

ARMY OFFICER PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGING  
BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN INSTITUTIONS OF AUTHORITY:  
THE PERCEIVED CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

by

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## PREFACE

Unquestionably, military institutions are characterized by unique environmental conditions which influence attitude formation in ways different than conditions found in most civilian institutions. Violence is a way of life for the military man. He spends most of his time at pursuits associated with destruction. His initial indoctrination in the service is a school designed to teach him to use, efficiently, the basic weapons of his branch of service, whether they be rifles, cannons, fighters, ships or nuclear weapons. The remainder of his career is devoted to various aspects of that basic theme. He may command combat units or units with missions of supporting combat units. He may hold positions associated with training, weapons procurement, organization or even congressional interest. All military activity is designed for the ultimate purpose of facilitating combat. It seems axiomatic when viewed in that sense that those who select military service for a career would hold or develop attitudes different from people devoted to less dramatic pursuits. The destruction and killing associated with war must be rationalized in moralistic terms to make it acceptable. Super-patriotism seems indispensable. The professional soldier is prone to see himself as the bastion of liberty, the protector of freedom, the

self-sacrificing patriot of the American revolution. If that is the case, he is also likely to see himself as morally superior to those pursuing less high-minded careers.

The military society is, in fact, well-bounded and isolated. Military establishments have their own housing, commissaries, exchanges, sports activities and social organizations. There is little requirement for interaction with the civilian community below the very top echelons of each military facility. The soldier is likely to spend most of his time, both on and off duty, in the company of other members of the military community. Therefore, he is not exposed to many of the forces which influence attitude formation in the civilian environment.

This is an attitudinal approach to field grade army officer perceptions of American society, with emphasis to societal impact on the efficacy of the United States Army. There is a plethora of serious studies dealing with peripherally related issues such as the evolution of military organization, the cultural origins of the Army Officer Corps, environmental influence on attitude development peculiar to the military and the political role of the military. Some of the more prominent examples of these efforts will be reviewed here.

One of the most exhaustive examinations of American military organization as it evolved between 1900 and 1960 is provided by Paul Y. Hammond's Organizing for Defense.<sup>1</sup> That work charts the development of the armed services from the separate and highly autonomous Departments of the Army and the Navy to the current highly integrated and centralized Department

of Defense. Hammond explored the attitudes of the military and civilian elites which influenced the relative success of the separate services in their constant rivalry before Congress. The fortunes of the Army, Navy and, after World War II, the Air Force waxed and waned with parochial loyalties of Congressional leaders, with executive perceptions of the "proper strategy for defense and with the personalities of successive political appointees. The trend, however, has been one of ever-increasing centralization. Congress has consistently, if reluctantly, legitimized executive decisions for reorganization, requiring only general assurances that a "Prussian General Staff" was not in the offing. Hammond confined his study to the highest levels of military and civilian leadership. He provides no insights at the level of mid-management or reactions and influence of that group.

Samuel P. Huntington's The Common Defense<sup>2</sup> is an in-depth analysis of defense policy innovation following World War II. He found that following the War, the power of Congress over the size, composition and commitment of the military virtually disappeared. The executive branch became all powerful in the formulation of strategy and structure for the armed services. The only substantive control exercised by Congress was in reserve force levels "The military programs have to be weighed against each other, against conflicting interpretations of the security threats and military requirements, against the needs of domestic and non-military foreign policy programs and against tax revenues and the requirements of fiscal policy.

No Congressional committee is competent to do this, not because it lacks the technical knowledge but because it lacks the legal authority and political capability to bring together these conflicting interests, balance one off against another and arrive at a compromise or decision." He argues that even the declaration of war is no longer within the area of competence for the Congress: "In a small-scale intervention or limited war a congressional declaration was unnecessary and undesirable; in a general war it would in all probability, be impossible." In view of the current widespread dissatisfaction with the Vietnam war, one might question the continued validity of that generalization. Huntington found that public opinion favored a large military force even at the expense of increased taxes and that defense voting was not, in general terms, a partisan issue. The advent of pressing domestic issues and the public dissatisfaction with the Vietnam War threaten the continued validity of those findings as well. None-the-less, this work provides an excellent conceptualization of military-civilian, executive-legislative interaction.

Morris Janowitz in two books entitled The New Military<sup>3</sup> and The Professional Soldier<sup>4</sup> documents the cultural origins of the members of the Army Officers Corps and the environment within which they live. He notes that prior to World War II the cultural roots of the professional officer corps were deeply embedded in a military aristocracy. The rapid expansion of the armed services for the war and the subsequent maintenance of a large force during the Cold War has

resulted in expansion of the recruitment base. There remains a disproportionate representation of the South; a disproportionate ratio of officers from rural areas and of the lower socio-economic class. None-the-less, the officer corps is much more representative of society than prior to the war. All officers entering the Army from service academies and the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) have baccalaureate degrees, and those who are commissioned through officer candidate schools and by direct appointment are encouraged to achieve that level of education through off-duty study and through Army-sponsored attendance in full time courses of study. Therefore, the Army Officers Corps is more highly educated than most other societal groupings. Janowitz argues that the clearly established boundaries of the military institution results in social isolation. Officers, in general terms, live within the social confines of the military institution and have limited contact with the remainder of society. They see themselves as experts within their field; as dedicated to higher moral precepts than the rest of society; and as self-sacrificing in the interest of ultimate moral objectives. These conditions are conducive to the formation of attitudes derisive of other segments of society. The officer's world is also one of structural orderliness with clearly defined processes for decision-making and action. There is considerable argument that such a structured environment engenders rigidity in thought processes and loss of rationality.

In fact, Burton M. Sapin and Richard C. Snyder in an article entitled "The Role of Military Institutions and Agencies in American Foreign Policy,"<sup>5</sup> described what they call the "military mind" in policy making as follows:

- (A) Rigidity in thought and problem analysis--the rejection of new ideas and reliance on tradition rather than lessons learned from recent experience;
- (B) Inadequate weighing of non-military factors in military problems, and inability to understand complex political-military relationships;
- (C) An authoritarian approach to most social issues and situations, accompanied by disrespect and disregard of civilian authority;
- (D) Insulation from non-military knowledge and anything beyond what is narrowly defined as militarily relevant;
- (E) Judgement of policy goals and techniques primarily in terms of forces and total victory from total war.

Phillip Abrams, in "Armed Forces and Society: Problems of Alienation,"<sup>6</sup> argues that the professional soldier is an alienated man. He sees the professional soldier idealistically attached to values which his society professes but systematically fails to practice. The soldier stands in a marginal relationship to the dominant operational values of most civilian societies. Abrams hypothesizes the poor fit of civil and military values can best be accounted for by the assumption that "the men who select themselves into professional armies in these societies are in some important ways alienated from civil values, or from what they sense to be the dominant and emergent configuration of civil values, to begin with."

All of these studies center on process analysis and inference from the authors' perceptions of observed environmental phenomena. While peripherally related, they fail to deal specifically with self-perceptions within the officers corps using statistically significant data. Until recently, there has apparently been no serious study of middle-level army officer attitudes. The one exception, from which this effort draws heavily, is a study by Professors David W. Brady and Leon Rappaport<sup>7</sup> designed to ascertain the effects of exposure to extreme violence on individual legitimation of violence. Interviewing soldiers before and after going to Vietnam was administratively impractical. Therefore, Professor Rappaport surveyed samples of middle-aged males and females, college males and females and a sample of Vietnam veterans. The results of those surveys were compared with results from the same survey, which had been administered to a random sample of field grade officers under the supervision of Professor Brady. The comparison showed that of all the groups, middle-aged males possess the lowest threshold for violence, followed by field grade officers, veterans, college males and college females. The study also showed that those who had been exposed to heavy combat accepted legal violence more readily than those who had been exposed to moderate or no combat.

This study probes the attitudes of field grade officers toward societal institutions. It attempts to explicate underlying perceptions of the military and its interaction with civilian society. While previous works have approached the

military phenomena from without, this effort approaches it from within. Previous studies have been concerned with either the top echelons of the military or with the enlisted soldiers. This one deals with the middle level army officer. He does a large portion of the "leg-work" in top level decision making. His attitudes, therefore, seem worthy of investigation.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Paul Y. Hammond, Organizing for Defense, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

<sup>2</sup>Samuel P. Huntington, The Common Defense, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

<sup>3</sup>Morris Janowitz, The New Military, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964).

<sup>4</sup>Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

<sup>5</sup>Burton M. Sapin and Richard C. Snyder, "The Role of Military Institutions and Agencies in American Foreign Policy," American Foreign Policy, (New York: Rinehart, 1954), p. 369.

<sup>6</sup>Phillip Abrams, "The Armed Forces and Society, Problems of Alienation," in J. N. Wolfe and John Erickson (eds.) The Armed Services and Society, (Edinburgh: University Press 1971), pp. 24-37.

<sup>7</sup>David W. Brady and Leon Rappaport, "Violence and Vietnam: A Comparison Between Attitudes of Civilians and Veterans," unpublished research paper at Kansas State University.

## INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Army is an integral and vital part of the American political system. Foreign policy and international relations are governed largely by the military strength of the nation and, when diplomacy fails, the military services become an extension of the political arm. Domestically, maintenance of an adequate defense posture has, since World War II, required a substantial portion of the national budget. In addition, the Army has traditionally served as an inculcator of values for the nation's young men. Military service has been encouraged to "make men" of our youth. Therefore, an attitudinal study of Army officers (a subject that has been sorely neglected)<sup>1</sup> is equally as important to politics as a study of state or local politicians.

Primarily, as a result of the Vietnam war, military leadership and the efficacy of the army have been subjects of increasing attention in the news media recently. These subjects are also receiving attention from military personnel, both active and recently retired. The predominant theme has been directed at permissiveness in society and its effect upon the efficacy of the military.

The following are excerpts from an article by

General Hamilton H. Howze, U.S. Army, Retired, in the January 1971 issue of Army Magazine.<sup>2</sup>

"It may be called conservatism, but experience in war and the documentation of military history lead one inevitably to the conclusion that a force that lacks good discipline will take a terrible shellacking from one that has it."

"A Commander, high or low, has an overriding obligation to develop and maintain a command capable of executing its most demanding mission. For a unit of the line, this means battle under conditions of severe hardship, searing and conflicting emotion, and extreme danger."

"Show me the man who claims he can, simply by exercising his magnetic personality, persuade another man to attempt something very likely to kill him and I'll show you a monumental idiot."

"Without disparaging any other quality of leadership, in the last analysis it is the authority of the commander which gets the job done when that job is really tough to do."

In the September 1970 issue of Military Review, Colonel Robert B. Riggs, U.S. Army, Retired, says, "No military force has ever succeeded on the battleground without discipline created on the training

ground."<sup>3</sup>

Yet, according to Riggs, "For the future...U.S. Military Commanders can expect a variety of circumstances wherein sit-ins, walk-ins, sit-outs, and walk-outs, as well as mutinies of a minor nature, will occur." General Howze goes on in his article to say that command authority is weakening progressively and that the officers' position has lost much of its prestige. He attributes this erosion to a permissive society, devisive politics and reluctance of the military high command to oppose public and congressional opinion in the interest of military efficacy.

