Dual Leadership in Complex Organizations

Amitai Etzioni

gate rigorously the interrelations of the two (e.g., the physical consequences of movement in social space), and this will in turn enable sociological theory to treat meaningfully the dialectic between the quantitative and the qualitative. In broad outline, these are the directions to which the sociological tradition points.

Finally, an existential awareness translated into empirical research will enable sociology better to appreciate and thereby cope with the seemingly "irrational" discontinuities and large-scale upheavals of modern society. Far from abandoning sociology as a science, this is to restore its heritage, grounded in the sociological tradition, of utilizing its global knowledge for socially responsible ends.

DUAL LEADERSHIP IN COMPLEX ORGANIZATIONS *

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This paper attempts to integrate theoretically the Bales-Parsons model of small groups and a theory of complex organizations. The organizational positions of the instrumental and expressive leaders are seen as critical variables, affecting both the fulfillment of the functional needs of participant groups and the groups' commitment to organizational goals. Complex organizations are distinguished according to the nature of their goals, power employed, and the level of lower-echelon commitment they require. The relations between the small group and the complex organization are reviewed for each kind. These theoretical considerations are applied to the study and administration of prisons, the "Human Relations" approach in industry, therapeutic mental hospitals, and schools.

THE theory of complex organizations, like the theory of other social systems, alternates between periods of emphasis on new inputs and periods of consolidation. In one of the earlier consolidations the quality of the theory was considerably improved by combining the formal structural tradition with the insights and findings of small group studies in the Kurt Lewin and Elton Mayo traditions.[1] The resulting product is symbolized by the pair concepts of formal and informal organization (and of formal and informal leadership). But the articulation of organizations with the groups in and around them is too vast a subject to have been exhausted by any one consolidation phase. The time may now be ripe for another effort to integrate small-group analysis with that of complex organizations.

One particularly promising approach seems to be a union of the Bales-Parsons structural-functional analysis of small groups with the main lines of analysis of complex organizations. Small group studies so far have obtained their data largely from groups created artificially in social science laboratories and from "natural"[2] groups in "natural" settings, mainly families in tribal and village communities.[3] Comparatively few data have been obtained, and few propositions formulated, for the structural-functional analysis of "natural" small groups within complex organizations, i.e., in artificial settings.[4] A theoretical articulation of this kind is the task of this article. To carry

[1] On this merger, see Rensis Likert, *New Patterns of Management*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962; and Amitai Etzioni, *Modern Organizations*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964, pp. 32–47.

[2] "Natural" groups are those whose culture and structure have evolved spontaneously. Since an element of artificiality (or self-consciousness and planning) characterizes most groups, "naturalness" is a matter of degree.

[3] For studies of differentiation in a "natural" group, see Oscar Grusky, "A Case for the Theory of Familial Role Differentiation in Small Groups," *Social Forces*, 35 (1957), pp. 209–217; and Francesca M. Cancian, "Interaction Patterns in Zinacanteco Families," *American Sociological Review*, 29 (1964), pp. 540–550.

[4] For one of the few relevant studies see Fred Strodtbeck and Richard D. Mann, "Sex Role Differentiation in Jury Deliberations," *Sociometry*, 19 (1956), pp. 3–11.

it out, I shall draw on one other recent development: the comparative study of organizations. I shall then attempt to show that if the theory so extended is valid, it has policy implications for major spheres of applied sociology, illustrating once more that theoretical effort is but one step removed from well-founded applied work.

From a theoretical point of view, articulation between small groups functioning within complex organizations and their organizational setting is two-fold: first, the organization affects the fulfillment of the functional needs of these groups, and second, the way these functions are served in turn affects the operation of the organization itself. It is essential to keep these two systems of reference apart: that the same act, role, or leader has both group and organizational functions by no means implies that these functions are identical.

DUAL LEADERSHIP IN NON-ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS

Drawing liberally on the right of interpretation I shall briefly summarize the Bales-Parsons analysis of small groups, which is based largely on experimental studies.[5] For my purposes here, by far the most important insight is that if small task-oriented groups are to operate efficiently, two kinds of leadership are required, and the two are to be mutually supportive.[6] Task-oriented groups tend to develop two kinds of leader: one, an expressive (or social-emotional) leader, who ranks higher than other actors in such interaction categories as "showing solidarity" and "asking for suggestions;" the other, an instrumental (or task-oriented) leader, who

ranks higher than other actors in such categories as "giving suggestions" and "showing disagreement."

