personal and human factors involved in a management situation with which he is dealing.

On the other hand, he may be perfectly aware of the various human ramifications and yet permit his zealously for correct technical procedures to overstep prudence. The good technician should be somewhat of a crusader and zealot and this desirable quality should not be crushed. However, the technical processes of personnel management should be brought closer to the line organization; the supervisor and technician must work in harmony, each understanding that the other has a field of particular and special competence that merits respect.

This means that we must condition the supervisor to do a good clinical job not only with his own work group, but also with the supervisors. Technicians tend to be apprehensive of supervisors and supervisors to be apprehensive of technicians. The greatest obstacles to the accomplishment of the purposes of traditional personnel management have occurred at the point of contact between technician and line supervisor. If line supervisors are to believe and act in the manner postulated by the personnel organization, the latter must assume the clinical approach in winning supervisors over to the personnel belief system.

Hence, the key to better personnel practices lies in the interpersonal relations between supervisors and employees, supervisors and leaders of employee organizations, and supervisors and the personnel organization. It is believed that this end can be accomplished by face-to-face, man-to-man dealings, on an objective and nonemotional level, based upon facts uniformly interpreted.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why is the line supervisor a key personnel man?
2. How can the reluctance of supervisors to face up squarely to personnel problems be overcome?
3. What is the place of social science research in personnel management?
4. Name two situations in which most people are reluctant to handle personnel cases boldly and objectively.
5. Why is the good supervisor somewhat of a politician?
6. Discuss the effect of the social organization on superior-subordinate relationships.
7. Why do some people object to the use of the word *clinical* in this chapter? Why did the author decide to retain it in spite of objections?
8. Why are problem cases more difficult to handle today than in former times?
9. What is meant by *referral* and what is the supervisor's relation to it?
10. What is the issue involved in the relation of authority to counseling?

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The placement hypothesis

THE conscience of society will increasingly demand that people be provided with, and placed in, occupations suitable to their various skills and aptitudes. The personnel administration of the future will necessarily be based upon placing all or nearly all members of society, rather than having employment agencies compete for those at the superior end of the normal distribution curve.

Emphasis on development as well as selection

Under such a system it will be the responsibility of personnel administration not only to select persons now qualified to perform particular occupations, but to mold and develop others for jobs that promise to fit their natural endowments. This would require a unified approach to personnel administration in which emphasis will be placed upon what goes on in the

primary work group, the social interactions of the immediate supervisor with the workers and his relation to his higher supervisors, and, if a union is present, the entire relationship to the union hierarchy.

Such an approach to personnel administration involves a combination of activities falling under the headings of placement, guidance, counseling, employee evaluation, employee relations, and others. Placement, employee relations, and training are so closely interwoven that, while each may have its staff specialists, the process must become integrated with line operations.

Line and staff integration

Operating people should become a part of personnel management. It is our contention that when the personnel standards, goals, and achievements postulated by the specialists in the central staff agency fail, it is because operating people on the line have not been carried along. Their mores, habits, and traditional reactions have not been conditioned to operate in accordance with the theories postulated by the personnel staff. If the ideological framework of personnel administration becomes a dead letter in practice, it is because the lower supervisors and the social organization at the work level have blocked it either by design or inertia.

If poor employees are allowed to pass their probation period, the responsibility falls on the lower supervisor. If there is high turnover and absenteeism, the point of attack is job adjustment at the lower levels. If people are not meeting the requirements of the job, it is the supervisor who should do something about it. If particular workers are constantly violating personnel rules and regulations, certainly the responsibility for action falls upon the lower supervisor. The finest of staff agencies manned by the most competent technical specialists will find its efforts largely fruitless unless means are found to teach and motivate the line organization at the work level.

What is needed is the development of a *modus operandi* wherein the belief system and ideology of personnel people will

be translated into action on the operating level. This can best be accomplished by acknowledging that there is a core of subject matter and specialized operations that had better be unified when it reaches the line. This core consists of a galaxy of approaches and specialties that are here grouped under the term "placement." They include vocational guidance, transfer, counseling, employee evaluation, and what the social workers refer to as *staff development*, which is synonymous with training.

Lower supervisor is a personnel man. It is the purpose of this chapter to show how each of these merges into a single stream that becomes an integral part of the lower supervisor's day-by-day and hour-by-hour pattern of leadership. If properly approached by decentralized personnel workers who are artful in their own personal contacts, these lower supervisors can use this unified stream of personnel knowledge and skills to make themselves greater than they are. After all, is it not the objective of personnel administration to make all of us come somewhere near realizing our potentials? Rare is the person who comes anywhere near performing at capacity.

Guidance specialists should work directly with the line. If the major test of personnel administration is to adjust people to jobs and jobs to people, personnel administration must be in close contact with jobs and people as they actually exist. This requires a very genuine articulation of the staff personnel expert with the production people on the line, an objective that is achieved more often in lofty lip service than in actual fact. If the principle is recognized that people are different in their work aptitudes and abilities and that each should be adjusted to his proper niche in the job hierarchy, the question quite naturally arises as to whether or not the responsibility for adjustment does not properly belong to a staff of guidance experts. The stand taken here is that guidance experts are needed, but that they should practice their art at the job level through cooperation with line supervisors, leaving the maximum possible area of decision to the latter.

Individual differences

There is both a scientific factual element and a value element in the statement that people are different. The biological and psychological sciences have established that individuals do differ and that on some characteristics such as general intelligence, a given number of people will vary according to a formula. It is therefore possible to predict that they will differ according to certain percentages, or categories, referred to as the *normal distribution curve* [1, 8].

People have a right to be different. The ethical or value element in the placement hypothesis arises from the fact that people have a right to be different. It is necessary to emphasize this because in every society there are strong pressures upon the individual to conform to group standards relative to color of skin, religion, ethnic background, form of recreation, and manner of speech. It was pointed out in the opening chapter that production-minded persons often tend to be insensitive to human values, whereas people-minded persons, such as social workers and social anthropologists, are more tolerant of persons who do not conform to cultural norms. Here the value judgment is restated that people have a right to be different, subject to the proviso that their deviant behavior should not hinder the attainment of organization objectives. Group standards which promote productivity should be observed by the individual.

How people differ. Individuals differ in an infinitely wide variety of traits, characteristics, and abilities pertaining to adjustment to their jobs. These include intelligence, various forms of vocational aptitudes, emotional stability, work pace, education and training, fatigue, monotony, boredom, and social interaction with others. For instance, the person of higher intelligence will not be so well satisfied at repetitive tasks as the one with lower intelligence; but the more intelligent worker will usually be a higher producer, though an erratic production curve may reflect his dissatisfaction [16].

Hollingsworth, who wrote ably about the problems encoun-

tered in the elementary schools with children of extraordinary intelligence, stated that those who adjusted themselves successfully, both to teachers and other children, had to adopt protective masks in order to endure the monotony, and often the stupidity, of their environment and associates. They learned to practice "benign chicanery" and to "suffer fools gladly."

Fatigue approach unfruitful

The early approaches in research in industrial psychology concentrated upon the measurement of factors in physical fatigue. Without belittling the importance and results of such research, the area of work satisfaction has proved to be more fruitful. Job adjustment seems to be associated more directly with the social and individual satisfaction and interest that an employee finds in his job, rather than with any changes in body chemistry and physical make-up that can be measured by any method now known. It seems quite possible that the march of science may eventually yield information that will permit manipulation of the physiology of the human body in order to bring about job adjustment. However, as things now stand, such adjustment must come through psychological and sociological manipulation rather than through physiological change.

Physiological versus mental cause of disease. There has been a division of opinion in the medical profession concerning whether certain diseases of the nervous system could be traced to physical causes or if they were mentally induced. Diseases for which no physical basis can be discovered are sometimes referred to as *functional* diseases. Today the two contrasting views relative to nervous ailments seem to be coming closer together.

The treatment of a functional disease, in contrast to the administration of orthodox medical measures that cure through bodily change, consists of trying to alter people's thoughts about themselves and their adjustment to life. The same thing may apply in job adjustment, where interests and satisfaction constitute major points of attack. Here again it must be emphasized that people are different, some being highly individualistic and

competitive, with a desire to go upon their own, and others demanding a satisfactory social environment where they can feel the security and interdependence of the group.

Repetitive work

The evidence seems to be growing that repetitive work may not be a bad thing in and of itself but that its deleterious effects are more often related to sociological and psychological factors than to items such as physical fatigue and organic impairment. The school that contributes to this thinking minimizes the effects of industrial engineering efforts and emphasizes the importance of the social satisfactions derived from work environment and associations. The opportunity for obsessive thinking is held up as one of the chief dangers of performing repetitive work that does not require constant mental attention [5].

Keep the mind occupied with wholesome diversions if the work does not require constant attention. Most people who work have troubles, real or imaginary, domestic or vocational, about which they are prone to be anxious when their minds are not otherwise occupied. When they work at tasks that do not require constant attention, they will tend to mull over their troubles unless there are other factors in the work environment to attract their attention away from themselves. That is why the concept of teamwork combined with mental catharsis plays such an important part in producing the satisfied worker. It is a management responsibility to see that those who are engaged in repetitive tasks likely to be monotonous are prevented from engaging in obsessive thinking.

Provide satisfying group environment. One of the best ways to achieve this end is to provide a satisfying social environment. That is why teamwork is so much emphasized today. Interaction with one's fellows takes a man's thoughts off his own troubles. A study was made of the use of sociometric choice in assigning some carpenters and bricklayers. A sociometric test was administered, asking each worker to designate people in the work group with whom he would most like to work and those with

whom he had the least desire to work. Craftsmen were reassigned on the basis of test scores, resulting in higher productivity, lower cost, and lower turnover [18].

There is a tendency for romanticists and those who view the past with nostalgia to emphasize the importance of artistry and skill in work satisfaction. The point usually comes up in contrasting the manufacturing process prior to the industrial revolution with contemporary mass production methods. The assumption seems to be that everyone was a master craftsman and happy at his work in the good old days, that he got permanent ecstasy out of continually producing a whole shoe with his own hands. There was an assumption that skilled craftsmanship produced intuitive or instinctively creative effort which has been destroyed by splitting the former trades into many repetitive tasks.

The higher the skill, the more job satisfaction. There is no question but that job satisfaction increases as one goes higher in the hierarchy of skills. But one is likely to fall into error by jumping to the conclusion that all people are dissatisfied with repetitive jobs and that all skill has disappeared from the manual jobs in today's industry. Modern industry has jobs that call for as much skill and intelligence as those of former days [5, p. 574]. Men who maintain and operate the automatic machines are skilled craftsmen.

Monotony is often a function of the individual. There are people who desire the security of monotony because it does not demand of them more than they can or care to give. They create or accept and nourish a protective monotony, never daring to interject creativity or individuality which might involve them too deeply.

Competitiveness

People differ in their ability to adjust to competition. There should be a retesting of some of the major assumptions about the place of individual competition in work adjustment of individuals in management hierarchies. Here again individuals differ tremendously, and perhaps relatively few superior persons are

able to adjust themselves to the constant competition for personal preferment and advancement that seems necessary to keep management institutions healthy. The question might well be asked whether the attempt to motivate the rank and file by similar competitiveness might not produce more frustration and bad job adjustment than otherwise.

Employee evaluation

Evaluation should be analytical and diagnostic. This goes to the very heart of the traditional philosophy of employee evaluation, which has been competitive and punitive. The major assumption of what follows is that the approach to employee evaluation should be clinical, constructive, and therapeutic rather than competitive and punitive. In other words, employee evaluation should be directed toward adjusting individuals to jobs and jobs to individuals rather than toward (1) getting all employees to perform in the same manner as the fastest worker does, and (2) eliminating problem cases.

The management approach to evaluation leans heavily upon the judgment of supervisors as expressed by efficiency reports or service ratings. The literature on this subject is tremendous, and it hardly seems possible that anyone could add to it. A fair generalization relative to rating would be that employees do not like to be rated and that supervisors do not like to rate employees. Hence, wherever rating occurs, there is a constant variance between the theory underlying the reasons for rating and the results of such rating.

A common obstacle to employee evaluation is the difficulty in getting line supervisors to think critically about their employees. One of the chief points in the ideology of personnel administration is that supervisors should expend a considerable amount of time in weighing the weak and strong points of their employees and in taking action to adjust employees to the job. In actual fact, supervisors do not conform very closely to this stereotype of the personnel staff people. There are several reasons for this, chief among them being the fact that most action people tend to

be insensitive to human situations of this kind, and the tendency of supervisors to run away from situations that promise to involve unpleasantness. Furthermore, supervisors are usually so busy with matters having to do with immediate production that they do not want to give the time necessary for proper employee evaluation. They may agree by way of lip service to the admonitions of personnel people that time given to such analysis will pay off a hundredfold in superior employee performance; but when it comes to allotting time for this purpose, there are a hundred and one other matters clamoring for immediate attention. Nevertheless, the viewpoint of the personnel people seems fundamentally sound: that line supervisors should give more attention to analyzing the strength, weaknesses, and job adjustment of their employees.

Three approaches to evaluation. Psychologists and the more experimentally-minded personnel people are constantly striving for devices and approaches to overcome both the supervisors' disinclination to evaluate and the subjective nature of most evaluations. The approaches to these experiments have usually taken three forms: (1) technical improvement of rating procedures, (2) objective evidence of performance, and (3) guidance, diagnoses, and counseling. The three of these are not necessarily separate, but may be used in combination.

Forced choice. The main technical problem in competitive rating is to get supervisors to refrain from rating everybody highly, which usually occurs unless strong efforts are made to guard against it. Anyone who has had experience with grievance or disciplinary hearings will recall instances in which the supervisor bringing the charges had recently given the employee a good rating. One of the newest devices for overcoming this tendency is the forced choice method of rating which was developed by the Army for selecting officers for retention after World War II. The form consists of an equal number of statements in each category, some of which are most descriptive and some least descriptive of the person being rated. The rater does not know which statements are favorable or unfavorable, but he must

choose one in each category. Validation studies have generally supported the contention that the forced choice minimizes bias and halo influence and produces a distribution of ratings corresponding rather closely to actual worth to the organization [1, 15].

Field review method. The field review method is an attempt to induce supervisors to evaluate their employees regularly and objectively. It was introduced in the Army Service Forces during World War II by a team of personnel people whose leader was Guy M. Wadsworth of the Southern California Gas Company [10]. In that company, two representatives from the personnel department now spend all of their time interviewing supervisors who are asked to discuss their subordinates' strong and weak points. The interviewer takes notes while asking mildly prodding questions. He has the record of the previous evaluation and presses for an explanation when a previously mentioned problem does not come up in the current discussion. The record is in the nature of a narrative memorandum of which one aspect is a rating on a five-point scale with "satisfactory" as the middle category.

At least two other personnel men who were on the ASF team with Wadsworth have had subsequent experience with the Field Review Method. A. H. Adriance introduced it into the Eli Lilly Company, where it was practiced for several years and finally abandoned as a formal step after the original purpose had been accomplished during the hectic days of orienting new supervisors immediately following the war [11]. Mr. Adriance feels that it served its purpose well at that time in establishing within the company a pattern of evaluation practice among supervisors. The established pattern tended to persist, thus justifying discontinuation of the regularly scheduled visits by the personnel department. The method, therefore, has demonstrated its usefulness as a means of originally habituating supervisors to good evaluation practices.

Theodore L. Sharp, also on the ASF team with Wadsworth, has used it in the City of Glendale, California, for the probation

period. One of the big difficulties in public personnel administration has been to induce the supervisors to make a proper evaluation of new employees before they acquire permanent tenure. Field reviews are conducted by a representative from the personnel department, and his reports are routed through the city manager, who scrutinizes them closely. If some signal indicates that a supervisor is taking this evaluation lightly, the city manager gives him a ring and asks him pertinent questions. The line organization is thereby alerted to the fact that top management expects objective evaluation. This has resulted in a normal dispersal of rating scores as distinguished from the previous experience when scores were grouped at the superior end of the curve [17].

The incident approach. John C. Flanagan's critical incident approach has been used to develop rating programs in both military and civilian organizations. At General Motors it has been given further development by using the incident technique not only to develop the rating procedure but as a continuous process during the subsequent rating operation. Once each day the foreman records the actual happenings, both favorable and unfavorable, having to do with each employee. These are recorded on a form which sets up categories garnered from a previous incident study. Instead of talking to the employee about broad generalities of his behavior, the foreman can refer to specific acts. "He stood at the machine without working." "He checked parts while machine was being repaired, thus saving time."

A performance record based on actual incidents focuses discussion between supervisor and employee on an objective level. A discussion of actual happenings minimizes the personal rancor that otherwise might occur. Experience at General Motors points toward a high probability that a corrective interview based on incidents will result in improved performance and behavior [13]. The incident record can also be used in making decisions on such problems as employee selection, training, placement, transfer, promotion, and demotion.

The problem of transfers

A device familiar to all people who have been supervisors is the disciplinary transfer, an attempt to solve a problem case by passing it on to another supervisor. There is a natural reluctance on the part of people to damage the records of employees who have not performed up to standard. Supervisors are especially reluctant to put negative or damaging information upon paper, which is why the letter of reference and the personnel tracer have such doubtful validity. Furthermore, supervisors very often have honest doubts about their own judgment relative to the competence of workers and would like to give them the benefit of these doubts. Moreover, it is quite possible that an employee might perform satisfactorily in one work environment but not in another. Hence, there is an almost universal tendency to seek a solution to a personnel problem through transfers.

In an organization that has not systematized facilities for guidance and counseling, such transfers too often result in supervisors passing their problem employees on to someone else without giving proper attention to the person's adjustment. There are organizations where this practice is so general that supervisors have become skeptical about persons who come to them on transfer.

Transfers should be planned. It has already been stated that supervisors are reluctant to give unfavorable information about employees. There are those who say that an employee should never be transferred for disciplinary reasons without telling the new supervisor of his shortcomings and why he failed in previous assignments. There is another school which feels that transfer may constitute therapy in itself and that such therapy will be hindered by permitting the transferred employee's past to haunt him. The proper solution to this question may lie in a placement service in which all transfers would be planned.

Transfers involving past service of an unsatisfactory nature would be accompanied by counseling and guidance in the central personnel office. The personnel representative handling the

transfer would have to decide, upon the basis of his professional skill and knowledge, whether keeping the unfavorable aspects of the employee's past confidential or divulging them to his new supervisor would better serve the interests of the employee and the organization. The very essence of the clinical process is the individualization of diagnosis and treatment, and this is the principle that would apply in such a case.

Transfer is sometimes a solution to problem cases. There are countless instances in business and industry of the successful adjustment of so-called "problem employees" through intelligent investigation and handling of their cases. A mechanic whose duties required him to work on high-school premises was accused of making improper advances to girl students. Investigation provided evidence that the man had done no more than exercise poor judgment. Because of the emotional animus directed against him, he was induced to accept voluntary demotion to a job classification that placed him in a warehouse remote from schools. There he continued to be a satisfactory worker. In another case, a middle-aged painter was suspended for refusing to mount a swinging ladder and for alleged insubordination in refusing to accept other difficult assignments. He was transferred to more sympathetic supervision where he performed satisfactorily.

Guidance and counseling

The placement hypothesis has support in modern educational theory, and in the writings of Frederick W. Taylor, the father of scientific management. Most of the writing dealing with guidance will be found in the field of education, and the preponderance of practitioners are located in the great public school systems. One can say with relative assurance that guidance is rendered only lip service and is practiced only haphazardly in personnel practice. Yet, Taylor, writing half a century ago, toward the end of his career, said clearly that vocational guidance and training are an integral part of the management process. Here are Taylor's own words:

When one ceases to deal with men in large gangs or groups, and proceeds to study each workman as an individual, if the workman fails to do his task, some competent teacher should be sent to show him exactly how his work can best be done, to guide, help, and encourage him, and, at the same time, to study his possibilities as a workman. So that, under the plan which individualizes each workman, instead of brutally discharging the man or lowering his wages for failing to make good at once, he is given the time and the help required to make him proficient at his present job, or he is shifted to another class of work for which he is either mentally or physically better suited [7, pp. 69-70].

Guidance neglected. Planned guidance has not been emphasized in operating personnel programs, but evidence is accumulating that it should be. A study made at Detroit Edison showed that workers whose skills are being applied do not stay away from work as much as those whose skills are not being properly used [4]. In another company, employees who participated in an abortive training program were critical of the company's job placement efforts [14]. Reference has already been made to the higher productivity of carpenters and bricklayers who had been assigned to work teams on the basis of sociometric choice [18]. At the Caterpillar Tractor Company, duration of employment was three times as long for employees who had been successfully counseled as for those not successfully counseled [19].

What does a guidance program involve? A guidance program should center in the personnel department and should constitute a synthesis of all those factors which concern jobs and people: job analysis, personnel testing, job research, counseling, sociometric analysis, and industrial medicine. Corollary activities which should be coordinated with placement include training, motivational research, and pay. In other words, the principal personnel activities should be merged into a single stream which would attempt to ascertain by a fact-finding approach just where in the organization each person would be best located from the standpoint of his aptitudes and competencies, his sociometric score, and the needs of the organization.

Society's costs for social service could be reduced. Defeatists may say that top management will never pay for a personnel

program of this kind. But has the cost of social disorganization and individual maladjustment ever been placed squarely before top management? Added to the actual payroll are the expenses of training, turnover, absenteeism, illness, and substandard performance. Then there is the indirect cost paid through taxation and spent upon various forms of social services. How many of the huge and growing number of persons in publicly-supported insane asylums might have been self-supporting members of society today had they been led earlier to make proper occupational adjustment? Furthermore, the intellectual level of mankind is rising so rapidly as a result of general education and the advance of scientific knowledge that the conscience of society will require employers to improve the chances for job satisfaction.

Pioneering by Stead and Shartle. The research division of the old U.S. Employment Service, started in 1934 and led by Stead and Shartle, developed a pioneering outline for a guidance program [6]. It was recognized from the beginning that there would have to be two basic units of study—first, jobs, and second, people—and that research in both areas would have to go on simultaneously and jointly. This is in line with the judgment that the fundamental stock-in-trade of the personnel technician is a knowledge of jobs. In the original days of vocational guidance, the counselors had chronic inferiority complexes because it was constantly thrown up to them that no one could know jobs who had not worked at a manual industrial task. As is the problem in many professions, it became necessary to provide the practitioners with a vicarious experience in order that they might have time to study and acquire the theoretical phases that are also very essential.

The job dictionary. Thus, the employment service provided the job dictionary. It also prepared much more elaborate job descriptions of every variety of task performed and tried to ascertain those in which there was a degree of uniformity as practiced in various parts of the country. In other words, one of the first points of attack was to study jobs and conduct occupational re-

search on a mass basis by investigating, describing, and unifying literally thousands of jobs. The second phase of the task sought to learn something about people and their adjustment to various jobs, with the result that a testing program was established. Testing is now universally recognized as an essential guidance tool. The placement officer must not only know jobs but he must be able to interpret the results of tests, which are probably the best single device for predicting job adjustment. Testing has not been accepted with open arms by management in general, a coolness is due more to a cultural lag than to a lack of value in testing that is properly carried on by persons who are fitted for their jobs.

Getting people to see themselves as guidance officers see them. The placement officer has, so far, exercised the most scientific and thus the easiest phases of his job: namely, analyzing the specifications and requirements of jobs and testing how individuals measure up to them. His next task is largely in the realm of art, for it deals with how people interpret their own capabilities and fitnesses. An individual might believe himself to be fully competent to fill the position of senior accountant when, in fact, he is a rather mediocre bookkeeper. School guidance programs frequently break down at the point where parents who want their son to be a professional man are unwilling to accept the verdict of guidance specialists that he would make a better mechanic. The placement officer is at times faced with the difficulty of securing acceptance for a technical judgment that is not palatable.

It is here that he becomes the clinical counselor in addition to the occupational specialist. Because of the difficulty of jumping over the barriers of job categories, such as those established by union practice and civil service classification, the more stratified the job hierarchy, the more complex will be the guidance problem. The type of civil service classification law that permits the transfer of people from one class to another only on the basis of written examination will make much more difficult the guidance process postulated in this chapter. Furthermore, the

placement officer will be constantly confronted with a previously mentioned cultural phenomenon—the opinion that progress from a less difficult task to a more difficult one should be on the basis of seniority.

Probably 80 per cent of the grievances under industrial collective bargaining have to do with job evaluations. In these instances the worker protests that his particular job is just as important as some other and that he should have a more important title and higher hourly rate. Furthermore, there are the highly stratified union jurisdictional fences that require the moving of workers in accordance with union standards rather than with the findings and judgments of the personnel officers. Thus, it is apparent that the placement officer, whether in government or industry, does not follow blueprints or apply precision instruments as does the engineer. He must instead move artfully and tactfully in a labyrinth of restraints that are individual, cultural, and social in nature.

Relation to training. Another evidence that guidance constitutes an integral part of the entire personnel process is its relation to training. Indeed, training may constitute a variety of therapy and a means of accomplishing job adjustment in a wide variety of personnel situations. In the case of the disciplinary transfer, the diagnosis of training needs and the following of the recommendations resulting therefrom may aid in accomplishing satisfactory adjustment to the new position.

People whose skills have become obsolete through technological change can be retained through guidance that salvages the maximum portion of their previous skills. Persons who have become physically handicapped or who have become poorly adjusted to their old occupations because of age can be aided by the training that follows guidance. Furthermore, the whole matter of upgrading people, whether in the skill hierarchy or in the supervisory ladder, can be accomplished with less pain and more benefit to the organization if accompanied by a guidance program.

There are those who advocate that every employee, at least

those above a certain level, should have a periodic training conference with his own supervisor or jointly with his guidance officer and supervisor. His training needs would be discussed, the supervisor encouraging him to suggest his own program of training. He might be encouraged to state his ultimate educational objectives and outline the manner in which he proposes to achieve them. In cases where it does not seem advisable to stimulate long-range objectives, the employee can be encouraged to discuss the training needed to make him more fully adjusted to his present job and that to which he may reasonably aspire within a short time. This training-counseling by the supervisor need not be a formal and stereotyped ritual but should rather be combined with the normal evaluation interviews. The whole objective will be to have the employee analyze himself and realize his strong and weak points, thus paving the way for training suggestions.

The skill file. The skill file has in recent years been given considerable attention as a placement and guidance device. Various federal bureaus have at one time or another experimented with the installation of punch card systems that record the past experience, education, and training of all employees, sometimes running into the tens of thousands. Thus, if there was a demand for a graduate mechanical engineer who had also been a deep sea diver, the sorting machines would be set for those categories and the thousands of cards run through them. The machines would eliminate all but the handful of people who combined these two classifications. Ordinarily, the demands of an organization are much less pretentious, both in number of workers and range of peculiar job combinations required. Where the number of employees in a skill file runs from a few dozens to a few hundreds, as is usually the case, the sorting is usually done manually, by a key sort, or by thumbing through tabs on the original application blanks, for example.

The writer talked to a great many federal personnel people about the efficacy of installing skill files, and the reply was almost universally to the effect that they usually fail because of

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two shortcomings, which may or may not be interdependent. In the first place, there is a time lag in keeping them up to date and, second, people do not use them enough to justify the expense involved. Even in offices where elaborate mechanical installations existed, means of discovery other than running the skill file cards through the sorting machine were used. It may be that machine placement of this kind is too cold a process. The fact that people do not use it when they have it should be subjected to exhaustive research and investigation to ascertain whether failure is due to faulty administration or to inherent and irremediable defects in the system itself.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. State the essence of the placement hypothesis.
2. Why must personnel standards, goals, and achievements be integrated with line operations?
3. What is the relation of individual differences to placement? What are some respects in which individuals differ?
4. What are some ways to lessen the undesirable effects of repetitive work?
5. How does the placement hypothesis modify the traditional philosophy of employee evaluation?
6. How do the following new devices tend to secure more objective employee evaluation: forced choice, field review, and the incident method?
7. Why should the personnel program embody guidance procedures?
8. How should transfers be controlled?
9. What is the relation of guidance to training?

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Dealing with emotional problems

ELTON MAYO advanced the thesis that the increasingly complicated nature of life under modern industrial conditions creates tremendous stresses and strains upon the individual. To support this viewpoint he quoted French sociologists of the nineteenth century such as Durkheim, who noted that the increase of suicide coincided with industrial expansion. Mayo pointed out that in the agrarian society which preceded industrialization, the worker had the security of a definite role in his community. People knew him and made allowances for his idiosyncrasies [4].

Large-scale organization multiplies stresses of modern living

Today man works in large-scale organizations under impersonal relationships. He lives under conditions of urbanization in which often he does not know his next door neighbor. He does not have the security of family and the home town which he en-

joyed when he was an agrarian. The modern city dweller does not have the warm relationships of the primary group. His social activities are not carried on with his neighbors, and the family circle has become much less of a hearthside than it once was.

The rationale of large-scale organization lays emphasis on jobs and production, the individual as a human being receiving only secondary and incidental attention. People vary greatly in their ability to adapt to large-scale organization and its cold, impersonal relationships. Some need to live and work in the warm atmosphere of the intimate primary group. They need the security of established friendships, personal loyalties and frequent tokens of personal worth from their associates. They require the support of mutual help supplied by membership in familiar groups.

American industrial society puts high value on competitiveness. Older cultures, such as the Japanese, frown upon individual competitiveness, virtue being attributed to the person who knows and is satisfied with the role which tradition has assigned to him [2]. Just as some persons require the security of strong primary group relationships to support them in their daily living, others are better fitted by temperament to the impersonal relationships of large-scale organization. With their emphasis on production, the latter tend to establish a competitive work pace; and with their selection of leaders by merit, they demand competitive promotion.

An analysis was made of a group of career military men who had received treatment in the neuropsychiatric department of a military hospital. Their difficulties could apparently be attributed to four categories: (1) intrusion of newcomers, (2) dual group membership, (3) blocks to upward mobility, and (4) being over-rated. The first category illustrates the points attempted to be made above; namely, that some people adjust poorly to a changed social climate. These people had not been able to adjust to the horde of citizen soldiers who entered the military in the 1940's, often bringing a change of roles and new concepts of familiar rituals such as discipline. *Dual group membership* de-

scribed the inability to harmonize military life with personal life, a familiar example being the wife's distaste for the former. The third, *blocks to upward mobility*, focused the age-old problem of hierarchical institutions, seniority versus personal competence. These men had been passed over by younger persons who had come in later. *Over-rating* has to do with holding a position whose demands exceed one's qualifications. For instance, one of the hospitalized persons was formerly a sergeant, but both his wife and his commander had forced him to become a lieutenant, over his own protest that he was not officer material [16].