Lt. Col. James D. Smith, a battalion commander in the 82d Airborne Division, was quoted in the February 23, 1971 issue of Look magazine as saying, "Most of my problems are with permissiveness in the Country. A kid's told 'no' for the first time when he comes in here, and he'll lightheartedly disobey it....The aloofness of the officer corps is gone. You have to earn the respect, not demand it. A salute is something you don't demand anymore."<sup>4</sup>

These comments represent opinions of the individual authors and any inferences therefrom to the population of the Army Officer Corps could possibly be fallacious.

There is some empirical evidence, however, to indicate a high level of concern, among Army field

grade officers, with the erosion of traditional military precepts. Major Richard W. Hardman, U.S. Army, conducted a survey of the Majors and Lieutenant Colonels comprising the student body and faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College (USACGSC)<sup>5</sup> designed to determine their retirement intentions and the reasons therefor. Of the 1060 individuals who responded, 747 (70 percent) indicated intentions to retire after twenty years of active duty as opposed to a full thirty year career. Fifty five percent of those planning to retire after twenty years indicated that they had planned on a "thirty year career when they decided upon a military career." Of that same 70 percent, 305 officers (41 percent) indicated that they would elect an option to retire after fifteen years if it were offered.<sup>6</sup> Data are not available with which to document previous Army experience with early voluntary retirements among USACGSC graduates. These expressed early retirement intentions seem unusual among this particular group, who are in the ascendancy within their chosen profession.

Major Hardman's questionnaire provided space for multiple considerations influencing the respondent's career intentions. He included a list of twenty nine suggested possibilities. As could be expected, the

majority of responses related to family needs, pay, assignments, and second career opportunities. It seems significant, however, that 30 percent of the reasons given by those intending to retire after twenty years related to dissatisfaction with a societal and military trend toward permissiveness. A summary of these results can be found in Appendix 1.

We have concluded from these indications and from conversations with students in the 1970-71 class of the USACGSC that they perceive a permissive trend in society which is engendering disillusionment among the current mid-managers and future leaders of the military services. Field grade officers have been socialized to respect and value the traditional hierarchical structure of the military and to believe that total authority and reflexive response to orders are essential to success in combat.<sup>7</sup> Serious questions are being posed regarding the future capability of the Army to function in combat if the trend is not reversed.

The purpose of this investigation is to empirically test the following hypotheses:

1. Do field grade officers perceive a serious erosion of military authority?
2. Do field grade officers perceive an erosion of societal support for the Army?

3. If erosion of military authority and societal support for the army is perceived, is it attributed to permissiveness by military and societal institutions of authority.

Permissiveness, in the present context, is defined by Funk and Wagnalls as "not strict in discipline." Greater specificity is required to render it operationally useful for our purposes.

As used herein, permissiveness is dependent upon individual perceptions of right and wrong by those occupying positions of authority. We define permissiveness as acquiescence by institutions of authority, including parents, schools, courts, governmental administrations and the military hierarchy to societal pressures, which are perceived by the authorities as undermining the "right" or "best" order. It may take the form of unnecessary change or of maintenance of the status quo when necessary changes are perceived. Permissiveness is evidenced by parents who acquiesce to the demands of children, which are in contradiction to the ethical precepts of the parent; by school administrators, who acquiesce to student demands for relaxed academic and behavioral standards, which are perceived by the administrator as reducing the quality of education; by judges, who allow lawyers to manipulate the courts with legal technicalities and prevent the

administration of justice; by elected officials, who acquiesce to societal demands for policy change, perceiving that such change will weaken the fiber of society; and by military officers who acquiesce to demands for policy change perceiving that such change will have a debilitating impact on the efficacy of the military. As hypothetical examples, a division commander, perceiving that Saturday morning inspections enhanced the combat effectiveness of his division, cancelled those inspections due to congressional inquiries resulting from the complaints by soldiers and their families, would have acted permissively by this definition. If the President of the United States perceived that an all volunteer army would be less effective than an army composed of a mix of volunteers and draftees, but, due to political pressure, directed the Army to implement the all volunteer concept, he would have acted permissively. Within this definition, system or policy change is not of itself permissive. Actions become permissive only when they are perceived by the directing authority as debilitating to the best interests of society.

If we find that a significant segment of field grade officers do perceive a serious erosion of military authority, a deficiency in societal support



for the army, and societal permissiveness as the causal factor, we will argue that:

1. The current mid-managers and future leaders of the Army, represented by the majors and lieutenant colonels, who attend USACGSC, are disillusioned with societal institutions of authority, both military and civilian, because of their permissive response to societal pressures and the concomitant debilitating impact on the efficacy of the Army.

2. The perceived erosion of authority, lack of societal support for the Army, and societal permissiveness are producing conditions conducive to mass behavior within the military establishment.

## PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

### Perceived Breakdown in the Arena of Law and Order

If indeed field grade officers perceived permissiveness in societal institutions of authority, we hypothesized that they would be concerned with law enforcement agencies as a primary institutions for enforcing authority. It seemed likely that they would favor strict laws, authoritative enforcement of the law and punitive sanctions for violators. Data to test this hypothesis were available from the outset. As part of a larger project, an opinion survey concerning violence was administered to a random sample of 83 field grade officers attending the 1970-71 class of the USACGSC. The survey was designed by Dr. Leon Rappaport of Kansas State University, to determine what effect exposure to combat had on tendencies to violence.<sup>8</sup> The survey contained such variables as:

Recent Supreme Court decisions have contributed to the breakdown of law and order.

There is too much violence shown on television.

Too much of our tax money is spent on armaments.

Capital punishment should be abolished.

Most civil rights demonstrators are treated too leniently.

It is important for young men to learn to handle weapons properly.

Dr. Rappaport previously administered the survey to five population samples: Vietnam veterans (N-120); male college students (N-92); female college students (N-91); middle-aged males (N-166); and middle-aged females (N-183). The survey with results is at Appendix III. This data provided a means both for probing attitudinal dimensions and for comparing the levels of field grade officer attitudes with those of other population samples.

In order to refine the survey results and to determine if a dimension could be isolated encompassing perceptions of societal permissiveness, separate factor analyses were conducted on the responses obtained from the six samples using the principal components factoring techniques with unity in the diagonals, and a varimax rotation procedure.<sup>9</sup> For the sake of clarity, only factor loadings of .40 or greater were considered significant. Factor 1 accounted for 42 percent of the explained common variance. The factor structure for factor 1 is presented in Table 1.

The factor structure for factor 1 for field grade officers consisted of eight questions clearly defining an attitudinal dimension encompassing law, order and punishment. There was no confusion of military issues, self-reliance, moral issues, etc. The highest loaded items indicating the meaning of this factor are:

Table 1. First Factor Loadings Across Six Groups  
on the Rappaport Violence Survey

Item	N-83 Army Officers	N-166 Mid-aged Males	N-183 Mid-aged Females	N-92 College Males	N-91 College Females	N-120 Veterans
1. Recent Supreme Court decisions have contributed to the breakdown of law and order.	0.60	0.56	0.55			0.68
2. There is too much violence shown on television.		0.41				
7. Police are not respected because they have to treat people too carefully these days.	0.51	0.48	0.43		0.61	0.67
8. Too much of our tax money is spent on armaments.				-0.72		
9. The Vietnam war could never be settled by military force alone.			-0.45			
11. Military Service should be entirely voluntary.				-0.71		-0.44
12. Capital punishment should be abolished.			0.56	-0.41	-0.49	-0.47
16. Generally, the sentences given to convicted criminals are too lenient.	0.46	0.59	0.46		0.56	0.68

	N-83 Army Officers	N-166 Mid-aged Males	N-183 Mid-aged Females	N-92 College Males	N-91 College Females	N-120 Veterans
17. Police often treat peace demonstrators too roughly.	-0.71	-0.57		-0.45	-0.73	-0.72
18. It is important for young men to learn how to handle weapons properly.		0.48		0.50		0.56
19. The penalties given to people caught using marijuana and LSD are generally too harsh.	-0.58	-0.61		-0.60		-0.63
20. Many people do not understand that hunting is a good recreational sport.		0.47				
21. In order to stop looting rioters, police should be allowed to shoot to kill.	0.72	0.62	0.60	0.61		0.41
22. Most civil rights demonstrators are treated too leniently.	0.72	0.58	0.47	0.47	0.78	
24. Our mistake in Vietnam was not using enough military forces in the very beginning.			0.48	0.66		0.54
25. Some crimes are so terrible that the death penalty is not sufficient punishment.				0.44		

	N-83 Army Officers	N-166 Mid-aged Males	N-183 Mid-aged Females	N-92 College Males	N-91 College Females	N-120 Veterans
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27. Men who leave the country to avoid the draft should be punished severely when they return.

0.63                      0.58                      0.70                      0.73

29. In the end, soldiers are just hired killers.

-0.50                      -0.75

30. Without a strong police force, society would disintegrate.

0.55                      0.62                      0.62

33. The U.S. gives too much military aid to foreign countries.

-0.52

34. Minority groups only get their rights if they are willing to fight for them.

-0.40

35. Our prison system should emphasize rehabilitation rather than punishment.

-0.47                      -0.68                      -0.55                      -0.48

37. Men prove their courage in physical combat.

0.40                      0.45

38. The best way to insure world peace is by keeping strong military forces ready.

0.47                      0.60                      0.46                      0.54

39. The U.S. has too many military bases around the world.

-0.51                      -0.52                      -0.47

In order to stop looting rioters, police should  
be allowed to shoot to kill. (.72).

Civil rights demonstrators are treated too  
leniently. (.72).

Peace demonstrators are treated too roughly.  
(.71).

And the next few highest loaded items are also relevant:

Supreme court decisions have contributed to  
the breakdown of law and order. (.60).

Penalties for drug users are too harsh. (.58).

Police are not respected. (.51).

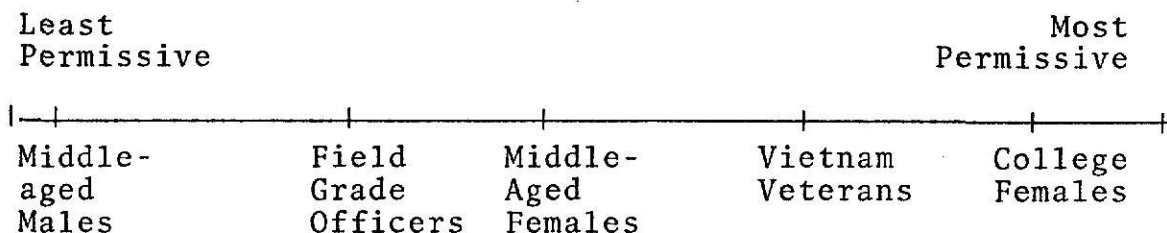
The structure of the first factor for four of the other five groups is also conceptually related to law and order, but it is less clearly defined. While seven of the eight variables which loaded on the first factor for officers also loaded on the first factor for middle-aged males, college females and Vietnam veterans, and six on that of middle-aged females, these groups mixed issues and perceived a number of subjects as tapping the same dimension.<sup>10</sup> For example, for middle-aged males this factor included questions dealing with the military, physical sports, and violence on T.V. College females included military issues and moral issues as did the Vietnam veterans.