The distinction between expressive and instrumental orientations is not limited to a classification of leadership. All acts can be classified as expressive or instrumental. Roles can be classified according to the prevalence of one kind of act over the other. Moreover, the same analytical distinction can be applied to the functional needs of social systems. Here, *instrumental* refers to the need to acquire resources, or means, and to allocate them among the various role-clusters in the system, and *expressive*, to the need to maintain the integration of various parts of the system with each other as well as with its normative system.[7] Role clusters can then be classified as devoted primarily to the service of one or another functional need. Similarly, the same concepts are useful in classifying the elite roles of initiative and control, which direct the activities performed in various role-clusters by the respective followers.[8]

Finally, actors in general and leaders in particular have instrumental or expressive psychological propensities. Of course, this is in part a situational distinction. Whether an actor becomes an expressive or instrumental leader depends in part on the psychological predispositions of the *other* members of his group, and a person may acquire some of the "characteristics" of his kind of leadership (e.g., higher level of activity, ability to withstand hostility), once he has assumed the particular kind of leadership *position*, as he interacts with followers and with leaders of the complementary kind.[9] Still, one probably could predict, on the basis of a psycho-

[5] Robert F. Bales, "The Equilibrium Problem in Small Groups," in Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Working Papers in the Theory of Action*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 111–161; and Robert F. Bales and Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Decision-Making Groups," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955, pp. 259–306.

[6] Effectiveness is studied more directly by Shaw than in the Bales studies. See Marvin E. Shaw, "Some Effects of Individual Prominent Behavior of Group Effectiveness and Member Satisfaction," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 59 (1959), pp. 382–386. See also Mauk Mulder, "Group-Structure and Group Performance," *Acta Psychologica*, 16 (1959), pp. 356–402.

[7] Here, my usage differs somewhat from that of the Parsonian tradition. Cf. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, Ch. 4, esp. pp. 145–147; and Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, "Phase Movement in Relation to Motivation Symbol Formation and Role Structure," in Parsons, *et al.*, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action, op. cit.*, pp. 163–269.

[8] Amitai Etzioni, "The Functional Differentiation of Elites in the *Kibbutz*," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (1959), pp. 476–487.

[9] Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (1955), pp. 300–310; and Godfrey Gardner, "Functional Leadership and Popularity in Small Groups," *Human Relations*, 9 (1956), pp. 491–504.

logical test, the kind of leadership role a person is more likely to assume. Instrumental leadership seems to draw people who are more aggressive, more able to withstand hostility and more anxious to be respected, while expressive leadership attracts people who are more accommodative, less able to withstand hostility, and more anxious to be loved.

Drawing on these various levels of application of the twin concepts, expressive and instrumental, the dual leadership theory suggests—though here data are particularly lacking—that task-oriented groups will be more effective in terms of task-achievement and members' satisfaction, when the group commands both instrumental and expressive leaders.[10] It suggests further that while these two kinds of leadership might be provided by a single actor ("great man"), they tend not to be. Finally, when two actors carry out the two leadership roles, mutual support is required for effective leadership of the group.[11] This theory is contrasted with the approach prevalent in much of the psychological, administrative, and political science literature, which expects effective leadership to be provided by one man.[12]

Not all these statements are fully backed with empirical evidence, nor is the existing evidence immune to conflicting interpretation. Nevertheless, these statements may be used to develop additional propositions, which, of course, require validation in their own right.[13]

The dual leadership theory, briefly restated here, has been evolved largely in experimental, task-oriented groups and mainly applied to the study of "natural" groups in the community.[14] But very little effort has been made so far to apply the dual-leadership theory to groups in complex organizations. In studies of committees, the theory has been used as though the participants constituted another "natural" group, which is to disregard both the external organizational role-sets of the participants and the fact that they did not interact as individuals but as representatives of departments, services, agencies, or other organizations.[15]

Before attempting to join the dual-leadership and complex organization lines of analysis, I must make one more preparatory comment. To deal with the articulation of groups and organizations, I focus on the concept of leadership. Leadership is the ability, based on the personal qualities of the leader, to elicit the followers' voluntary compliance in a broad range of matters.[16] Leader-

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[10] For a review of the research on this question and for references to earlier works, see Robert F. Bales, "Roles in Problem-Solving Groups," in Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore W. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (3rd ed.), New York: Henry Holt, 1958, pp. 437–447.