These are some of the strains which large-scale organization (hierarchy) places on the individual. When specialists in mental disease are questioned about its apparent increase in modern times, they sometimes reply that the increase in the incidence of mental disease is more apparent than real. It is probable that there was always as large a percentage of potentially unbalanced people as now exists, but their families and communities took care of them. Today, much larger numbers are being put in institutions. When they could live and work in the security and affection of primary group relationships, they could be at least partially productive. But the decreasing importance of family life, the disappearing "small town" atmosphere, spreading urbanization, and enlarging industrial environment tend to destroy personal security and to make demands which many people are constitutionally unable to meet.

Off-the-job causes. One should hasten to point out that not all industrial mental difficulty can be traced to job conditions. Indeed, the medical director of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Companies has written that "the majority of conflicts are not job induced; they are the result of some off-the-job problem" [20]. Nevertheless, there is still the probability that an unhealthy social climate on the job will aggravate a condition which originated elsewhere. Personnel management is paying ever greater attention to the problem, even though it may bear minor blame for causing mental disorders in the beginning.

Management's duty

Management is increasingly accepting its social obligations as perhaps the most important group in the American community. Hardly a day passes when one does not hear of a new contribution by industry to general social welfare. Now the question arises as to management's obligation in meeting this problem of large-scale organization, a Frankenstein for many people. Should management be expected to ameliorate the harsh social climate of hierarchical institutions? Should personnel management take steps to tranquilize the anxieties, worries, and apprehensions of workers? The answer is that some managements have recognized this as their obligation and are taking definite steps in this direction. A few examples follow.

Caterpillar Tractor Company. In 1945 the medical division at Caterpillar Tractor Company inaugurated a mental health and counseling program designed to become "an integrated part of the total management program." Industrial psychologists worked with medical personnel in a three-pronged program embodying initial selection, counseling, and supervisory development. An evaluation report on the counseling program has been published [19]. A case-history record is maintained on each employee referred for counseling. Almost half of those counseled were referred by supervision, a fourth by medical personnel, and 10 per cent came on their own initiative. The four largest categories of symptoms were: (1) nervousness, anxiety syndrome; (2) psychotic tendencies; (3) psychosomatic complaints; and (4) marital and family problems.

An evaluation study was made of over 500 cases which had gone through the counseling program. Four persons on the staff of the mental health section made independent ratings of the degree of recovery. Their judgments were based upon an evaluation of the consultation records. Marked improvement was noted in 21.5 per cent of the cases, some improvement in 35.4 per cent, little improvement in 25.4 per cent, and no improvement in 17.7 per cent.

A planned program for dealing with alcoholics. In 1947 the Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc., recognized chronic alcoholism as a medical condition and adopted a "company procedure on alcoholism" [10]. The foremen and other supervisors are responsible for recognizing the early symptoms. The supervisors are trained to recognize the early signs of problem drinking, and the employee suspected of excess drinking is given a preliminary warning by his immediate supervisor. If there is a recurrence, the supervisor interviews the offender and places him on probation. The shop steward may be present at this interview. Further recurrence results in referral of the case to the medical department, and the department head sends a written report to the personnel director. The medical department regards the supervisor's report as a very helpful tool because it prompts the employee to discuss with the physician matters which he otherwise might be inclined to cover up.

The medical department determines whether the employee is an alcoholic and estimates the extent of the drinking problem. If it is determined that he is, in fact, an alcoholic, the employee is offered the opportunity of being rehabilitated through company facilities, but he may choose to go to Alcoholics Anonymous or go under the care of his own physician. After these steps, if there is still a recurrence, the employee is suspended, and a panel for adjudication of the case can be convened. Under certain conditions, the department head may discharge him forthwith. A case which goes to the panel will normally go back to the department for decision.

This experience led the company to underwrite the initial costs of the Consultation-Clinic for Alcoholism at the University Hospital of the New York University-Bellevue Medical Center. Since that time other companies have shared in the cost. It is primarily a referral center, the need for which arose out of the company's lack of facilities to treat alcoholics.

The Eastman Kodak Company. The problem of worry and anxiety among members of this company's working force is approached by training supervisors to meet and handle such situa-

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tions [12]. Through the use of films, supervisors are shown both the constructive and destructive aspects of fear and worry. Inductive discussions following the showing of the films serve to make the subject matter more intimate and meaningful.

The supervisors are taught to recognize the symptoms of unhealthy anxiety, but they are told that their function is only that of first aid. Emotional first aid is similar to physical first aid. When it is suspected that one of his employees may be addicted to undue worry or emotional strain, the supervisor should talk it over with higher supervision and then consult with the industrial relations department. Supervisors are informed under what circumstances they should handle the cases themselves, refer them to the industrial relations department, or refer them to the medical department. The point to be emphasized here is that the "supervisor, the industrial relations department, and the medical department constitute a three-man team which must cooperate if we are to deal effectively with the problems of worry or anxiety" [12, p. 22].

The supervisor, the key person

These programs all have one thing in common: the immediate supervisor is a key link in the chain. Indeed, the success of any program must depend upon the ability of the immediate supervisor to handle his phase of the program, because he is the only one who can recognize the symptoms of employees already on the payroll. He is the one who has to deal with troubled employees, because he is near to them, often with them constantly. What is more natural than an open recognition that the supervisor is a part of the clinical team which deals with employees who have problems?

This point is emphasized here because there are those who react strongly against suggestion that anyone but a trained therapist should deal with a problem employee. Apparently, their view is that every management institution should have a staff of competent therapists (counselors) to whom employees would come and endlessly talk out their fancies in an atmosphere

that has been sterilized against the contaminating influences of management. This view was often expressed by at least some of the newly constituted counselors set up in defense agencies during World War II. There are two reasons for this view, one legitimate and the other questionable.

1. *Nonprofessional can do harm.* Psychologists and social workers, in discussing this point, often express concern that the supervisor, who is an amateur at clinical work, will go too far in assuming the functions of a therapist. It is feared that he will do great harm by pretending to be able to function in a field where even the professionals are not sure of themselves. This view is legitimate so long as it does not bar the supervisor from all phases of the process. The principal reason for setting forth the three industrial cases above was to emphasize that existent programs do recognize that the supervisor has a very important role to play. This point is recognized by the medical people, themselves, who rely upon the supervisor's observations and records as a part of the diagnostic process. Therefore the danger would seem to be not in having the supervisor participate in the rehabilitation program, but in not giving him the proper training to enable him to perform in this delicate area.

2. *Authoritarian social climate.* Another less legitimate reason for excluding the supervisor from the counseling process is the very sincere belief that no effective counseling can take place when the counselor is in a position of authority over the counselee. This question was threshed out through innumerable discussions over several years by the embryo social work profession. The more realistic members of this new calling saw that there are few counseling situations where the counselor does not have some authority over the counselee. Even the case worker in a private social agency has the power to recommend the granting or denial of aid.

Most of the specialists in the clinical professions—clinical psychologists, social workers and psychiatrists—are people-centered; that is, they think in terms of the welfare of individuals. Although most of them would perhaps deny it, one sus-

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pects that they tend to have an intuitive distrust of hierarchical institutions, identifying them symbolically with arbitrary authority. These clinicians are so strongly imbued with what they believe to be a democratic philosophy of human association that they react against management controls which seem normal and reasonable to management people.

Each must come part way

The problem is to bring about an understanding between the people-centered professions and the production-centered profession of management. Management hierarchies must become more people-centered than they have been in the past, but social scientists must also realize that productivity is a legitimate goal for a factory or an office, and that striving for productivity is not cruel and inhuman.

It is not possible to humanize the hierarchy without having the line organization convinced that this is a desirable goal. The desired fusion of line and clinical staff cannot be achieved by having a group of counselors operate in an atmosphere of isolation. Social psychology has demonstrated through research that perhaps the most important factor in motivating an organization is development of team spirit. People who have low morale, who are not doing what the organization expects of them, cannot be motivated to perform except through their leaders in the line organization.

Clinical specialists must work through the line. It seems folly to think that the line organization can be humanized without securing the cooperation of supervisors on all levels. This must be an active and participative cooperation rather than merely a passive one. It requires the type of teamwork in which the lower supervisors are conditioned to make an original evaluation of an employee who is not doing what the organization expects of him. The line organization ordinarily decides whether an employee needs staff counseling. Of course, there are exceptions, as when a nurse or physician detects behavioral symptoms during a medi-

cal visit, or when a troubled employee chooses on his own to visit the counseling service. But normally and in the vast preponderance of cases, the immediate supervisor will be the one to notice untoward behavior. Indeed, this will ordinarily be forced upon him, even when he would like to ignore it.

The supervisor as a clinician

Hypothesis: The supervisor must do a clinical job in working with people. The previous chapter indicated that it is normal human behavior for people to avoid contacts and dealings that promise to be unpleasant. It was also pointed out that certain professions, such as medicine, social work, and clinical psychology, are based on dealing with people who are troubled. Their methodology and approach are clinical in nature, meaning that individuals are interviewed, studied, and analyzed on the basis of facts relating to each person's idiosyncracies.

Successful administrator behaves in a clinical manner. The clinical disciplines have a common fund of knowledge, even though their theories may differ radically. It has been pointed out that the successful administrator, in dealing with dissatisfied employees, probably handles the situation intuitively in much the same manner as a psychiatrist handles psychoneurotic cases [5]. The differences in theory and doctrine may be so radical that one psychologist will not speak to another, and a psychiatrist will be highly critical of the nonmedical psychologist. The experimental branches of these disciplines, concerned with the methodology of natural science, controlled experiments and statistical measurements, tend to be hypercritical of the clinical disciplines dealing with dynamic interpersonal relationships.

The next hypothesis is that there is a clinical procedure, more pragmatic than profound, that is practiced intuitively by persons having good human relations and that it can be taught to supervisors within certain rather broad limits. The elements of this clinical approach, which will be discussed at greater length below, can be summarized briefly as follows.

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The five clinical steps.

1. The supervisor will be conditioned to do his duty courageously, facing rather than running away from his personnel problems.

2. He will be taught a simple procedure for objective fact-finding in personnel cases.

3. He will be taught to control his emotions and to appear before other people as an emotionally stable personality.

4. He will be taught the art of listening, which is a universal clinical technique.

5. He will be informed on the limits of his own competence in dealing with aggravated situations and know when, how, and on whom to call for special help in such instances.

Those who have doubts that this sort of behavior should be expected from a supervisor are invited to compare these statements with the training material given to supervisors by the Eastman Kodak Company. Supervisors are asked to do precisely those things in dealing with employees who have emotional problems [12, p. 23].

Individual differences

This program presupposes the psychology of individual differences. Modern social science is beginning to reveal to us the respects in which people are different and the respects in which they are alike. While the maintenance of a stable organization is to an undefined extent dependent upon conformity to established norms of conduct, we are beginning to realize that people can differ in many respects and still belong to an efficient working team. Indeed, modern social democracy is probably establishing a legal right to be different. Certainly it is the essence of good supervision to consider the peculiarities of each individual as a separate problem and to attempt to deal with them with appropriate variations.

But uniform behavior patterns also exist. There is nevertheless

a pattern of the types of behavior manifested by workers and disliked by supervisors. This pattern emerges in essential uniformity during any series of discussions attended by persons with supervisory experience on any level. Thus, while each individual case has peculiar aspects of its own, there is also another respect in which each seems to fit into some category or combination of categories of this over-all pattern. This is important from the standpoint of scientific approach, because classification of data is the basis of science. Thus, continued research and study may develop ways and means whereby the supervisor may be able to isolate the causes of abnormal work behavior and take appropriate corrective steps.

Coddling versus discipline

It is widely felt that good discipline springs from strong and firm leadership, which means the one-way edict accompanied by unquestioning conformity. There is the feeling that if one makes a concession to employee sentiments and demands, it will be followed by further incessant demands, employee sentiment will soon be setting the tone for the performance standards of the organization as a whole. Management fears it will be robbed of its prerogatives, a theft which must certainly lead to lower production and ultimate breakdown.

There is a similar feeling which regards attention to the individual idiosyncrasies of employees as a form of coddling: people are employed to do a job, and they should produce or get out; their behavior abnormalities have no place in the work situation and are not to be tolerated. Conformity to management standards and norms of behavior is expected by those who follow this line of thought, and they believe that the variation of individuals therefrom should be discouraged and suppressed: if people persist in being too different, they should be dealt with summarily.

Both social conscience and research evidence refute this view
There is a strong contrary trend, both in the practical world of

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affairs and in the concepts of such social sciences as educational and child psychology. In the one case, the labor movement is compelling compromise and adjustments. In the other case, a strong intellectual ferment is brewing in certain social science disciplines that seeks to develop a sense of personal worth in all human beings, especially the poor in spirit as well as in pocket. In other words, a view of the social side of the management situation reveals a clash of stereotypes and belief systems.

Are managers indifferent by nature to the human factor? There is some experimental evidence to indicate that traits which make for success in higher management positions correlate negatively with social service interest. Immediate supervisors score higher on social service interest than middle supervisors, and the latter higher than their superiors. Thus, the farther one gets up the hierarchy, the less he is concerned with the human situation; at any rate, that is what one of the standard preference tests showed when applied to a particular industrial concern.

One suspects that similar results would emerge from an investigation of any sizeable hierarchy, whether industrial or governmental. Two possible explanations of this phenomenon have been offered. One offers no judgment as to the basic social attitudes of management people, merely saying that they are indifferent to social factors because they are not as near to them as are immediate supervisors. The other view is that successful managers are, by nature and inclination, cool to the human factor, and that they have risen because of this characteristic. The successful manager has demonstrated over the years more than ordinary ability at organizing and getting a job done. To do so, he has had to see the picture in the large, to sight a goal and steer toward it. If the personal ambitions of individuals have conflicted with the achievement of over-all goals, the good manager has taken decisive action to cure the situation. To many, such action may seem ruthless, inconsiderate, and inhumane; but to the manager it has seemed an objective step that enables the organization to accomplish its goals.

Administrator must perform distasteful acts. The administrator must dismiss people from the service, demote them, transfer them, or deny their lifelong ambitions. The fact that he does not show a high social service interest on a pencil-and-paper test does not necessarily mean that he is without human compassion, sadistic or harsh with people. The fact is that he is ordinarily a rather human sort of fellow who dislikes to dismiss or reprimand anyone. On the other hand, he has the courage to do these things when he is convinced that the over-all purposes of the organization demand it. He is enough of a "softy" to have delayed such a move long beyond the time at which its desirability first became apparent. However, he is distinguished from the mass of humanity by his ability to handle difficult personnel situations with a minimum of wear and tear on his own nervous system. Although he may suffer from insomnia, he is not rendered panicky by the pangs of conscience and fear of social opinion. He carries his personnel responsibilities with a great deal of personal equilibrium.

The lower supervisor's two-horned dilemma. This recalls the question posed in Chapter 12, which postulates a type of supervisory leadership varying from traditional concepts. Should we not accept the fact that the lower supervisors are in a dynamic human environment that they cannot escape and that, therefore, a different type of leadership should be expected from them than from those in the higher echelons? Those occupying the latter post are generalists who must normally look at the forest rather than the trees. Theirs is a job of over-all coordination in which individual workers become submerged in objectives for which many cooperating groups are striving.

The typical organization, whether industrial or governmental, has from eight to twelve levels in its hierarchy, with the result that the higher one goes in leadership the more his duty becomes to secure the cooperation among many groups rather than to lead his own small group.

This situation creates one of the many paradoxes encountered in the study of human relations. In brief, it consists of reconcil-

ing the need for over-all coordination with that for satisfying the yearnings, ambitions, heart throbs, and grievances of individual workers. The lower supervisors are expected to be management-minded, yet it is almost the universal experience of observers that they tend to be ideologically closer to workers than to management. On the other hand, it is equally clear that good human relations will not prevail unless those higher up are sensitive to the problem and are willing to take the steps required. There must be created a proper balance between the over-all needs of the organization and the sentiments of the individual workers.

This requires a top management that is cool and courageous enough to thwart the desires and ambitions of individuals when they are not in the interests of the organization as a whole, and, at the same time, desires that the individual worker get the maximum possible satisfaction. On the other hand, it requires lower supervisors who can achieve the maximum possible conformity to management objectives while operating within a social environment, the sentiments and mores of which are determined by the rank and file of their subordinates rather than by their superiors in the front office or at headquarters.

Employee counseling

During World War II there was a widespread development of employee counseling in both government and industry. Central staffs were established to take care of the personal problems of employees as well as of personal maladjustment in the work situation. The major impetus to this development probably came from the entry of hundreds of thousands of women into factory employment and the migration of similar numbers to Washington and elsewhere for government clerical employment. The social disorganization of their personal lives created such stresses that it became an economy for the employer to establish counseling services designed to encourage them to stay on the job. Listed below is a summary of the problems handled over a three-year period in the counseling program of a federal agency [8].

SHOWING TYPES OF COUNSELING PROBLEMS OCCURRING IN A PROGRAM, RANKED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR FREQUENCY OVER A THREE-YEAR PERIOD

1. Housing	1,333
2. Financial and budgeting	1,046
3. Vocational and educational guidance	877
4. Information	841
5. Miscellaneous	489
6. Health	439
7. Group health and group hospitalization	401
8. Adjustment to community; general orientation	389
9. Adjustment to job	279
10. Family	238
11. Emotional or personality disturbance	139
12. Adjustment to human relations on job	93
13. Marital	82
14. Legal	63
15. Mental illness	52
16. Maternity leave	51
17. Insurance	16

It will be noted that the first two items, constituting nearly half in frequency, have to do with housing and personal finance.

In the factories, the chief problems accompanying the influx of women had to do with their adjustment from a home environment with high sanitation and cleanliness to a factory with much lower standards along these lines. Particularly did factory wash-rooms cause a vexing problem. Perhaps the point at which women in industry had to make their major adjustment was in remaining a housewife and mother while working a factory shift. Working in a factory created problems of marketing, house cleaning, and laundry, and working on the swing or graveyard shift aggravated the difficulty, particularly when there were growing children at home who might have managed on their own if their mother worked a day shift. The immediate supervision of women in the factory was at first viewed with a great deal of apprehension by the male supervisors, but as time went on such anxiety was proved to be largely without foundation. The major problems of a personal nature were mostly external to the work situation in origin, and only in a lesser degree were they concerned with the relationship between the immediate supervisor and the worker.

Problems caused by emergency conditions. Wartime counseling in both industry and government was concerned primarily with matters that could not, by their very nature, be handled by line supervisors. They were products of the emergency and sprang from the social and personal dislocation of the normal course of life. As the war emergency subsided and these organizations returned to peacetime operation, and as the workers re-established a more stable rhythm of living, counseling services were either abolished entirely or maintained on a purely nominal basis by enthusiasts who had succeeded in getting management to render lip service to the concept but not to supply much of the substance. The author made a personal check in the great Los Angeles aircraft factories in 1947 and found that none maintained a full-time counselor, although two still paid lip service to the concept.

Staff counseling confined to matters which line supervisor cannot handle. This is a preliminary to formulation of the following hypothesis: Staff counseling will always be confined to those things that, by their very nature, cannot be handled by the line supervisor himself in times of great national emergency. When the migration of workers disrupts the social organization of factory and government communities, it will be necessary to provide some sort of staff service to assist normal people in adjusting themselves to a new way of life and in reorganizing community life to facilitate maximum work performance. Under normal peacetime social stability such service will tend to be less necessary, and therefore it will be minimized, and budget-minded management will tend to pounce upon such items when looking for sources of immediate economy. The danger is that management will go too far in this reverse swing of the pendulum and eliminate some essential staff personnel services. The supervisor should have the help of specialists in learning how to handle certain chronic varieties of problem personnel cases.

Empire building among those who like to counsel. Many varieties of people became counselors during World War II, some with professional preparation and some lacking it entirely.

However, there were those who relished their task and who wanted to build it up into a lifetime career. A natural selection attracts those who are people-minded toward personnel work, which they vaguely consider to consist of conferring all day with troubled people about their personal and work problems. The people-minded have a social outlook that varies considerably from the typical management belief system. One suspects that this may account for the desire of certain counseling enthusiasts to have their jobs set up as independent staff units, so that workers can short-circuit their supervisors and come to them for counseling.

Types of cases in an industrial counseling program. The counseling program at Caterpillar Tractor, referred to earlier, represents a medical approach in which line supervisors have a part. The following table is interesting from the standpoint of comparison with the wartime table presented above. It should be borne in mind that the Caterpillar program is primarily medical in approach, whereas the wartime program was not [19].

CLASSIFICATION OF CONSULTATION CASES
ACCORDING TO SYMPTOMS OR COMPLAINTS [19]
558 cases counseled at Caterpillar Tractor Company

Symptoms; Disturbance	Separated Group		Inactive Group		Combined Group	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Nervousness; anxiety syndrome	45	19.5	61	18.7	106	19.0
Psychotic tendencies	42	18.2	54	16.5	96	17.2
Psychosomatic complaints	18	7.8	42	12.8	60	10.8
Marital and family problems	21	9.1	34	10.4	55	9.9
Immaturity	16	6.9	32	9.8	48	8.6
Job dissatisfaction	16	6.9	31	9.5	47	8.4
Troublesome psychopathy	26	11.3	19	5.8	45	8.1
Alcoholism; problem drinking	13	5.6	17	5.2	30	5.4
Limited mental facility	13	5.6	10	3.1	23	4.1
Unclassified	21	9.1	27	8.2	48	8.5
Total	231	100.0	327	100.0	558	100.0

The need for rapport. Perhaps the major technical or professional argument in favor of staff counseling is the necessity for establishing rapport between the client and counselor. It is maintained that such a relationship cannot exist between worker and supervisor because of the authority involved. The worker will feel that he cannot repose his entire confidence in his supervisor. Clinical psychologists, social workers, and psychiatrists are schooled in a methodology based on the nondirective interview in which the client is urged to unburden himself. The relationship between the two is entirely confidential. Indeed, Anglo-Saxon law has upheld this relationship by refusing to require physicians and lawyers to divulge confidences and by withholding from public gaze the clinical records of hospitals, asylums, juvenile courts, and many other institutions. Most social and community agencies dealing with individuals in need of help make this confidential relationship the keystone of their operations. That is why practitioners of these clinical professions may question whether their type of rapport with client can ever be established by one in a position of hierarchical authority over another.

Depends on social climate of the organization. The most obvious answer is that under the traditional type of management this rapport would not be possible, except as established by exceptional individuals in isolated instances. The reasons have been dwelt upon in the previous chapters, but recapitulation is in order here.

In the first place, the delegation of authority is not sufficiently clean-cut so that the lower supervisors know what is expected of them in dealing with those whom they ostensibly supervise. Second, those in authority are often indifferent to the personal problems of employees, expecting them to perform according to orders—or else. Third, the supervisors, like most human beings, dislike those contacts with employees that promise to be not entirely pleasant. Fourth, supervisors have not been trained or conditioned in the professional modes of handling troubled human beings. Fifth, supervisors are under such pressure to get

out the work, to meet production schedules or deadlines, that they are disinclined to spend the time required to listen to a troubled employee.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. How does industrialization affect emotional problems, according to Mayo?
2. Discuss large-scale organization as a factor affecting emotional problems of workers.
3. What were the four environmental factors which adversely affected the people studied in a military hospital?
4. Give the high points of the Caterpillar Tractor program.
5. Describe the Consolidated Edison program for dealing with alcoholics.
6. What is the Eastman Kodak approach to dealing with worry and anxiety on the part of workers?
7. What is the role of the supervisor in dealing with these cases?
8. Would a counseling program undermine discipline? Give reasons.
9. What is the two-horned dilemma of the lower supervisors?
10. Contrast the kinds of problems in the wartime government program with those reported in the Caterpillar Tractor experience. Explain any differences.

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The supervisor's clinical job

“ . . . an experienced and adequately trained employment interviewer is just about as skillful as the psychiatrist in spotting gross personality disorders . . . ” [6].

The quotation set forth above, made by an industrial psychiatrist, lends support to the proposition that laymen can be trained to detect cases involving personality difficulties. It is our contention not only that line supervisors can be so trained, but that an effort should be made to provide them with such skills. The line supervisor has several functions in dealing with persons who for one reason or another are poorly adjusted to job and hierarchy. These are:

1. Initial detection
2. Handling by himself those cases he is capable of handling
3. Referring to staff counselors or other agencies those persons whom he is not fitted to handle.

4. Furnishing the staff counselors with information relative to the employee's behavior in the work situation.
5. Participating in decisions affecting the employee's continuation on the job.
6. Participating in rehabilitating an employee who has been returned to the job after treatment.

Problem/cases

It has been commonly estimated that as many as one out of five workers might be designated as problem cases or "difficult to handle." Whatever the exact percentage, some evidence has recently been published to support the contention that, while the ratio may be small in comparison to the total number of workers, the trouble they cause to supervisors is out of all proportion to their numbers. Furthermore, the same people keep on causing the most difficulty and they continue to do it over considerable periods of time.

Absenteeism caused by some people time after time. A study was conducted among telephone workers, between a control group of low absence people and an experimental group of those who had a high absence rate. It was found that a small number of the same people accounted for the largest proportion of absences. This continued throughout their work history, not merely for a single year. These high absence-rate people were also higher in the frequency of minor diseases, especially those of a respiratory nature. They also tended to be mentally unhappy, having made a relatively poorer adjustment to living. [9].

General Motors makes notations on the original medical examination form of those suspected of having possible psychiatric disorders. About 3 per cent of the pre-employment medical records have such notations made by the nurse. The employees in this group have an accidental injury rate 92 per cent above par, a sick complaint rate 67 per cent above par, and sick absences 49 per cent above par, par being the average for all employees. It is also stated that human relations constitute the underlying basis of 49 per cent of the cases coming to the medical department. [7].

It also happens to young people. A study was made of employees of a telephone company who visited company medical offices and were diagnosed as having nervous disorders. Over half were 35 years old or younger, of which 86 per cent had a functional diagnosis, that is, no organic cause for illness could be found. The physician who reported this experience in a medical journal said that most of these functional ailments could be attributed to the off-the-job causes. It is the duty of the industrial physician and nurse to handle these problems through wise counseling and guidance. "The health services can guide both the employee and supervisory personnel into a mutual understanding of the problem. Verbal catharsis can relieve much tension; we must be good listeners" [14].

Symptoms

It requires no medical specialist to recognize these. People who act in the following manner are found in almost any office or shop: Those who are constantly looking for something at which to take offense; those who protest that they are being exploited if called upon to do a task not in the written job description; those who are so busy playing office politics that they have no time for their work; those who are too much preoccupied with winning friends and influencing people; those who have their tools or other working equipment put away and are ready to leave forty-five minutes before quitting time; and those who are beset by one-day illnesses that usually strike them the day after pay day.

There are also people who are chronically grouchy and those who are extremely timid and lacking in self confidence. There are the supersensitive who frequently blow up when pressure is on. Many will recall having worked with or supervised those of belligerent disposition who resist any kind of supervision. The hypochondriac with his pills, tales of ailments, and symptoms of ailments is a rather universal phenomenon. The gossip and rumor monger is ever present, keeping the grapevine throb-

bing with news, usually exaggerated or distorted and seldom accurate.

Those in constant financial trouble. The widespread credit union movement is a direct result of management's past painful experience with employees who could not handle their personal finances. One also finds among those who work a random sampling of prima donnas, practical jokers, alcoholics, misguided do-gooders and joiners, and wearers of halos. Not uncommon among rank and file and among supervisors as well is the annoyance of women employees; and among women, themselves, there are always those who excessively patronize the restroom.

Some industrial case records. The actual case records of medical counseling at Caterpillar Tractor Company showed the following symptoms: fainting spells, sick headaches, fast heart, feeling that one is about to faint, dizzy spells, and nausea. Also included were nervousness, nightmares, anxiety, excessive perspiration, inattention, hysteria, feeling of guilt, hypochondriac vertigo, muscular tremors, feelings of depression, stomach cramps, feelings of frustration [13].

Five years of experience with industrial psychiatry at du Pont resulted in about 7 per cent of plant personnel being referred by plant physicians, supervision, or the employees themselves. Those who were referred for psychiatric consultation had emotional difficulties which interfered with their well-being and productivity. These workers had certain characteristics which distinguished them from the average employee group. They contributed much more than their share to absenteeism. Members of this group had a significantly greater percentage of major and submajor accidents [8].

Not only a medical problem. A point which needs to be emphasized is the fact that this group caused as much trouble to supervision as to the medical staff. It would seem that personnel problem cases correlate highly with those seeking medical help for the classes of complaints mentioned above. "They furnished an excessive proportion of the industrial and personnel relations problems. They had contributed grossly to the dispensary attend-

ance, and had taken a disproportionate amount of time on the part of physicians, nurses, supervisors and shop stewards" [8].

Chapter hypothesis: *Supervisors can be trained to recognize initially pathological symptoms leading to problem cases; they can be trained to conduct nondirective interviews; and they can be trained to know when to refer employees to a professional clinician.*

The behavior of the problem employee differs quantitatively from that of the nonproblem employee, rather than qualitatively.¹

Almost every aspect of the problem employee's behavior will be found in that of the average person. It is in degree and frequency that the difference exists. Just as one swallow does not make a summer, neither does one deviation from the normal indicate that an individual is maladjusted or neurotic.

A little knowledge is a dangerous thing, and the amateur diagnostician is too often over-zealous in noting with alarm the symptoms he suddenly observes in those with whom he comes in contact. The test question is: Do these manifestations occur frequently enough, and endure long enough, to interfere seriously with the person's productivity, social acceptance, and happiness?

Some of these manifestations are worry, excessive fatigue, chronic faultfinding, attitude of inferiority, or a feeling of being continually discriminated against. The tendency to flee from reality by taking refuge in sick leave, hospitalization, and compensation is frequent, as is the tendency to seek external causes for failure—such as blaming a prejudiced supervisor for difficulties experienced or imagined. Boastfulness and strutting may be cover-ups for feelings of inadequacy.

One author describes problem employees in this manner:

. . . . chronically ill; the perpetually dissatisfied; the hypersensitive, given to melancholia and baseless worry; individuals who tire too easily; the suspiciously inclined who believe that their superiors, fearing them as competitors, withhold promotions, and that their office associates gossip

¹ Mrs. Marguerite L. Alstrom contributed to the following pages.

about them maliciously; those given to periodic drinking sprees; the insubordinate; the overpedantic; those who are extremely timid and subject to feelings of inadequacy and futility; persons with ungovernable tempers, and even sometimes those unfortunate persons who are constantly suffering from accidents or are victims of misfortunes which seem regularly to recur . . . [10]

Whose job is it?