The clearly defined parameters of factor 1 for

the officers as opposed to the apparent confusion of issues by the other groups may be explained by the officers' comparatively higher education and their homogeneity of experience. Group homogeneity for the officers is also identifiable by the comparatively smaller within-group variance than that in the other five groups. This is not to suggest that there is no disagreement within the officer group. Within-group variance is significant.

A study of the mean direction of feelings within the groups and a comparison between groups lends support to the hypothesis that the officer group perceives societal permissiveness in the arena of law and order. Table 2 depicts the means and the means of means for the eight common variables that constitute factor 1 for the officers.

Examination of the within-group means of the means for common variables in Table 2 allows one to rank the various groups along a continuum from least permissive to most permissive with middle-aged males at one pole and college females at the other.<sup>11</sup>







Examination of mean responses to individual variables yields the following results.

1. Middle-aged males and field grade officers share a consensus of attitudes regarding law and order, law enforcement and punishment. They consistently favor strict laws, authoritative enforcement and more punitive sanctions for violators.

2. Middle-aged females fall slightly on the anti-permissive side of the median for the continuum. They are generally less punitive than their male contemporaries, and more so than veterans. Only in the case of shooting looters do they reverse positions with the veteran.

3. Veterans fall midway on the permissive side of the continuum. They are generally less punitive than the older groups. They do reverse positions with the middle-aged females in the case of shooting looters and with the college female on the issue of penalties for marijuana users.

4. The college female is consistently the least punitive and shows the least dissatisfaction with the prevailing trend in law and law enforcement.<sup>12</sup>

These results tend to substantiate the hypothesis that permissiveness is perceived in civilian institutions of authority. We hypothesized that if field grade officers perceived a breakdown in the institutions of law and order that they would tend to be generally less

contented than the overall population. To test this hypothesis, the well-known Guerin, Veroff and Feld (1960) happiness question and the Converse and Robinson (1965) life satisfaction question designed to ascertain the general or overall feelings of contentment were included in the first survey.<sup>13</sup> The results were compared with the results of other surveys containing the same two questions. (See Table 3, below.)

Table 3. Basic Satisfaction Items and Means  
of Responses in Sample Populations

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HAPPINESS:	Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days -- would you say you're <u>very</u> happy, <u>pretty</u> happy, or <u>not too</u> happy these days?
	1958 (Guerin et al. . . . .) .Mean 2.24*
	1962 (Bradburn & Caplovitz) . . . . .Mean 2.07
	1971 (Field Grade Officers) . . . . .Mean 1.94
LIFE SATIS- FACTION:	In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days? Would you call it <u>completely</u> satisfying, <u>pretty</u> satisfying, or <u>not very</u> satisfying?
	1965 (Converse & Robinson). . . . .Mean 2.13
	1968 (Survey Research Center) . . . . .Mean 2.14
	1971 (Field Grade Officers) . . . . .Mean 1.86

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\*NOTE-1. Very happy and completely satisfying were given a score of 3, pretty happy and pretty satisfying were given a score of 2, and not too happy and not very satisfying were given a score of 1. Therefore, the mean of 2.24 in the 1958 survey on happiness indicates the sample was more than pretty happy.

2. The surveys extracted from Robinson and Shaver were converted to the scoring system explained in Note 1 above by the authors.

By comparison, our sample is better off economically than the other four samples. Further, our sample is just entering into the upper echelon of their profession. Despite these apparent advantages, however, our sample is less happy and less satisfied than any of the other samples. As shown, the other surveys were conducted between 1958 and 1968. It is possible that the differences are functions of time rather than profession. It is interesting to note, however, the relatively small differences obtained by Converse and Robinson in 1965 from those of the Survey Research Center in 1968. That time span included the build-up of U.S. military forces in Vietnam. Yet, there was no deterioration in life satisfaction within their samples.

Comparison of our results with those of Dr. Rappaport, is supportive of our hypothesis that field grade officers perceive permissiveness in civilian institutions of authority in that they do perceive permissiveness in the arena of law and order. The happiness/satisfaction survey shows greater discontentment than that found in general population samples. While this evidence is suggestive of validity for the claim that field grade officers perceive societal permissiveness in civilian institutions of authority, it provides no support for the claims that military authority is seen as eroding or that societal support for the military is seen as

dangerously low. In the next section evidence will be presented to show that field grade officers perceive permissiveness as having permeated the foundations of both military and civilian institutions of authority. They perceive a concomitant erosion of societal support for the army, and they believe that there has been a serious erosion of military authority.

#### Field Grade Officer Perceptions of Military and Civilian Permissiveness

While much has been written concerning environmental conditions of military life which contribute to personality types and attitude development in professional soldiers,<sup>14</sup> there has, unfortunately, been little empirical research conducted in the subject area of interest here.<sup>15</sup> Any broader explications and generalizations were, therefore, dependent upon further probing of officer attitudes through survey research. Questions remaining to be answered were:

1. Is military authority perceived as being eroded?
2. Is societal support perceived as dangerously low for the military services?
3. Is the permissiveness perceived in the arena of law and order limited to that institution or does it cross institutional boundaries to include other civilian and military institutions?

To get at these questions, a questionnaire was designed to probe general attitudes concerning military authority, parental authority, educational institutional influence, news media influence, political influence and the extent of perceived permissiveness. Variables were included such as:

The authority of the commander is weakening progressively.

Lack of support by the civilian leadership, i.e., the President and Secretary of Defense, is degrading the effectiveness of the military service.

The erosion of military discipline in the young enlisted ranks can be blamed substantially on a lack of parental guidance during youth.

Public school teachers and university professors have contributed to a dangerous decline in patriotism among the youth of America.

To facilitate quantification of the range of perceptions of breakdown in institutions of authority the questionnaire provided for responses of strong, moderate and slight agreement or disagreement or for undecided. An open ended question was included in hopes of getting at any non-defined subject areas and at the extent to which officers would go to reverse the permissive trend. The survey was pretested by administration to several officers attending USACGSC who were not included in the random sample. The questionnaire, with mean results, is at Appendix IV.

This survey was distributed to the same eighty three

officers, who constituted the original sample. Sixty officers responded. To insure that no possibility of intimidation would exist to influence the responses, officers were guaranteed anonymity. Therefore, it is impossible to correlate the individual responses of the first survey to those of the second.

A rotated varimax factor analysis using unity in the diagonals was performed on the responses to the 27 closed ended questions.<sup>16</sup> Five clearly definable factors were produced which explained 54 percent of the common variance. The first factor accounted for 40 percent of the explained variance; the second for 20 percent; the third for 15 percent; the fourth for 13 percent; and the fifth for 12 percent. Following standard procedure only those variable loadings equal to or greater than .40 were considered significant. Tables 4 through 8 show the results of the factor analysis.

The first factor consisted of five variables, all of which involved perceptions of a general erosion of authority both in the military and the government. Factor loadings, means, deviation and response frequencies can be found in Table 4. The questions regarding command authority and officer prestige clearly relate to military authority, while the question on who runs the country relates to civil authority. Keying on the phrase "dangerous distaste for the military" one can

Table 4. Field Grade Officers' Perceptions of Erosion  
of Military and Governmental Authority

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean*	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies		
				SAT	UND	DISSAT
2. The authority of the commander is weakening progressively.	-0.52	4.98	1.84	28	6	66
7. Public opinion polls, rather than duly elected officials and responsible administrators are running this country.	-0.45	5.46	1.74	54	8	38
8. There has been a substantial increase in the incidence of soldiers wearing the uniform in a way that implies a deliberate attempt to insult it.	-0.54	3.78	1.61	46	22	32
11. The officer's position in the Army has lost much of its prestige.	-0.86	5.00	1.81	22	8	70
17. The dangerous distaste for the military service, particularly among the young men of military age, has been encouraged by pronouncements critical of the military by high public officials.	-0.64	5.48	1.67	12	2	86

\*Responses were based on a 7 point scale with 7 representing strongest agreement, 4 undecided, and 1 strongest disagreement.



infer potential erosion of both military and civil authority in variable 17. "A deliberate attempt to insult the uniform" in variable 8 implies disrespect for the military authority which prescribes its proper wear. The mean scores for this factor, as well as for the other four, are generally inconclusive due to the very large standard deviations. The issues are seen in a bipolar fashion and the mean scores indicating low levels of concern result from dichotomous attitudes. In an attempt to discover the underlying reasons for the dichotomy of attitudes, the data were segregated by age of the respondents, by political region of origin and by rural/urban background. It was subjected to t tests and f tests<sup>17</sup> controlling for each to determine if significant deviations of means or variance occurred as a result of cultural backgrounds. No significant deviations were found. Means and variance within age groups closely approximated those of the population. The same was true of regional groupings and rural/urban groupings.

An examination of the percentages of satisfied and dissatisfied responses is useful.<sup>18</sup> Appendix V depicts the frequency of responses to the grouping of questions comprising each factor.<sup>19</sup> Fifty eight percent of the responses indicate dissatisfaction, to some degree, with a current trend toward weakened authority. Thirty three percent support the current trend; while

9 percent are undecided. The response frequencies to the individual questions (Table 4) reveal clear majorities who perceive a serious weakening of military authority (variables 2, 11 and 17). There is a dichotomy of views regarding the authority of elected officials (variable 7) and 46 percent of our respondents do not believe that the erosion of authority has deteriorated to the extent that soldiers attempt to insult the uniform, while 22 percent are undecided.

These findings suggest three significant implications. The weakened command authority and loss of officer prestige perceived by our sample will have a debilitating impact upon the efficacy of the army. Our findings do not suggest that authority has eroded to the extent that command decisions are dependent upon popular support. They do suggest, however, a departure or movement away from the total authority and reflexive response to orders concept that has traditionally been held as essential to success in combat. Second, 38 percent of the sample of field grade officers, who are integral parts of the national administration, feel that our elected officials and administrators act irresponsibly in response to public opinion polls. An additional 8 percent are unsure of whether this is true. Therefore, erosion of authority is apparently

perceived as a result of permissiveness at the highest echelons of government. Third, our results show that the field grade officers perceive a public aversion to the military that has reached a dangerous level, particularly among young men of military age. They attribute this distaste to critical statements by high public officials. Eighty six percent of our respondents, the greatest consensus on any variable, place the responsibility for the erosion of military authority, in large part, on high public officials.