[11] Robert F. Bales, "Equilibrium Problem in Small Groups," in Parsons, *et al., Working Papers in the Theory of Action, op. cit.,* pp 148 ff.

[12] See Edgar F. Borgatta, Arthur Couch, and Robert F. Bales, "Some Findings Relevant to the Great Man Theory of Leadership," *American Sociological Review,* 19 (1954), pp. 755–759.

[13] Such validation should take into account that this is a functional theory. That is, it suggests that a group will be more effective *if* provided with both kinds of leadership, and *if* these kinds of leadership are mutually supportive. It also includes a nonfictional statement that differentiated leadership is more common than "great man" leadership, both because the psychological characteristics mono-leadership requires are rare and because such leader-

ship requires the same person to engage in opposing patterns of social behavior, e.g., to be assertive and accommodative simultaneously or at least in rapid succession.

On the other hand, the statement that the two kinds of leaders tend in fact to support each other is only an empirical finding (for the kinds of groups studied); it has neither a functional nor any other theoretical standing. Mutual support is a functional requirement of effective group action, but there is no reason, in theory, to state that most or even many small groups are effective. To refute this functional statement it would be necessary to show that when such support is lacking no dysfunction occurs, or that when provided, it does not increase effectiveness.

The functional model does not predict what pattern is common, but it does predict the *kinds* of pathologies that will occur if one of the two leadership roles is left vacant, or if mutual support is absent. Productivity will be low when the instrumental leader is missing, satisfaction when the expressive leader is missing; and both productivity and satisfaction will be reduced when the two leaders are in conflict rather than in coalition.

[14] Talcott Parsons, "Family Structure and the Socialization of the Child," and Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," in Parsons and Bales, *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process, op. cit.,* pp. 35–131 and 307–351, respectively.

[15] Robert F. Bales, "In Conference," *Harvard Business Review,* 32 (1954), pp. 44–50.

[16] When only a narrow range is covered, referring to matters of little importance, influence rather than leadership is exercised.

ship is distinguished from the concept of power in that it entails influence, i.e., change of preferences, while power implies only that subject's preferences are held in abeyance.

For small groups, leadership guides the activities by which their expressive and instrumental functional needs are served. The question here is: what contributions is the small group to expect from organizationally supplied leaders in its efforts to answer these needs? For the organization, the single most important bridge to participants' motivational and normative orientations is its ability to provide leadership to the small groups to which they belong. (Such a bridge is often not available, but it rarely exists without leadership.) If the participants accept the organizationally provided leader (i.e., one who is committed to the organization's goal, structure, and personnel), their non-calculative commitment to the organization can be obtained. If they reject the organizational leadership, the organization effectiveness is restricted to maintaining law and order and to carrying out the more routinized kinds of production, i.e., to tasks that require relatively little emotional commitment from the large majority of the participants.[17] The study of leadership—the consequences of its being supplied from various organizational ranks, its orientation toward the organization, and the scope of its influence—hence provides a rewarding approach to the study of small groups in complex organizations.

DUAL LEADERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations differ from other collectivities in that within them power is, comparatively, more deliberately distributed and institutionalized. Power is focused in the formally recognized elite positions in which status symbols, the right to give and withhold economic rewards, and control of means of violence are concentrated. In experimental task-groups leadership rests solely on the followers' attitudes and reciprocations, so

[17] This point is elaborated in Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations,* New York: The Free Press, 1961, Chs. 2, 3. This is not to say that the independent commitment of personnel to the organizational goals is not an analytically separate factor. Some types of organization (e.g., universities) do attract personnel with a high degree of such independent commitment.

that few discrepancies arise between leadership and power positions, but such discrepancies are common in complex organizations. An actor may have only positional power, in which case he might be referred to as an "official;" only broad personal influence, in which case he might be called an "informal leader;" or both, in which case he is best labeled a "formal leader." If he commands neither, he is probably a follower. (See Figure 1.) These concepts are not new, but defined in this way, they become part of a systematic conception.