The big question is whether counseling should be done by the line supervisors or by the personnel department.

Ideally, the line supervisor should be trained to handle the maximum number of problems without the necessity of staff intervention. There are a variety of reasons for this.

The personal problems of employees, as well as immediately obvious job maladjustments, certainly have dominantly line-operation implications. It is a good principle of management to place squarely upon the line the major responsibility for settling its own problems. The difficulty lies in the reluctance of line supervisors to deal with problem cases that involve unpleasantness. Rather than try to solve the problems themselves, they take the easy way out by sending these irritating matters to the personnel department even if they are not solicited to do so. Furthermore, this prepares the way for dismissal of the employee, whom the supervisor—more likely than not—rated as satisfactory on the most recent efficiency report. When a blowup occurs, the supervisor wishes to continue evading responsibility and demands dismissal in a sudden fit of anger.

Don't let the line sidestep responsibility. Certainly the personnel department's function includes some counseling of these problem people, knowing that a great majority of them can be retained in the organization rather than summarily dismissed. But this responsibility should never take the form of permitting the line to get into the habit of passing along the cases that promise to be unpleasant. Rather, it should be the personnel department's duty to train and counsel the line supervisors to the end that they will become strong enough to deal with personal situations. The spirit of the organization should demand that line

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supervisors take pride in keeping their respective houses clean in this respect; they should know that a maximum of self-reliance is expected of them in meeting problem cases with courage and fortitude and settling them the hard way.

Counselors should back up the line. The counseling staff should never become a refuge for malingerers who are perfectly capable of fulfilling their job obligations. The du Pont psychiatrists conducted an experiment in dealing with persons whom they suspected of falling in this category. The objective was to stop appeasing and coddling malingerers, and the method pursued was to tell the supervisors to expect specific performance of persons sent back to the job. The result was that a large number recovered; they were able to perform on the job when both the staff counselors and supervisors collaborated to require performance [8].

Condition counselors to the needs of the line. During World War II, there was a tendency to overdevelop the central staff counseling agency. Thousands of women who entered factory employment brought their home problems with them, and they offered special problems of supervision that could not be met at once by the existing corps of supervisors. Furthermore, the emergency brought into the factories hordes of people who in normal times would not be employed and who would probably be in the lower end of the competence curve of the population—in other words, a much higher than normal proportion of the potential problem cases in the population. In many cases, the counselors who were employed to meet this situation failed to realize that counseling was meant to be an aid to line production rather than an end in itself.

Line supervisors often felt jealousy, antagonism, and suspicion toward these staff counselors and became quite naturally apprehensive that the workers would carry tales to the counselors about the supervisors. Even though such conferences are supposed to be purely confidential, it is undeniable that counselors cannot help making some judgment as to the comparative competence of various supervisors. Thus was a form of short-circuit-

ing created that could cause a great deal of friction and even scuttle the counseling program. In cases existing at that time, a more intensive program for supervisors in the purposes and functions of staff counselors might have averted many difficulties.

The supervisor's responsibility

The question quite naturally arises as to just what a line supervisor, who is uninformed on medicine and psychology, can do in the way of handling problem employees.

It is not the function of management or supervision to cure and rehabilitate an emotionally defective adult. This is not within the province of the employer, any more than is diagnosing a case of appendicitis and performing the requisite surgery. If the employee is ill, either physically or emotionally, he should be directed to a competent specialist.

This referral process, itself, is far from easy. Although much progress is being made in educating the public to recognize that emotional illness is illness, it is still surrounded by shock, horror, resistance, and shame. Suggesting to a person that he could profit from psychotherapy requires the utmost tact, and in many cases the suggestion will be doomed to failure. However, if the supervisor sincerely feels that one of his employees stands in need of this expert care, he should hold a completely private conference with the person and suggest that he seek it. The best approach, possibly, is to be objective and reasonable: "When you have a toothache, you go to the dentist, don't you? Nowadays, the sensible person trots off to a psychologist or psychiatrist when he gets himself tied into a knot emotionally."

How does the supervisor know to whom the employee should be referred? The local medical association can provide the names of psychiatrists, who are doctors of medicine with special training in determining whether organic pathology exists, and in treating behavior disorders with organic etiology or somatic symptoms. In the larger cities, Alcoholics Anonymous is listed in the telephone books. The Community Chest or Metropolitan

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Welfare Council will have a directory of social agencies and clinics which handle the various specialized types of cases.

Professional specialists in the diagnosis and treatment of behavior disorders are called "clinical psychologists." (Not all psychologists are clinical psychologists.) Whereas the typical psychiatric trainee after five full years of medical training has had a one-semester course each in medical psychology and clinical psychiatry, a course of clinical demonstrations, and perhaps a month of clinical clerkship in psychiatry, the adequately trained clinical psychologist has had two or three full years of graduate work in psychology and a year's clinical internship, as well as training in research tools and methods. No ethical psychologist undertakes to administer psychotherapy until the client has been examined by a competent medical doctor, in order that any organic impairment may be discovered. The annual directory of the American Psychological Association includes a section listing its members by geographical location, and the alphabetical listing gives their training and specialties. In many cases, referral might be made to a clinical psychologist rather than to a psychiatrist.

But these instances will occur rarely. In the vast majority of cases, the supervisor knows that there is no actual disorder. For one reason or another, pressures have built up within the employee, and he is becoming more of a liability than an asset to himself and to others. The supervisor can help him remove obstacles in the way of changing himself. It seems pretty well agreed that upward of three-quarters of the problem cases can be satisfactorily straightened out without dismissal.

There is strong reluctance to enter into a program of personal counseling. The supervisor fears that the worker will resent reference to shortcomings, and he also has a deeply ingrained feeling that the work relationship is not concerned with anything except production. Counseling is diametrically opposed to the "hire and fire" theory of motivation, the principle that the only way to deal with maladjustments is to get rid of those who are so afflicted. It is difficult for many supervisors to replace this

attitude with the belief that workers must find in their jobs security and recognition, and that they need initial training and sympathetic guidance to achieve them. Such guidance must come from supervisors who must, themselves, feel secure and who must be brought to a more sensitive understanding of the emotional fears, conflicts, and satisfactions of those under them.

Counseling techniques

Inept counseling can be very dangerous. Even the most skillful professional persons occasionally lose a client through suicide. At best, the wrong kind of counseling can drive a dependent "clinging vine" into further dependence upon the counselor or, if the individual has a vestige of self-reliance, drive him out to do the exact opposite of the counselor's advice just to demonstrate that he has a mind of his own.

Distinguish between three types of problems. It is well to clarify the types of problems that might come to the attention of the supervisor by classifying them as (1) requests for information or service, (2) grievances, and (3) emotional problems.

A request for information or service is not a request for advice. It may be related to housing, transportation, child care, or some other quite objective factor. An employee may need such information or service desperately and come to the supervisor to learn whether the organization provides it or whether the supervisor happens to have the required information. In aiding the employee to solve this problem, the supervisor may assist him in overcoming an obstacle to contentment and productivity, but it can hardly be called "counseling." The supervisor imparts information—that is all.

The adjustment of grievances approaches actual counseling, but here again the emphasis is on information. The employee presents to the supervisor information concerning some aspect of the working conditions that is, in the employee's mind, undesirable. The supervisor listens to the complaint, may or may not obtain additional evidence bearing on the situation, and then takes appropriate action.

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Emotional problems most difficult to deal with. Dealing with emotional problems calls into play all of the supervisor's resources for proper counseling.

A list of the types of problems that will be brought to a supervisor may seem very simple, but it is complicated by the fact that most of the problems in the third category will come to him disguised as one of the preceding two categories! Only through practice will the supervisor sufficiently develop his intuitive understanding to be able to distinguish between them.

It hardly seems necessary to point out that calling an employee into the supervisor's office and talking to him is not counseling. No matter how good-humored the supervisor strives to be, no matter if he plies the employee with coffee and cigarettes, and assures him that it is for the employee's own good that they are having their friendly little chat—such a situation is not counseling. It is a reprimand, sugarcoated and tied in a pink satin ribbon.

To be effective, counseling demands willingness of the counselee. He should, ideally, seek the conference and actively desire it. This implies, obviously, that the supervisor must comply with certain essential requirements.

Supervisor's integrity. First of all, the employee must have complete faith in the supervisor's integrity. He must be convinced that anything he says will be retained in complete confidence and will never be used against him. Nor will the supervisor gossip about it with his family or closest friends. Second, there must be sufficient time allowed for the supervisor and the employee. It is almost beyond the wildest imagining to suppose that any worthwhile accomplishment could be realized in a single interview. Four or five hour-long consultations are probably the minimum. Third, there must be the proper physical environment for counseling. Needless to point out, it must be soundproof and free from distractions. In addition, it must not be within view of other employees, as the counselee will need to reveal his emotions. A very high percentage of people—men

as well as women—become tearful, particularly during the initial counseling conference when they release long pent up emotions.

Method should be nondirective

As to the counseling itself, the only safe technique is the method referred to as “nondirective.” It is quite different from the older authoritative method, in which the counselor tried to guide the counselee by appealing to his intellect, by directing him in the path the counselor felt he should go. The weakness of this outdated method lay in ignoring the vital role of the emotions in governing behavior. It was very gratifying to the counselor, who occupied the position of omniscient oracle, but it was neither pleasant nor beneficial to the counselee.

Unfortunately, nondirective counseling is infinitely more difficult than directive. For one thing, it demands of the counselor the most concentrated and continuous attention. He must never allow his mind to wander, for he is performing a more exacting task than merely listening to the facts being related to him: he is constantly striving to grasp the *feeling* of the counselee. For another thing, the counselor must exert great self-control in keeping his own ideas and emotions under lock and key for the duration of the interview.

A permissive environment. Nondirective counseling endeavors to provide a permissive environment in which the counselee feels free, perhaps for the first time in his life, to express himself fully and honestly concerning how he feels about everything. The counselor never expresses approval or disapproval, even though the counselee requests it repeatedly. This may prove exasperating to both parties, but it is essential. Instead, the counselor says, “You’re hoping I’ll tell you whether you did the right thing or not.” Or perhaps, “You’d like to shift the responsibility to me and have me tell you what to do.”

To the uninitiated, this counseling technique seems to be passive listening. It has been called the “Two Grunts and a Groan Method,” because most of the counselor’s contributions to the dialogue (if it can be called that) are mere acknowledgments

of the counselee's statements. But when he does say anything, it must be a mirrored reflection of the emotional content of the counselee's statements, not of the intellectual content. "You feel that your burdens have just about become more than you can carry," or "Sometimes you become so angry you actually hate your wife."

Catharsis takes place. In this type of counseling, several things take place within the counselee. The first step is "catharsis," in which the mere pouring out of his troubles has a therapeutic effect. Almost invariably, after he has permitted himself to express all of his negative feelings, he begins to find favorable aspects of the very things he has been criticizing. "Well, now, I must admit in all fairness that although my wife nags a lot, she has plenty of reason. I do give her plenty cause for complaint. And she is the best housekeeper on our block—wonderful with kids, and how she manages to cook such good meals on our budget I can't begin to guess."

Finally, the counselee gains insight into his problems. Freed from his emotional chains, he looks at himself and his life more objectively, diagnoses his case, and works out a course of action that will solve his difficulties. It may well be that the counselor could have told him in the first interview that such a course of action would solve his problem, but he was not then able to accept it. It was indispensable to the end result that he be permitted to work through his difficulties himself, thereby becoming more mature psychologically and better able to handle future difficulties.

Securing employee confidence

The keeping of clinical records of problem cases seems necessary for the purpose of diagnosis, and it is advocated by certain practitioners. Clinical records include transcription of interviews, notations of derelictions in behavior in personnel files or dossiers, and maintenance of medical records and results of test scores. However, the keeping of such records offers one of those conflicts or paradoxes wherein meritorious procedures with mer-

itorious objectives tend to cancel out accomplishments. If the employees know that personal histories are being kept, they may fear that such records will be used for punitive purposes, and they may fail to confide wholeheartedly in the interviews. One counseling agency attempts to meet this problem by refraining entirely from making notations in the employee's file relative to counseling interviews. Those case records that are necessary to continued counseling are kept locked in the counseling office and are destroyed periodically.

The Hawthorne interviews were recorded anonymously and were not associated with individual employees. In the beginning they were analyzed for the purpose of keeping management informed of trends in employee sentiments, although it was also thought that the objectives of individual counseling were accomplished by virtue of the catharsis of the interview.

One argument against counseling on the part of immediate line supervisors and personnel people is that they represent authority and that such status inhibits the free flow of the catharsis-type of interview [2].

Another obstacle to the success of a counseling program is the disinclination of employees to be marked as problem cases. Everyone wants to feel normal, with the result that he hesitates to go to the psychiatrist because such a visit would be noticed by his fellow workers and would type him as being abnormal.

Counseling success determined by social climate of the hierarchy. The extent to which employees will open up and reveal their feelings and thoughts will not be determined in the long run by the clever devices of specialized staff counselors, but rather by a long-maintained spirit of supervision characterized by frankness and fair dealing. If management desires to discover and attempt to remove the causes that make one out of five employees a problem case, the best approach will be to foster the spirit of helpfulness and introduce democratic management practices throughout the entire organization.

Staff counselors should not be used by the line to evade responsibility. The handling of difficult personnel situations should

not become the exclusive province of semi-isolated specialists. It is much better to indoctrinate the entire organization with both the spirit and the practice of progressive personnel procedures, so that everyone will react spontaneously along accepted and constructive lines when confronted by personnel situations that are hard to handle. Then it will not be a question of whether the employee goes to the staff counselor, to the grievance committee, or to his line supervisor; it will rather be decided quite naturally and automatically by the law of the situation, the determining factor probably being who is closest to and thus better able to deal with the individual in question.

The more cases settled on the line, the better. The staff counselors will recognize this when the personnel system is operating correctly. The line supervisors will know that certain cases must be handled by staff counselors and that this is not necessarily a reflection upon supervision. Above all, the approach must be such that any employee may feel free to speak his innermost feelings and thoughts with impunity and without being stigmatized as being eccentric or psychopathic. This will be facilitated if the entire organization is trained to take problem cases in stride instead of unduly emphasizing and making a fetish out of staff counseling as the fashion of the times.

A study of absenteeism at the Detroit Edison Company showed that supervisors of groups with low absenteeism were more receptive to the counseling idea than those who led groups with high absence records [1]. The former made themselves easily available to their men, and the men felt encouraged to approach the foremen on both job and personal problems. This finding is supported by studies conducted in insurance, railroading, and manufacturing industries. Supervisors of production units were more approachable and hence were more often consulted [1].

Placement

In view of the more complete treatment in Chapter 16, placement is mentioned here only to emphasize its relation to the mal-

adjustment of people who work. They frequently fail to do well because they are poorly adjusted to the particular position occupied at the time, and such maladjustment may be due to a variety of causes. Many people are not in a vocation that excites their interests and utilizes their capacities and aptitudes to the fullest. Some have the capacity and inclination to develop and assume additional responsibilities rapidly, while a great many more do not.

Many employees expect, and will work better under, a rather formal and authoritarian type of supervision, whereas others will be utterly crushed in spirit and unhappy if subjected to such influences. Some people work on their own without close supervision, while others need to be under the constant scrutiny of their leader. There are those who do not mind work that is a trifle dirty and which requires the wearing of a smock, yet many people rebel at it and much prefer a clean and decorative environment in which personal fastidiousness may thrive. One might be better adjusted to a particular work unit than another because of a temperamental clash with the supervisor or failure to be accepted socially by the workers.

The personnel department should have a placement unit that not only sees that new recruits are located in the proper job in the beginning, but also facilitates transfer of those already employed. Naturally, there may have to be some restriction upon permitting employees to shop around in the organization at will, because the constant breaking in of workers new to the job creates tremendous inconvenience and expense. However, an employer always has considerable investment in an employee, and it should be economical to use him in the place where he can be the most productive. Hence, the practice of facilitating transfers that are in the interest of employee happiness and production should be encouraged, subject to the controls necessary to avoid mass migration and excessive turnover.

Guard against abuse of transfer privilege. The establishment of control over transfers by the personnel department should guard against the abuse of the practice by supervisors who try

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to get rid of their problem employees by having them transferred to someone else. When this practice becomes common, supervisors are wary about accepting employees on transfer, because they expect them to be damaged, impaired, and hard to get along with. Furthermore, the old supervisor sometimes resents the implied questioning of his judgment when his superiors transfer an employee instead of following his recommendation to dismiss him. The approach to the handling of problem cases advocated in this chapter should dispose of them satisfactorily without the supervisors tossing the unfortunates from one to another in the hope of thereby getting rid of them, a practice that places a useful personnel procedure unnecessarily and undeservingly in disrepute.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the duties of a supervisor in dealing with persons who are poorly adjusted to job and hierarchy?
2. What were the findings in the Telephone and General Motors studies?
3. What are some common symptoms of functional disorders?
4. Whose job should it be to counsel?
5. How did du Pont psychiatrists deal with malingerers?
6. How should a staff counselor conduct himself toward the line supervisor?
7. Distinguish between grievances and emotional problems.
8. What counseling method is advised? Describe it.
9. Can a supervisor ever provide the permissive environment essential to successful counseling?
10. What is *catharsis*?

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Discipline

THE term *discipline* is used in at least two senses in general parlance. One usage seems to regard it as somewhat synonymous with "morale," as when an organization is referred to as having good discipline or poor discipline. As used in this sense, the term undoubtedly means the manner in which the members of an organization conform to the established rules and regulations that set the norms of operation. It is also concerned with whether they respond automatically, in good and willing spirit, or whether conformity is grudging, sullen, and intermittent. The chief controversy concerns the most efficacious methods of securing the desired conformity; some hold that it springs from the stern driver at the throttle, and others claim that it is a product of democratic response on the part of the social organization.

Disciplining: the case work of management

If discipline means the enforcement of, or conformity to, rules and regulations, disciplining has to do with the handling of their breaches. This is the case work and jurisprudence of management. If the case work has been well carried out, there should normally be no need for jurisprudence, or perhaps case work and jurisprudence cannot be separated, as the present trend in criminal procedure indicates. This chapter treats of "disciplining," which in turn concerns itself with the deviant behavior of individuals.

Disciplining is the line supervisor's job. The principal responsibility for dealing with such behavior should be lodged in the line supervisor at the significant level of immediate supervision, which normally will be somewhere in the range of second to fourth level from the bottom. The supervisor should feel secure in his approach to discipline from at least two angles, which may have common origins.

Supervisor needs support. He should know organizationally that it is his duty and responsibility to deal with disciplinary matters firmly, boldly, and, of course, wisely. He needs to feel secure in his own ability to carry through, and this security will not emanate from job descriptions that coldly list his responsibilities. He must be assured that his honest and competent efforts to do a good disciplining job will be backed up by his superiors at crucial moments. Moreover, he must be made to feel that should discipline cases enter the hearing stage, they will be judged upon their merits and will not be over-ruled by maudlin sentimentality or legal technicality.

Social organization must believe in and respect the rules of action. Questions always arise concerning the spirit, extent, or degree of enforcement that brings the optimum return. Should discipline be strict and severe, or tolerant and easygoing? The answer will not be found by locating a spot on a continuum between strict and easy, but rather in the fundamental nature of social organization. If the basic mores of an organization are developed in a manner that commands the respect and con-

formance of its members, disciplining should offer no special problem. The rank and file will observe these mores automatically and spontaneously and will demand that others do so. In other words, the concept of citizenship will prevail, and work-a-day organizations must be set up to develop the spirit of citizenship. ✓

A feeling of belonging is necessary. The term *citizenship* is used to mean that the individual recognizes his obligations to the community, that he must contribute in accordance with his means and talents. But such a feeling of obligation can be widely prevalent and deeply developed only in an organization where the individual has been given the opportunity to belong, and thus to contribute according to his means and talents. The members of such an organization will resent the failure of supervisors to live up to their disciplining responsibilities.

Laxness versus strictness. Employees do not respect supervisors who attempt to curry their favor by being lax in the enforcement of rules and regulations. There is undoubtedly a happy medium between undue laxity and excessive severity, but it is not to be found on the side of promiscuous failure to abide by the rules of the game. Those people-minded individuals who are motivated to enter personnel management in the belief that it offers an opportunity to relieve the suffering of oppressed working people must learn to be realistic as well as altruistic. ✓

The clash of stereotypes. There is a definite clash between the typical management belief system and the social service stereotype, and neither viewpoint is entirely correct. The result is that one must learn to be tolerant of the other. One side must learn that individuals count for something, if only as human beings; the other must appreciate the fact that a certain number of persons have to be handled with firmness and perhaps compulsion. Indeed, there is a very small number to whom the shock treatment must be administered, both for their own benefit and the good of the organization.

Discipline is by nature both social and individual. It is social in that its quality must depend on the social attitudes of the in-

formal organization as well as upon the formal logic of management. It is also individualistic in philosophy and clinical in method because it deals with human egos. Hence the approach to discipline is through both the individual and the group—not within the framework of a typical social agency, however, but in a management environment in which the latter will call the shots. To say that good group work and good case work cannot be accomplished under such conditions would be to despair of ever producing a desirable way of life under large-scale organization.

Strong leadership must be combined with social viewpoint. The answer cannot be stated in terms of absolutes, for we have large-scale industrial and urban life with us, and we probably cannot escape from it even if we so desired. Hence, the need is to reconcile the driving force, creativeness, and masterful ways of strong leadership with the social and individual needs of the vast preponderance of people in the world. We desire to retain strong leadership, but we also want it to stay within socially constructive channels. The problem of discipline is, then, one of reconciling the old rule of fear with the modern trend toward consideration for human sentiments. The approach will necessarily be fact-finding in method and therapeutic in nature; in other words, clinical.

Supervisor's power to discipline

In most modern large-scale organizations the immediate supervisor's power to take disciplinary action on his own account is limited. This again raises that vexing question of what constitutes the effective level of supervision, and casual observation seems to indicate that this may be at the second, third, or even fourth level, rather than at the first. Indeed, straw bosses and working supervisors are often severely restricted in their disciplinary powers, and many management people would defend such a situation. However, this does not mean that the immediate supervisors are forbidden to take any steps having to do with disciplining for, by the very nature of the situation, they

must handle such matters in the first instance. The power to impose the severest penalties, such as dismissal, transfer, and suspension, should be lodged in a higher level of supervision, but such a practice does not relieve the immediate supervisor of the responsibility for maintaining conditions that will produce a high state of discipline and the minimum need for disciplining.

Atmosphere of approval necessary. Democratic discipline must be exercised in an atmosphere of approval. Social conformity is always stronger and better enforced when it springs from the sentiments and feelings of the group itself. This does not necessarily mean that the rules and regulations of an organization must be framed and enacted by a worker legislature, although just this thing may be developing with the tendency to enlarge the scope and volume of collective bargaining contracts.

In the Rowntree Cocoa Works in England, which has had several decades of experience with a democratic approach to management, matters of theft and pilfering have been handled by a combined worker-management committee. This device should be applicable to all those situations where the product invites petty pilfering, as in the packing and handling of chocolates and candies [5, p. 25].

Industrial supervisors are limited both by law and contract in their power to administer discipline. Indeed, they must often secure the cooperation of the union stewards and officials in such matters. Civil service rules and regulations are more and more framed following conferences in which employee representatives have participated. In both cases the ultimate consequence of disciplining may be an open hearing at which both sides have complete opportunity to air their cases to the public and to make them a matter of public record.

Under such circumstances management has little choice but to pursue a disciplining policy that meets legal requisites and fits community attitudes. In disciplining it can go only as far as the social sentiment of both the community and its own employees will permit. Hence, the principal objective in maintain-

ing discipline is to lead the organization to establish and enforce its own proper standards of discipline.

How to discipline

A good day-to-day personnel job should reveal incipient personnel cases long before they reach the surgical state, but that is the seldom attained ideal. As was indicated in an earlier chapter, the natural human tendency is to shy away from unpleasant human relationships, with the result that supervisors wait for explosive tension to set in before thinking in terms of discipline. We should train our supervisors to recognize the personnel manifestations and patterns of performance that constitute harbingers of trouble and to prepare for that trouble well in advance of the time when it is necessary to make a disciplinary decision.

Orderly recording essential. Disciplining is becoming so juristic and legalistic in both concept and procedure that the supervisors should be taught to keep and prepare records that will constitute proof before a hearing board or tribunal. The recording of actual events, offenses, and transgressions should be full and complete. There are those who say that the personnel record system should be so well organized and complete that it would automatically produce all of the information and data that might be needed for any subsequent disciplinary case.

This point is perhaps most frequently advanced by those who are apprehensive about the selective gathering of records on cases in which disciplining is anticipated. In other words, there is some fear that data gathered on particular persons will be used to persecute them, even though their transgressions do not exceed those of others whose cases were not recorded. ✓

Legal type of proof necessary. Recognizing that supervisors may be subject to vindictiveness and may practice selective favoritism, it is nevertheless believed that modern juristic disciplining procedure compels the preparation of cases in much the same manner that the police and prosecutors prepare them in criminal law. This is not a happy situation and cannot fail to be distasteful to large numbers of people. But, as long as such dis-

ciplinary actions as dismissal, transfer, demotion, and suspension are subject to being overruled by administrative hearing and court review, there seems to be no choice other than utilizing at least elementary legal bases of proof.

Hearing and grievance boards usually require two types of proof. They want specific evidence of offenses or infractions of the rules at particular times, dates, and places. They want assurance that the supervisor has taken every possible step to warn, caution, help, and rehabilitate the worker. In other words, in addition to proof that the worker has not measured up to capacity, they want to know beyond reasonable doubt that the supervisor has lived up to his full responsibilities in the matter.

The good supervisor begins by preparing a memorandum record of events, circumstances, places, and witnesses at the first suspicion that ultimately a disciplinary action may have to be taken. It is well enough to state that the normal run of personnel records should reveal such data. But the fact remains that ordinarily they do not. Informal records must be made by the supervisor himself and kept in his own private files. This should not be interpreted as advocating that disciplining records should be secret. It merely means that the supervisor who is immediately responsible for discipline should maintain a running personnel memorandum to refresh his memory about occurrences and people, and that he should begin preparing that memorandum very early.

If tied in with the field review method of placement, such records would result automatically from the normal flow of personnel work. But we have not yet achieved this high standard of practice in personnel management. Supervisors do not yet evaluate their employees in a manner that would result automatically in recording the data needed for legal proof in disciplinary hearings.

The warning interview. Orderly recording of disciplinary matters has a usefulness entirely separate from legal proof, which is discussed in a following chapter on disciplinary procedure. The necessity for preparing those types of records that are needed

for legal proof stimulates the good supervisor to do things that ordinarily he would not do. For instance, most attempts to formalize the disciplining procedure provide for a warning interview, sometimes referred to as notice of unsatisfactory conduct.

Many organizations have a special form for this purpose which contains space for a description of the matter complained about and room for the signatures of the supervisor and other witnesses/ the functional supervisor, for instance. In addition, it usually contains a space for the signature of the employee. Signing is entirely voluntary upon his part, however. By signing the document he does not subscribe to the truth and accuracy of the statements, but merely attests that he was present and that he had actually been informed through interview with his supervisor about his alleged shortcomings. Note that the employee failed to sign the Lockheed form reproduced in the illustration.

Constructive aspects of record keeping. The Lockheed Commendation form represents the constructive side of supervisor-employee relationship. Personnel record-keeping should not become entirely a negative procedure in the employee's mind. Good performance should be recorded as well as bad.



LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT CORPORATION
CALIFORNIA DIVISION
BURBANK, CALIFORNIA

Commendation

This is to commend

JOHN M. BROWN

055578

of department 18-29

for

We wish to express our appreciation to you for your excellent attendance record. You have not been absent since April 15, 1953.

We know that you can be depended upon to be available when needed.

Supervisor

M. Heel

Dept. Head

Noble Neil

Date October 26, 1958

LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT CORPORATION

EMPLOYEE PERFORMANCE NOTICE

FOR EMPLOYEE PERSONNEL RECORD

19-21 DEPT. B-2 PLANT 1-D SHIFT

JOHN C. DOE

EMPLOYEE NAME

106687
EMPLOYEE NUMBER

COMMENTATION



CRITICISM



SUSPENSION

October 28, 1958

DATE ISSUED

STATEMENT OF CIRCUMSTANCES REGARDING EMPLOYEE:

You were requested to furnish your supervisor with the status of tooling in D/18-20 on 10-10-58. The information received from you and subsequently compiled into a report was approximately 90% in error owing to your failure to verify the information.

The purpose of this Employee Performance Notice is to provide a formal record of your action and to leave no doubt of the seriousness of your offense. You must realize that accuracy is of prime importance and any subsequent incorrect information will result in more severe disciplinary action.

SUSPENDED FOR _____ WORKING DAYS, EFFECTIVE _____

DATE _____ EMPLOYEE WILL RETURN TO WORK ON _____ DATE _____

WITNESSED EMPLOYEE REFUSAL TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF NOTICE

J. C. Doe

WITNESS

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE OR WITNESS DOES NOT IMPLY AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT. IT MERELY ACKNOWLEDGES DELIVERY TO THE EMPLOYEE.

SIGNATURE OF FULL-TIME SUPERVISOR WHO DELIVERED COPY OF REPORT TO EMPLOYEE

John Jones

SIGNATURE OF DEPARTMENT HEAD

C. R. Rance

EMPLOYEE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECEIPT OF NOTICE

DATE RECEIVED _____

Individual record book for each employee. Each employee may have a loose-leaf record book of his own that will contain carbon copies of personnel matters relating to his service. Should he become the object of discipline, the lower supervisor will record the interview in the employee's record book [2]. If, after correction, the supervisor still feels that the employee's service is unsatisfactory, a further record will be made on a special form in the employee's record book. This close recording of disciplinary and grievance matters is deemed necessary by virtue of the legal and juristic aspects imparted to personnel management by successive interpretations of the collective bargaining contract [9].

Interview should accompany making of records. Personnel people have been trying for a long time to induce line supervisors to interview employees about their shortcomings and to take steps that will be therapeutic and corrective in nature. Thus, recent attempts to put vitality and meaning into employee evaluation have tended to require that the supervisor discuss the rating



LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT CORPORATION

CALIFORNIA DIVISION
BURBANK, CALIFORNIA

Commendation

This is to commend

JOHN C. SMITH, #106687

of department 19-21

for

In recognition of the manner in which you have carried out your job assignment.