These findings provide support for all three of our hypotheses. Field grade officers do perceive a serious erosion of military authority and a lack of societal support for the military. They attribute these conditions, at least in part, to permissiveness by elected officials and to critical statements by high public officials. The effects of these perceptions will be dealt with in the concluding chapter.

Table 5 presents the six variables loading on the second factor. This factor clearly defines a dimension measuring the respondents' confidence in the military hierarchy. It includes questions dealing with the perceived validity of the officer promotion system, evaluation of senior officers' performance and faith in the support of the high level military and civilian leadership of the army. Analysis of the results produces

the following significant findings.

First, since the efficiency report is the primary instrument upon which promotions are based, forty six percent of our officers say, implicitly, that the best qualified officers may not be promoted. They apparently do not feel, however, that the promotion system is totally decadent as evidenced by 66 percent support for the promotion of general officers. There is an inconsistency here. In speaking of senior officers of the army, one would expect majors and lieutenant colonels to think in terms of general officers. If that is correct, our sample is very critical of general officer performance. This rationally leads to three sets of criteria: one for promotion below flag rank; one for promotion to flag rank; and one for performance within flag rank.

Second, a significant segment of our sample perceives a lack of support for the traditional patterns of behavior by both the senior officers of the Army and its civilian leadership (variables 4 and 23). The impact on performance of officers holding that attitude is evident. They can be expected to be hesitant to exercise initiative and ingenuity; to be timid and non-innovative; and to lack courage in their convictions. After all, what will happen if they are caught in error?

Third, 56 percent of the sample are critical of

Department of Army response to minor crisis and 84 percent see the senior officers of the Army as placing personal careers before professional performance. Those who lack faith in their leadership are likely to provide something less than whole-hearted support to its policies and goals.

As with factor 1, the deviation indicates that the issue is bipolar. Grouping of the variables by frequency of responses produces 44 percent generally satisfied, 6 percent undecided and 50 percent generally dissatisfied with the current hierarchical structure. Response frequencies are graphically illustrated in Appendix V. These percentages, if treated separately, are misleading. A dichotomy of attitudes exists on whether the best qualified officers are promoted under the present system and on whether the senior army officers will back their subordinates. The comparable group percentages are produced by strong dissatisfaction with the response of senior officers and Department of the Army, balanced by general satisfaction with the promotion system for general officers and civilian support for the army.

Factors 3, 4, and 5 account for 15, 13, and 12 percent of the explained variance respectively. They are considered significant due to the clarity of the issues. Factor 3 consists of variables dealing with

Table 5. Responses Indicating Levels of Confidence in Military Hierarchy

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies		
				SAT	UND	DISSAT
1. Efficiency reports validly portray an officer's performance and provide a sound basis for insuring promotion of the best qualified officer.	0.50	3.90	1.84	54	0	46
4. Promotion to general officer rank is primarily a result of dedication, professionalism, and individual achievement.	0.70	4.64	1.66	66	4	30
9. You can no longer feel secure in the knowledge that you will be backed by the senior officers of the Army.	-0.71	3.94	1.90	48	6	46
16. Recent DA directed instruction regarding illegal orders and the soldier's responsibility to identify, disobey, and report them is typical of DA overreaction to minor crises and resultant attempts to "cover their tracks."	-0.56	4.32	1.91	34	10	56
18. The senior officers of the Army, by their <u>unwillingness</u> to sacrifice their <u>own interests</u> in proposing and executing proper corrective measures, must share the blame for loose discipline in combat units.	-0.72	5.42	1.57	12	4	84

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies		
				SAT	UND	DISSAT
23. Lack of support by the civilian leadership, i.e., the President and Secretary of Defense, is degrading the effectiveness of the military service.	-0.40	3.76	1.80	50	12	38

attitudes toward institutional responsibility for permissiveness. The results are shown in Table 6. Although the means indicate minor dissatisfaction with educational institutions and parents and slight support for the military and the civilian leadership, the variance again suggests that these issues are bipolar. Due to the definitive results of the factor analysis on Rappaport's violence survey, questions regarding the judicial system were not included in this questionnaire. It seems clear, however, that such questions would have loaded on this factor. This conclusion is supported by the compilation of free responses to the open-ended question "What is the one most needed reform within our society?" Comments regarding judicial reform occurred at a frequency in excess of 2 to 1 over all other issues.

Grouping of the response frequencies for all variables in factor 3 shows 40 percent of the sample generally satisfied with institutional response to societal pressures, 9 percent undecided and 51 percent dissatisfied. A substantial segment of our respondents perceive societal permissiveness and attribute it to irresponsibility by parents, college administrators, Department of the Army and the civilian leadership of the Army. This problem is obviously seen in the same context as was the law and order issue of the first



Table 6. Placement of Institutional Responsibility for Permissiveness

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies	
				SAT	UND DISSAT
3. College administrators in acceding to student demands have lowered academic and behavioral standards, thereby failing in their responsibility to the society which financially supports higher education.	-0.55	4.82	1.73	24	4 72
13. The erosion of military discipline in the young enlisted ranks can be blamed substantially on a lack of parental guidance during youth.	-0.58	4.44	1.80	30	14 56
15. The group discussions between the senior commanders and the lower enlisted men (rap sessions) are more desirable and valuable than the commander's traditional "open door" policy.	0.77	4.22	2.05	52	10 38
16. Recent DA directed instruction regarding illegal orders and the soldier's responsibility to identify, disobey, and report them is typical of DA overreaction to minor crises and resultant attempts to "cover their tracks."	0.49	4.32	1.91	34	10 56

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies		
				SAT	UND	DISSAT
23. Lack of support by the civilian leadership, i.e., the President and Secretary of Defense, is degrading the effectiveness of the military services.	0.63	3.76	1.80	50	12	38
25. College administrators should establish the rules and procedures for their institutions and changes thereto should not be made due to student dissent.	-0.50	4.16	1.91	48	2	50

survey. Permissiveness is perceived as having permeated and weakened the basic structures of American society, (family, schools, courts, government and the army) and the officers advocate a return to traditionalism.

Table 7 presents the eight variables loading on factor 4. The questions tap a dimension measuring the perceived extent of societal permissiveness and the appropriate methods for handling such permissiveness. The sample shares a consensus that permissiveness has not reached the point of anarchy and that such extreme corrective measures as force and self-incrimination are not considered appropriate. A significant element does feel, however, that there has been a dangerous decline in patriotism; that existing drug laws are not being enforced; that censorship of the press may be justified; and that colleges should become more stringent in their responses to student protests. It must again be noted that these latter issues are bipolar. The extreme nature of the questions dealing with anarchy, the use of force to save the American way of life and the violation of individual rights makes grouping of response frequencies misleading. Response frequencies are graphically illustrated in Appendix V. However, the response frequencies to individual questions accurately depict the dichotomous attitude. Clearly, the officers perceive permissiveness

Table 7. Perceptions of the Extent of Societal Permissiveness and Appropriate Response

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies		
				SAT	UND	DISSAT
10. Public school teachers and university professors have contributed to a dangerous decline in patriotism among the youth in America.	-0.55	4.00	1.64	46	8	46
14. The U.S. is in the early stages of anarchy.	-0.55	2.52	1.57	72	8	20
19. The increased use of marijuana, LSD, and other drugs can be attributed to the failure of military and civil authority to enforce existing laws.	-0.67	4.26	1.95	38	10	52
21. When the news media fails to censor itself in responsible representation of the news, governmental censor is justified.	-0.57	4.52	2.26	40	4	56
22. College administrators would do the country a great service by permanently expelling those students who participate in demonstrations.	-0.59	3.32	1.87	68	4	28

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies		
				SAT	UND	DISSAT
25. College administrators should establish rules and procedures for their institutions and changes thereto should not be made due to student dissent.	-0.48	4.16	1.91	48	2	50
26. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it.	-0.72	2.34	1.56	78	8	14
27. When the country is in great danger, we may have to force people to testify against themselves even if it violates their rights.	-0.67	2.22	1.73	78	8	14

in public education, the law and the news media.

The fifth factor measures the officers concern for general value orientations. Table 8 shows the results. The essence of this factor is somewhat elusive. The two questions regarding the responsibilities of college administrators and news censorship loaded on the factors of institutional responsibility and response to permissiveness, respectively. In this case, however, they seem to relate to "ought" propositions. The remaining questions loading on this factor clearly represent attitudes toward how society "ought to be." Grouping response frequencies for all variables within the factor shows 31 percent satisfied with institutional trends, 6 percent undecided and 63 percent dissatisfied. Response frequencies are graphically illustrated in Appendix V. A clear majority of officers feel that college administrators "ought to" prescribe higher academic and behavioral standards; that the younger generation "ought to" be restricted by accepted standards of behavior and morality; that politicians "ought to" subordinate reelection to defense of the country; and that the news media "ought to" censor itself. Only in the case of military policies toward enlisted personnel is there significant support for liberalization and that issue is dichotomous with 40 percent perceiving erosion of discipline in the liberalized policies.

Table 8. General Value Orientations Toward Societal Responsibilities

Variable	Factor Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.	Response Frequencies		
				SAT	UND	DISSAT
3. College administrators in acceding to student demands have lowered academic and behavioral standards, thereby failing in their responsibility to the society which financially supports higher education.	0.42	4.82	1.73	24	4	72
5. Liberalism in the military, i.e., haircut policy, pass policy, beer in the mess halls, etc., will have no detrimental effect on military discipline.	-0.71	4.30	1.92	48	12	40
6. The younger generation is entitled to its own life style and should not necessarily be restrained by accepted standards of behavior or morality.	-0.59	2.70	1.80	26	2	72
20. Many U.S. Senators and Representatives undermine the country's defense against Communism in the interest of reelections.	0.63	5.28	1.57	16	8	76
21. When the news media fails to censor itself in responsible representation of the news, governmental censor is justified.	0.55	4.52	2.26	40	2	56

One of the initial hypotheses was that the field grade officers would see the recent military liberalization of policies on such matters as haircuts, passes, beer in the barracks, reveille, etc., as permissiveness. The results do not verify this hypothesis. Of the seven specific examples of policy relaxation suggested, only liberalized military justice was perceived as permissiveness by a majority of the respondents. Table 9 presents the response frequencies to this question.

Table 9. Distribution of Responses to  
the Military Liberalization Policy

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Permissiveness can be identified in the liberalized approach to: (in percentages)		
	Yes	No
Haircuts	34	66
Pass policies	34	66
Saluting	40	60
Military justice	56	44
Beer in barracks	32	68
Reveille	30	70
Relaxed uniform regulations	46	54

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The last item in our survey was an open ended question, "What is the one most needed reform within our society and how should it be implemented?" Responses were, for



the most part, vague and generalized. We had expected greater specificity based on the age, education level and profession of our sample. Comments such as these were typical: "Re-establish a climate of trust and respect between the administration and the citizens." "Our society needs to become more patriotic." "Reform of the greedy, lawyer dominated civil and military legal systems." Although many subjects were mentioned, the majority of responses dealt with the following generalized areas: parental control over youth; nationalism, patriotism and respect for country; socio-economic reform; and at a frequency in excess of 2 to 1 over all others, reform of the judicial and law enforcement systems.