When the dual leadership proposition is applied to small groups in complex organizations, the critical issues are not only whether both kinds of leadership are provided for, and whether they are mutually supportive,
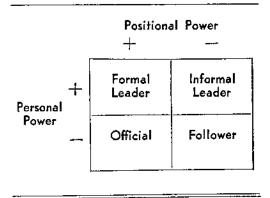

Positional Power

FIGURE 1

but also include the question of *how and to what extent the leadership is backed by organizational power.* A group in an organization where both types of leadership are exercised by informal leaders—persons without organizational positions—will be very different from a group where both types of leadership are exercised by formal leaders—persons in organizational positions—or a group where one type of leadership is provided by an occupant of an organizational power position while the other is not.

The organizational location of expressive and instrumental leadership affects (a) the degree of organizational control over the group; (b) the degree of collaboration between the two kinds of leaders; and (c) the power relations between the two kinds of leaders. Each of these points requires a brief elaboration.

Provision of leadership from organizational positions is a major source of organizational control over groups of participants. Holding an organizational position does not automatically assure the incumbent's loyalty to the organization's goal, its rules, or its higher-ranking leaders—nor does its lack necessarily imply alienation of the leader—but, all other things being equal, *informal leaders tend to be less loyal to the organization than formal ones.* Hence, by and large, an organization that provides both kinds of leadership (that is, its representatives are accepted by the small-group members as leaders), will have more control over the participants than one in which both kinds of activities are controlled by informal leaders.

The effectiveness of an organization that provides only one of the two kinds of leadership for the participants follows no definite pattern, for the effect of this configuration is contaminated by the nature of relations between the two leaders. This second variable, collaboration between instrumental and expressive leadership, is itself affected by the organizational positions of both leaders. All other things being equal, collaboration is more likely when both of the leaders hold organizational positions, or when neither does, than it is when only one of them does. (Exceptions are discussed below.) Where both leaders hold organizational positions, collaboration may be supported by various organizational mechanisms, such as rewards (e.g., more rapid promotions for leaders who "get along" with others) and rules and institutionalized points (e.g., the next higher in command) for resolving conflicts, and by shared training experience, organizational perspectives, and ideology. Of course, when this is not the case, as when one of the two leaders has been recently recruited from the outside, or is more anxious to please his subordinates than to be rewarded by the organization,[18] the likelihood of collaboration will decline; still, on the average such difference of background, perspective, and expectations should be less common between two formal leaders

than between a formal and an informal leader.

Informal leaders are likely to be more similar to each other than to formal leaders because their income, prestige, interests, etc., are correlated with rank, and informal leaders of the same small group tend to be of similar rank. Being of similar rank, they may face a closed organizational level, into which they cannot be recruited (e.g., nurses facing the doctor's rank; enlisted men before the officer's rank); their organization may be slow to promote (e.g., young faculty at European universities); they may share the experience of having been left behind in an organization where rapid promotion is the rule, or of having refused on psychological or ideological grounds to accept a promotion into organizational leadership positions.

Finally, the relations between the expressive and instrumental leaders are much affected by their relative resources. These depend on their organizational positions, which in turn are influenced by the goals and compliance structure of the organization. In groups of four or five students meeting for four 45-minute discussion sessions, in a highly institutionalized situation, the only sources of power are personal; no member commands organizational power and hence it does not affect relations between the two leaders. But when the context is that of a complex organization, the question of their relative power is most important: which leader is superior in rank (or in other measures of organizational power)—the expressive or the instrumental ones? Assuming all others things are equal, granting more organizational power to one kind of leader affects the goals to which the small group will be primarily devoted. That is, if the instrumental leader is superior, the group is more likely to be a task-oriented group, and if the expressive leader is superior, a socionormative group. One might expect the goals of the organization to determine whether a group operating within it is predominantly instrumental or expressive. But the organizational goals must gain support; they do not translate themselves into appropriate action automatically. By recruiting personnel whose leadership potential is high, through leadership-training and by deliberately al-

18 Graham M. Sykes, "The Corruption of Authority Rehabilitation," *Social Forces,* 34 (1956), pp. 257–262. See also Gresham M. Sykes, *Society of Captives,* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958.

locating superior rank to one kind of leadership, the organization can bring groups into line with its goals. If the leadership hierarchy contradicts the organizational goals, however, a predominantly expressive group is quite likely to appear in a producing organization (workers "taking it easy," "chumming it up with the foreman," playing cards on the job, etc.) and the other way around.