You have enabled the Cost Center to recover lost position by your extra effort and exceptional quantity of work turned out. Your supervision wishes to take this means of expressing appreciation.

Date 10-26-58

Supervisor J. Steel

Dept. Head Ray Phillips

with the worker concerned and show him the form on which judgment is recorded. Here again, the device of employee signature is utilized in order to force the supervisor to conduct such an interview. This device may be more often used in probationary ratings than with so-called permanent employees. When accompanied by training conducted on the conference basis, the requirement that he prepare such a record may act to stimulate the supervisors to take early cognizance of situations likely to require ultimate disciplinary action.

Get the facts

Every disciplinary action must be bolstered by possession of all possible facts. It may seem regrettable to many people that so much red tape is necessary, but there seems to be no choice in the matter. These facts should be placed upon the records ordinarily contained in the employee's folder, including the original application for employment. In addition to such personal data as birth and family, there should be a health history, educational history, work history, and information relating to merits, demerits, accident record, service report, and complaints. The results of tests should also be listed, and they should be supplemented by the reports of staff counselors and clinicians.

Interpretation of facts influenced by social context. The person who is to conduct the disciplinary interview would do well to consult with witnesses and other persons who have knowledge of the situation. Facts must be judged in the context of their social environment. What is the opinion of fellow workers and of other supervisors? Will all concerned in the matter agree on what are the facts? Is the structure of facts so strong that the respect of the social organization will be forthcoming, even though the decision may run contrary to its sympathies and sentiments? [10]

Training sessions should drill on fact-finding. Supervisory training will be lacking unless it strives to induce the supervisor to become conscious of the necessity for building a factual struc-

ture about each employee. Some firms have experimented with a check list that attempts to catalogue all of the possible aspects of a disciplinary situation. The difficulty is that many persons who are good job performers and natural leaders in the dynamic work situation are not inclined to be analytical and to make records.

The record structure. Every large-scale organization is constantly/struggling to have its employees prepare the basic records that are absolutely essential to carrying on its functions. The training of salespeople in department stores is largely devoted to instruction in filling out sales slips. Police departments are constantly endeavoring to secure the necessary records and reports from officers on the firing line.

Resistance to paper work. Almost universally, administrators are confronted with the fact that many good operators just do not write and will not do so unless placed under a sort of recording discipline. Most commercial firms have been able to achieve a degree of recording discipline in matters pertaining to such things as merchandising, inventory, and finance. However, the same recording discipline relative to employees has been only partially achieved.

Disciplining action can be administered only upon the basis of an orderly recording structure that produces the same facts about personnel as the sales department secures about merchandising. This recording must be done on an orderly and systematic basis and must become just as much a habit with supervisors as the preparation of sales slips is with salespeople.

It is only on the basis of data prepared in this manner that disciplining can become clinical in procedure and ultimately absorbed in the over-all placement process. If the organization possesses sufficient knowledge about people, a considerable proportion of disciplining can be obviated by the automatic operation of placement procedures. To sum up, the orderly recording of facts about people will facilitate fitting them into their proper niche in the organization.

Disciplinary interview

It was indicated in previous chapters that there are certain fundamental rules applying to the conduct of disciplinary interviews. They parallel rather closely features that are universal in clinical procedure, whatever the particular professional specialty may be. Furthermore, the approach suggested here applies not only to disciplinary situations in which a breach of regulations is involved, but to all of those face-to-face contacts between supervisor and employee in which there may be an element of strain or tension. These include a larger number of day-to-day relationships than most of us would like to admit.

Interview in private. The first rule, which is practically a law of human relations, is that disciplinary interviews should be conducted in privacy, out of the sight and hearing of other employees. There are two blades to this sword, however, because other employees will come to suspect that any visit to the boss's office is a disciplinary interview, and this creates a problem not easy to solve.

The proper solution may lie in making the placement approach to personnel management such a normal procedure that employees will not consider it an unusual matter when one of their co-workers is called into the boss's office or is seen entering a conference room ordinarily reserved for counseling interviews. Moreover, there is something basically wrong with supervision when the grapevine starts to buzz merely because the supervisor interviews someone.

Assume nonjudgmental attitude. The second principal rule relative to disciplinary interviewing calls for a nonjudgmental attitude and approach by the supervisor. This is particularly necessary when he is dealing with matters that are largely subjective in nature and that are based upon social values. Frequently, the causes of faulty worker performance are entirely different from those apparent upon the surface. In such instances an accusatory attitude will suppress cooperation and fail to reveal the actual source of the difficulty.

Much the same procedure should be followed even in those instances where the supervisor is in possession of the facts. To prove a clear breach of duty, it is much better to have the employee tell about it himself, voluntarily, than for the supervisor to reel off the objective facts and proof before the worker has had a chance to speak. A good technique is to state that certain things happened and that the supervisor would like to get the employee's version of what took place.

Let him save face. The normal person will profit much more from the consciousness of wrong-doing arrived at through his own mental and emotional processes than from the tongue-lashing of someone else. However, this must again take account of the fact that people vary and that in an exceedingly small number of cases a sharp verbal reprimand may be an acceptable form of therapy. Nevertheless, in the vast preponderance of disciplinary cases the nonjudgmental approach will be the best, and it is frequently efficacious to permit an offender to find a method of saving his face.

Supervisor should listen. The third general rule of disciplinary interviewing concerns the supervisor as a listener. The modern techniques of counseling insist almost universally upon the non-directive interview in which the interviewee is encouraged to talk about anything that comes to his mind and to let his thoughts flow freely for as long as he cares to keep going. Under proper interviewing conditions people have a way of revealing rather intimate things about themselves; they desire to unburden themselves of their troubles, to tell them to a father confessor. Moreover, they secure a certain relief from tension after blowing off this steam that has built up within them over a period of time.

This catharsis is accomplished more easily under ideal clinical conditions wherein the client is comfortably situated and talking to one who he is convinced is anxious and able to help. There are those who doubt whether the supervisor can ever assume the proper clinical relationship to the worker because of the former's position of authority over the latter. However, the supervisor should not be expected to deal with deep-seated personality

troubles. The professional staff clinicians should take over when individuals seem to be so afflicted.

Main responsibility on lower supervisors. The great preponderance of disciplinary interviews should be handled by the lower line supervisors themselves and their general approach should be that of the nondirective interview. However, it is doubtful that management will ever extend happy tolerance to a supervisor's devoting much time to long counseling interviews, nor will the mine-run of supervisors be inclined to perform according to such a pattern. Indeed, it is doubtful whether it would be desirable to encourage them to do so, because there is some reaction even among the clinicians against excessive probing into private affairs. There is, however, an optimum factual situation that can be revealed sooner than was thought possible by advocates of the exhaustive laissez-faire interview. The supervisor does not need to take over all of the techniques of clinical psychology and social work. It is probably sufficient to be nonjudgmental in approach and to adopt primarily a listening manner.

How much social involvement? When he is required to take disciplinary action, the supervisor may find himself automatically in an embarrassing situation if he becomes too intimate and sentimental with the employee. The strong personality in the position of hierarchical authority must always find himself confronted with this paradox. He must get close enough to his subordinates to know their strength and weaknesses, their capabilities and aptitudes. He must be sufficiently close to them sentimentally and emotionally to command respect and loyalty. Yet the reverse side of the paradox compels him oftener than he would desire to make unpleasant and distasteful decisions about individuals. This is an inevitable concomitant of life as a supervisor, and it cannot be escaped by one who would live up to his responsibilities.

The placement and clinical approach to personnel administration that is advocated in these chapters would go far toward ameliorating his lot in this respect, but he can never be relieved of the responsibility for making certain decisions, even when he

knows that individuals will be made unhappy by them. The fundamental hypothesis of this chapter is that there is a middle ground on which the supervisor uses clinical techniques in his broad general approach without abandoning his responsibility to be courageous and firm when circumstances require.

Discuss the act rather than the person. Still another rule of disciplinary interviewing counsels that the supervisor discuss the act rather than the person when criticizing poor work or a breach of regulations. This tends to place the interview upon a basis that is impersonal enough to permit the employee to open up. If used in connection with the nondirective interview and if the facts in the situation are clear and unquestioned, the very discussion of the act itself should relieve the supervisor of the necessity for resorting to personal criticism. By concentrating upon the act, the emotional overtones will be minimized.

Often it will be sufficient to refrain from saying who committed the act, the supervisor merely stating that it occurred at a certain time on a particular day and that he is merely looking for further facts. Such an approach may be sufficient to induce the employee to talk and reveal motivations or ameliorating circumstances that did not come out before.

Employee who may have influence with higher-ups

Supervisors are often diffident about approaching discipline cases in which the employee has real or imaginary protection or influence. One is accustomed to regard this as a phenomenon more characteristic of government, but it is not absent in industry, especially in those cases where the founding family has been a clan blessed with prolific progeny. It is not unusual in any type of large-scale organization—church, social agency, factory, or government bureau—for people to be regarded as having influence higher up.

Follow objective fact-finding approach. The objective fact-finding approach is the most fruitful procedure for the supervisor to follow under these conditions. The first thing to do is to ascertain whether or not the employee really does possess protection

and influence. If the answer is in the affirmative, the next step is to find out who is the protector and to what extent he will go in defending a protege against disciplining.

Discuss the matter with alleged sponsor. Over the years, in discussing this matter with administrators, the writer has received uniformly the opinion that the supervisor should go directly to the sponsor and appraise the situation from the vantage point of face-to-face dealings. If the preliminary reception results in the establishment of confidence on both sides, the supervisor should proceed to apprise the sponsor of the facts that indicate the necessity for disciplining. In most cases, the sponsor probably will deny any responsibility for protecting the employee and authorize the supervisor to proceed to deal with the situation in the proper manner. The moral is that the supervisor should not: (1) permit an employee to hold alleged sponsorship as a defense against disciplining and (2) refrain from taking the necessary disciplinary action even when sponsorship may be genuine.

Therapy and treatment

The placement hypothesis as an approach to personnel administration means that ultimately management must take some responsibility for treatment and therapy. It envisages a social approach to management in which every person will be regarded as having an occupational niche that is based on legal right as well as sentiment. This is merely realistic recognition of what is actually occurring in America today.

We have declared and practiced as public policy the principle that everyone shall be taken care of and that if private industry will not do so by direct employment, it will nevertheless bear the burden indirectly through its tax contributions. Business in general cannot escape responsibility for supporting those who are economically marginal but who could be rehabilitated through proper therapy. The question is whether it is better to conduct the therapy on the job or to institutionalize the patient at general social cost.

Management of the larger corporations is beginning to accept this philosophy of personnel management. Although Macy's pioneering venture in the 1920's did not survive at its original intensity, Dr. Anderson's book is still fresh in viewpoint [1]. Today, companies such as Metropolitan Life, General Motors, du Pont, and Caterpillar Tractor are dealing with employees' mental problems through company medical facilities.

Competitive business enterprise will be reluctant to build up large staff services that cannot demonstrate in some way that they are paying for themselves. Wartime operations provided cost cushions large enough to maintain extensive personnel operations. Counseling and therapy must be justified upon the ground that they constitute indispensable ingredients in an over-all personnel setup that can be justified on a money-making basis.

While, undoubtedly, a growing social consciousness will be partially responsible for adding clinical specialists to personnel staffs, recognition of their economic value from an over-all business standpoint will also result in their addition. As it becomes increasingly realized that good supervision and employee relations can come only through devoting constant attention to human problems, there will be greater willingness to accept the professional specialists in these problems.

STUDY QUESTIONS

- '1. What are the two senses in which the term *discipline* is used?
2. Why is disciplining the "case work of management"?
3. Do employees respect lax supervisors? Explain.
- 4. How much power to discipline should be given a supervisor?
5. What is meant by "democratic discipline"?
6. How does one go about getting the facts in handling a disciplinary case?
- , 7. State briefly the rules for disciplinary interviews.

8. Is there any advantage to be gained by studying the act rather than the individual?
9. How would you handle an employee who may have, or claims, influence with higher-ups?

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Grievance procedure

GRIEVANCE procedure is, in many respects, the heart of personnel management in unionized industry. It has been referred to as “the daily adjustment of individual rights” [7, p. 280] as well as “a continuous process of problem solving” [9, p. 22]. Those matters that have formed the basis for grievances over the years have been written into the collective bargaining contract, accumulating until that document has become exceedingly fat with detail. The more aggressive unions have desired a part in normal grievance procedure and have organized themselves at the work level in order to facilitate their intimate participation therein.

The shop steward system. This participation has been accomplished by the inauguration of a shop steward system wherein one of the employees who is on the full-time payroll, not of the union but of the employer, spends at least part of his time on

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union business. Frequently the contract provides that he may spend a specified period, perhaps an hour a day, on union business without deduction from his pay check.

Job evaluation questions loom large. Under large-scale factory production, the great bulk of the grievances seem to tend to cluster around questions of job evaluation, or *position classification*, as it is called in public personnel administration. Plants with incentive pay based on time-and-motion study will tend to have the industrial engineers closely associated with personnel management. This is a very natural result of influences that group the industrial engineers, union representatives, and the personnel men with the lower supervisors in trying to iron out the daily controversies relative to job evaluation.

A study of 1003 grievance cases over a ten-year period at the Bethlehem Steel Company plants revealed that over three-fourths were related to wages, job classification, or seniority. The wage grievances dealt dominantly with hourly or incentive rates. The seniority grievances tended to be concerned with layoff, downgrading, or "bumping," and promotion [2, p. 3].

The grievance system as a political weapon. The more aggressive type of union desires to enter into grievance situations in order to seem to be accomplishing something worthwhile for the individual membership. This is especially true in plants and industries where the relationship between management and unions can be characterized as an armed truce.

Competition for worker loyalty. The union does not want management to get too close to the workers, whose sentiments of loyalty it wants attached to the union rather than to management. Management representatives told me that this was the reason for abandoning counseling in southern California aircraft industries during World War II. The unions were apprehensive that the counselors would be used as instruments to fight unionism and to make employees loyal to management rather than to the union.

These observations should explain at least partially the reasons why grievance procedure in unionized industry tends to become

a three-way negotiation among union representatives, foremen, and personnel men. The setting is informal, dynamic, and often very tense. Nerves may be so taut and the issues so potentially explosive that a handful of workers will strike unlawfully, closing down a factory employing tens of thousands. Such is the environment for grievance procedure in aggressive, militant, and dynamic industrial unionism.

Practice differs in public administration. Although most governmental personnel setups have a formal grievance system on paper, public administration has as yet not developed the industrial grievance pattern pictured above. The assumption has been that civil service has furnished the public employee protections, benefits, and advantages superior to those enjoyed by people doing similar work in private employment. Moreover, public employees have not, except in rare instances, been unionized into a single employee organization that could speak for all. In general, the shop steward system has not prevailed. Indeed, it is probable that in most governmental establishments of the past, any employee who would presume to act as a shop steward would find himself regarded by management as a presumptuous troublemaker.

The federal agencies have elaborate appeal systems, although considerable dissension exists. A congressional committee reported that employees and their organizations were critical of the length of time taken to settle some cases, and that there was widespread distrust of agency grievance procedure [10, p. 5]. Bills continue to be introduced in Congress requiring federal agencies to bargain collectively according to the industrial pattern. Furthermore, one hears that union business agents are receiving increasing acceptance in some governmental industrial undertakings such as Naval shore establishments. It seems probable that the industrial grievance pattern will emerge in at least blue-collar jobs.

Civil service philosophy needs rethinking. Objective examination and inquiry should be directed toward the assumption that civil service law automatically gives employees more protection

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and advantages and presumably more work satisfaction than they would obtain doing similar work elsewhere. Personnel practices in industry have become so improved and humanized in the last quarter century that the alleged advantages under civil service may in many instances have been entirely eliminated, and there may even be cases of a deficit against governmental employment. But what does all of this have to do with grievance procedure?

The orthodox tenets of civil service religion run to the effect that the employee is given job status and security by law and is afforded a maximum of legal protection in the enjoyment of that status. The spontaneous and automatic result should be that the employee is happy, contented, and therefore has no grievances. To be sure, there may be minor job dissatisfactions that he can take up with his supervisor. If they become highly aggravated, he can even appeal them to a civil service commission or through a formalized grievance procedure. But the stereotype of civil service management usually runs to the effect that he has no reason to make himself troublesome. He has job security, so what else does he want? The fact remains, however, that even under a system of legal job security employees do become bothered about many things.

Open door policy

An informal grievance procedure sometimes takes the form of the so-called "open door" policy, wherein any employee may enter the door and state his complaint to anyone in authority, including the general manager himself. People in top management positions may be completely sincere in their desire to be accessible; however, the law of the situation operates to make executives inaccessible for employee complaints.

Social distance too great. The sociological concept of social distance operates to maintain both formal and informal social distance, the formal distance being the several steps in the hierarchy that the employee will have to skip in order to get to the higher executive. The informal social distance is manifested by

the disparity in environments. On one side it consists of overalls and machines or an anonymous desk doing an anonymous job with papers, ink, and rubber stamps. The employee is in a warm social environment of constant and intimate interaction with people at work. The executive, on the other hand, is isolated behind receptionists and secretaries; he works in an atmosphere of corridors with soft rugs and special lighting. The contrast in status symbols is such as to awe one and repress complaints and grievances.

Time not available. Even though the employee overcomes these first obstacles, he will find that the executive is tremendously busy and may not be in town for days, after which his appointment book is filled for some time. This may be the case entirely without subterfuge and with full intent on the executive's part to give ample time to any employee.

They live in different worlds. People on the higher management level frequently find themselves temperamentally, socially, and ideologically so far removed that they show impatience with worker complaints, even when they had intended not to. What seems to the worker the most irritating circumstance of his life appears to the executive to be a minor detail unworthy of his time, a situation, perhaps which the executive had been able to take in his stride earlier in his career, and he feels that other men should be able to do the same. There is a proper time and place for higher management to enter into the grievance procedure, but the answer to employee dissatisfaction will not come through the mere good intentions of top management to listen to any employee who may care to come in with a complaint [5].

What are grievances?

The great preponderance of grievances can be classified under the heading of problems of job evaluation, which is another way of saying that they are related to considerations of compensation and pay. Closely associated with questions that are patently of a job evaluation nature are a set of grievances that usually bother employees as a class rather than as individuals and

which can be settled upon the basis of setting standard policies. Examples are the allotment of overtime assignments, the allocation of vacation periods, and the assignment of shifts.

There is a tendency on the part of both union officials and supervisors to dodge unpleasant grievance situations by resorting to precedent and rule. That is why the bargaining contract and the rule book grow ever fatter [9, p. 27 ff.].

Psychic grievances. There is a grievance area where causes are inexplicit and undefined. The problem is extremely complex, and any remarks or generalizations about it would be only partial truth. In part of this area management is at least somewhat responsible for the grievance, and in the remaining area responsible only to a minor extent. Where management leadership has been indifferent to the human factor over long periods of time, a number of psychic grievances can arise even in a situation where pay is fair and physical working conditions are above average. In these situations, even the persons regarded as superior performers may have built up within themselves wells full of the bile of resentment.

Sensitivity to interpersonal relations. Little matters that could have been explained away by simple communication from management become magnified in the minds of individual workers as enormous grievances. To management these matters were merely the logical outcome of the necessity of the situation for which no one should have any reasonable cause to complain. Anyone who did so stamped himself by that very act as being a cantankerous person and troublemaker. It would be quite easy to call people together and explain why certain things had to be as they were, thus conforming to Mary Follett's law of the situation, but no one had ever set forth the logic behind management's actions.

Secretiveness and the management mind. Social psychologists should explore the tendency to be secretive about things where there is absolutely no necessity for secretiveness. Simple observance of the procedures of consultative management would automatically prevent, in a great many instances, the type of griev-

ance that is seldom voiced but builds up internal pressure that bursts when the blow-off point is reached.

Hold the lid down tight. Several years ago, during interviews conducted as background for this chapter, a surprisingly large number of persons questioned the advisability of the supervisor's spending very much time listening to grievances. There seemed to be the apprehension that grievances expand in geometric proportion to opportunity given for voicing them with impunity. The way to keep them from multiplying is to prevent their being voiced and to isolate them from each other. This is akin to the belief that if you give an employee an inch, he will take a mile; if you grant one employee a request, it will be merely the beginning of countless numbers of requests with no end in sight, the defense against which is to discourage all requests by maintaining considerable social distance.

The troubled and fretful employee. The grievance area most difficult to deal with has to do with the mental meanderings of people who may fall into two categories: first, people who are normally adjusted to life but are undergoing personal difficulties that interfere with their adjustment to work; and second, people who are not normally adjusted to life and who constitute the problem cases referred to in an earlier chapter. This is obviously an over-simplification, because previous investigations have indicated this problem to be exceedingly complex.

There is still another situation wherein an employee is not well adjusted to the social factors having to do with his job. His relationships to his fellow workers disturb him mentally and emotionally, and this may be corrected by putting him in another social environment. Ofttimes the source of the worker's dissatisfaction is not apparent to him, which raises a difficult problem for the supervisor.

Marginal employees

The extent to which the management of a production organization should concern itself with the rehabilitation of the marginal population will probably always be a matter of debate.

Marginal workers are those who do not in all respects satisfy desirable employment standards. The manager who has a job to do is impatient about taking time out to repair his human tools. He wants them ready to operate when he employs them. In this respect he should not be blamed too much, because it is a rather human reaction if viewed from his own cultural setting.

Yet people who are considered to be normal in most respects often suffer from inhibitions, persecution complexes, anxieties, apprehensions, and jealousies that adversely affect not only themselves but their fellow-workers. Mental hygiene is something that is needed not only by the fringe groups but, at various interludes in their lives, by people who are ordinarily regarded as normal. It seems reasonable to believe that as the frontiers of knowledge in this particular sector are expanded, as is taking place to a very rapid extent, both preventive and therapeutic measures will automatically become an acknowledged feature of management practice.

The rule versus the case. Orthodox management procedure of the engineering variety will use the standardized approach to formulate uniform policy in those areas where it is applicable. The consultative approach, with worker participation through representatives of their own choosing, will tend to create more general satisfaction in these matters. There will also be a recognition of the clinical principle that people differ in a great many respects and that diagnosis and treatment must be differentiated.

In the beginning, the sum total of complaints on the part of workers may seem unduly large in those situations where the lid has been clamped down against complaints in the past. However, as good personnel policy becomes more evident both as to intent and practice and as employees know that they can voice their dissatisfactions with impunity, normal operating situations will tend to prevail. The number of complaints and grievances will tend to be set automatically at the point where the number is large enough to keep the supervisory organization on its toes and small enough to leave time for other phases of supervision.

The whole matter of grievances offers problems that cannot be differentiated from those phases of supervision discussed in the last few chapters. In the handling of grievances, the supervisor follows roughly the clinical approach. The vocational training courses and the manuals on supervision set the pattern that has already been stated in previous chapters and is reiterated here at the risk of repetition.

The supervisor's part

Most grievances can be and should be settled between the supervisor and the aggrieved worker. However, the good supervisor will not resent having a case appealed over him but will encourage the employee to do so if the supervisor cannot reach a settlement. The fact that a grievance is appealed beyond an immediate supervisor does not necessarily reflect upon his ability as a supervisor. This seems particularly wise advice in view of the fact that a formal hierarchy of appeals will not succeed if workers fear to make the appeals. The supervisor should be approachable and should make himself available to employees. If he is too busy to give the matter immediate attention, an appointment at a stated time and a specific place should be made then and there.

Listen to employee's story. The supervisor should hear the complaint through, refraining from assuming a defensive attitude. The grievance has often arisen as a result of some action of the supervisor, and the employee is attempting to state his case; therefore, it is the supervisor's role to remain quiet and to listen until the employee has talked it out. The supervisor should be a calm, interested listener. One remarkable fact that has come out of two decades of contact with practitioners is how closely their experience correlates and coincides with the theoretical concepts of the clinical disciplines. This is especially true of the cathartic effect of being able to talk freely to someone in the hierarchical structure about one's troubles.

Supervisor should hide own feelings. Grievances have a way of settling themselves and vanishing if the supervisor can listen

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without a show of impatience and resentment and if he can refrain from making judgments and oral reprimands. The very process of being permitted to spout volubly to one who has some power of judgment over him often causes the employee to think through and see his predicament in a more objective light. The first few minutes of his discourse will be charged with passion, emotion, and resentment, but as he realizes that he is talking to a calm and composed person who is making some effort to be objective, and even friendly, he realizes the necessity to establish a factual basis for his complaint. As emotion and passion subside, two or three things can happen. Sometimes the aggrieved employee has had a complete catharsis, which means that his grievance has vanished during the telling and listening process. He may even come up with his own solution to the problem.

One peculiar result may be that he will thank the supervisor for giving him such good advice, even when the supervisor has not opened his mouth. However, this catharsis will not always produce a quick and immediate cure. Nevertheless, the listening process will have served to calm the disturbed employee's emotions and will clear the atmosphere for constructive action, even in those cases where the employee still believes himself to be aggrieved. The supervisor will always be thankful that he was calm and composed and that he listened patiently when his actions relative to the employee are questioned during subsequent appeal procedure.

Try to reach agreement on the facts. Every effort should be devoted toward concentrating the attention of both the supervisor and the employee upon the factual and objective aspects of the grievance rather than on those that are personal and subjective. They should strive to reach an agreement upon the facts and to ascertain whether each is talking about the same set of data and circumstances [4, p. 137].

It is often advisable to write them out so that both have the opportunity to ascertain whether the facts they have talked about are the same when stated in writing. The process of writing them out should not be regarded as part of the formal griev-

ance procedure but merely as a device that the foreman and aggrieved employee utilize in an effort to reconcile and coordinate each other's concepts of the facts under discussion.

When a cool analysis of facts arrived at jointly by the supervisor and the worker reveal that the latter was more at fault than the supervisor, it may be desirable to offer an opportunity to save face. The device of face-saving, while commonly attributed to the Oriental character, also has its place in management relationships. If the interview has resulted in therapy and the employee has arrived at a more constructive opinion, it is well to give him an honorable way out. A face-saving device often used to secure the cooperation of one's superiors is to plant the seed of an idea and cultivate it until the superior adopts it as his own. The clever supervisor may be able to do the same thing when talking to an aggrieved employee; that is, to lead the latter to believe that he had proposed the constructive action.

Refrain from hasty action, but do not vacillate. The authorities all agree that the supervisor should refrain from hasty action. He should weigh the facts from all angles, attempting to place himself in the position of an outside observer. If there is any element of passion or anger involved, decision should be delayed during a period long enough to permit cooling off. Every effort should be exerted to avoid snap judgments. Frequently the facts will stand out in a different perspective when people are given a few hours to cool off. Ultimately the supervisor must make a decision, and he should be prepared to defend it. While he may find that he was wrong, and occasionally have to change his mind and decision, the supervisor should try to be right before he acts. Vacillation is interpreted as an evidence of weakness and breeds disrespect. The strong leader gains respect by his reputation for fairness and justness. Being fair and just frequently requires one to act firmly in matters that cause discomfort, disappointment, and pain to at least a few people.

Must be able to say "no." There is a phase of the people-minded stereotype that regards askance any action that causes unpleasantness for others. Experience on the management side,

however, indicates that if one is to be fair and just he must be required to say "no" from time to time. Thus, the good supervisor is probably acting entirely within the framework of justice and fairness when he fails to recommend particular salary increases or upward evaluation of jobs. He may be entirely fair and just when he tells the chronic absentee that further offenses must result in suspension or dismissal. In summary, there comes a time in the grievance procedure when the supervisor must make a decision that he is prepared to defend both to his superiors and before an appeal tribunal.

Strong supervisors do not hide behind alleged lack of authority. There is some tendency on the part of weak supervisors to take refuge in their alleged helplessness. To most people who have worked in a large organization, a familiar response will be the excuse that the supervisor would gladly comply with the employee's wishes if he had the necessary authority. The supervisor should distinguish between personal grievances and requests for change in policy. Even though the supervisor did not make the policy complained against, it is his duty to set forth the basis for the policy and not try to explain it away as something handed down by some vague and distant entity referred to as "top management." If the supervisor's explanation of the policy does not justify it in the employee's mind, then he should be able to resort to some channels of communication to voice his dissatisfaction with such policy.

Formal grievance procedure

Wherever there is a formal personnel system, a written procedure for the handling of grievances usually exists. Industrial collective bargaining procedure is fairly well standardized and often is stated in the contract [12, p. 754].

Almost without exception they provide that grievances should first be taken up with the immediate supervisors. The collective bargaining agreements often specify that conferences with the supervisors should be in the presence of union representatives. This is due not only to the fact that the unions often do not trust

the supervisor, but also in part to the desire of the union officials to show results to both present and prospective members.

When aggressive and militant unionism has won a hard-fought victory in a sector previously not unionized, the relationships between management and the union may remain militant and pregnant with mutual distrust for several years. In these instances the union will often use every possible device to cement the individual loyalty of the worker to the union and to alienate it from management. It will be distrustful of the humanistic personnel practices introduced by management to woo its employees. That is why some contracts provide that the shop committeeman or steward shall be present when a grievance is discussed between an employee and his immediate supervisor.

In governmental jurisdictions, where collective bargaining usually does not exist, the place of the union representative is not so well defined. As a matter of fact, the presence of a union representative in the initial presentation of a grievance would probably be resented in a considerable portion of the jurisdictions. Federal written procedures usually state that an employee may present his grievance either individually or through representatives of his own choosing.

Grievance procedure provides a second step wherein the aggrieved employee may appeal to a higher supervisor. This second step is of tremendous importance because it usually deals with a matter upon which an employee and his immediate supervisor are at serious odds. It will often be advisable to discuss the case in the presence of both the employee and the supervisor from whom the appeal is made. Under collective bargaining, representatives of the union will be present. There is often a point in the procedure, either at this second step or the next one, at which representatives of the international union, as contrasted to local union officials, enter the grievance procedure.

It is fairly common practice for a representative of the personnel department to be present in this second phase, and in highly-engineered industrial plants the job evaluation people and rate setters may also join in. A grievance procedure that

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plods endlessly up the supervisory hierarchy without ever reversing a lower supervisor is bound to fail. There must be times when a higher supervisor will be compelled by the facts and circumstances to reverse his subordinate. This will require the utmost skill in face-to-face relations. An arrival at the facts and a full explanation of policy that the immediate supervisor may not have understood will often result in a satisfactory settlement to all concerned.