## DISCUSSION

### Dissatisfaction and the Military Mind

A significant segment of our sample of field grade officers perceive permissiveness within all the institutions of authority in American society. They attribute irresponsibility to parents, school administrators, judges, military officers and government officials and administrators. The officers believe that military authority is weakening and they indicate a lack of confidence in the military and civilian leadership of the Army. While they do not see the situation as so critical as to justify force or violation of constitutional rights, they do see a need for a positive reversal of the permissive trend. They advocate more authoritarian parental guidance to inculcate a greater sense of moral responsibility in American youth; more authoritarian administration of educational institutions to establish and maintain high academic and behavioral standards; judicial reform to administer rapid and more punitive sanctions against criminals; more authoritarian administration of government by elected officials; and more authoritarian military leadership with less interest in personal careers and more emphasis on professional performance.

A number of interpretations might be applied to

these findings. First, is the disillusionment which is indicated in field grade officers a result of the current environment or is it symptomatic of the military profession? Morris Janowitz, in discussing military disciplinary trends says, "Yet in 1958, when a sample of potential members of the military elite (113 from the three services) were questioned as to whether they thought 'that the authority of the company grade military officer has been weakened too much', the majority answered in the affirmative."<sup>20</sup> One could plausibly argue, based on our evidence and that of Janowitz, that only ultimate military authority is perceived as sufficient by field grade officers. Such an explanation appears deficient, however, in explaining the overall dissatisfaction. The field grade officers clearly support constitutional freedoms as indicated by their responses to questions regarding the use of force to save the country and violation of constitutional rights. Claims of symptomatic despondency are discredited by their responses to the question regarding anarchy. The disillusionment indicated in our findings would be less surprising in any other group of Army officers. This sample was drawn from career officers within the upper 50 percentile group of their profession as evidenced by their selection to USACGSC. They can expect to serve in key Army positions and approximately

half of them can reasonably expect continued promotions with many eventually occupying the top positions in the Army. One would expect a high level of satisfaction within such a successful population.

A second interpretation might be that of the "military mind." Is the professional soldier characterized by an authoritarian, rigid and conservatively oriented personality? The comparison of the results of our sample on the law and order issue with that of Rappaport's sample of middle-aged males would indicate not. It will be recalled that middle-aged males were slightly more dissatisfied and slightly more punitive than were the field grade officers. (Table 2) Anticipating this objection, our sample was administered the 1953 Barron Ego Strength Scale<sup>21</sup> and the 1958 Rehfisch Rigidity Scale<sup>22</sup> and correlation coefficients were compared with the eight variables comprising factor 1 for field grade officers on the Rappaport violence survey. There was only one significant correlation on the ego strength scale and only three on the rigidity scale. There is no evidence to support a claim that army officers tend toward greater rigidity or authoritarianism than their civilian counterparts. There is no claim herein for valid inference from our sample to the general population of the United States. However, the comparable results of our sample and the middle-aged males suggest that with more exhaustive comparison, such inferences might prove

valid.

Analysis of the evidence suggests that the following interpretation is more plausible. Field grade officers are not atypical of their civilian contemporaries in terms of authoritarian and punitive tendencies. In fact, comparison of the responses to the Rappaport survey of field grade officers with those of civilian middle-aged males shows the civilians to be slightly more authoritarian and punitive. The field grade officers perceive a breakdown in societal institutions of authority. Breakdown, as used in this instance, refers to changes in traditional behavior patterns by people in positions of authority. Perceived traditional and necessary value orientations are seen as having been abandoned in the face of societal pressures. These new patterns of behavior constitute permissiveness as defined in the introduction to this study. Societal permissiveness is perceived as having had a pernicious impact on support for the Army. Lack of societal support for the Army, coupled with internalized permissiveness, is perceived to have resulted in a breakdown of military authority.

#### The Mass Behavior Theory

The breakdown of institutional authority, perceived by field grade officers, is suggestive of application to William Kornhauser's theory of mass society.<sup>23</sup> A

brief explication of his theory is necessary before proceeding to the application of our data. Each of the critical variables in his theory will be examined and a brief overview of his theory will be given.

Mass society is one in which elites and non-elites are directly accessible to one another by virtue of the weakness of groups capable of mediating between them. Neither elites nor non-elites are capable of preventing frequent political activity outside of established channels. Therefore, neither group is capable of exercising authoritative and consistent influence over the other.<sup>24</sup>

Mass societies are characterized by high availability of non-elites and high accessibility of elites. Availability of non-elites refers to the degree of attachment or commitment of individuals to intermediate organizations such as labor unions, churches, communities, charitable organizations, etc.<sup>25</sup> When individuals are separated from societal institutions through which they can gain a sense of belonging and commitment, they are highly susceptible or available to emerging elites or counter-elites espousing new ideologies and advocating system change. Mass societies and totalitarian societies are characterized by high availability of non-elites. Communal and pluralist (democratic) societies on the other hand are characterized by low availability of non-elites, wherein non-elites are committed to traditional

values or multiple intermediate organizations. In such cases, the individual is less likely to embrace departures from the normative patterns of the society. He is, therefore, less available to emerging elites or counter-elites.

Accessibility of elites refers to the degree of insulation of elites from non-elites.<sup>26</sup> Elites are highly accessible when non-elites participate meaningfully in the selection process of elites, and/or when non-elites are able to directly approach elites to influence decisions. Mass society and pluralist society are characterized by high accessibility of elites, but are distinguished from each other by the manner of intervention. In the mass society the non-elites intervene directly and in an unrestrained manner. In the pluralist society, intervention is less direct and unrestrained since the population is less available. Communal and Totalitarian societies are, on the other hand, characterized by low accessibility of elites. In communal society elites are selected by ascription and insulated by class stratification. In totalitarian societies, elites are selected by conscription and insulated by total control of the populace.

The conditions determining the four types of society are depicted in the following paradigm:<sup>27</sup>

		Availability of Non-elites	
		Low	High
Accessibility of Elites	Low	Communal	Totalitarian
	High	Pluralist	Mass

A society is never pure by type. It is either more or less pluralist, totalitarian or mass. As the degree of elite accessibility and non-elite availability vary, so does the purity of type. This point becomes critical to understanding our subsequent generalizations.

Mass behavior is characterized by four major features.<sup>28</sup> They are:

1) The focus of attention is remote from personal experience and daily life. Remote objects are identified as national and international issues or events. It can be argued that policy in a highly differentiated system such as the military may occur very near the individual and yet be as remote as is international policy to the average citizen. Remoteness results from lack of understanding rather than from distance.

2) The mode of response to remote objects is direct. This is in contradistinction to collective behavior within a democratic society, wherein normative response is through established intermediate organizations. The absence of such organizations within a totalitarian



structure presupposes the preclusion of collective action. Therefore, any collective action becomes direct mass behavior.

3) Mass behavior tends to be highly unstable, readily shifting the focii of attention and intensity of responses. Activism and apathy are both born of social alienation and tend to be highly unstable. Crises can convert both activism and apathy to extremism as expressions of resentment against the social order.

4) When mass behavior becomes organized around a program and acquires a certain continuity in purpose and effort, it takes on the character of a mass movement. Projected to some level of intensity and given the paucity or total absence of intermediate organizations to provide elite insularity, one can reasonably expect mass movements in a totalitarian society to gain direct access to elites and to influence decisions through coercion.

In studying the nature of mass behavior, Kornhauser was concerned with the implications of mass movements for pluralist (democratic) societies. He perceived a threat to equality and liberty by mass movements in that they are susceptible to totalitarian takeover. We suggest that mass movements also pose a threat to military institutions.<sup>29</sup>

The military establishment in general and

specifically the Army within the United States is something of a paradox. It can be conceived as a totalitarian subsociety within a pluralist (democratic) society. The manhood of a freedom-loving and egalitarian society have historically submitted to totalitarian subjection by the Army in the name of freedom and equality. The Army and the nation have legitimized the dictatorial nature of military organization through subordination of the military to civilian control; by patriotic symbolism; by mobilizing public feelings of idealism in support of military commitments; and by "impartiality" in conscription. The military elites in the U.S. have traditionally maintained their insularity through a hierarchical structure that precluded direct influence by non-elites. The prestige of the officer and the almost total authority of the commander fostered a separation of officers and enlisted men suggestive of master and servant. At the same time, the high availability of the enlisted men allowed total manipulation by the elite while denying access to counter-elites.

As noted in the analysis of factor 1 of the second survey, (Table 4 ) a majority of the field grade officers of the Army perceive an erosion in the authority of the commander and the prestige of the officer. They assert a lack of confidence in the military and civilian leadership of the Army (Table 5) and they perceive a

dangerous lack of support for the army by the American society (Table 4 ).

### Conclusions

These findings suggest the following conclusions:

1) Conditions conducive to decision making by mass behavior are perceived within the Army and American society. A majority of field grade officers believe that command authority is weakening progressively and that the officer's position has lost prestige. These factors are indicative of increased availability of elites. This condition is compounded by the officers lack of confidence in their superiors, which inevitably produces alienation within the elite. The problem is further compounded by the availability of mass media to counter-elites allowing both issues and actions wide dissemination to a socially atomized mass. Obviously, localized dissent is easier to control than is generalized dissent. The decline of societal legitimacy for the army is another contributing factor toward mass behavior. One can hardly expect the soldier to complacently endure the rigors of training for and participating in combat to defend a society from which he receives ridicule and alienation rather than gratitude. Only misfits and societal outcasts can be expected to make a career of an army lacking societal support. The ultimate mission

of the army to close with and destroy another Army (the enemy) is paganistic and animalistic if not rationalized by an ultimate moral precept. Therefore, one can say that the roots of mass tendencies within the army can be found in the society for which it exists.

2) Societal permissiveness, particularly within the courts, is perceived as contributing to a weakening of the moral fiber of America, which in turn is "delegitimizing" the Army. Legitimacy of the army is dependent on societal support. Its viability relies upon more profound precepts than unit loyalty or officer professionalism. Those things become meaningful only when the soldier feels that he is contributing to a great moral cause which justifies the ultimate sacrifice. That type of value base can not be inculcated by the army. It must be done by society, the family, the schools, the government. Yet, our officers see a moral breakdown in all those institutions.

3) If the Army is to continue as a viable institution, capable of providing deterrence from aggression and of defeating aggression when deterrence fails, its totalitarian structure must have the legitimacy of societal support. Once again, it is command authority which gets the job done when the job is really tough. Total authority and reflexive response to orders are essential to success in combat. But, a totalitarian

sub-society can not persist within a democratic society without the support of that society. The society must recognize its responsibility for its own defense and its need for an army. That responsibility encompasses much more than financial support. A "fair price" can not be equated to dedication in battle. Technology, missiles, bombs and equipment do not constitute the whole of a military force. A military force is comprised of dedicated citizens willing to endure severe hardships and make fantastic sacrifices for a system which they believe to need and deserve defense. Therefore, if America is to maintain a viable army, it must provide moral support for that army.

## FOOTNOTES

1. There is an abundance of publications exploring such military issues as organization, policy innovation, cultural basis, normative behavior and environmental phenomena. Some examples are: Paul Y. Hammond, Organizing for Defense, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Samuel P. Huntington, The Common Defense (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Morris Janowitz, The New Military (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964); and J. N. Wolfe and John Erickson, The Armed Services and Society (Chicago: Aldine, 1971). Such studies have been limited to process and systems analysis and intuitive inference to attitude formation. The only empirical research completed on the middle management echelon of the Army is Leon Rappaport's and David Brady's "Violence and Vietnam: A Comparison Between Attitudes of Civilians and Veterans," which is currently under review for publication.

2. Hamilton H. Howze, "Military Discipline and National Security," Army, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January, 1971).

3. Robert B. Riggs, "Future Military Discipline," Military Review, Vol. L, No. 9 (September, 1970), p. 16.

4. Christopher S. Wren, "A West Pointer's Wild Preview of the Volunteer Army," Look, Vol. 35, No. 4 (February 23, 1971), p.25.

5. Further references to the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College will be made as USACGSC.

6. Richard W. Hardman, "What is the Army's Quality Mid-Management Retention Situation?" (unpublished student treatise written for the Communicative Arts Program, Command and General Staff College, February, 1971, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.)

7. See Colonel Samuel H. Hays and Lieutenant Colonel William N. Thomas, Taking Command, (Harrisburg: Stakpole, 1967), p. 224. This text on leadership techniques, used by the ROTC Department of Kansas State University, while emphasizing managerial leadership, states that "...a strong system of authority -- with equally strong sanctions justified in terms of the necessity for obedience in the face of danger -- is fundamental in military organizations."

8. Rappaport and Brady, op. cit.

9. For description of procedures used see: "Program Image," University of Wisconsin Computing Center, August 13, 1964; and Chester W. Harris, "Some Rao-Guttman Relationships," Psychometritin, 27 (September, 1962), pp 247-263.

10. The first factor for college males was conceptually unrelated to that of the other five groups. It dealt predominantly with attitudes toward the military and the Vietnam war. This deviation from the dominant theme of the other groups is apparently situationally related to disillusionment with the war and the imminence of the draft for this age group.

11. Comparison of the overall results of the violence survey indicate the same group orientations toward punitiveness. Middle-aged males were found to be most punitive, followed in order by field grade officers, middle-aged females, Vietnam veterans, college males and college females. These results can be found in Appendix III.

12. This leads one of the conclusion that attitudes toward permissiveness are primarily a function of age and secondarily one of sex. The sex theory cannot be argued with any degree of authority since college males did not load on the factors under study.

13. Survey Research Center, Appendix B to Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes, eds. John P. Robinson and Phillip P. Shaver, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (1969), pp. 11-13. The Guerin, Veroff, and Feld sample consisted of a national cross-section of 2,460 respondents chosen by probability methods to represent the entire adult (over 21 years of age) population of the U.S. The Bradburn and Caplovitz sample consisted of a cross section of men between the ages of 25 and 49 and other adult members of their households. The sample was limited to four Illinois towns with a population of 3,000-10,000. Two of the towns were considered to be economically depressed and two as relatively well-off. The Converse and Robinson sample consisted of 1,244 adults living in homes in which a minimum of one member held a regular, non-farming job and was under 65. The respondents all lived in or near a city with a population of 50,000 or more. The Survey Research Center sample consisted of 1,315 respondents and provided full representation of the entire population.

14. For example, see J.N. Wolfe and John Erickson, The Armed Services and Society (Chicago: Aldine, 1971); Morris Janowitz, The New Military (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964); and Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

15. Rappaport and Brady, op. cit.

16. "Program Image," op. cit.

17. J.P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), pp. 181-183 and 191-194.

18. Responses indicating perceived erosion of authority or permissiveness were classified as dissatisfied. Those which indicated no perception of erosion of authority or permissiveness were classified as satisfied.

19. The depicted grouped response frequencies were computed from the total responses at each attitudinal strength level, e.g. strong, moderate and slight agreement and disagreement, for all variables loading on each factor. Frequencies were further grouped by satisfaction, dissatisfaction and undecided. In some cases, it was necessary to reverse the thrust of positive questions in order to make high responses (5-7) equate to dissatisfaction and low responses (1-3) equate to satisfaction.

20. Janowitz, Morris. The Professional Soldier, op. cit., p. 50.

21. Robinson and Shaver, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

22. Robinson and Shaver, op. cit., pp. 307-308.

23. Kornhauser, William, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959).

24. Ibid., pp. 39-43.

25. Ibid., pp. 60-73.

26. Ibid., pp. 51-60.

27. Ibid., pp. 43-51.

28. Ibid., p. 84.



29. In the following sense, the Army is a totalitarian substructure. A hierarchy is imposed over the masses (enlisted soldiers) to the lowest levels. Intermediate organizations such as unions and interest groups are precluded. Individual behavior is structured and controlled. Freedom of choice is limited. On the other hand, accessibility to elites has been difficult. Interest articulation and aggregation is channeled through the hierarchical structure. This is not intended to equate in any way the Army substructure with common conceptions of communist totalitarianism.

## APPENDIX I

Considerations Influencing Decision to Retire After 20 Years of Active Duty and Considerations That Would Favor 30 Years Listed by the 747 Officers Intending to Retire After 20 Years in Response to Hardman's Survey.

		Considerations Favoring Retirement After	
		20 Years	30 Years
1.	Active duty pay	132	142
2.	Housing	219	101
3.	Medical care	41	63
4.	Promotion opportunities	227	244
5.	All volunteer Army	81	20
6.	Unrealistic leadership	140	---
7.	Oversupervision	95	---
8.	Lack of support from society	175	---
9.	Lack of prestige within Army	102	---
10.	Possible erosion of retirement benefits	133	5
11.	Erosion of fringe benefits	238	3
12.	Civilian job opportunities after 20 years compared to 30 years	345	17
13.	Lack of skills needed on civilian job market	---	39
14.	Careerism vs. professionalism in leaders and contemporaries	154	---
15.	Unnecessary emphasis on non-mission oriented tasks	169	---
16.	Erosion of military discipline	190	---
17.	Lack of command support on controversial issues	126	---
18.	Prospect of short tours leaving wife with older children in school	276	---
19.	Prefer living in military community	---	103
20.	Prefer working with career military personnel	---	126
21.	Retirement pay	27	207
22.	Educational opportunities	16	122
23.	Accompanied overseas tours	---	129
24.	Dedication to duty	---	107
25.	Job satisfaction	---	283
26.	Lack of job satisfaction	140	---
27.	Challenging jobs	4	193
28.	Frequent moves	323	11
29.	Opportunity for responsibility	4	201

## APPENDIX II

## Identifying Data for Field Grade Officer Sample

The sample was drawn from the 1248 U.S. students who comprised the class of 1970-71 U.S. Army Command and General Staff College (USACGSC). They were selected through the use of a table of random numbers and should, therefore, reflect the views of the entire student body.

Attendance at USACGSC is highly competitive with only the top fifty percent of the field grade officers being selected. Attendance is restricted to those officers between their eighth and sixteenth years of active commissioned service.

The U.S. Army students of the 1970-71 class were all Majors and Lieutenant Colonels and represent a significant segment of the U.S. Army's mid-management personnel. By virtue of their selection for and graduation from CGSC, they, along with the immediate past and future graduates, will form the pool from which tomorrow's top leaders of the Army will be selected. As previously stated, the responses of the officers who comprised our sample should, because of the manner in which they were selected, be representative of the entire class and in turn, the class should be representative of their peers throughout the Army. It is

stressed that these responses should be a reflection of only the upper fifty percent of the career Majors and Lieutenant Colonels and are not statistically inferential to the entire 45,400 Majors and Lieutenant Colonels authorized in the Army.

The biographical data pertaining to the 1970-71 class is as follows:

#### GENERAL

Average age	35 years
Married students	1195
Unmarried students	53
Average number of dependents	3.2

#### MILITARY

Average time active commissioned service	12 years
Average command time company/battery	12 months
Average command time battalion	1 month
% of class with combat experience in:	
Korea	2%
Vietnam	92%
Average time (for those serving) in combat in:	
Korea	10 months
Vietnam	17 months
Number awarded Medal of Honor (Nation's highest valor award)	1
Number awarded Distinguished Service Cross (Nation's second highest valor award)	7
Number awarded Silver Star (Army's third highest valor award)	97

#### EDUCATION

<u>Level of Degree</u>	<u>Number with degree</u>	<u>% of class</u>
Associate of Arts	42	3%
Baccalaureate	860	70%
Masters	309	25%
Doctorate	36	3%

Eighteen students possess two baccalaureate degrees and two of these each have a Doctor of Medicine.

Nine students possess two master's degrees each.

<u>LANGUAGE</u>	<u>SPEAKING</u>	<u>WRITING</u>	<u>TRANSLATING</u>
German	67	41	52
Spanish	76	55	54
French	59	35	39
Russian	14	11	14
Vietnamese	24	18	20
Other	58	42	62

## APPENDIX III

## Results of Violence Survey

Summary table: Survey of opinions concerning violence in American society. Comparison of responses obtained from six samples: Vietnam veterans (N-120); Male College students (N-92); Female college students (N-91); Middle-aged males (N-165); Middle-aged females (N-183); and Field Grade Army officers (N-83). The opinion survey and statistics on the first five samples were compiled by Professor Leon Rappaport of Kansas State University. Subjects are mainly from Kansas. The sixth sample, Field Grade Army officers, are students at CGSC. Statistics regarding this sample were compiled by students enrolled in Political Science Methodology conducted at Fort Leavenworth by Kansas State University. The sixth sample represents no specific geographical area.

The means shown were calculated on a seven point scale, and are arranged so that 1.0 indicates strong agreements, 4.0 indicates no opinion, and 7.0 indicates strong disagreements.