The superior should find some method for saving the face of the lower supervisor when he goes back to the work group after having his original decision reversed.

The grievance machinery. On the other hand, the laws of chance foreordain that the wisest of people will make mistakes in at least a minority of instances. It is at these times that the supervisor will have to draw upon his resources of mental and emotional maturity and admit error. The decision at this second step should be placed in writing both for the purposes of record in case of appeal and in order to classify issues and substantiate the judgment in the minds of those concerned.

The current tendency is toward a shortened grievance procedure involving three steps, although sometimes as many as five or seven are provided in the formal contract or regulations. In its survey of collective bargaining in the office, the American Management Association was able to postulate a typical three-step grievance procedure as follows [1]:

EMPLOYEE	MANAGEMENT
<i>Step 1</i>	
1. Aggrieved employee (with or without department steward)	1. Employee's immediate superior (not member of unit)
<i>Step 2</i>	
1. Aggrieved employee	1. Immediate superior (above) (and/or department head)
2. Department steward	
3. Grievance chairman	2. Office manager (or assistant personnel director)

Step 3

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aggrieved employee 2. Department steward 3. Grievance chairman | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Immediate superior (above) (and/or department head) 2. Personnel director (and/or assistant personnel director) 3. Office manager 4. One or more other representatives of management |
|---|--|

The first step will usually be quite informal, although it is well to be prepared to present all of the evidence that would occur in a hearing of the more formal type. It is well for the supervisor to handle all grievances from the beginning with the possibility in mind that each may be appealed. In such hearings the higher supervisor becomes a hearing officer acting in a quasi-judicial manner. The lower supervisor tends to become a witness. If it is a grave disciplinary case in which the employee may suffer penalty, the lower supervisor takes on somewhat the role of prosecuting attorney.

Formal procedures usually permit appeal from the decision of the intermediate supervisor to the department head or some chief administrative officer. Somewhere along the line there is an opportunity for the quasi-judicial type of hearing. Industrial grievance procedure tends to be dynamic and negotiative during the hierarchical phases or steps.

Arbitration becoming more important. Collective bargaining contracts frequently provide for arbitration of grievances that cannot be settled by negotiation, and arbitration procedure tends to become quasi-judicial in nature. As a matter of fact, this is becoming an area of controversy between lawyers engaging in labor practice and management consultants not legally trained, particularly economists and industrial engineers. There have been some attempts on the part of attorneys to secure the enactment of laws excluding those who are not legally trained from at

least certain phases of labor practice. On the other hand, there are those who deplore what they believe to be a corruption of the original intention of the arbitration process by making it conform to the lawyers' concept of trial procedure with its atmosphere of contentiousness. They say that arbitration procedure should not be judicial in nature but should be informal and conciliatory rather than formal and judgmental.

Supervisor must be prepared to present proof. The increasingly judicial nature of personnel administration has influenced the role of supervisor by requiring that he be prepared to furnish substantial proof to justify his actions involving the personal fortunes and destinies of employees. This means that he must become a keeper of the type of records that will refresh his memory and serve as proof when he may be called upon to defend his actions before a higher supervisor, the personnel director, a grievance committee, an arbitrator, or a civil service commission. The following chapter deals at greater length with this phase of the supervisor's job.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is a grievance?
2. To what subjects do most grievances pertain?
3. Why does civil service philosophy relative to grievances need rethinking about?
4. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the "open door" policy.
5. What is the supervisor's part in grievance procedure?
6. What are the steps in formal grievance machinery?
7. What is the place of arbitration in the grievance process?

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The hearing

THE new personnel jurisprudence is gradually emerging as a pattern with semi-judicial procedure and a definitely legalistic aspect. The great labor statutes and collective bargaining agreements, together with civil service rules and regulations, have established a set of basic personal rights and liberties and a procedure akin to due process of law in the management realm. The chief effect of this development upon supervision is to deprive the supervisor of any powers that he may once have had to deal arbitrarily with employees.

The story is told about a proprietor of a restaurant of many years standing who was talking to a friend when they both heard the loud crash of a tray of dishes. The restaurateur said to his friend: "Formerly, I would have fired him on the spot, but now I ask him if he was hurt." There are those who deplore this eventuality and regard it as a crippling blow at management's

inherent and vital prerogatives. Some would say that it is impossible to maintain discipline under a regime wherein an erring employee has the right of an independent hearing.

The attitude taken here is that one must be realistic and accept the fact that the judicial phase of personnel management is here to stay. Even those who deplore the passing of the olden days of unfettered management prerogative must accept the facts as they are. However, it is our contention that there is a much more optimistic, constructive, and creative approach, characterized by training the lower supervisors to use the clinical procedures described in the preceding chapters. This should accomplish two purposes: first, it will settle the maximum number of disputes at the working level, as should be the case; and, second, it will encourage the type of fact-finding and record-keeping that will present the supervisor's case most favorably in the few instances when issues reach the stage of hearing before grievance committees, arbitrators, labor relations boards, civil service commissions, and courts of law.

Legal type of proof required

These hearings tend to follow the pattern of procedure observed by administrative tribunals, which, in fact, they are, particularly if they should happen to be workmen's compensation commissions, national or state labor relations boards, or civil service commissions. Although such tribunals do not follow procedure of courts of law in technical detail, they demand a similar type of proof. If an employee is alleged to have erred, the specific facts of dereliction must be established by the testimony of eyewitnesses and by the written record. The lower line supervisors, as well as the functional supervisors, inevitably become the star witnesses. Frequently their role is not dissimilar to that of the complaining witness.

Importance of records. The result of this situation is that progressive personnel management requires the supervisor to be an objective record-keeper. He must be prepared to show by record that Joe Doakes was late to work on particular days and that

he was warned on particular occasions, or that Mary Jones had been counseled relative to insufficient production and poor spelling in her typing copy job. The supervisor must also secure the testimony of others, sometimes several weeks or months after the event.

Employees are often reluctant to testify against the interests of a fellow-worker, with the result that the supervisor must keep records to refresh his memory as to who was present on a particular occasion and who witnessed specific instances of dereliction. Unless the proper record is built, one that identifies people with places, situations, and dates, time will disintegrate the memories of participants, and they will be content to avoid the emotion-packed controversy of the hearing.

Job security as a factor. A wide variety of personnel actions reach the hearing stage, but a typical example is the dismissal hearing involving organizations in which legal job security exists. There is probably no personnel action that distinguishes the successful executive from the weak executive more clearly than the manner in which he faces up to the necessity of separating someone from his job. Organization is dynamic in competitive industry, people in the top echelons constantly being replaced because of failure to meet the exacting demands of their jobs.

Under job security systems such as civil service and in some unionized industries, the complaint is made that management efficiency suffers because of the difficulty in establishing the normal movement of people required by a healthy organization. It is said that people who fail are frozen in their jobs. It is our contention that this is not necessarily and inevitably so, that supervisors can be trained and the organization conditioned to separate people from their jobs with comparative ease if the good of the organization demands it.

Pressures upon the supervisor. What are some of the pressures that tend to make dismissal difficult? There is the general reluctance of people to face up to the unpleasantness that is involved. The result is that dismissals are delayed long after the time when action should have been taken. The higher supervisor

who must usually take the brunt of dismissal action must undergo an emotional reaction that may lead to insomnia, high blood pressure, and ulcers. Every eye in the organization is focused on him; at any rate, he feels that this is so if he has normal sensitiveness. Moreover, the tendency of the group to sympathize with the underdog prevails, even though the underdog may be at fault. That is why people develop reserve and coolness in their contacts as they rise to positions of higher authority in an organization.

Analogy with the surgeon. There are a few extraordinary people who seem naturally endowed with the capacity necessary to balance human warmth with surgical coolness, but they are rare. Everyone who has demonstrated the ability to lead under competitive conditions has had to act as an administrative surgeon more often than he has desired. Like the surgeon, he has had to remove a badly functioning or infected organ in order to restore the body to normal health. Unlike the surgeon, however, the supervisor does not have anesthesia to relieve the pains of severance.

Although the analogy of the supervisor with the surgeon fails at some points, it has some validity as a standard of supervisory conduct. The supervisor should have at least some of the surgeon's coolness toward the pain that he is causing momentarily. Moreover, the supervisor, if properly trained and working within a satisfactory management environment, is not without substitutes for anesthesia. These include early diagnosis and treatment, tackling a problem boldly in its early stages, utilization of staff services, proper attention to the placement aspect of the case, and handling the matter in a way that will result in the least possible disturbance to others. Following good practice in this respect will not only reduce the patient's pain but should have an actually soothing effect upon the supervisor himself.

The informal social organization. Most cases of outright dismissal create considerable disturbance in the informal social organization. It was indicated early in these chapters that the eyes of all workers are focused upward on their superiors and

that a universal apprehension of authority prevails. It is only natural that under these conditions the anxieties and tensions should be magnified when it is known that a fellow employee is being dismissed. He will normally have presented his side of the affair to his fellow workers and often his narration will have distorted the actions of the supervisor. The grapevine will perhaps carry considerable misinformation. Almost all people are aware of, and sensitive to, these situations, a sensitivity which accounts for the widely prevalent reluctance to handle dismissal cases and resorting to subterfuges such as transfers, "kicking upstairs," altering the flow of work, or abolition of the position.

Disciplinary transfer. A common method of getting rid of an unsatisfactory employee is to have him transferred. Older supervisors are so aware of this trick that they are suspicious of anyone who comes to them on transfer. However, when transfer is fitted into a placement and guidance program it can be a device possessing considerable merit.

Kicking upstairs. This device is more often used in the higher levels where prestige and connections make outright dismissal inadvisable. "Kicking upstairs" means getting one out of the way by promoting him to a higher-sounding position where, in fact, he can do less harm to the organization. When an employee has the respect of the internal organization but has aroused the ire of influential outsiders and clients, some disciplinary action must be taken to appease the clamor against him, so his title and duties are changed to satisfy both him and his opponents.

Assigning his duties to others without changing job title. There are cases in which it is even impossible to change the title and job description of a person who is not fulfilling his duties. The device frequently used in these instances is to alter the flow of work so that it will go around him, perhaps through a younger and competent subordinate in whom he places confidence. Another method of getting rid of a person is outright abolition of the position, but it is to be accomplished with great caution in civil service jurisdiction. The courts have often frowned upon the subterfuge of transferring the duties of a dismissed person

to another position with a different job title but retaining some of the old duties and tasks.

Negotiated resignation. Generally secured as a substitute for outright dismissal, the negotiated resignation may be more widely used as a means of evading a hearing in jurisdictions where such procedure is required if the employee so requests. There are those who hesitate to extend wholehearted endorsement to the procedure, largely on the ground that it is a subterfuge utilized to cover up poor supervision. Had the inadequacy or maladjustment of the employee been noted during the incipient stages, adequate training, placement, and guidance procedures could have resulted in good job adjustment. If transfer were needed to accomplish this end, such transfer would not have been the blind transfer of desperation which foists bad goods upon an unwilling fellow supervisor; instead, it would have resulted in planned diagnosis and adjustment without eventual dismissal.

Those who object to negotiated resignation say that it is actually a falsification of records. It does more harm to personnel administration in general than the shock of dismissal would have brought about to the employee. The harm to the organization comes from the fact that when the new employer inquires into the past employment record, the incident shows up merely as resignation that was ostensibly voluntary. The result is that successive employers or supervisors play a game of tossing hot potatoes to each other, each receiver being unaware of the sting in store. If some organization had lived up to its responsibilities early in the business career of the employee, he might have been made into a useful member of employment society.

There may be instances where employees will be requested to resign but hesitate to do so, preferring to take their chances on the results of a hearing. If the dismissing officers under these circumstances still feel that it would be advisable to have a negotiated resignation, those experienced in these situations say that it can still be accomplished. If the recalcitrant one is confronted with documentary evidence and is convinced that the

airing of such evidence in open hearing would be to his personal disadvantage, he will resign. The entire matter is tied up with the care and detail which go into preparation of the record.

Dismissal hearings

The atmosphere of a dismissal hearing is supercharged with emotion. Many supervisors refrain from bringing dismissal charges because of past experiences when they have felt that they have been on trial rather than the employee they seek to dismiss. The employee is frequently represented by an attorney who attempts to establish that the supervisor was biased, prejudiced, and himself guilty of wrongful acts.

Such hearings are conducted on a semi-judicial basis in which there are sworn witnesses both on the side seeking to prove dismissal charges and on the side of the employee. Because of the very nature of the matter under consideration, these witnesses are supervisors and workers, members of both the formal or informal organization where the alleged misdeeds were committed. As these people gather in the same room, sentiments and resentments surge within them in accordance with the predispositions of each.

The social atmosphere is tense, emotion-packed, dynamic, and potentially explosive. While the attorneys and referees will attempt to adhere in some elementary manner to the jury trial rules of evidence, the testimony will nevertheless come out in the form of narrative statements. There will be accusation and cross-accusation, aggressiveness and diffidence, objectivity and passion. The net results will be an emotional experience that no one will ever seek to repeat if it can possibly be avoided.

Reasons for dismissal

The increasingly judicial nature of dismissal procedures has required dismissal officers to seek causes for dismissal that are as concrete as possible. There is an increasing trend to require legal proof that specific wrongful acts were committed or that there were actual instances of misfeasance, malfeasance, or

nonfeasance of duty. The result has been that both collective bargaining contracts and the rules of civil service jurisdictions have tended to list specific charges for dismissal.

Contract provisions. A recent survey indicates that collective bargaining contracts are becoming more specific in their provisions relative to causes for dismissal. While it is still the vogue to use some general wording such as "just cause," the following are mentioned increasingly: violation of company rules, violation of contract, incompetency or failure to meet work standards, absenteeism, intoxication, dishonesty, wage garnishment, insubordination, and sabotage [6, p. 23].

Civil service requirements. The following is a composite list of reasons for dismissals selected from a number of civil service provisions [5, p. 82].

1. Incompetency and inefficiency in performance of duty.
2. Wanton carelessness or negligence.
3. Damaging public property or wasting public supplies.
4. Bribery.
5. Dishonesty.
6. Brutality and offensiveness toward fellow employees and the public.
7. Permanent or chronic physical or mental ailments or defects impairing proper performance of duty.
8. Violation of any lawful or official regulation or order.
9. Insubordination.
10. Refusal to testify before a commission.
11. Being convicted of a criminal offense or of a misdemeanor involving moral turpitude.
12. Conspiring to commit an unlawful act.
13. Employment elsewhere during working hours.
14. Failure to report to work without reason.
15. Failure to report back to work after a leave of absence.
16. Failure to pay just debts without reason.
17. Engaging in political activities during working hours.
18. Using or attempting to use political influence to secure promotion.
19. Conduct unbecoming an employee.
20. Immoral conduct.
21. Drunkenness on duty or habitual intemperance.
22. Causing public scandal in the service.
23. Causing a low morale in the organization.

Causes in 1000 arbitration cases. The Bureau of Labor Statistics analyzed 1000 discipline cases which were arbitrated under collective bargaining contracts between the Bethlehem Steel Company and the United Steel Workers of America during a ten-year period 1942-1952 [2]. From this experience may be gleaned certain advice which could be useful to supervisors who must handle discipline in a juristic environment, that is, where the right to appeal exists, and where the appellate agency has the power to over-rule the supervisor.

The employee should have been warned, in advance, of the consequences flowing from the actions for which he was disciplined. The rules must have been enforced consistently and uniformly; a supervisor should not have imposed a penalty for violation of a rule which was seldom enforced. Moreover, all should be treated alike; penalties should not be imposed on some and not on others. Rules should be reasonable. Arbitrators will uphold the right of a workman to talk back to a foreman, but the right of free speech does not involve (1) incendiary propaganda tending to incite religious, political, or racial antagonisms, or (2) using abusive language when addressing a supervisor.

Almost half the cases were related to some aspect of work performance. The basic principle governing such cases requires the employee to exercise "due care" in job performance; he must exert that type of attention and performance which a reasonable and prudent worker would put forth. Here again the employee should be told of his shortcomings. The arbitrators also tend to support the employee in those instances where poor performance was due to defective equipment and where the employee had called management's attention to the defects.

The insubordination cases involved two categories of behavior: refusal to obey orders and abuse of supervisors. Where the evidence was relatively clear and uncomplicated, the arbitrators tended to uphold discipline for these cases.

Presenting the supervisor's case

Must furnish specific data. It will usually be necessary to prove that specific acts of wrongdoing or dereliction of duty actually occurred at particular times and at stated places and were witnessed by persons other than the supervisor bringing the charges. For instance, it will not be sufficient merely to say that the employee was drunk on duty at 5:45 P.M., February 23, of a particular year. Furthermore, in order to secure dismissal it will ordinarily be necessary to show that this was habitual and that separation from the service as a last-straw step, taken reluctantly after a series of similar events, specific cases and deeds, all of which have been listed and verified by witnesses. Here is where the supervisor's diary record mentioned in previous chapters is of primary importance, because it will refresh the supervisor's memory relative to these occurrences and the persons present.

Supervisor's case must be very strong. This reemphasizes the tremendous importance of following and keeping records as the basis for proof. Ordinarily the case against the employee must be overwhelming when it is being tried before a civil service commission made up of laymen. There is a tendency for a certain type of laymen appointed to civil service commissions to display sentimentalism that prevents them from affirming a dismissal except in cases where the evidence is overwhelming against the employee. The grapevine reports throughout the hierarchy that it is no use dismissing anyone because the commission will always reinstate him regardless of the seriousness of the offense. The result is that no outright dismissals are brought and cases involving severe discipline matters are handled by disciplinary transfer, negotiated resignation, and other subterfuges. The general morale of the service suffers because the infected members of the organism remain to infect others instead of being severed by skillful surgery.

The foregoing characterization of the attitudes of some civil service commissioners toward dismissal hearings should at least

partially exonerate the lawyers from the current tendency to legalize personnel administration. The fact is that lay commissioners seek intuitively the same kind of proof that court procedure has evolved slowly throughout the ages. It must be specific, it must relate to actual incidents, it must be corroborated by eye witnesses among whom are those without a personal interest in the matter, and it must be substantiated, insofar as is possible, by documentary records.

Must show that help was given to employee. It is necessary for the supervisor to show in the first place that he attempted to take some remedial steps, that he apprised the erring employee of his shortcomings at some date considerably prior to the actual incident that precipitated dismissal.

Must have given warning and notice. Some employers, in an effort to influence supervisors to refrain from acting while in a fit of momentary anger, have prepared special forms, sometimes referred to as "notice of unsatisfactory performance." The form should be filled out by the supervisor in the presence of the offending employee. There is a space for stating in specific terms just what happened and what warning was given to the employee. There are places for the signatures of both the supervisor and the employee. The latter's signature is usually accompanied by a printed statement to the effect that such signature does not necessarily constitute an admission of the truth of the charges but merely acknowledges that the supervisor said these things in the presence of the employee at that particular time. In case the employee refuses to sign, there is usually some other witness to the interview, such as a functional supervisor who attests to the fact that the interview was held and that the employee was warned.

Usually the dismissal does not occur at the time of this original warning but waits for a second offense, and at this time the employee may be suspended pending hearing on dismissal. A notice of dismissal will be sent by registered mail with a return card that may be offered in the hearing as evidence that the employee actually received notice of suspension or dismissal, as the case

may be. The notice of dismissal informs the employee of his right to a hearing, provided that he makes formal application within a certain number of days. The hearing usually takes place rather promptly, practically always within the first month after notice of dismissal.

Dismissal hearings are open to the public and their proceedings become a matter of public record. The testimony is recorded verbatim, either by a stenographer or a mechanical recording device, and typewritten transcriptions may be prepared. There is now a tendency toward having the testimony taken by referees, as is generally done by administrative tribunals. The proper role of the referee in taking testimony has been so well developed and defined in the procedure of administrative tribunals in general that their employment probably will not jeopardize the substantial rights of employees. The referee merely hears the evidence, admits and refuses testimony, and presents a summary. The lay commissioners are usually expected by law to have read all the testimony before rendering their final decision.

The role of attorneys. There is some controversy as to the proper role of attorneys in dismissal hearings. The employee who has appealed his dismissal is always free to bring his attorney to the hearing, and frequently he does so. It is common industrial arbitration practice for both company and union attorneys to take part. There are those who deplore the resulting atmosphere of contentiousness. On the whole, the entry of lawyers into these dismissal hearings has probably served a good purpose in that it has forced better preparation of cases on the part of dismissing officers. This naturally raises the question as to whether the appointing or dismissing officers should be represented by an attorney. Sometimes it is a duty of the law officer to act in this capacity, in which case he becomes a sort of prosecutor.

The use of an official attorney as prosecutor is a matter that will have to be worked out in each jurisdiction on the basis of its own experience and the availability of lawyers who have

aptitude for this kind of work. Some organizations have had sorrowful experiences because of the inability of lawyers to adapt themselves to the requirements of informal hearings. Sometimes, in the expectation that they will have to defend it in subsequent appeals to the courts, they have been excessively conscious of the need to build a sound record of testimony. In other instances, persons who are by temperament fitted to be office lawyers have been injected into the dynamic hearing situation with small success. Sometimes the official attorney has felt compelled to seem neutral. Some organizations have found that it is just as effective to develop a member of management to present dismissal cases before lay commissioners. Certainly the proper preparation of dismissal cases and their presentation at hearings should constitute an integral part of supervisorial training.

Climate fraught with emotion and sentiment

The supervisor who originated the dismissal proceedings will be confronted with countercharges aimed to damage him in the eyes of the hearing officials. This is the time when he will engage in some soul-searching into the sources of his own emotions, especially if he has at some time been provoked into harsh language and emotional reprimand in the presence of fellow employees.

Should avoid show of bias. Hearing officers tend to be especially on the outlook for indications of malice, prejudice, and sadism on the part of the supervisor. The commissioners are just as reluctant to take action adverse to the employee as are supervisors and therefore look for loop holes in the case presented by the management side. The supervisor must convince them that he is emotionally stable and acting objectively on the basis of facts. This re-emphasizes the necessity of commencing treatment of problem cases early, because failure to do so will inevitably reveal itself in clear perspective during dismissal hearings.

Early errors come home to roost. There is still another respect in which dodging the issue of early diagnosis and treatment will

show up at a hearing to the supervisor's disadvantage. The dismissed employee or his attorney will remember or uncover every expression of approval of the employee or his work. It is at this time that loose and evasive supervision stands out in bold outline, much to the embarrassment of the management case.

A not uncommon example is presented in the "good" or "satisfactory" /efficiency rating just prior to dismissal. It may be a relatively routine incident for an employee deserving of dismissal never to have received an unsatisfactory rating, so perfunctory is the rating process in many agencies. Here the supervisor may wish that he had adhered to the credo of the personnel staff, using the rating period for counseling purposes. The hearing officer or tribunal will wonder why an employee deserving dismissal today should have been rated satisfactory, or even good, a short while before.

Those in charge of the case for the dismissed employee will also submit every piece of evidence available tending to show that the supervisor approved or praised the employee at some former date. It is common for popular lecturers and writers on morale to say that not enough praise is dispensed by supervisors. The reverse side of this picture is the experienced supervisor's knowledge that expressions of praise and approval may reappear to haunt him in a context entirely extraneous to the circumstances currently under consideration.

Praise should be judicious. The higher one goes up the hierarchical ladder, the cooler he becomes to the human situation. We then speculate as to whether or not this is a case of the chicken or the egg: whether people who can act coolly in the midst of human passions tend to rise in the hierarchy or whether successive burning of one's fingers in the fires of experience results in reduced warmth toward the personal affairs of individuals. One suspects that singeing one's digits in successive painful affairs tends to produce the wariness and caniness so characteristic of higher supervisors. Certainly the lesson is not to caution supervisors to refrain from dispensing praise, but rather to insist that they do it upon an objective basis with full

realization of the possible consequences that it may have upon both the employee and the service. Never to be condoned is the half-hearted word of praise or the written documentary approval that a weak supervisor dispenses as a maneuver to avoid the responsibility of facing up to problem situations. This brand of evasiveness will be particularly apparent in a poorly prepared dismissal case, and the hearing officers will be among the first to perceive the faultiness of the supervision.

Difficulty of dismissal

A survey conducted by the Civil Service Assembly during a recent twelve-month period indicated that it is not so difficult to dismiss an employee from public service as is sometimes supposed. As a matter of fact, weak supervision will take removal procedure as an excuse for evading its just responsibilities. In the jurisdictions covered, 13 per cent of the employees dismissed appealed their cases and the appeal board upheld the dismissing officer in two out of three of the cases, but when the number of cases not appealed is counted, the dismissal action prevailed in over 95 per cent of the instances. Less than 1 per cent of the cases were appealed to the courts; and of those decided during the year, seven were upheld and two refused. Although the write-up of the study tended to minimize the charges that it is difficult to dismiss an employee under civil service, the fact that civil service boards uphold only two out of three may be an indication that the supervisors have fairly estimated what they are up against in dismissal hearings [1].

Supervisors should feel secure in taking disciplinary action. There must be general toning up of the entire personnel management setup if supervisors are expected to take dismissal action where indicated. They must be sure that they will be backed up when they can show that they were acting in the best interests of the service. This backing should come not only from their own chiefs in the hierarchy, but from a sense of security in the knowledge that appealed cases will be decided upon an objective basis. There is an essential truth in the man-

agement stereotype which it is necessary to inculcate into both lay civil service commissioners and judges on the bench. The difficulty with a laissez-faire system of loose personnel administration is that the human element and sentimentalism enter the picture at the wrong time. Under a placement approach to personnel administration every effort is made to adjust the individual to his proper place in the organization from the very beginning of his employment, to develop him, treat him, train him, and adjust him as a human being. Only those cases that are patently open to proof will ever come to the hearing stage. The normal personnel procedures will have reacted spontaneously and automatically to pathological conditions just as nature constantly does in biological organisms.

Undue sentimentality worse than legalism. One of the principal difficulties of civil service dismissals is the sentimentalism often demonstrated by the lay commissioners. Ascribing this attitude to political motivation is only partially true, if it is true at all. The civic-minded citizen who would have no hesitancy in dismissing a person under the same circumstances in his own business will often become sentimental and refuse to uphold such a dismissal when acting as a civil service commissioner. This mental quirk is so prevalent that it is worthy of investigation and research. It is difficult to know how to deal with the situation other than by the procedure suggested in this chapter, namely, the preparation of cases so airtight that the evidence must overwhelm the commissioners. In recapitulation, this must be accompanied by a placement approach to personnel administration in which incipient problem cases are discovered, diagnosed, and treated before they become festering sores, with the result that dismissal will always be recognized, both by the commissioners and the organization as a whole, as a last resort.

More scientific approach needed

Research in the field of the physical and biological sciences has produced ways and means of diagnosing and curing pathological conditions that will ruin the entire organism if allowed

to persist. There may have been considerable reluctance to have one's appendix removed a half century ago, but today it is an accepted operation. Furthermore, the methods of diagnosis have advanced to the point where simple blood analysis will indicate whether surgery is necessary. There was skepticism toward this procedure even in the medical profession in the early days, just as today there is a reluctance on part of the management sector to adopt scientific methods of personnel management.

The answer to the problem is one of research and training. Every personnel staff agency of considerable size should have a trained social scientist who has carried on both basic and applied research in this area. This research must be associated with a training program tied in with employee relations. The entire management approach should be a combination of placement, supervision, training, and personnel research, coordinated so that it is difficult to tell where one begins and the other leaves off.

The management process will be so toned up that supervisors will not hesitate to remove employees who should be removed. The normal management processes will have built up to this situation by gradual degrees and will have established such a solid foundation for the action that it will appear to be the reasonable thing to do, whether viewed by higher management or by those who sit in judgment on appeal.

Management and the lawyer

There is a fundamental clash between the manager's stereotype and the lawyer's stereotype, particularly as applied to public administration, although it is not absent in the field of unionized industry. Labor lawyers and management consultants not legally trained have made conflicting claims concerning the right of the latter to represent employees in the various types of matters arising under the labor laws enacted in recent years. Management thinks in terms of discretion, freedom of action, economy, and efficiency. Management is impatient with the necessity to follow established procedures where it sees a way

to cut through the red tape and facilitate a desired end. Management places great emphasis upon inventiveness, self-reliance, individualism, creativeness, and imagination. Hence, it is impatient when it runs up against the obstacles of rule, regulation, and the necessity for the type of documentation that produces accountability and is needed for judicial proof.

The legal mind is trained to think in terms of precedent. It interprets the rules of the game as they are laid down in the law, and in Anglo-Saxon countries these rules have been distilled from the wisdom of the ages handed down through centuries of decisions rendered by courts of law. In applying this clash of stereotypes to the dismissal situation, the most clear-cut example sees the manager wanting to fire an employee because it is perfectly obvious that he cannot do his work, that he is incompetent, and that he is guilty of dereliction of duty. These facts are so patent to the representative of management that he sees no reason why the employee should not be sent away at once without compunction and ceremony. The legal stereotype says "No, you will have to go slowly and pile up proof and evidence of the same kind you would secure if you were a policeman trying to convict a criminal. You will have to confront the accused employee and inform him of what he is guilty and that if he so desires, he may appeal to an independent body. Before that tribunal you must be prepared to become the prosecuting witness, and the mere allegation of incompetence or wrongdoing will not be sufficient without clear and convincing proof and documentary evidence." Now this is not the lawyer's fault; in fact he is rather blameless when it comes to responsibility for such a state of affairs. However, it does place the lawyer and the paraphernalia of his trade in the heart of personnel administration, with the result that the attorney who tends to be a procedural-conformist and a strict-constructionist may find himself in temperamental clashes with the dynamic manager prizing his right to make his own determinations in personnel matters.

The preceding discussion of the legal phases of dismissal was intended to bring out the desirability of some training in per-

sonnel management for lawyers who are destined to engage in labor and personnel practice. In the industrial field there has been some complaint that the arbitration hearing process has been distorted and steered away from its original objective and usefulness by making the arbitration hearing processes conform to courtroom procedure during jury trials. The difference is fundamentally between the lawyer's method of establishing facts and the researcher's method. *Lis inter partes* is a dispute in public between two parties, and the lawyer is trained to represent effectively one or the other parties to the contention. The result is that his method of proof is planned in a setting of argumentation and contentiousness, and this he carries over into dealing with labor and personnel situations.