	Veterans		College		Middle-age		Middle-age		Field Grade Officers
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
1. Recent supreme court decisions have contributed to the breakdown of law and order.									
Mean	3.27		4.48	4.25	2.92	2.84			2.93
$\sigma^2$	2.90		3.09	3.10	3.79	3.32			3.02
2. There is too much violence shown on television.									
Mean	3.64		4.26	3.22	3.30	2.54			3.31
$\sigma^2$	3.96		2.99	2.75	3.76	3.01			2.95
3. It is wrong to discipline children with physical punishment.									
Mean	5.36		5.08	4.65	5.12	5.30			6.01
$\sigma^2$	3.46		3.61	3.10	3.68	3.53			1.43
4. Death is not the worst thing that can happen to people.									
Mean	2.51		2.61	2.24	2.48	1.94			2.66
$\sigma^2$	3.83		4.39	2.41	4.12	2.57			3.88
5. It is sometimes necessary to torture prisoners of war.									
Mean	3.67		4.85	5.66	4.90	5.58			4.95
$\sigma^2$	5.03		4.28	2.70	5.22	3.38			3.73
6. A man should have the right to kill if his family is threatened.									
Mean	2.01		2.53	2.87	2.10	2.65			1.70
$\sigma^2$	2.55		3.24	2.94	2.90	3.34			1.53
7. Police are not respected because they have to treat people too carefully these days.									
Mean	3.93		4.41	4.48	3.40	3.00			4.57
$\sigma^2$	4.73		4.20	4.56	4.67	4.05			3.50

	Veterans		College		Middle-age		Middle-age		Field Grade	
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Officers	Officers
8. Too much of our tax money is spent on armaments.										
Mean	3.10	2.65	2.81	3.14	2.73				5.04	
$\sigma^2$	3.64	3.06	2.51	4.01	3.22				3.35	
9. The Vietnam war could never be settled by military force alone.										
Mean	3.48	2.91	2.67	3.80	2.99				3.23	
$\sigma^2$	6.42	5.00	3.49	6.06	4.55				5.98	
10. The government should not interfere with citizens' rights to own guns.										
Mean	3.03	3.39	4.40	3.16	4.00				3.71	
$\sigma^2$	3.84	4.37	3.66	5.10	5.12				4.72	
11. Military service should be entirely voluntary.										
Mean	4.05	2.91	3.48	3.90	3.88				6.00	
$\sigma^2$	5.51	4.34	3.81	5.29	4.72				2.81	
12. Capital punishment should be abolished.										
Mean	4.28	3.63	3.06	4.34	4.12				4.98	
$\sigma^2$	4.89	5.62	4.65	5.97	5.62				4.41	
13. Children should not be given toys that have to do with violence.										
Mean	4.03	4.59	3.81	3.97	3.46				4.46	
$\sigma^2$	3.86	2.82	3.20	4.60	4.17				3.20	
14. When law enforcement is inadequate, people have the right to take the law into their own hands.										
Mean	4.85	5.24	5.25	4.78	5.43				5.29	
$\sigma^2$	4.36	3.20	3.35	4.16	3.71				2.70	



Veterans		College		Middle-age		Middle-age		Field Grade	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Officers	
15. Masculine sports such as boxing and football build character.									
Mean	2.94	3.12	3.63	2.78	2.99			2.61	
$\sigma^2$	3.15	3.18	3.55	3.26	3.36			2.36	
16. Generally, the sentences given to convicted criminals are too lenient.									
Mean	3.22	4.00	3.85	2.70	2.86			2.64	
$\sigma^2$	2.79	2.70	3.51	3.00	3.66			2.09	
17. Police often treat peace demonstrators too roughly.									
Mean	4.26	3.26	3.22	5.01	5.03			4.86	
$\sigma^2$	4.48	3.76	3.44	4.06	3.91			3.17	
18. It is important for young men to learn how to handle weapons properly.									
Mean	2.60	2.96	2.06	2.22	1.92			2.59	
$\sigma^2$	3.27	3.56	3.69	2.78	2.30			2.56	
19. The penalties given to people caught using marijuana and LSD are generally too harsh.									
Mean	3.55	3.20	3.97	4.86	5.50			4.41	
$\sigma^2$	5.06	4.38	4.99	5.42	4.15			3.46	
20. Many people do not understand that hunting is a good recreational sport.									
Mean	3.15	3.22	3.44	2.56	3.08			3.70	
$\sigma^2$	3.73	2.88	2.43	2.56	3.32			2.50	
21. In order to stop looting rioters, police should be allowed to shoot to kill.									
Mean	4.36	4.92	5.90	3.74	4.56			3.80	
$\sigma^2$	5.63	4.47	2.67	5.85	5.14			4.31	

	Veterans		College		Middle-age		Field Grade	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Officers	Officers
22. Most civil rights demonstrators are treated too leniently.								
Mean	4.01	4.83	4.78	3.11	3.22	3.89		
$\sigma^2$	3.92	2.61	3.53	3.61	3.95	3.20		
23. Men accused of committing atrocities in Vietnam should be brought to trial.								
Mean	3.84	3.14	3.83	3.66	3.80	2.15		
$\sigma^2$	4.62	3.33	4.53	4.58	4.51	2.08		
24. Our mistake in Vietnam was not using enough military force in the very beginning.								
Mean	3.60	4.02	4.06	2.89	3.20	3.42		
$\sigma^2$	5.77	5.41	5.08	4.80	4.62	5.83		
25. Some crimes are so terrible that the death penalty is not sufficient punishment.								
Mean	4.76	5.25	5.28	4.22	4.03	5.27		
$\sigma^2$	4.37	4.70	4.65	5.88	5.53	4.10		
26. Violence will always be a part of American society.								
Mean	2.46	2.73	2.48	2.69	2.63	2.80		
$\sigma^2$	1.73	2.62	2.30	3.45	2.73	2.29		
27. Men who leave the country to avoid the draft should be punished severely when they return.								
Mean	3.40	4.59	4.77	2.71	3.55	2.00		
$\sigma^2$	5.23	3.72	3.16	4.00	4.17	1.26		
28. Verbal violence is just as bad as physical violence.								
Mean	4.63	4.75	4.23	4.63	4.16	4.59		
$\sigma^2$	3.66	4.12	4.25	4.39	4.62	3.22		

	Veterans		College		Middle-age		Field Grade	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Officers	Officers
29. In the end, soldiers are really just hired killers.								
Mean	5.07	4.78	4.52	5.50	5.42	6.34		
$\sigma^2$	5.12	4.92	4.79	4.37	3.90	1.74		
30. Without a strong police force, society would disintegrate.								
Mean	2.85	3.39	3.39	2.51	2.18	2.58		
$\sigma^2$	3.47	3.82	3.71	4.15	2.84	2.44		
31. If people knew more about violence, they would be less inclined to use it.								
Mean	3.14	3.55	3.74	3.55	3.27	3.52		
$\sigma^2$	3.62	3.59	2.73	3.92	3.70	3.41		
32. History shows that passive resistance is an effective way to achieve social change.								
Mean	4.28	4.41	4.91	4.05	4.23	3.95		
$\sigma^2$	3.26	2.73	3.64	3.43	3.49	3.27		
33. The United States gives too much military aid to foreign countries.								
Mean	2.59	2.55	2.57	2.36	2.17	3.77		
$\sigma^2$	2.82	2.21	2.63	2.78	2.32	3.14		
34. Minority groups only get their rights if they are willing to fight for them.								
Mean	3.68	3.92	3.52	3.72	4.06	4.33		
$\sigma^2$	3.65	3.96	4.54	4.44	4.46	3.41		
35. Our prison system should emphasize rehabilitation rather than punishment.								
Mean	1.89	1.65	1.51	2.22	2.16	2.53		
$\sigma^2$	1.69	1.44	1.12	2.57	2.18	2.55		

Veterans		College		Middle-age		Middle-age		Field Grade	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Officers
36. Only a coward backs away from a fight.									
Mean	6.20	6.52	6.42	6.01	6.18		6.04		
$\sigma^2$	1.93	0.89	1.36	2.65	2.42		1.14		
37. Men prove their courage in physical combat.									
Mean	5.07	5.48	5.82	5.02	5.16		4.49		
$\sigma^2$	4.05	2.69	2.52	4.36	4.35		3.39		
38. The best way to insure world peace is by keeping strong military forces ready.									
Mean	3.64	4.41	4.91	3.22	3.56		2.34		
$\sigma^2$	4.52	3.56	3.75	4.53	4.85		3.03		
39. The United States has too many military bases around the world.									
Mean	3.88	3.73	4.01	3.67	4.20		4.37		
$\sigma^2$	4.36	3.19	3.86	4.38	4.78		3.80		

## APPENDIX IV

## Results of Permissiveness Survey

Summary Table: Survey of attitudes of Field Grade Army officers (N-50). Sample consists of officers attending CGSC. Subjects are middle-aged and represent no specific geographical area. However, as is the general case in the Army, the Southern states are over represented.

The means shown were calculated on a seven point scale, and are arranged so that 1.0 indicates strong disagreement, 4.0 indicates no opinion, and 7.0 indicates strong agreement.

1. Efficiency reports validly portray an officer's performance and provide a sound base for insuring promotion of the best qualified officers.

Mean	3.90
$\sigma^2$	3.38

2. The authority of the commander is weakening progressively.

Mean	4.98
$\sigma^2$	3.03

3. The college administrators in acceding to student demands have lowered academic and behavioral standards thereby failing in their responsibility to the society which financially supports higher education.

Mean	4.82
$\sigma^2$	2.99

4. Promotion to general officer rank is primarily a result of dedication, professionalism, and individual accomplishment.

Mean	4.64
$\sigma^2$	2.76

5. Liberalism in the military, i.e., haircut policy, pass policy, beer in the mess hall, etc., will have no detrimental effect on military discipline.

Mean	4.30
$\sigma^2$	3.69

6. The younger generation is entitled to its own life style and should not necessarily be restrained by accepted standards of behavior or morality.

Mean	2.70
$\sigma^2$	3.24

7. Public opinion polls, rather than duly elected officials and responsible administrators, are running this country.

Mean	3.46
$\sigma^2$	3.03

8. There has been a substantial increase in the incidence of soldiers wearing the uniform in a way which implies a deliberate effort to insult it.

Mean	3.78
$\sigma^2$	2.59

9. You can no longer feel secure in the knowledge that you will be backed by the senior officers of the Army.

Mean	3.94
$\sigma^2$	3.61

10. Public school teachers and university professors have contributed to a dangerous decline in patriotism among the youth of America.

Mean	4.00
$\sigma^2$	2.49

11. The officer's position in the Army has lost much of its prestige.

Mean	5.00
$\sigma^2$	3.28

12. The current trend toward individualism is in keeping with the best interests of a democratic society.

Mean	4.44
$\sigma^2$	2.99

13. The erosion of military discipline in the young enlisted ranks can be blamed substantially on a lack of parental guidance during youth.

Mean	4.44
$\sigma^2$	3.24

14. The United States is in the early stages of anarchy.

Mean	2.52
$\sigma^2$	2.46

15. The group discussions between the senior commanders and the lower enlisted men (rap sessions) are more desirable and valuable than the commander's traditional "open door" policy.

Mean	4.22
$\sigma^2$	4.20

16. Recent DA directed instruction regarding illegal orders and the soldier's responsibility to identify, disobey, and report them is typical of DA overreaction to minor crises and resultant attempts to "cover their tracks."