Management would like to make its decisions in an atmosphere devoid of contentiousness; however, the management stereotype is losing both to the labor unions and to lawyers. The collective bargaining process has been, and often still is, one of tremendous contentiousness. Management seems to have no choice other than to reconcile itself to juridical processes. The problem is to make these processes more amenable to the management needs of society, and one pathway thereto will be to make the lawyer more cognizant of the needs of good personnel management.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Explain such terms as "personnel jurisprudence," and "due process of law in the management realm."
2. What is the essential difference between an administrative hearing and a court of law? In what respects are they similar?
3. What kind of proof should the supervisor be prepared to furnish in a disciplinary hearing?
4. Criticize the author's comparison of the supervisor and the surgeon.
5. What are some alternatives to dismissal? Evaluate them.

6. What principal causes for dismissal have been written into contracts?
7. What kind of proof or evidence has been favored in industrial arbitration cases?
8. Discuss the importance of records as proof.
9. Explain the part which clinical supervision may play in a disciplinary hearing.
10. What is the role of attorneys in disciplinary hearings?
11. What is the atmosphere frequently encountered during dismissal hearings?
12. What is meant by the statement that the supervisor's "early errors come home to roost"?

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Six

SELECTION
and
TRAINING

Setting up a training program

FOR several decades, many large industrial firms have given some attention to the development of supervisors, but two particular influences in that direction have been at work during recent years. The first is the obvious rise of the labor movement with its many-sided relation to the supervisor's job; the second has to do with the increased mechanization of production, with the resulting need for more highly educated supervisors.

Impetus given by labor movement

The labor movement has affected the development of supervisors in at least three ways: (1) it has made management more aware of human relations and the necessity for giving some attention to the training of supervisors in this respect; (2) there has been the crisis relative to the status of foremen—whether

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they belonged to management or to labor, how management might capture their loyalty, and their amenability to unionization; (3) the unions were beginning to attract some of their own indigenous leaders to careers in the union hierarchy, even to the point where some refused promotion to supervisory jobs in order to retain their union status. In such instances the union culture and attitudes triumphed over management culture and attitudes, much to the amazement and chagrin of management. Events and motivations of this nature have brought those in charge of large corporations to realize the desirability of inaugurating some sort of program for the purpose of instilling better human relations throughout the organization.

The need for more highly educated supervisors

The influences forcing the need for more highly educated supervisors have been so widely commented upon in these pages and elsewhere that only passing recapitulation is called for here. As pointed out by Warner and Low for the shoe industry, the hierarchy of craft skills has been breaking down under the impact of mass production [10].

New skills replace the old. Skill has been migrating from the hands of the laborer to the test tubes of the laboratory and to the engineer's drafting board. It has affected the source and supply of foremen in two ways. First, the supply of skilled journeymen who formerly became supervisors has been dried up at the source, with the result that the production process does not in itself produce persons with sufficient know-how to perform all the supervisory tasks. Second, with skill drifting to the laboratory and drafting board, there has been an increase in technical supervision, sometimes referred to as "functional supervision," and the college trained specialists have more and more drifted into positions of line supervision.

Planning the training program

The advanced planning of supervisory development programs is relatively new. In the last twenty years many industrial firms

have embarked upon well-planned ventures in this field; but in general, prior to World War II, effort was largely confined to activities such as the planned induction of college engineers and business school graduates and the development of officers in the Army and Navy.

Former selection methods described as shamefully ludicrous. As late as 1946 a management consultant described prevailing methods as follows: "Consider for a moment the common method of an appointment to the lower management group. It is shamefully ludicrous. Usually it takes place after a frantic meeting in which somebody decides a department needs more supervision. Several of the best workers are selected as candidates. Job knowledge is always the first requisite; in some plants seniority comes next. After some discussion which may disclose that none of the candidates is suitable, one is chosen. Today a worker; tomorrow a manager. Little wonder that so many flagrant violations of the laws of good management are committed. For not even an exceptional person can successfully stand up against the many and complicated business problems of today without training. Think of the results when the appointee does not even possess potential ability—and there are many such cases . . ." [5].

Ascertaining the need. The question is often asked concerning what opportunity exists for promotion to supervisory positions. The answer lies partly in the fact that most large organizations have one supervisor for approximately every eight to twelve employees. Here we are using the term "supervisor" as in previous chapters, any person who is in formal leadership over others, from the general manager on down. It seems fairly accurate to say that 10 per cent of the working population is always employed in some sort of supervisory capacity. If one includes lead men, straw bosses, and clerks who work in small teams of three or four, the ratio may be one to five or six.

The fear of building false hopes. In many training programs, there is the problem of insufficient opportunity for leadership in the organization. The disastrous consequences of building

false hopes may be greater than the inertia of no development program at all. Drucker has made the point that small organizations may soon reach the saturation point in the development of leaders, having on hand a group of malcontents who were deliberately encouraged by management to aspire beyond existing opportunities.

Large organizations can absorb all competent people. Drucker goes on to state that in a large organization, such as General Motors, this problem does not exist because of the vast range of opportunities existing in so far-flung an industrial empire; but the problem of the development of supervisors in organizations employing a few hundred is vastly different from the situation in industries employing many thousands [4].

Rigorous selection eliminates misfits. Most organizations have a portion of persons whose ambitions exceed their abilities. Anyone who has been around a university campus is familiar with the perennial graduate student. He is usually beyond his youth, going toward middle age, and is always taking another course. He has probably had a spotty employment record. Unable to obtain or hold a job commensurate with his aspirations, he clings to the hope that his shortcomings will be overcome by further academic study. He uses the latter as a shield to hide reality.

Production organizations have counterparts to these misfits. The practical man of action is perhaps too often ready to explain that their weaknesses are due to excessive intellect and to use them as whipping boys to resist the introduction of training. Intellectual ability, however, is only one of several competencies desirable in a good supervisor. That is why no training program should be inaugurated without a series of selection hurdles similar to those described in the following chapter.

Many are reluctant to become supervisors. There are those who for one reason or another are unwilling to accept the responsibility of being a supervisor. Some may not want to move out of the social organization to which they belong as workers but must leave if they become supervisors; in other words, the acceptance of the supervisory responsibility would alter one's

entire system of interpersonal association with other human beings. To some people this would be a sacrifice not commensurate with the benefits to be gained. Others become mentally depressed by responsibility. Their cases may be constitutional in foundation and subject to medical diagnosis [11].

The opinions of a number of industrial executives indicate that a sizeable proportion of employees do not want to become supervisors. Of those questioned, 35 per cent said that rank-and-file workers were often reluctant to become foremen. A search for the reasons behind this situation revealed the most likely causes as: inadequate pay differentials between foremen and journeymen, the greater security of the rank-and-file job, satisfaction with the present job and income, and desire to avoid responsibility [9].

The conclusions drawn from this survey led to the statement of three principles for overcoming reluctance to become supervisors.

1. Establish an attractive pay differential between foremen and the rank-and-file. Iron out differences due to overtime for the latter.
2. Inaugurate and maintain a planned program of supervisory selection and training. Look for ability to lead people and maintain good relations. Prepare a man to become a supervisor before he actually undertakes responsibility.
3. Make foremen genuine members of management.

People can be trained to accept responsibility. Often people do not accept responsibility because they have not been educated for it and are immature in relation to it. They must experience a gradual growth in their feeling of security toward their own superiors in the organization. Willingness to accept responsibility, while varying from person to person, can nevertheless develop by a gradual process, the basic element of which is maturation.

Can it be taught?

Is skill in human relations and supervisory leadership teachable? The answer is that such training can be helpful within the

limitations permitted by the organization itself. If the fundamental conditions of the daily job are composed of relationships characterized by stress and pressure, there is probably little that training can do to alleviate the situation. This is but another practical and homely example of the anthropological position that behavior is conditioned by custom and culture rather than by biology [1].

The social climate sets the stage for acceptance or rejection. There seems little need to embark upon either sustained or sporadic programs of supervisory training unless the organization permits the social prerequisites for their success. These have been discussed many times in the preceding chapters. They include simple items such as:

- two way communication
- generation of a sense of belonging
- dissemination of complete information about the organization and its objectives
- maximum possible participation
- recognition of the dignity of the human being, even though he may be occupied in menial tasks

Once having established such a social atmosphere or climate, it is possible to go ahead with a supervisory development program that will literally make even the least accomplished person rise tremendously in stature. This has been demonstrated experimentally in the field of educational psychology.

Plan the organization structure

Organization structure should be analyzed. The experience of large industrial enterprises indicates that any successful supervisory development program must be preceded by a survey of the entire organization structure. It seems to be agreed that the foreman should: (1) be regarded as a member of management and (2) spend all of his time on management tasks. In order to approach supervisory development on a systematic basis,

it is necessary to know what the foreman is expected to do and to introduce some element of uniformity into the foreman's job wherever he may be located.

The accomplishment of this objective may require some streamlining. Thus Ford, in its postwar reorganization, found it possible to substitute three levels of line supervision for the eight which had existed hitherto [6]. General Electric has developed a simple job requirements form to be filled in by the manager who has a position to be filled [2]. Fisher Body has found that in order to predict future need for supervisors it is necessary to identify the jobs that are supervisory in nature, which of course requires continuing organization analysis [12].

Organization planning is a recognized fundamental in most successful executive development programs. The point has been aptly made that it is not possible to plan for the rearing of future executives without knowing: (1) what duties they will be called upon to carry out, and (2) how many will be needed and when. The organization manual has become a tool for furnishing this information in the Standard Oil companies of both California and New Jersey and their affiliates. [3].

Du Pont makes use of wall organization charts which it calls the "Organization Control Board." Each board contains a ticket for each employee, showing information about his personnel record and availability for promotion. This is coded in order to save space and maintain secrecy. It permits a system of signals relative to matters such as scheduled promotions, scheduled retirements and terminations, potential to advance, and training requirements [8].

The need for constant evaluation of personnel. It must always be remembered that organization consists of people as well as jobs. There is no need to evaluate jobs unless one also evaluates the people who are to fill them. An effective organization control system must in some way depict judgments which have been made about people who fill the boxes on the chart: this one has high promise for promotion to high executive responsibility; another is not doing well and is on probation; still another is

satisfactory where he is and will be permitted to ride out retirement; others are scheduled to undergo specific training procedures. Constant evaluation of performance and potentialities is an essential and integral part of every training and development program.

The struggle against seniority

The social sentiment of the organization favors it. There is a constant, magnetic and almost irresistible pull in the direction of seniority for the choice of people who are to occupy supervisory posts. The circumstances and influences governing this phenomenon are so familiar that they require but brief recapitulation here. The sentiment of the social organization is usually overwhelmingly in favor of the recognition of those from within rather than an outsider. In addition, people are so doubtful that their superiors can be objective when judging other people that they tend to favor what they believe to be the only objective measure of competence, namely, seniority.

Belief that bosses play favorites. Workers believe that members of management play favorites and that they are just as amenable to subjective and halo influences as are parents with their children. Coupled with this unwillingness to believe in top management's objectivity in judging people is the universal sentiment that proficiency and competence are obtained only by experience and that schooling is at best a poor substitute for time spent in actually doing the job. One passes from novitiate to the inner sanctum and then to grand master, taking the degrees one by one and in their logical steps. Obviously, the only one fit to supervise under such conditions is he who has taken all the degrees and has become a sort of grand patriarch.

Can education substitute for experience? According to the mores, it is preposterous and outrageous even to toy with the idea that classroom training or education could shorten the ritual. This cultural phenomenon, which applies rather universally to people who work, has no particularly bad effects in the old crafts like the building trades, where the foreman jobs are often

rotated among the journeymen and where there has been a period of apprentice maturation and elimination. The chief difficulties are encountered in the unskilled and semi-skilled walks of life, where the vast majority of workers belong and where people are attempting to establish personal security by inflating artificially the importance of their jobs.

Promotion by seniority stifles competition. The principal objection to such a system is that it prevents the most competent from rising as rapidly as perhaps they should. In government, talent is often discouraged by the length of the ladder, and it goes to seemingly greener fields in business and industry. The second result is that people who are not naturally gifted at human relations or administrative work are appointed to supervisory posts. The status system of the hierarchy coupled with the economic incentives pertaining thereto requires persons with great technical skill to strive for such hierarchical status.

A question of social values

Being a supervisor has social prestige. This is beginning to cause some problems in organizations where the basic production processes are grounded in scientific, technological, or professional knowledge and skill. The solutions can come only by altering our status system and scale of values. Does the great surgeon have to become a hospital manager or dean of the medical school? Must the accomplished developmental engineer become director of research? Or can the master cabinet maker become happy only when he is made foreman of his shop?

Action and command versus intellectual pursuits. The hypothesis is ventured here that we are now in the state of civilization wherein action and command have more status prestige than intellectual and scientific skills. Admiral Mahan, perhaps one of the most renowned names in American Naval history, was a contemporary of the elders of the present generation, yet he did not become an admiral until after his retirement, and then by act of Congress. His concept of a naval war college where officers would attend graduate school was resisted for many, many years.

He was humiliated on sea duty by superiors who sneered at his intellectual approach to naval education and development. He was not regarded as a sea-going officer fit for command and was subjected deliberately to a test of his nautical skill under rather trying conditions in the closing years of his career [7].

This instance is chosen as rather typical of the low status value and negative prestige often attached to the intellectuals inside an organization that places great value upon the practical and action aspect of its operation. The increasing importance of natural science is altering this situation, but the superior prestige of the man of action as against the man of thought still prevails.

Engineers securing acceptance. There is some indication that the tremendous demand for graduate engineers has vastly increased the engineer's status to the point where he has less need to sell himself to the rank and file. Indeed there is such tremendous demand for his skill that the engineer tends less and less to dirty his hands in production jobs. Instead, his skill is utilized more fully by being employed in research, development and technical supervision. The same thing is happening to him that took place with the manual craftsman a quarter century ago. His production jobs are being delegated to persons with lesser skills. But there is this difference between the engineer and the manual crafts: the former is being retained to develop and supervise, whereas the new production processes tended to subordinate craft skills.

The educated youngster

An omnipresent management problem is how to overcome a feeling deeply ingrained in most cultures that the more competent and accomplished younger person should wait out his time in deference to a mediocre employee with longer service. The question has arisen particularly with respect to the induction of young college people into the large industrial organizations.

Job rotation and induction at the production level. This obstacle has been overcome in some industries, such as rubber and oil, by a program of planned induction, sometimes referred to

as "flying squadrons," wherein the recent graduate rotates in ordered sequence from job to job. He is deliberately required to serve at least a portion of this induction period in the dirtiest and least attractive of the manual jobs. Such experience gives him some insight into the informal organization of the plant and industrial culture at the work level. It also serves the more important purpose of enabling him to say that he has worked at the more arduous and unpleasant tasks, a fact that at least partially opens the door for his entrance into the informal social organization.

Obtaining social acceptance. It gives him a much greater claim to belonging. To be sure, he has telescoped several years into a few months, but he has nevertheless been initiated in a manner that overcomes to a considerable extent the handicap of lacking seniority. Some organizations have gone even further to placate the home group by making it possible for insiders to avail themselves of opportunities for adult education and to join the induction training program for flying squadrons. The United States Civil Service Commission has set up an internship training program for insiders without college training as a corollary to the prior-existing program maintained by the National Institute of Public Affairs for the college graduate.

The whole point of this is that the graduate engineer no longer has to sell himself to production organizations. The advance of technology has created such an overwhelming need for his services that the flying squadron system of induction may be less necessary than formerly, but he will still have the problem of personal and social adjustment—getting along with people. As he rises in an organization, his duties become more and more of a management nature with less and less engineering content. The skills required pertain to human relations and motivating others rather than to engineering technology.

The question of understudies

There has been a tendency on the part of some management writers to advocate the training of an understudy for every su-

pervisor in the program. The ideal held up is that each supervisor should be able to fill three positions at a moment's notice—the one he occupies, the one immediately below him, and the one immediately above him. The advocates of this school claim that there should be conscious planning and training so that the replacement of supervisors would be possible at a moment's notice.

Some see danger in designating understudies. There is another school of thought that sees considerable danger in the understudy system. Persons who are designated as understudies and encouraged to undergo supervisory training with the expectation of promotion will often be soured and disillusioned. Some executives have had such adverse experience along these lines that they hesitate to make even a small gesture that might encourage people to believe that promotions were in view. The concept of an understudy for each job undoubtedly has its merits and probably should be given more formal attention than is normally the case.

Planning and selection needed. There should be no insuperable hazard if two precautions are taken: (1) Organization analysis should reveal a precise estimate of the number of people needed, and (2) systematic selection should result in the elimination of most of the less qualified persons before they can interpret moves in their direction as career commitments. In those instances where members of management have experienced unpleasant reactions of the kind mentioned above, it will be found that the planning and selection ingredients were missing. The haphazard designation of persons as understudies and trainees cannot help but put unqualified persons through this experience.

The whole point is that there must be systematic selection of persons who are to be groomed for management responsibility on whatever level. Two fairly common errors must be avoided. One is the casual "size-up" by superiors, and the other is the broadcast of invitations. Constant evaluation of individuals and opportunities are essential concomitants of development programs. The matter must be handled deftly and with considerable skill.

People must not be encouraged to undergo supervisory training if they will probably never be chosen for such responsibility. There is always a certain percentage of neurotic, maladjusted persons who never achieve status commensurate with their estimate of their own worth and who seek to compensate for their failures, by going to class, but classes will never supply the strength that they seek. That is why training should be established upon a selective basis. The supervisory and executive development program should be planned, and those who are given encouragement to proceed should be selected on the basis of a broad clinical approach.

Methods of handling understudies. There is no point in designating a person as a management understudy without giving him something to do. Failure of such a program to produce results depends almost wholly upon the ability of the principal to establish intimate and confidential relationships. The cold, aloof, suspicious person who will not delegate cannot hope to develop subordinates. The understudies have to be given something to do, work which has some part in developing their ability to carry responsibility.

Four ways to accomplish this purpose have been suggested [3]. In the first the principal asks the understudy's opinion on particular matters. The hazard attached to this approach consists in not accepting his suggestions. If there is consistent rejection of his ideas, he may feel frustrated, and the training value of asking for them will thus be minimized. The purpose is to build his confidence and teach him how to think and analyze. Thus, rejection of his ideas should be accomplished obliquely, with explanations and counter proposals rather than through head-on rejection.

The second method gives him a chance to lead people [4]. The principal should instruct him in how to handle relationships with others. The manner in which he handles these relationships should be observed and followed by discussions in which his strength and weaknesses are brought out.

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The third approach to the development of understudies consists of impressing upon them the importance of fact-finding. The understudy can become a sort of staff assistant to the principal. When problems come up, he should be expected to gather all of the available data pertaining thereto and then come up with an interpretation. In this way he will be impressed with the importance of facts in arriving at decisions. This is a good training approach because it throws one right into the heart of the materials of which decisions are made without risking the hazards of immaturity. The understudy jumps right into the problems of management without immediately taking the responsibility for decision.

The fourth recommended method gives the understudy the opportunity for contact with those above him in the hierarchy. This not only gives him experience in meeting and dealing with high status people, but also serves as a tool for evaluation. Those whom he meets on higher echelons will inevitably report back any deficiencies in his conduct and demeanor. The device of "sending him upstairs" serves to build confidence and helps him to acquire poise and assurance [3].

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. In what three ways has the labor movement affected the development of supervisors?
2. Why should there be a selection program for those who may become supervisors?
3. How would you deal with people of presumed competence who are reluctant to become supervisors?
4. Can supervisory skills be taught?
5. What is the relation of organization structure to supervisory training?
6. What is the relation of organization control to employee evaluation?

7. Discuss the part seniority should play in the selection of supervisors.
8. What are some devices for advancing educated youngsters?
9. How can the charges of false promises of promotion be overcome?
10. How should the problem of understudies be handled?

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The selection process

ONE thing which should be definitely emphasized at the outset is that those who are to undergo supervisory training *should be chosen in a systematic manner*. This is not a mere copybook maxim of desirable conduct. There is plenty of proof, which is being added to constantly, that orderly and planned selection systems are superior to curbstome methods. The casual methods of the past have been shown to be costly and of doubtful validity.

They are costly because they result in an unnecessarily high number of mistakes and because qualified persons are passed over. When those chosen do not make good foremen, they either have to undergo the painful experience of being downgraded, or the organization must live—perhaps for years—with someone who is not fulfilling his leadership obligations.

It has also been shown that when nomination by superiors is the sole method of choosing persons for promotion, qualified

people will either be passed over or not attract attention. The extrovertive and ascendancy traits which often draw a supervisor's attention to a subordinate may not correlate highly with other desirable traits.

An orderly and systematic system of selection will filter into the talent pool persons of competence who otherwise might have been ignored by the "huddle and muddle" method: getting a few higher and middle supervisors together to discuss and select candidates to become future foremen. In one company where this was the prevailing practice, less than half of those selected became permanent foremen. This situation created morale problems all around. Management was vexed at the economic loss, temporary foremen passed over for promotion became malcontents, and the union was unhappy about questions of seniority rights. Moreover, persons who were passed over complained of favoritism in the selection process.

An orderly system of selection was inaugurated, with the result that the troubles have almost vanished. Nearly all of the persons selected now make good, the union has agreed to modify seniority status rules, and persons can elect to enter the program through channels other than nomination by superiors [8].

Under a system of selection based upon nomination by other supervisors, aggressiveness, ascendancy, and external symbols of personality will govern, and halos will not be absent. Under the system of job bidding in industry and promotional examination in civil service—each involving tests as part of the basis for selection—the halo factors tend to be eliminated, and persons with less flashy, but nevertheless substantial, competency will be encouraged to emerge from anonymity. This is one of the reasons why the executives and higher supervisors frequently criticize a formal promotion program: the cutting torches of formalized selection frequently melt halos.

Selection devices

It follows from the preceding discussion that those who are to be selected for presupervisory training should be carefully

screened and selected. The number of heartaches and disillusionments can be minimized by seeing that only those with reasonable promise of performing satisfactorily as supervisors are encouraged to train. The same applies to those who are already lower supervisors and who might be considered for advanced training for higher executive positions.

Clinical approach recommended. The basic approach to selection should be clinical in nature, which is just another way of saying that it should be based upon consideration of all possible factors concerning the candidates. The collection of a wide range of facts about people involves the utilization of many techniques, some of which are highly specialized in nature and belong to various professional disciplines. Thus, the data necessary in determining one's availability for supervisory responsibilities are physiological, psychological, sociological, and genealogical in nature. The information desired has to do with health, home, family, intelligence, work history, temperament, and many others; therefore, the first step in any large organization is the establishment of a system for the orderly collecting, filing, and analysis of such information.

Creative and dynamic approach needed. This operation can logically be carried on in the personnel department, provided that unit has creative and imaginative leadership and does not merely conduct a stilted clerical operation. The training people should obviously be closely associated with the process of collecting and analyzing these data, especially as they pertain to those who are selected to undergo formal presupervisory training. There should be a research program that, in the long run, attempts to ascertain the correlation between various items of data relative to trainees and their success, both in the training program and subsequently on the job.

Program should be comprehensive. A new means of supervisory selection has sometimes consisted of a gadget type test which was "sold" to a gullible management. It seems strange that ordinarily hardheaded businessmen can occasionally fall for a cure-all or nostrum device which has not been subjected

to scientific validation. The difficulty with such single-shot approaches is that they make the way more difficult for the humbler but more professional type of selection approach.

Ratings

The ratings of one's superiors should always be available as one of the items to be considered in choosing persons for advanced training; however, the reliability and validity of ratings should be given credence or discounted in accordance with the manner in which the supervisors of the program approach the rating jobs. If they are trained to carry on a painstaking clinical approach to the rating program, if rating constitutes a part of the training setup, if adequate time is devoted by the supervisors to employee counseling, and, above all, if the supervisors approach the rating program objectively and courageously, then rating should unquestionably be considered. If, on the other hand, rating is a mere formality to which supervisors give lip service and if the tendency is to rate everyone uniformly high, even those who are definitely known not to deserve it, then the rating should be given comparatively little consideration in the selection process.

The employment interview

The employment interview is in the category of the necessary evil. It is necessary because we have not yet developed substitutes for rejecting applicants with obvious personal characteristics of a negative nature, and it is an evil because it is neither reliable nor valid. Even employment executives who pride themselves upon objectivity attained through long experience are subject to bias. Aggressiveness and good personality are qualities easily seen but often possessed by persons of mediocre intelligence.

Bias and emotional factors influence judgment. McMurry has indicated that the employment interviewer is prone to express his bias in terms of stereotypes that take the form of preconceived notions of how a desirable candidate should look and act.

Employment interviews are heavily conditioned by emotional content that is largely unconscious and thus far not subject to isolation and measurement. Thus, the typical upper-middle class, college-trained employment interviewer with an office rather than a shop background is likely to have stereotyped the desirable qualities somewhat as follows: The candidate for supervisory leadership should have regular features, preferably Nordic, with a chin that does not recede. He should look one straight in the eye and reply with readiness and positiveness to queries. He should speak readily, with easy choice of words and good grammar and in the ideology of the management stereotype. He should be the kind of fellow with whom one would feel comfortable in the officers' diningroom.

Should be used in conjunction with other devices. The fact remains that the interview cannot and should not be eliminated from the process of selecting people for further supervisory training, but it should constitute merely one of the several scores entering into the final over-all ratings. Indeed, interviewing will become more reliable and valid if it is conducted in connection with the other clinical procedures and if the judgments of interviewing are leavened by the facts and considerations revealed by tests, employment history, and other prognostic devices.

The clinical interview is noncompetitive and nondirective. The problems of personal adjustment to life and mental and emotional stability are being attacked today by a wide variety of clinical sciences, including psychiatry, sociology, and psychology. It has been indicated in previous chapters that, although these fields have different approaches and backgrounds, they utilize one technique in common, and that is nondirective interviewing. Not all persons requiring mental therapy are either legally or medically insane. Indeed, it is pretty well established that there is considerable mental maladjustment in supervisory and executive positions. Consequently, it is only prudent to try to detect symptoms of such emotional instability

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and mental maladjustment before people are selected for supervisory training.

May be thing of the future. We are not ready to advocate that every candidate for training be subjected to the long clinical interview by a psychiatrist or other clinical specialist, but the more mature personality development programs of the future may very well include this procedure. The other clinical tools discussed in this chapter could very well reveal symptoms of maladjustment so that only a minority of the candidates need to be subjected to the longer clinical type of interview.

The stress interview

After the closing of World War II, considerable publicity was given to the method used by the Office of Strategic Services for selection of intelligence agents to work abroad. After a rigid selection program, including batteries of tests, the successful trainees were subjected to a period of stress and harassment. Under simulated operating conditions, they were deliberately ordered to do the impossible, insulted, baited by menials, and made to perform physical feats requiring a display of courage. It has been suggested that similar methods can be used in civilian personnel work both by government and industry [7]. McMurry says that stress conditions must be disguised to appear as a part of the normal work situation, that the person being tested should have no suspicion that such is not the case [5].

Pencil and paper tests

No psychologist of professional standing will make categorical claims in favor of any single measuring stick of supervisory or administrative ability. Consequently, a good policy to follow in choosing someone to supervise the tests would be to give considerable weight to humility. This statement is not made to minimize the value of tests in a selection program, but rather to emphasize that they are merely part of a team of tools, techniques, devices, and procedures. The selection mechanism cannot work to its full efficiency without tests, but tests are not

at the present time sufficiently precise instruments to constitute the sole basis for selection of personnel for most purposes.

Therefore the program should include a variety of selection devices including pencil-and-paper tests, ratings by superiors (and possibly by subordinates), and investigation of the candidate's background, including home life, community status, medical record, and economic responsibility.

Tests should be validated in the local setting. Tests have a way of working in one environment and not in another. In one industrial situation, IQ tests were found not to differentiate between high and low supervisors, whereas 3,000 miles away the same type of test did reveal differences [8, 24]. Now this in no way impugns the value of IQ tests; it merely points up the need for constant evaluation of the selection instruments being used. It is also an argument against acquiring testing services through mail order. This kind of service can be performed only by trained psychologists whose services can be obtained on a consulting basis if there is not one on the staff.

*What is a validation study?*⁹ Members of management, and even the rank and file, should have a general over-all appreciation of what is involved in the validation of tests. It is common and trite to say that tests should be both valid and reliable. A test is *valid* when it measures the traits, aptitudes, or skills which it purports to measure; it is *reliable* when it does this repeatedly in successive administrations of the test. It is reliable if one can be sure of measuring the same thing when given over and over again to the same kind of testees.

A validation study is, then, an attempt to ascertain whether a test actually works as expected. To do so, the test is administered to a *criterion* group which, in turn, is divided into a *control* group and an *experimental* group. For instance, if one desires to ascertain whether a given test is valid in differentiating between high-performance and low-performance supervisors, he administers it to groups in each category. If those in the high-performance group achieve significantly higher scores than the others, it can be assumed that the test is valid.

The criterion is the measuring rod. The standard by which the high-performance group is distinguished from the low-performance group is known as the *criterion*. It may consist of measured productivity, in which case the supervisors whose subordinates constitute work groups with consistently higher production records are put in the experimental group, whereas those with low production records constitute the control group. However, it is often not possible to obtain such measures of productivity, in which case it is necessary to resort to rating, usually by superiors [12], although there is some tendency to experiment with ratings by peers and subordinates.

Face validity. The fact that a measuring device has not been statistically validated in the manner described above does not mean that it may not have validity. When a test seems to be working because it apparently differentiated between persons who have proved to be more and less qualified, it is said to have "face validity." The norms of common sense, logic, and casual observation are the norms of "face validity." The danger in relying on it for proving the usefulness of a test lies in the possibility that wishful thinking and personal interest will lead to false conclusions. For instance, accusations have been made that certain personality inventories have not been subjected to proper statistical validation for one or both of two reasons: either the proprietors of the device have been unwilling to submit to the rigorous measures of validation by disinterested outsiders, or members of management using the device have believed so strongly in its face validity that they have not been interested in further proof. However, in spite of these shortcomings, there are undoubtedly cases when full-scale validation is either impracticable or difficult. In these instances, one is justified in using norms that are available, in which case one asks: "Does it work?" The answer to that question has been arrived at through the norms of face validity.

The building of homemade tests often involves two other technical procedures in which members of management who are laymen to psychology do not participate. However, it is possible

and desirable for laymen to understand the purpose of such technical phases of the testing process. One is referred to as *item analysis* and the other as *factor analysis*. Item analysis consists of not only correlating the whole test with the criterion but of doing this with each item of the test. The purpose is to find out which individual questions or items are carrying the testing load and which are not. If a particular item is found not to be discriminating between the experimental and control groups, it can be eliminated from the test, discounted in scoring, or modified so that it will work.

Factor analysis is a device for comparing test items and groups of items to ascertain whether they might be measuring the same thing. Its objective is both economy and purification. Items or groups of items which are measuring the same factor can be identified and consolidated or eliminated. Furthermore, the cause of psychology is advanced by permitting researchers to compare results with each other and perhaps lead to the identification of universal traits and behavior [11].

Supervisors should be made conscious of need for analysis. There may be some question as to why these technical, psychological procedures should be discussed in a book intended for laymen. The purpose is simply to impress upon the supervisor or future supervisor that human problems are amenable to an engineering type of analysis just as are materials and machines. Production supervisors are familiar with engineering devices for testing production processes, and they even participate in or conduct many of these tests themselves. The supervisor of an open hearth furnace in a steel mill conducts tests to determine the carbon content of the "heat" at any given time. The waterworks foreman has aides who are constantly sampling the bacteria count and adjusting the chlorine dose to suit the circumstances.

There is no intention to make the supervisor into a psychologist, nor does one desire to make of him a dilettante who glibly mouths scientific argot in order to impress others. The sole objective is to impress upon him that there is a scientific procedure

for approaching the human problems in supervision, and that even if it does not result in 100 per cent precision, it does produce results better than the casual judgment methods of the past. It is believed possible to give the supervisor an understanding of what these procedures are, their purpose, and some general over-all comprehension about how they are used. Such an understanding will tend to "sell" the psychologist to the line organization, make them understand what he can do, and secure cooperation for him.

A tailor-made program

A supervisory selection program should be tailored to suit local needs, especially when the organization is large enough to afford such an approach. This has the advantage not only of adapting to local conditions, but also of "selling" the program to people who have to work with it. Radom reports the manner in which such an approach was used by Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) in a large refinery [8].

A firm of consulting psychologists was engaged. Everyone at the refinery was told in advance what was to be done and how it was proposed to go about it. A committee consisting of members of management worked with the psychologists. An initial rating of foremen by management resulted in 85 per cent being rated above average, making it obvious that such ratings could not be used as criteria for research purposes.

The criterion group. A new set of ratings of foreman by the alternation ranking method resulted in a criterion group which could be used for research purposes. A sufficiently large number of foremen to answer statistical needs could definitely be placed in the top third, middle third, and bottom third. This rating process had the additional advantage of convincing management that it did not know its own foremen, because less than half the foremen could be used in the criterion group. There was not sufficient consensus on the ranking of the others to include them.

Preparation of a new rating instrument. The next step was to

prepare a rating instrument to be used in evaluating the work of temporary foremen before they became permanent. Each member of management serving on the research committee was asked to write two essays, one on the foreman he thought most outstanding and one on the foreman he thought least outstanding. These were analyzed to discover brief statements of descriptive behavior. Then another analysis showed which statements were characteristic of high ranking foremen and which of low-ranking. The result was a new rating device which not only discriminated between effective and ineffective supervisors, but also had the backing of those who were to use it. They had become involved in its preparation and it was in a sense their own.

Tests for Potential Foremen. The next step was to develop some tests which could select rank-and-file workers who had some promise to become future foremen. A set of eight tests was administered to the criterion group of foremen mentioned above and analyzed to see whether they discriminated between high and low men in the criterion groups. Three tests emerged as having the ability to discriminate: a test of supervisory judgment, a test of interest, and an individual background survey. All men who have reached the top of their wage grade take these tests, and if they show up well, they are considered for assignment as temporary foremen. But it should be emphasized that test scores are not the sole determinants.

Controversial tests

Certain types of personality tests are controversial, even among psychologists. Among them are the so-called temperament or personality scales and the "projective" type of test. The former ask the testee to answer questions about his very intimate life and self. The analysis of one of these tests results in the testees being classified into psychiatric types, such as paranoid, manic-depressive, etc. Examples of the projective tests are those which ask the testee to tell what an ink blot reminds him of or to state the reflections stimulated by viewing a series of pictures.

Do not condemn all tests because some are controversial. Tests are like razor blades: some will cut a tough beard and some will not, but the latter may be ever so soothing to a tender skin. There would be little disagreement with a statement to the effect that personality tests have a use, but perhaps not in competitive evaluation of personnel. Supervisors should know that there is strong professional opinion that places personality tests in the controversial class [24]. This is especially true when they have been sold as a single-shot specific cure for personnel selection problems. The evaluation of personnel is a complex task which should be approached with a battery of tools rather than a nostrum type of gimmick. Furthermore, the diagnosis should be individualized as much as possible, just as in medicine.

Personality tests are useful as clinical tools. Most critics of personality tests willingly admit that they may be useful for clinical diagnosis when the testee is seeking help. In these instances, the testee realizes that something may be wrong with him, and he has come voluntarily for help. He cooperates willingly in the hope that the tests will furnish information which will aid in the diagnosis and care of his troubles. Furthermore, tests used in this manner are not scored according to arbitrary statistical cut-offs. They are, instead, used as clues to aid and supplement the skill and insight of the clinician.

Tests are widely used

Psychological tests of the pencil-and-paper variety are widely used by the leaders of American industry. The following are only some of the instances reported in authoritative publications. Fischer Body uses tests as one tool in selecting people for what they call their "reserve-group-in-training," persons slated to become supervisors [20]. Candidates for presupervisory training are tested in this manner at Johns Manville [17]. The Prudential Insurance Company of America has developed its own custom-made tests for selecting supervisors [21]. The work of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) was reported above [8]. General Electric conducted a validation study using twelve tests,

of which seven were found to discriminate quite clearly between successful and unsuccessful foremen [1]. The B. F. Goodrich Company administered a battery of well-known psychological tests to its foremen, with whom the results were discussed and interpreted on an individual basis [10]. In this instance, they were used for counseling and development rather than selection. It will be agreed that these companies constitute an imposing cross-section of American industry. A survey conducted in 1952 showed that about a third of the large companies and a fifth of small companies used tests for one purpose or another [16].

Measuring social skills

Social skills are among the most important that one looks for in choosing persons to become supervisors or to undergo supervisory training. How does the candidate get along with other people, with superiors, subordinates, and peers? Is he the kind of person who inspires others to have confidence in him? Do people like to be with him? Does he emerge as the natural leader of a group? Does he maintain social equilibrium and emotional stability under stress and provocation? Does he exercise good judgment in his dealings with other people?

Two devices for measuring social status and social skills have been developed in recent years: *leaderless discussion* or the *group oral interview*, and the *sociometric test*. Leaderless discussion is now widely used in civil service testing [3]. British industrial psychologists have used it in selecting industrial foremen [14]. The sociometric test has been developed mainly as a research device, but is beginning to find some acceptance for management purposes.

Leaderless discussion is a social science term [15] which is referred to as the "group oral" interview among personnel people. It is a device for evaluating the potential of persons aspiring to leadership status. A typical case would be to place a half-dozen people around a conference table where they can be observed by examiners or raters. They are given a question to discuss or a problem to solve and then left on their own. No

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member of the testee group is designated as leader, because one of the objects of the test is to see which ones will demonstrate qualities of indigenous leadership. Sometimes a neutral moderator will preside, but he will inject himself into the situation only barely enough to expedite lagging discussion. Six has been found to be an optimum number of participants, and it requires about fifteen minutes for each testee to bring out the required participation. Thus a group of six should be observed for an hour and a half. Sometimes the group interview is followed by individual interviews in which questions asked have been suggested by performance in the group [3].

The sociometric test is a device for measuring the degree of acceptance and rejection among people in groups. Those who are members of a group are asked to list the ones whom they would most care to associate with or work with and those with whom they would least care to work or live. They do this on the basis of rank order: first, second, and third choice. The people who receive a large number of preferences are referred to as *stars* while those who are often rejected are called *isolates*. The pattern of choices is plotted on a chart called a *sociogram*. Van Zelst [22] has reported a number of studies which have lent considerable color of validity to sociometry as a useful device in choosing officer candidates for the military, candidates for airplane pilot training, and in reducing turnover among industrial workers through building cohesive work teams. Although the actual use of sociometric tests for choosing foreman and supervisors has been limited, it is felt that its success in related fields warrants wider experiment as a leadership selection tool in the industrial setting [2, 6].

Personal history data

The evaluation of a person for future leadership requires a great deal of knowledge about his personal history and background. This has led to the standardization of application forms and the development of biographical data sheets which are amenable to statistical analysis.

Biography. Some psychologists have been experimenting with psychometric treatment of biographical data, considerable success having been achieved therewith during World War II in the selection of pilot trainees for the Army Air Corps. However, an attempt to use this approach on school principals and vice-principals revealed no significant correlation among the items of those who were rated higher and those who were rated lower by their superiors [13]. This study should not be regarded as conclusive but should lead to further exploration. It may be that the definite criterion of being passed or failed in pilot training was much more reliable than the management ratings used in the study of the principals. Or it may be that the subtle factors of interpersonal relationships are much more significant in the selection of supervisors than are biographical factual items. At any rate, it seems a safe generalization that the more information available—if wisely interpreted—the more valid the choice will be in selecting trainees for courses in supervision.

Employment history. A significant signal is the history of one's working life. How many jobs has he had? How long has he worked at each one? Has there been consistency in the progression of jobs, experience in one naturally leading to preparation for the next? Or does the pattern suggest frequent and unplanned change of course? Stockford's studies at Lockheed showed that the more effective supervisors had a more related work experience, and they had spent a longer time with each previous employer [20]. Company-wide seniority was not significant in discriminating between the two groups, but experience as a supervisor in a staff capacity was more characteristic of the better supervisors.

Community stability. Stockford also isolated a community stability factor having to do with marital status, number of dependents, and home ownership. More of the better group of supervisors were married. Not only having children, but having more than one, was more characteristic of those in the better group. Moreover, a larger number of these owned their own home [20].

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Training. Stockford found that training for the specific job was a significant factor in distinguishing between those who were on higher or lower levels of the hierarchy. The Division Superintendents had taken more such training than Department Foremen, and the latter more than Group Supervisors [20].

Domestic environment

McMurry recommends a home interview in the case of candidates for executive or sales positions. He has presented a form for recording and evaluating such information [5]. He recommends looking for such items as the candidate's dominance in his own home. Does he exert leadership there, or is his wife dominant? Do relatives exercise extraordinary influence or control? What is the attitude of the husband and wife toward each other, and what is the nature of the interpersonal relationships between the members of the household? What is the wife's attitude toward the husband's vocation and toward the company and the job? Does she take an active interest in furthering his career, or is her behavior carping and critical toward it? McMurry cautions that decisions relative to employment or advancement should not be made upon the basis of the home interview alone, because in particular cases strong individuals can rise above adverse domestic environment. But it may be very significant if weighed in connection with other information of an adverse nature.

The wife problem. An article in *Fortune* entitled "The Wife Problem" created quite a sensation in the management world. Interviews with corporation officials sketched the ideal wife as one who (1) is highly adaptable, (2) is highly gregarious, (3) realizes her husband belongs to the corporation. The good wife does not complain when her husband works late, does not fuss when a transfer looms ahead, and does not engage in any controversial activity. She should "nurture the male ego" by building up his feeling of security during trying periods. She acts as a stabilizer in tense social situations. She pushes subtly for her

husband's career interests without infringing upon the informal taboos of the status system [25].

It was said that more and more corporations are interviewing the wife before hiring an executive. About one-half the companies upon which *Fortune* had data were said to make wife-screening a regular phase of the executive selection process. About 20 per cent of trainees who were otherwise acceptable were said to be turned down because of the wives.

Two studies published in the mid-1950's, one by academic researchers and one by management consultants, took a more reserved view of the wife matter. The final paragraph of the former concludes that "it does not much matter whom the rising executive marries. . . . Business success . . . depends not on whom the man marries, but on what his talents, energies, and single-mindedness of purpose are. In short, the wife can be useful, but it is the husband who makes or breaks his own business career" [23].

The second survey polled 4000 wives, 60 per cent of whom advised the spouse of a young executive to remain aloof from corporate contacts and attend only necessary social functions such as conventions. The other 40 per cent advocated only a middle ground of sociability. While a majority felt that wives could undergo some appraisal, most felt that a formal interview for this purpose would be going too far, favoring informal methods such as dropping in at home. But almost half objected even to this [21].

Field stations. There are many situations where field stations constitute company villages. These may be located along a pipeline, in an oil field, at a lumbering operation, or at a maintenance station servicing a transportation operation. The wife's behavior and general character become important because she lives in a company-owned house, her husband is away much of the time, and she must answer phone calls and inquiries. Sometimes in remote areas company officials stay overnight and eat in the supervisor's house [4].

Once a research interviewer was gathering critical incidents

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in an organization, the basic operations of which took place in widely scattered remote areas. The field stations consisted of small villages in which the supervisor's house was the office and focal point. The regional personnel director, when requested to relate some critical incidents, spent two hours rattling off case after case involving unpleasant personnel situations involving the failure of wives to adjust to such an environment. The regional personnel director was wrought up about these instances because he had been required to handle them himself; the lower and intermediate levels had run away from them, passing them on up the hierarchy for solution.

These cases can have an adverse effect on the organization entirely out of proportion to their frequency of occurrence. It is not advocated that a good man be denied advancement because of his wife, but the placement process should take this factor into consideration. If the family is to live on company premises and the supervisor's home constitutes a focal point for business calls and contacts, then some attention should be given to the wife's ability and willingness to play the role required.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Criticize the "huddle and muddle" method of selecting supervisors.
2. What steps are involved in a comprehensive program of selection?
3. Why is the employment interview referred to as a necessary evil?
4. What is meant by "test validation"?
5. What is meant by "face validity"?
6. What are some steps commonly taken in validating a test?
7. Is there a scientific approach to the analysis of human behavior?
8. How can the psychologists utilize the supervisory force in developing a tailor-made selection program? How was this done at Standard of New Jersey?
9. Place personality tests in their proper perspective.

10. Does big business use pencil-and-paper tests?
11. What two devices have been used to measure social skills?
12. What types of personal history data have been found useful in predicting whether one may become a good supervisor?
13. Discuss the wife problem.

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Setting the stage for' supervisory training

THE subject matter of this chapter emphasizes human relations without any intention of maintaining that this category can be isolated from other factors of management. It is admitted from the very beginning that mechanical and technical phases of management such as job descriptions, clear-cut organization lines, planned layout, and work flow may have definite influences upon the human situation. As a matter of fact, this book contains chapters devoted to the importance of orthodox management devices in relation to good personnel practices. However, it is deemed justifiable to emphasize one particular aspect of supervisory training because it is normally given the least attention and perhaps is the most difficult to carry through.

It is the major hypothesis of this chapter that *persons in supervisory positions can be conditioned to behave and perform in their relations to other people in a manner that will produce the most satisfactory management results.*

Changing behavior and attitudes

The basic problem in human relations training centers around how to alter behavior and attitudes. It is not very difficult to bring about intellectual acceptance of human relations concepts and principles, but the person who expresses such acceptance may go back to the work situation and revert to his former bad habits.

Failure in this respect springs from two broad sources: (1) environmental and social, and (2) internal personality structure. At the present state of knowledge, it seems that more can be done about the former than the latter. There is some chance of success in changing the social climate of the job so that it will be favorable to the type of behavior that is desired, but one can be less certain about inducing people to alter bad personality traits which may be inborn. Indeed, there is some question whether it is the function of training to attempt to cure sick personalities. Certainly the trainer is not equipped to be a psychotherapist, but one should not rule out the possibility that some form of individual and social therapy may be a part of normal personnel procedure in the future.

Social climate must be favorable. It has now become a truism that little good will result from teaching a supervisor behavior which does not conform to the expectations of those with whom he has to work. Subordinate leaders pattern their behavior after that of their superiors. If those at the top carry on in a traditional and authoritarian manner, their sub-leaders will perhaps feel it unwise to lead their own people in a different way. Furthermore, the new teachings in human relations call for two-way communication, participation, and clinical listening in a relaxed atmosphere, what the sociologists call a "permissive" social climate. Such an environment will not mesh with the one-way edict and lack of sensitivity to the feelings of others [13].

Attitudes learned in training may not carry over into subsequent behavior. A study made at an International Harvester plant by Ohio State psychologists showed that attitudes can be

changed, as demonstrated in questionnaires administered before and after training. But examination of actual behavior on the job at several periods after completion of training revealed that effects of training do not persist unless the environmental factors in the plant are favorable. The two factors which sustained the effects of training in human relations were the *example of one's superiors* and *absence of time and scheduling pressures* such as exist on an assembly line [14].

Foremen were tested before and after training, and their behavior was also described by subordinates. It was found that they tended to indicate that their attitudes had changed in the direction of more desirable interpersonal relationships, but the description of their behavior by subordinates revealed that they had not changed toward a permissive type of leadership. Further study revealed that change persisted with foremen who worked in a good human relations climate, but not with those whose supervisors behaved contrary to the manner advocated in the training course.

Production line atmosphere. When former trainees were rated on the basis of the productivity of their groups, it was found that foremen in charge of production units differed as to the lasting effects of human relations training. In the production divisions, the higher-rated foremen behaved in a more directive and authoritarian manner, while those in service divisions were more permissive and democratic. Further analysis indicated that the demands of time scheduling and stress on high productivity constituted the determining factors. "This finding tends to suggest that supervisory problems are related to the temporal climate as well as the leadership climate" [4, p. 7].

A study of the social environment of an automobile assembly line has some bearing on this question. It was found that the demands for constant attention on the part of the worker left no time for personal interaction with either his colleagues or his supervisor. Primary group characteristics did not develop among those who worked side-by-side. It may be that the physical situation under paced machine production requires a super-

visorial approach all its own. How permissive can a supervisor be under such conditions? [8, 9].

How should managers act? The researchers at International Harvester advanced a tentative explanation of why the effects of training do not persist in their behavior after returning to the plant. The course emphasized their status as members of management, trying to create in them a feeling of belonging to the management group. Much of the criticism of supervision in the past has remarked about the failure of top management to treat supervisors as managers. It may be that when they are repeatedly told in a training course that they are managers they tacitly assume that they are to act like managers, which to them means a little of ordering subordinates around.

Necessary to change management culture

Many organizations must have their management cultures altered before much improvement can be expected of individual supervisors, and cultures change rather slowly. If the long-standing tradition of an organization is authoritarian in tone and content, a particular training course should not be expected to bring about a different reaction pattern overnight. Similarly, if a middle-aged supervisor's poor interpersonal relations persisted after he has been subjected to routine training, the training is not necessarily to blame. The course that failed to alter his behavior may have fruitful results with younger and more plastic trainees. In these cases, cultural change is having its effect on the years just ahead. Progressive managements must recognize this long-term aspect of training objectives.

American management culture has changed recently. As a matter of fact, there has been a tremendous change in American management's attitude toward the human aspects of supervision. The old driving, cursing, and shouting foremanship of the 1920's, described by Whiting Williams, is pretty much a thing of the past [11]. The new consultative and participative techniques have become so well accepted that some observers have sounded the alarm lest the pendulum swing too far to the other way,

resulting in a weak and sissified management culture in which desirable strong personal leadership will be stifled and fail to emerge [10]. It is probable, though, that management people will perhaps always have mental reservations about encouraging a permissive atmosphere on the part of subordinates. Human beings who attain hierarchical leadership seem to have a built-in desire to have their own way about how others should behave, and management institutions will perhaps always need to exert watchful vigilance to maintain a favorable setting for good inter-personal relations.

Must be an atmosphere of freedom. If there is no freedom of expression and communication, there seems little point in ever beginning such a training program. The social science concepts that are basic to training in human relations will clash directly with an excessively paternalistic management attitude. The techniques and devices of training that will bring about a genuine alteration of interpersonal relationships will germinate and foster only in a democratic environment. These include the conference method of discussion, role playing, psycho-drama, and nondirective interview. The entire culture of an organization, reaching into its innermost recesses and farthest-flung points, must accept these patterns of both group and clinical relationships or else reject the findings of modern social science [17].

Subordinates must also experience change

Failure to bring about a change in supervisory behavior through training is often blamed upon the authoritarian atmosphere created by top management. It is just as necessary, however, to prepare subordinates to accept a new approach to supervision. People are more secure in accepted ways of doing things even though they may not be the best ways. A foreman was converted to the new way of life through a human relations training course [12]. He went back to his group and tried to get participation by calling a meeting in which he asked for suggestions on how to improve quality, but none had any ideas to offer. In another instance, a lead woman "bawled out" an operative for

defective work in front of other workers and the latter thoroughly approved of such behavior, in spite of the fact that it is an almost universally disapproved tactic among the specialists in human behavior.

People would rather be secure in knowing what to expect of their supervisors than fall in with a change which does not conform to habitual patterns [20]. They are not going to change overnight from a known and certain method of dealing with their leaders even though the new, but uncertain, way might offer promise of greater satisfaction to come.

Workers look at things differently. Furthermore, workers have a scale of values often differing from those held by even their immediate supervisors, let alone higher management. Grievances arising from interpretations of seniority, job evaluation, or job assignment might at any particular time loom much more important than the nicety with which one is treated by his supervisor. Indeed, a sudden change from strictness to permissiveness, from dourness to sunshine, might raise the suspicion that it is intended as a smoke screen to soften denial of fundamental grievances.

As others see them

There must also be what a well-known training authority has termed "conviction of sin." Sometimes the supervisors must be administered a shock treatment that will give them an objective view of their own supervisory prowess and disillusion them about their fairyland of wishful thinking wherein theirs is a happy family in which everybody loves the boss. One organization used the unsigned attitude questionnaire with some success. Supervisors were presented with blanks filled out by their own employees, who remained anonymous, and they were usually shocked to find out how low they stood. This "conviction of sin" gave them the motivation to undergo supervisory training seriously, with the result that the circulation of the identical questionnaire to the same people after the completion of the course usually resulted in a very marked improvement. It is

cautioned that this device carries certain obvious hazards and is to be used only where the trainer is so well integrated into the social organization that he can carry through with a minimum of antagonism [15].

Feedback of attitude studies. An experiment in the accounting department of a large public utility company was based upon the administration of attitude questionnaires before and after training sessions. This is referred to as "feedback" in social science terminology. Six units containing sixty supervisors and 640 supervisory employees were included, four units constituting the experimental group and two the control groups. The objective was to try to measure "change in employee morale and satisfaction as well as change in employee perceptions of supervisory practices."

The questionnaires were analyzed and the results distributed in booklet form. A series of discussions based upon the findings started at the top and worked down through the accounting hierarchy. Nonsupervisory employees were included in the discussions whenever possible. Questionnaires were administered again two years later. Comparison of the before and after responses indicated that there had been very significant changes in the desired direction. Inasmuch as the questions dealt with supervisorial practice, it is reasonable to assume that supervisorial behavior was changed [1].

Group discussions favored. Change is more likely to result from group discussion than from listening to lectures or watching audio-visual gadgets. However, these media can be used to introduce ideas to form the basis for discussion. One probable reason for the superiority of group discussion in producing change is that the work environment is a social situation in which people are constantly interacting. Unstructured training sessions reproduce a replica of the social situation at work, either through the discussion of cases or by role-playing. Such training emphasizes "the *development of the trainee's sensitivities* to himself, to others, and to the ways in which people interact with each other in groups" [21].

Proof that group discussion is better than lecture. There have been at least two experiments which demonstrate the superiority of discussion over the lecture method in bringing about change of behavior. The first was a series of experiments in which people were asked to change their food and dietary habits. In each case, group discussion brought about a significantly greater acceptance of new food habits than either lecture or individual instruction [5].

In the other case, supervisors in an industrial plant had been rating their subordinates contrary to instructions. Instead of rating individual performance, they had been giving uniformly higher ratings to those who had the more difficult jobs. The problem was to induce them to rate on individual performance, while ignoring job difficulty. They were divided into three groups: a control group which received no training, a group which discussed the problem under permissive and nondirective leadership, and a group which was instructed by lecture. The only group which achieved any significant change was that which approached the matter through group discussion. The leader posed the problem, asked what should be done about it, and then let matters take their own course. The group came up with the decision that individuals should be rated on personal performance without considering job difficulty, and their subsequent rating was in line with this decision [5].

Vicarious criticism. Group approaches also tend to bring about an insight into one's own shortcomings without the sting of direct reprimand. Thus, in the case of the accounting department referred to above, people seemed to take to heart the criticism of supervision expressed in the questionnaire results and enlarged upon in the group discussions. Individuals undoubtedly said to themselves: "Do I behave like that? If so, I must take steps to alter my ways." Yet, the pointing of fingers and the embarrassment of personal criticism were avoided.

Vertically structured groups furnish interaction between levels. A vertically structured group is one in which the members belong to more than one hierarchical level. Participants sit with

their own bosses and perhaps even the latter's bosses. A training group at the University of California at Los Angeles claims success with such an approach [21]. It has the advantage of giving the superiors insight into their own human relations shortcomings. It also prepares the rank and file for changes which management desires to introduce. Moreover, a large share of the frictions in management relations springs from superior-subordinate tensions. It is not advocated that all training sessions be vertically structured in this manner, but the advantages of such procedure are apparent where the problem at hand consists of conditioning the hierarchy to new patterns of interpersonal relationships.

Some don't's—how not to bring about change

A plant employing about 1000 workers decided to inaugurate a supervisory training program in anticipation of expanding production. Notice was posted on the bulletin boards, inviting registration in a training course, the enrollees to compete for about a half dozen new foreman jobs. One hundred and fifteen persons enrolled instead of the expected fifteen or twenty. Surprised and somewhat embarrassed by the response, the company decided to allow all to attend. Evaluations were made by a university group before and after the course [14]. The net result seemed to be that the course disturbed what had been good relationships both with employees and the union. The evaluators even went so far as to say: "When human relations are satisfactory, it is best to leave them alone, and not to introduce a faddish program to improve things." The following are some of the "don't's" which may be of help to others in similar circumstances.

Don't fail to plan. In this case there apparently was no planning about any phase of the matter. Forethought should have been given as to the possible effect an ex parte announcement might have on the aspiration of employees, relations with the union, and the general impact on the plant community. Some

planning should have gone into the program, content, and method of instruction.

Don't use a training program to indoctrinate in management ideology. In this case, management was motivated to utilize the unexpectedly large enrollment as an opportunity to present to one-tenth of its labor force some of the concrete problems which confront management daily. It was referred to in management circles as the "Management Indoctrination Program." Workers are smart enough to spot management problems on their own if given the opportunity to engage in free discussion of facts.

Don't raise aspirations and expectations of a large number of people who cannot expect to improve status. After the course, the trainees expressed less satisfaction than before with the company's job placement policy. Evidently the very act of training 115 persons for six positions was a disturbing factor in itself.

Don't inaugurate supervisory training in mere conformity to fad or fashion. Apparently supervisory training is sometimes started because it is regarded as the thing to do.

The organization of training

All phases of human activity are confronted with the divergent forces of centralization versus decentralization, and training is no exception. There are those who would have no formal training of any kind but would accomplish the purposes for which trainers strive by informal training carried on by the line supervisors themselves. The vast consensus of opinion favors some type of central training staff, but the current trend is toward limiting its size and functions.

The extreme decentralizers would have the central staff consist of but one person whose job is primarily to be a catalytic agent. The members of this school are emotionally set against having the director of training enter the classroom or lead conferences. They say that all training should be carried on at the work level and that where conferences or class meetings are necessary, they should be conducted by decentralized trainers answerable to the local line supervisors rather than to a train-

ing director at headquarters. The other philosophy is to build up at headquarters a large training staff that would carry on training of a classroom nature for the entire enterprise.

The actual organization of training in any particular unit will probably be a compromise between these two extremes. It is our guess, however, that training results—especially those related to human relations—will be superior where the emphasis is on decentralized training operations that are under the leadership and supervision of an enlightened, creative, and imaginative headquarters staff.

The successful decentralization of training must rest upon a philosophy of personnel administration that regards the lower line supervisor as the key factor in personnel management. An example of the type of personnel organization referred to is that advocated by Kenneth O. Warner and actually practiced when he was Director of Personnel in the Foreign Economic Administration during World War II [22].

Personnel generalist approach. Warner's organization involved the development and appointment of a personnel generalist who represented the central personnel agency in the line units. He became integrated socially and culturally with the line organization and was virtually accepted as a part thereof, rather than as a personnel man representing the central office. One of his main jobs was to teach the operating supervisors, in their own offices and by a gradual process of day-to-day demonstration, to do an acceptable job of personnel management. This informal training procedure did not obviate the necessity for more formal training, but it did pave the way and gain acceptance for the latter. The personnel generalist, the line supervisor, and representatives of the central training unit sat down together and developed a training program that was accepted by all [22].

Back-to-the line. The whole idea is a reaction against the compartmentalization of personnel management into specialties such as employee relations, training, and placement. The tendency of all specialists is to go their own way, build up vested occupa-

tional interests, and resist coordination. This had been happening in personnel management, both industrial and governmental, although perhaps more accentuated in the latter. But this, in itself, created another separatist movement, namely, the stamping of personnel management as a staff activity apart and distinct from line management. As in the case of most swings of the pendulum, there was the inevitable reaction which took the form of a movement to identify personnel management more closely with line supervision.

Having given the personnel job back to the supervisor, the next problem is to get him to pitch in and function in that capacity. He is asked to alter habits built up by years of experience. Furthermore, he is often not equipped by education and insight to do the personnel job. He is harassed by his own superiors to do a production job and get out the work, with the result that he is oriented toward production rather than people. The task of building a human relations approach into line supervision is therefore not easy, but the goal is so worthwhile that efforts in that direction should never cease. Perhaps the answer is to inject the training attitude and habit into the entire line organization, so that everyone will automatically think in terms of how people will react to each specific decision. Hence, if there is a failure at the immediate level of supervision, the middle level can take over and use the training approach to correct the situation.

Training is everybody's job. The point to be emphasized is that it is everyone's duty to take on the supervisory training job. If left completely to a training staff, failure or mediocre success may result. Staff trainers are needed to: (1) hold training sessions, (2) counsel line supervision, and (3) keep abreast of, and feed to the line, new ideas and research results in personnel management. The emphasis, however, should always be on stimulating all levels of line management to take the lead in training matters. The training staff is doing the best job when it does a minimum amount of "telling"—at least this is so regarding human relations training. The organization which has tone is one with "divine discontent," in which the hierarchical leaders

are always striving to do a better job by utilizing new methods and ideas. The human side of an organization cannot possess such tone if the motivation for improvement comes entirely from a few personnel staff people. Hence it is "everybody's job."