Mean	4.32
$\sigma^2$	3.65

17. The dangerous distaste for the military services, particularly among the young men of military age, has been encouraged by pronouncements critical of the military by high public officials.

Mean	5.48
$\sigma^2$	1.79

18. The senior officers of the Army, by their unwillingness to sacrifice their own interests in proposing and executing proper corrective measures, must share the blame for loose discipline in combat units.

Mean	5.42
$\sigma^2$	2.46

19. The increased use of marijuana, LSD, and other drugs can be attributed to the failure of military and civil authorities to enforce existing laws.

Mean	4.26
$\sigma^2$	3.80

20. Many U.S. Senators and Representatives undermine the country's defense against Communism in the interest of reelection.

Mean	5.28
$\sigma^2$	2.46

21. When the news media fails to censor itself in responsible representation of the news, governmental censor is justified.

Mean	4.52
$\sigma^2$	5.11

22. College administrators would do the country a great service by permanently expelling those students who participate in demonstrations.

Mean	3.32
$\sigma^2$	3.51

23. Lack of support by the civilian leadership, i.e., the President and Secretary of Defense, is degrading the effectiveness of the military services.

Mean	3.76
$\sigma^2$	3.24

24. The slanted reporting by the news media has had too great an influence on some decisions made by the President.

Mean	3.68
$\sigma^2$	3.00

25. College administrators should establish the rules and procedures for their institutions and changes thereto should not be made due to student dissent.

Mean	4.16
$\sigma^2$	3.65

26. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it.

Mean	2.34
$\sigma^2$	2.43

27. When the country is in great danger, we may have to force people to testify against themselves even if it violates their rights.

Mean	2.22
$\sigma^2$	2.97



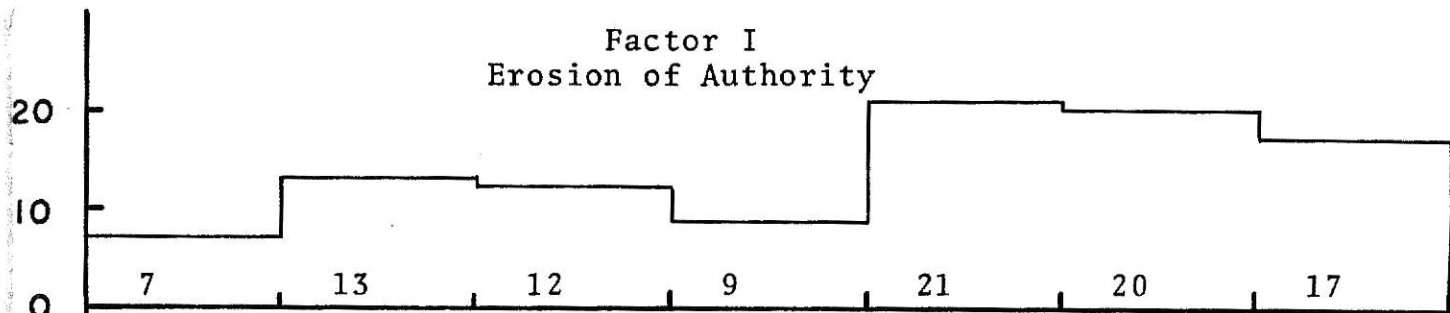
**THIS BOOK  
CONTAINS  
NUMEROUS PAGES  
WITH DIAGRAMS  
THAT ARE CROOKED  
COMPARED TO THE  
REST OF THE  
INFORMATION ON  
THE PAGE.**

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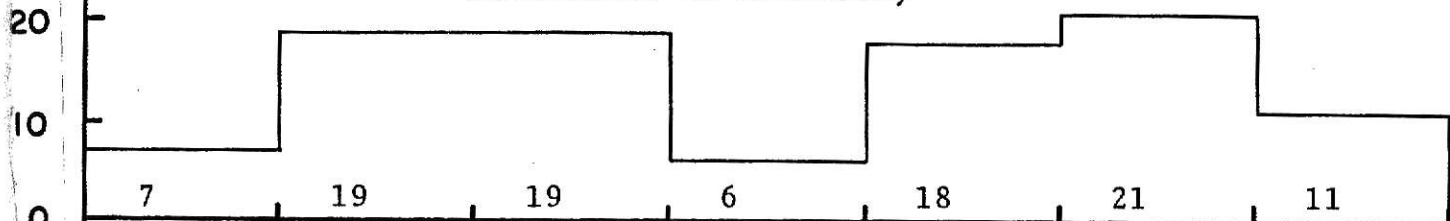
## APPENDIX V

Overall Response Frequencies by Factor For  
Field Grade Officer Attitudes  
Survey (N=60)  
(in percentages)

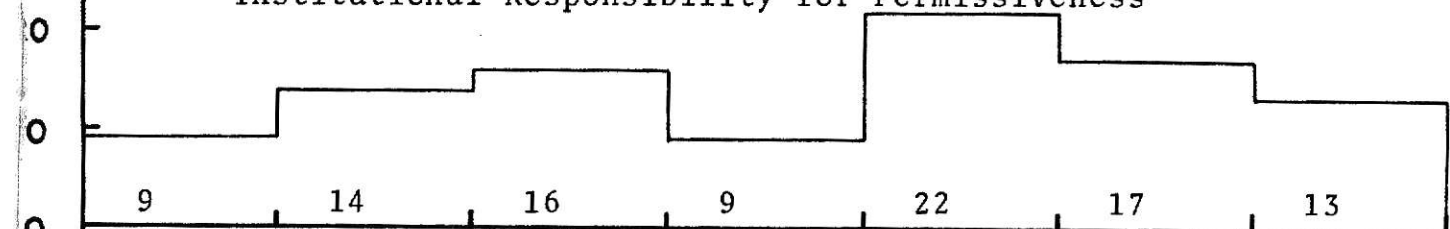
Factor I  
Erosion of Authority



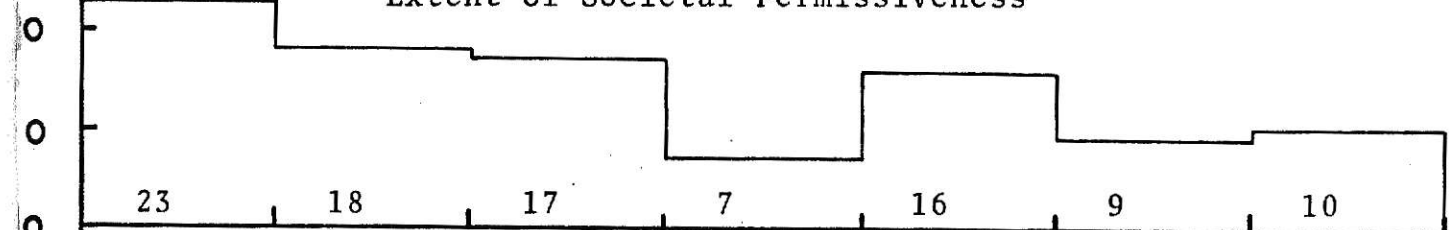
Factor II  
Confidence in Hierarchy



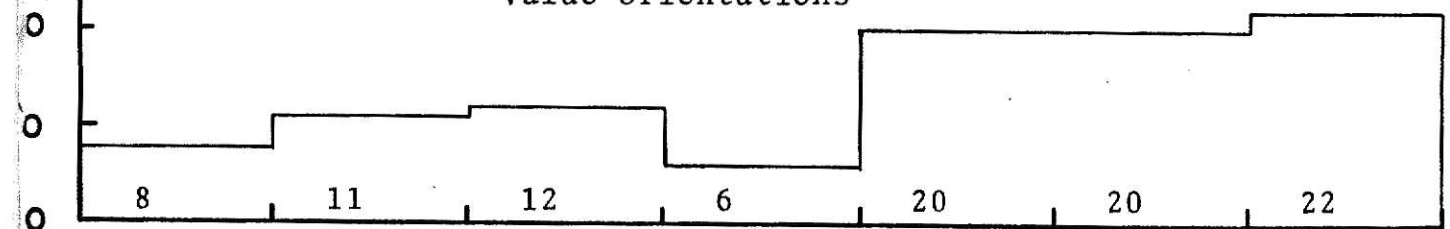
Factor III  
Institutional Responsibility for Permissiveness



Factor IV  
Extent of Societal Permissiveness



Factor V  
Value Orientations



Strong Moderate Slight Undecided Slight Moderate Strong  
SATISFACTION DISSATISFACTION

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ARMY OFFICER PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGING  
BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN INSTITUTIONS OF AUTHORITY:  
THE PERCEIVED CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

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The initiative for this project was provided by numerous recent allegations of military deterioration and by the findings of a study by an Army Major showing dissatisfaction with the military by mid-level Army officers. The purpose of the study was to empirically test the following hypotheses:

1. Do mid-level Army officers perceive a serious erosion of military authority?
2. Do they perceive a serious erosion of societal support for the Army?
3. If erosion of military authority and societal support for the Army is perceived, is it attributed to changes in behavior patterns wherein institutions of authority acquiesce to societal pressures in contradiction to perceived standards of "right" order.

To investigate these questions, two surveys were administered to a random sample of field grade officers attending the 1970-71 class of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. The first survey, designed to tap attitudes toward violence, had been administered to five civilian samples. Separate varimax rotated factor analyses were conducted on the responses from the six groups, using the principal components

factoring technique with unity in the diagonals. A clearly defined attitudinal dimension was isolated showing that field grade officers do, in fact, perceive changes in the behavior patterns of authorities responsible for law and order that are detrimental to the "right" order. Between-group comparison of all groups showed middle-aged males to be most punitive, followed closely by field grade officers and, in order, by middle-aged females, Vietnam veterans, college males and college females.

The second survey, developed for this project specifically, was designed to measure field grade officer attitudes concerning military authority, parental authority, educational institutional influence, news media influence and the extent of deviation from the "right" order. Responses to this survey were subjected to the same factoring procedure and produced five clearly defined factors. The first two factors, accounting for 40 and 20 percent of the explained variance respectively, isolated variables dealing with perceived erosion of military authority and lack of confidence in the military hierarchy. Examination of the means and the response frequencies showed significant dissatisfaction with weakened military authority and with responses of the military hierarchy. The remaining factors showed that field grade officers

hold parents, educational institutions, governmental institutions and the military leadership responsible for the erosion of military authority; that the perceived changes in behavior patterns do not approximate anarchy nor justify violation of constitutional rights, but do require more responsible institutional behavior; and that value orientations favor more authoritarian response by institutional authorities.

The evidence of this study supports the following arguments:

1. Conditions conducive to decision making by mass behavior are perceived within the Army and American society.
2. Changing behavior patterns by institutions of authority are perceived as contributing to an erosion of societal support for the Army.
3. The traditional authoritarian hierarchical structure of the Army is perceived as dependent upon societal support for legitimacy and, therefore, as losing legitimacy as a result of weakened support.