Counseling type of training

Diagnosis of needs. Instead of subjecting all supervisors to a uniform training program some advocate that each should have an individual approach tailored to needs. The trainer would meet with each supervisor separately and secure data relative to personal strengths and weaknesses. In a permissive atmosphere, and by nondirective interviewing, the supervisor-trainee would be induced to analyze his own needs and suggest a program for fulfilling them.

The Field Review. The Field Review method was originally designed to force reluctant supervisors to evaluate their subordinates. It originated in the Southern California Gas Company where it is still a basic personnel procedure. Although not stamped as a training device *per se*, it does serve training purposes.

A representative from the personnel department periodically calls upon each supervisor to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each employee. The supervisor is urged to talk freely in an evaluative mood. Often the supervisor's own boss participates in the interview. The supervisor is prompted to decide upon corrective measures which he proposes to take with employees who are doing substandard work. Before the interview is ended, the supervisor makes an evaluative rating on a five-point scale which goes into the employee's folder. The over-all effect is to induce supervisors to think about their employees in an evaluative and diagnostic manner. This has an educative effect because it serves lower supervisors with notice that management expects them to evaluate their subordinates; furthermore, the skilled personnel interviewer can impart skills and techniques about interpersonal relationships without seeming to be pedantic about it. He is, ostensibly, merely carrying out

a management function which has the wholehearted approval of higher-ups.

Counseling is every supervisor's job. Those who would place the counseling job exclusively in the hands of specialized staff counselors reason that it is a complex professional occupation which should not be engaged in by anyone but those who are thoroughly prepared. Indeed, it is argued that the line supervisor who is an amateur at this sort of thing may actually, even though unwittingly, cause actual harm by dealing with the personal affairs of people. Let us dispose of this, at least for the moment, by repeating that there is no intention to make the supervisor a psycho-therapist in the professional sense. All that is intended is to humanize the superior-subordinate relationship.

Some of the enthusiasts in the counseling field tried to make their job separate from the personnel department itself on the theory that people will not talk freely and thus accomplish real catharsis if the counselor has a position of authority in the hierarchy. Our hypothesis would counter this viewpoint by saying that the hierarchy should be conditioned to permit, encourage, and foster a relationship between superior and subordinate that would break down the dams barring communication between them. We believe that this is fundamentally a problem of environment and conditioning and that the fundamentals of good interpersonal relationships can be so instilled and inculcated into an organization that to act contrary to them would be unnatural.

Training must have its clinical phase. These interpersonal relationships are best understood and handled by what has been referred to in previous chapters as the *clinical approach*. It is essentially identical with what the extreme functional specialists among the counselors wanted to arrogate entirely unto themselves. The good clinician handles cases in the same manner as the superior supervisor handles his own human relationships. The fundamental features of such procedure are that he is objective, unemotional, nonjudgmental; he listens attentively as

long as may be necessary; he acts only in accordance with the facts. However, it is the clinician's job in life to deal with unpleasant personal situations; he is steeled and conditioned to face them objectively and bravely, and most supervisors are not. Hence, training in human relations must in some manner make clinicians out of supervisors.

Supervisors face up to difficult personnel situations. This is a training problem underlying the whole gamut of superior-subordinate relationships. It is obviously unrealistic to expect supervisors to have the insight in these matters gained by experienced psychiatrists and clinical psychologists, but they can at least be taught that it is their responsibility to face these situations instead of running away from them. Furthermore, there are three or four basic techniques in face-to-face dealing that can become conditioned reactions of everyone in the organization. Perhaps the major responsibility for this conditioning must rest upon each supervisor himself, at least to the extent that he acts as a clinician in discussing with his subordinates their shortcomings in dealing with others.

There is a place for the clinical specialist in training. There is undoubtedly room for more experimentation with the use of clinical specialists in training programs. Perhaps the main problem in human relations training is to condition key people to act democratically, particularly when they have been habituated for many years to a somewhat authoritarian pattern. Two recent attacks on this problem have been tried, one a group approach through role-playing and the other clinical in nature. In the latter approach, the trained clinician works individually with the key people on the basis of long clinical interviews which, if skillfully handled, can be therapeutic in nature. The skilled clinician has been able to lead persons to cooperate where industrial engineering and group training conferences had previously failed. The clinician ferrets out the emotional prejudices, blind spots, anxieties, and feelings of insecurity through an individual case approach. He then uses clinical therapy to furnish vent for, or

isolate and block off, those factors that might flare up to interfere with efforts at group coordination [7].

A research approach necessary. There has been too much supervisory training initiated without planning and assessment of needs and without attempt to evaluate whether it is doing what it is expected to do. Management training in the past has been largely a trial-and-error approach built on the hearsay of others, and dependent upon curbstone judgment for evaluation. There has been too much dependence upon "face validity," which is another way of saying that a thing is good because it seems reasonable and appeals to the judgment of experienced persons. But one should remember that sometimes "twenty-five years experience is one year's work repeated twenty-five times."

The day is now past when management can utilize trial and error when inaugurating change in shop or office methods. No step will be taken there without precise planning and estimate based upon mathematical analysis of all data available. Failure to proceed in the same manner when dealing with a human problem is not the fault of management alone, although there was a time when certain managements displayed a tendency to buy package nostrums. Part of the failure to follow an evaluative approach to training can be laid to the trainers themselves who, in the past, have had to devote more time to selling training than to asking whether what they were doing was actually useful. The result was that perhaps the very necessity to gain short-run interest and approval from trainees overshadowed long-run questions of validity. Moreover, trainers are like all of the rest of us in one respect: they do not like to have themselves and their work evaluated.

The need for a research approach is not readily understood and grasped by men of action, not even by practitioners, except in the learned professions based on science. It took the practicing M.D. several decades to accept the findings of the research laboratory, and even today there often exists a certain tension between the research physicist and the practicing engineer operating as a manager. Furthermore—and this is extremely im-

portant in understanding human relations—the practical man of action is suspicious of the analytical mind. The intellectual person in an organization, if he wants to get along, is constantly covering up and suppressing his natural tendencies to behave as an intellectual. There must be a constant struggle to introduce and utilize the analytical and scientific approaches toward the evaluation of human behavior.

A training program based on research. The Montsano Chemical Company's Plastics Division reports a supervisory development program rooted in constant research evaluation. Precision methods were used just as in the technical manufacturing processes [16]. Without previous experience in supervisory training, the company brought in a reputable firm of consulting psychologists. A thorough program of background exploration consisted of assessment of needs, consultation with line supervision, and study of industrial trends. This furnished information for building an attitude questionnaire which was given to all supervisors. Supervisors were then asked to furnish more specific problem areas emerging from the first survey. These data were furnished anonymously, but the respondents' departments could be identified. A careful evaluation of each supervisor followed, prepared jointly by the training department and the superintendents.

A ten-step training program emerged, based on actual needs as demonstrated by a fact-finding approach. A second survey administered a year after the first demonstrated significant changes in attitude. A breakdown of responses by departments enabled each department head to see not only how his people had responded, but how their answers stacked up with those of other departments. Individuals were, of course, not identified.

Further evaluation demonstrated a very interesting conclusion. Where a specific skill in human relations is to be taught, better results obtain when the training group is homogeneous, that is, from one department and with a common frame of reference. The opposite is true when the objective is to improve participation and communications.

This type of evaluation also demonstrated that lower supervisors approved the course offered during the first year, whereas higher supervisors did not. Diagnosis revealed that the latter had been given more theory and general psychological principles, whereas the former had been given more practical and down-to-earth case material rooted in their operating experiences. The course for the superintendents and general foremen was therefore altered accordingly, with the result that the new approach won their approval.

Methods of evaluating supervisory training

Tests administered before and after training. The methods used in the evaluation of training have thus far not been very sophisticated. Perhaps the most prevalent procedure is to administer an attitude questionnaire before and after training. There is some reason to hope that improvement on the score of the "after" test indicates training success, but it has been suggested that what is being measured constitutes "assimilation" rather than knowledge [6]. Even though it might be assumed that improvement in test score demonstrates some change in attitude, certainly the basic problem of behavior change has not been measured.

The control and experimental groups. A little more maturity is added to the evaluation procedure by setting up control and experimental groups. There might be a control group which received no training and an experimental group which was exposed to training. Or there could be two experimental groups, one of which received instruction by lecture and another participating in group-centered sessions. "Before" and "after" tests could be administered to all and the results of the experimental groups compared with the control groups. In this situation, the normal expectation in human relations training would be for the control group to show no change, the lecture group to show some change, and the group-centered people to show most change.

External criteria and standards. In order to become truly

sophisticated or mature, evaluation must embody some measures of effectiveness flowing from the work situation itself. Human relations training must be measured against criteria which actually demonstrate that the supervisor-trainee's behavior and performance have improved as a result of training. This is not easy to accomplish, a difficulty which accounts for the dearth of such evaluation.

Three approaches suggests themselves: (1) measures of *group productivity*, (2) rating *by superiors*, and (3) rating *by subordinates*. Group productivity records for each supervisor's unit would be secured before and after training. Researchers in the management area look with considerable favor on such productivity indices because the objective of organizations is to produce some product or service. The principal reason why such criteria have not been widely used is that they are not easy to obtain. However, with the increased emphasis on control data, decentralized cost centers, and foremen's participating in the budgeting process, productivity data should become increasingly available.

Some type of rank-order rating by superiors has been perhaps the most common criterion used in organization research. Superiors are asked to rate supervisors from best to worst, giving each a separate place on the ladder of competence as compared to his fellows. In the case of training, the superiors would be asked to rate the trainees before and after training, perhaps some time after, in order to see whether improvement has "stuck" or was merely a temporary phenomenon.

There is some evidence to indicate that pertaining to human relations behavior, the ratings by subordinates may have considerable validity. At any rate, the experience of at least one research group indicates that when subordinates are asked to describe the behavior of their supervisors, more significant results, *against a criterion*, are achieved than when supervisors are asked to describe their own behavior [3].

It has already been indicated above that a successful training device in bringing about change has been to present super-

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visor–trainees with the result of an attitude questionnaire showing what employees think of their behavior.

Reporting of incidents. Buchanan reports an attempt to evaluate supervisory training by having both superiors and subordinates report actual incidents indicative of changed behavior which could be related to training. The trainees were taken into full confidence by being asked to allow contact with superiors and subordinates. Almost all gave this permission. Questionnaires asked superiors and subordinates to report behavioral incidents. The questionnaires were evaluated by two social scientists independent of the training unit. A trainee was classified as having changed his behavior as a result of training only if these two agreed in analyses conducted independently of each other. The results indicated significant improvement which could be attributed to the specific training received [2].

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Distinguish between changing attitudes and changing behavior.
2. Why is the social climate of the hierarchy an important factor in training?
3. Discuss the relationship between production time requirements and human relations training.
4. What has management culture to do with human relations training?
5. Why does the newly trained supervisor sometimes encounter resistance to his efforts to introduce his new knowledge?
6. What learning (or teaching) method seems to be the most effective in changing behavior? What is the matter with lecturing?
7. What are some “don’ts” about human relations training?
8. What is the proper distribution of functions between the staff and line in supervisory training?
9. What is the place of research in training?
10. What are some methods of evaluating supervisory training?

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Types of formal training

THERE is no question but that the conference method should constitute the basic pattern for all class-room training in human relations. Most readers of these pages will be familiar with the essential principles and techniques of the conference method. It has constituted the main stock-in-trade of the specialists in vocational education in the United States Office of Education, the state departments of education, and the larger public school systems. The points emphasized are group thinking, spontaneous participation, and visual presentation on the blackboard, wall pad, with slides, graphs, charts, stills, motion pictures, or by demonstration.

The conference method

The basic starting point for most forms of training for adults is fundamentally member-centered and group-centered. There

are various modifications of the conference method, all of which can be grouped under two broad categories depending upon the extent to which the conference leader controls discussion or presentation. Words frequently used to designate the two forms of conference leadership are "directed" and "nondirected," or "direct" and "indirect." In each case the former describes a conference in which the leader assumes a more dominating role than in the latter. The indirect type of conference is more member-centered, the direct more leader-centered.

Leadership. The indirect conference contemplates that the leader need not, and perhaps should not, be a specialist in the subject matter under discussion. He is essentially a moderator adept at the art of keeping discussion upon the main track and stimulating the participation of all members [8]. He deemphasizes his own ego and presence, restraining any impulses that he may have to admonish and lecture. Indeed, if there is any point upon which the specialists in vocational education are agreed, it is that the lecture is the poorest method of teaching and that college professors are the worst offenders. The conference leader must have a certain knack for placing the proper words and phrases upon the blackboard, so that the conferees will have the various points constantly before their eyes as the discussion proceeds. From time to time the leader will need to bring the various threads together into a summary that will state the consensus of opinion arrived at by the group.

Arousing interest and acceptance. The emphasis at the beginning is on obtaining the participation of and interest of conferees. This was especially so in former days when supervisory training had to be "sold," perhaps more than now. A feature of the indirect conference is the assumption that all of the data and information necessary are contained in the minds of the conferees, who are usually adult and experienced. Indeed, a favorite device of the experienced conference leader is to ask each conferee how long he has been a foreman. The number of years in each case is placed in a vertical column on the blackboard and then added. This flatters the foremen because it fon-

dles a universal ego spot, namely, the inclination of people to believe that there is high correlation between long service and competence. The good conference leader must also be adept at securing the participation of all conferees, tactfully curbing those who are super-loquacious and stimulating those who are seemingly diffident.

Teaching supervisors to teach. The vocational education stereotype provided for some initial instruction in elementary pedagogy, the objective being to make the participants competent as on-the-job teachers. The basic device or procedure was the so-called "four step method," which survives as an essential part of vocational training today. The supervisor is taught to follow these steps in instructing the novice on the job: (1) prepare and get ready; (2) explain and demonstrate; (3) let the trainee apply the knowledge by doing the job himself under the supervisor's close scrutiny; and (4) follow up by testing, inspecting, and correcting. Training Within Industry, the governmental unit that supervised mass supervisory training during World War II, made essential use of the four step method in its J.I.T. (Job Instructor's Training) [7, 9].

Size and meeting place. Certain other features of the conference method seem to have been validated through long practice and experience. The group should always be small enough to permit participation. Currently, the trend seems to be toward twelve or fifteen, and it is quite generally agreed that twenty is a top limit. Considerable importance is attached to the physical layout, which requires that the participant have a table in front of him. The regularly scheduled training conferences seem to favor a U-shaped table with the conferees facing each other and the leader standing behind the closed end of the U. Back of him is the blackboard or a large paper pad which takes its place. The conference room in the executive suite usually has a large table of orthodox shape with room for fifteen to twenty chairs around it. It seems preferable to hold meetings during working time, although success has been achieved by

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having them begin an hour before quitting time and last until an hour after [11].

Conference method is an operating technique not confined to the classrooms. The vocational education stereotype also runs to the effect that the conference method is to be applied not only in scheduled training meetings but also in the daily work of supervisors on all levels. There is no doubt that this should be so, but there are certain practical difficulties in the way of maximum achievement. It is not customary for the shop foreman to write instructions, and it is inconvenient to place a blackboard in his office, if he has one. It is probably feasible to get the lower supervisors in the habit of writing on a pad of paper, so that all can see during the small informal discussions about the job at hand. The main point seems to be to encourage the supervisors to get participation and the resulting understanding, rather than to make a fetish of any single manner of arriving at that end.

Aggressive bosses not good conference leaders. The stumbling block on the higher executive level is that the free conference method is foreign to the leadership pattern of those who achieve success. It runs squarely into their dynamic and egoistic pattern of leadership. It is too slow for the man who wants to make the decisions himself. He wants action. He will give lip service to the conference method and actually cultivate and foster its development up to the point at which it interferes with doing things his own way. Then he will forget all about the conference procedure and damage the efforts of others to condition the organization to its use. The theorists and philosophers of management democracy must come to grips with this paradox.

The modified conference method

The indirect conference method still stands as sound basic theory and should be respected and observed as such. Experience also indicates that it needs to be modified in practice to include other modes of discussion. Foremanship training that goes beyond the most elementary initial phases soon discovers

that information not possessed by the group must be introduced. It was formerly assumed sufficient to discuss typical problem cases and that the solutions to such cases would be forthcoming from the experience and wisdom of those present. However, this is true only to a limited extent, and the native shrewdness of experienced supervisors can well be supplemented by introducing proved concepts and techniques.

Experience also indicates that the indirect conference method frequently fails because it brings up subjects too trite for the foreman. Job technology is becoming so complex that progressive foremen thirst for information about their jobs. They desire a flow of information about the organization that top management assumes they already have. Although the blackboard method of visual presentation is fundamental, it may be overdone and used for the listing of elementary truisms.

Case method

Human relations are brought into the traditional conference method through discussing typical cases involving human problems. Sometimes the group is asked to contribute its own cases, and at other times the leader brings in cases. The procedure to be followed is very similar to the four step job instructor's training of Training Within Industry: first, define the problem; second, get the facts; third, have the group suggest as many solutions as possible, list them on the blackboard, and ultimately select that which seems most reasonable. Case discussion of this kind is thought by many to have a therapeutic value in that the conferees will tend to compare their own previous actions with the norms developed by the conference. When each has his shortcomings pointed out by his own colleagues without the finger of criticism being pointed directly at him, it is thought by some that he will be motivated to follow a more correct behavior pattern in the future.

Harvard Business School Case Method. The Harvard Business School is usually given credit for developing the case method for use on the college level. The Harvard cases consist of actual

happenings in management situations [4]. They require considerable mental concentration for reading and analysis. The basic philosophy underlying the Harvard case method is to teach insight and analysis rather than to furnish solutions. By developing a questioning attitude toward situations and facts, the approach tends to discourage jumping to premature conclusions. The teacher consciously avoids rendering his own opinions and solutions, but rather parries attempts on the part of students to draw him out by throwing the ball back to the student [2, 5].

This method of teaching must be handled with great skill. If it is carried too far, it will antagonize the student or give him the impression that the instructor is bluffing and incapable.

Designed primarily for use on the graduate level in the business school, the Harvard method has been utilized as an in-service device. Both industry and government have sent people to Harvard to take a short course especially devised for them. Those are, of course, people who have the mental capacity to do the type of thinking demanded of them. Moreover, the method has been utilized in short institutes held on plant premises. Usually, most success is achieved when the leader is someone who has gone through the Harvard experience at Boston.

The problem of reading. One of the difficulties with the case method when the sessions are given inside the plant is to get the trainees to read the cases and prepare themselves prior to meeting. Sometimes an attempt has been made to meet this problem by setting aside time at the beginning of each session for individual reading of the cases to be discussed. Those who have taken the Harvard short course say that a principal benefit comes from living together in the same dormitories where there is much discussion of the cases outside of formal sessions. The incident approach to case method developed, at least in part, from the need to introduce case material to groups without requiring them to read.

But perhaps trainees should be expected to do some reading, especially if they are being watched and evaluated for promotion to executive positions. For instance, the Ford Motor

Company has a management course at Cleveland, attended by selected people varying from high school to college in educational attainment. These people read college text material in human relations and take a rigorous course examination on it. In addition, they must write papers which they report on orally to the class. They must pass each of a series of courses or be removed from the program.

The "incident" approach to case method. The "incident" process is a variation of case method designed to adapt it more congenially to in-plant training, for which the orthodox case method presents difficulties. Some members will come to sessions poorly prepared, and these often are voluble persons with intellectual propensities who monopolize the conversation. The incident method tries to meet these obstacles by minimizing the requirement for reading and by introducing group process in fact-finding. Everybody becomes involved, so that the superloquacious ones do not run away with the show.

Not to be confused with critical incident method. The Pigors incident process for training supervisors should not be confused with the "critical incident" method developed by John C. Flanagan. The latter is essentially a research and fact-finding device, used mainly, thus far, for developing rating scales and systems for the evaluation of personnel. The Flanagan method consists of gathering hundreds (or even thousands) of isolated happenings, treating them statistically, and coming up with objective behavioral norms for determining whether people are doing good work [10]. The Pigors method, on the other hand, consists of the discussion of an entire case, the incident being merely a gimmick to introduce it into discussion.

Pigors' incident taken from a larger case. When the training session starts, the leader presents a hectographed statement of an incident taken from an arbitration report or some other reported case. This leads to a series of questions by the trainees to ascertain the facts of the case which were missing from the original statement. In the beginning, the leader is the only one who has this information, and he supplies it piecemeal in

response to the queries. But as the group becomes more experienced, they prepare their own cases, breaking up into two-man teams, one being a discussion leader and the other an observer-recorder.

When the group possesses the facts as brought out by the inquisition just described, the principal task is to agree on the central issue. What does the situation mean? What action seems called for? When such a decision has been made they proceed to generalize from the particular by looking for norms of action or behavior which would have widespread application to a variety of human situations [17].

A teaching manual is now available. Prepared by the Pigors themselves, it contains detailed but simple directions on how to proceed, as well as a number of cases ready for presentation and discussion [6].

Forced leadership conferences

The forced leadership conference method is an attempt to recognize and correct the fact that in a normal-sized group two or three persons may monopolize participation. Extraverts who are highly verbal and ascendant will tend to do all of the talking, while others who really have something to say will hesitate to speak up.

Under the plan of forced leadership, a group of twenty trainees is split into five groups of four each. In the next session, the five leaders of each small group are put in one group by themselves. In the third session, the five most active leaders of the first session are randomly distributed into two groups with three new leaders from the second session. The remaining twelve nonleaders are placed in three new groups of four each. The redistribution of leaders to other groups composed of leaders continues until only two nonleaders remain.

It is claimed that this method benefits trainees who need help most by forcing them to assume leadership roles. The natural leaders are segregated by placing them together where they must compete with each other. Those who would otherwise be

passive now emerge as leaders. The inhibitions imposed by others monopolizing the limelight are removed, and the quieter ones get a chance to practice and develop leadership propensities.

Forty first-level supervisors were ranked on the basis of performance from best to poorest by their own superiors. The odd numbers were placed in one group and the even in another, one of which received traditional conference training and the other forced leadership. The trainees were evaluated on the basis of performance six months after completing the training. Prior to training, each group of twenty had ten each in the upper and lower halves of the ranking. After training, the forced-leadership group had fourteen in the upper half of the ranking, whereas the traditional conference group had only six [13].

Sensitivity training

The great need in human relations training is to make people sensitive to how others are feeling and thinking. The ability to do this is not endowed lavishly on us by nature. People vary a great deal in their natural propensity to consider intuitively how others will react to certain behavior. Furthermore, traditional management culture has been production-centered. People were expected to fill jobs and perform or get out. Today it is gradually becoming known that a good human relations climate is directly correlated with higher productivity. The problem, then, is to try to induce those not well-endowed with this quality to develop it.

Must know one's self. But it is not a case of knowing only how others think and feel and, consequently, how they may be expected to act. It is also very fundamentally a matter of bringing one to know himself. The supervisor who has temper tantrums and bawls people out needs to be made to understand that his own behavior is what caused them to "clam up." The boss who turns a conference into a "telling bee" must be shown that he is reaping only "yes-man" behavior instead of tapping the resources of his human team.

The type of training which has been found most widely

successful for this purpose, thus far, is member-centered group discussion. This is a nondirected conference approach in which emphasis is placed upon human patterns of reaction rather than course content or subject matter. Every effort is made to turn an aggregation of individuals into a social group wherein people will discuss things which they are ordinarily reluctant to mention but which go to the heart of their social deficiencies. Essentially it is the old conference method bolstered by a type of leadership which has deeper insight into social psychology. Instead of the old-time conference leader coming up through vocational education, there is developing a new type of leader. He is oriented in social psychology and group dynamics and has probably attended the National Training Laboratories at Bethel, Maine or UCLA in Idlewild, California. He may very well also have had fundamental courses in education, but he is less oriented in trade and technology than the early disciples of Charles R. Allen, the father of vocational training in World War I [1].

Member-centered training. The important objective is to get the individuals present to break their social isolation from both the leader and other members and thus become a social group. The thing that many dynamic people do not understand is how to handle silence. The natural tendency of the amateur leader is to be embarrassed by silent pauses at the opening sessions. He thinks that he has to do something to "warm them up," when, as a matter of fact, that silence may be productive. Groups which sit in silence for more than forty-five seconds become uneasy. If a question has been posed, someone will break the silence. Slowly hands will begin to rise, at first sheepishly and hesitantly [10].

One has frequently seen even an ostensibly trained leader so afraid of silence that he will not stop talking long enough to let the group develop its own momentum. Group discussion will not start, however, if the leader insists upon monopolizing the conversation. Member-centered training must be truly participative. This does not mean that the leader should be entirely

passive, for he has the functions of instigating, keeping-on-the track, and getting the participants started in the right direction again after they become bogged down. But he needs to fulfill this duty unobtrusively, behaving in a permissive manner. He is the servant of the group rather than its master.

It is not deep therapy. Some have objected to these group approaches on the basis that a trainer should not engage in therapy. One writer claims that the group sessions advocated here are educational and not therapeutic [8, p. 133]. Nevertheless, he goes on to say that the laboratory method of group participation "requires enough understanding of the therapeutic method that conditions harmful to mental health and emotional growth can be avoided. . . ."

Another has said that it is impossible to train supervisors successfully without changing their personalities. "If, for example, a supervisor's leadership pattern is domineering, it is best that some change be instituted. This change would be for the supervisor's own benefit as well as for his subordinate's and the company's. Such a change *need not, and should not,* be deep therapy" [10].

Role-playing

Role-playing has long been an accepted procedure for group therapy, but it is now coming to be used more as an educational technique for people who are not in need of deep therapy. Its fundamental procedure is to have members of a group act out the parts in real life situations involving problems of human behavior which vex them. Thelen [8] has listed four main purposes of role-playing:

1. To "warm up" an audience and get involvement;
2. To present a specific problem which will seem real and thus furnish people a basis for discovering their own problems;
3. To test various ways of dealing with a problem situation; and
4. To develop "sensitivity."

Although role-playing for supervisors should be regarded as an educational rather than a therapeutic technique, the fact

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remains that its objective is to induce supervisors to alter their human relations behavior. This involves some change in personality. Perhaps the main objective lies in #4 above, instilling in supervisors a sensitiveness to how people think and act. This involves not only the thoughts and actions of others but also the supervisor's insight into his own strength and weaknesses plus a desire to improve his own behavior.

The leader. The leader or trainer of a role-playing session acts much as he does in the nondirected conference and in case method. The atmosphere is permissive, the objective being to secure group involvement and participation. Cases are discussed, but they are of the brief, skeleton variety provided by the group itself rather than the longer, Harvard variety, although the latter could be used for role-playing purposes. The objective is to develop in the participants an understanding about how people tend to react to specific interpersonal situations. It is pretty well accepted that a minimum of change will be brought about by lecturing or haranguing. People must be brought to involve themselves in what they recognize as real-life situations. They are brought to see themselves as others see them, usually vicariously, and this realization motivates them to alter behavior. It has been found that role-playing is one of the most effective techniques in bringing about such change.

Involve top management first. It is necessary to get top-management involved at the beginning, especially where role-playing is involved, because it embraces such a departure from traditional and familiar training procedures. Hence, it is desirable to start off with sessions consisting of persons on as high an echelon as possible.

The listing of problems. The first step is to have the group mention its problems while the leader lists them on the blackboard. Some groups will come up with a satisfactory list in the first session; others may require two or three sessions. Ultimately, the leader will compliment the group upon its ability to analyze its own problems and ask permission to let him classify and

categorize the problems in the interest of saving time. The leader then presents his list and asks for discussion.

The play-acting skit. When the problem to be discussed has been determined, the leader should present it as clearly as possible. The roles having been defined, volunteers to act them out are called for. Argyris [3] lays down the following three rules in role assignment.

1. Distasteful roles should go to individuals having secure places in the group;
2. Assign a role to one who aspires toward it in real life, as one who wants to become a foreman;
3. Allow the group to choose the actors if possible.

Discussion of the skit after acting. The members of the group who are not acting should be told in advance to observe in a manner which will enable them to present constructive criticism. First, the actors are allowed to comment on their own acting; then follows the evaluative comments of the observers. The leader's job here is to keep them concentrated on the human relations aspect of the skit. He should also insist that they use the fictitious names assigned to the roles rather than those of the actors [3]. Some emotional reactions are to be expected, but attempts should be made to stimulate free discussion while deftly steering away from the shoals of personal animosities.

Group therapy

There is much controversy about using the word "therapy" in connection with personnel management procedures involving people who are ostensibly well from a medical standpoint. The incident reported here, however, involves a psychiatrist as leader, so possibly the use of the term can be justified.

This experiment involved a group of executives in a federal agency who volunteered to meet and discuss their personnel problems. The psychiatrist, acting as leader, took a relatively passive role. There was no agenda, and structuring of the meeting was held to a minimum. Responsibility for making the sessions productive and useful was devolved upon the members.

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There was no lecturing or teaching in the formal sense, and principles or rules governing behavior were not presented. Advice was not given, and interpretations were made sparingly by the psychiatrist after considerable evidence had been disclosed.

Participants testified that they had received help in the areas of communication, greater group feeling, appreciation of psychiatry, and in delegation [16]. Looking back after five years, the training director who sparked the program has some observations that may be of help to others who are contemplating this approach.

Do not mix training and therapy. He feels that the word "therapy" should be avoided altogether. In this instance the participants were all "normal" persons; they were responsible executives who were fulfilling acceptably the obligations of their jobs. "Bad actors" were not invited, and an effort was made to exclude those "whose defenses would require them to throw rocks at the program." Severe neurotics should not be invited because they disturb the other members.

Participation should be voluntary. Attendance should be based entirely upon voluntary choice. Persons should not feel that they are being coerced. In this case, the persons to be invited were selected with some care.

Should be further experiment. This training director feels that the experience with a group led by a psychiatrist, lasting several years, was at least a qualified success. Some gained much more from it than others: some experienced real change, while others never would let their defenses down. However, he believes that results were sufficiently promising to warrant further experiment and hopes that others will find it possible to do so. Its discontinuance in this instance was due to factors not related to its validity as a training device.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Describe the essential characteristics of the two types of conference.

2. What does a conference leader do?
3. What are the essential features of the Harvard case method?
4. How does the Pigors incident method seek to make the case method more suitable for in-service training?
5. Describe the forced-leadership method.
6. What is the essential difference between "sensitivity" training and traditional approaches?
7. What is the purpose of role-playing as a training method?
8. What cautions should be observed in conducting sessions led by a psychiatrist?

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