The critical observation linking the small group and organizational lines of analysis is that to maximize its effectiveness the organization must not merely gain control of the group via its leaders, but also must *allocate power so as to establish the superiority of the desired kind of leadership over the other.* Mechanisms for this purpose include giving one leader a higher rank, symbols of higher prestige, greater backing by the next higher in command, etc. One might think that a complex organization should always support the instrumental leader, since it is basically an instrumentally-oriented unit. But the answer differs from one type of organization to another, and is to be sought in a cross-institutional comparative perspective (as distinct from a cross-cultural one).

Contrary to an assumption widely held and perpetuated in many textbooks on administration and industrial management, organizations differ strikingly in the degree to which effective operation requires them to gain control and loyalty of the small groups that function in them. In some organizations —for example, prisons—such control is hardly possible, rarely attempted, and not essential for effective operation. In other organizations—for example, religious or political movements—control is quite possible, often sought, and a prerequisite to effective operation. Organizational effects on relations between expressive and instrumental leaders should be examined against this comparative backdrop.

For our present purposes, it will suffice to classify organizations according to their goals and the corresponding needs to gain low, high, or medium commitment from the participants. Organizations whose goal is to segregate deviant members of the society —prisons, correctional institutions, and custodial mental hospitals—require relatively low commitment on the part of their inmates and most other personnel for satis-

factory levels of operation. Their chances of gaining control of the small group within them by providing these groups with leadership are small in any case, since the participants, above all the inmates, are usually highly antagonistic to the organization and tend to reject any leadership it might attempt to provide, instrumental or expressive. Officials pursue their tasks by relying largely on power, not leadership.[19] Leadership in the small groups tends to be informal, and the expressive leader is likely to be superior, for alienated informal groups are primarily oriented not to tasks but to social and normative problems. These groups form the basis of social life in prison-type organizations and are the source of tension-management, aside from enforcing the special inmate code.[20] Instrumental leaders, such as the traders in various scarce (cigarettes) or forbidden (narcotics) goods tend to be lower in status and power than the "right guys," the expressive leaders of the inmates.[21] When the informal inmate groups are organized around escape efforts, and the instrumental leaders are in charge of the engineering and technical aspects of the escape, their status and power are higher, but they still tend to be subordinate to the expressive leaders. (This suggests that escape efforts are ritualistic and normative rather than rationally calculated operations.)

At the other extreme of the commitment continuum are organizations whose real goal is to socialize or re-socialize members of the society: schools, rehabilitation centers, therapeutic mental hospitals, and religious organizations.[22] Religious organizations be-

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[19] The power of the inmate group is often sufficient to wring concessions from lower-echelon custodial officers in return for making their life bearable and not embarrassing them in the eyes of their superiors. In this sense the segregating type of organization can be said to work through the informal group to maintain its custodial control. See Seymour Rubenfeld and John W. Stafford, "An Adolescent Inmate Social System," *Psychiatry,* 26 (1963), pp. 241–256.

[20] Donald Clemmer, *The Prison Community,* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1958, pp. 111–134.

[21] Richard A. Cloward, "Social Control and Anomie: A Study of a Prison Community," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1959.

[22] The following discussion assumes that schools are organizations for education and not just in-

long in this category to the degree that one of their major goals is to strengthen their members commitment to a set of values, a commitment that tends to be eroded in secular life and, therefore, needs reinforcement. In this sense they are resocializing agencies.

Effective socialization requires a high level of commitment on the part of the participants, for without such commitment, without identification of the students, parents, parishioners with the organizational leadership and its goals, and rules, the organization cannot deeply affect their personalities.[23] Hence, these organizations must either provide the leadership of the small groups or gain the leaders' support. If such efforts are unsuccessful and loyalties are locked in the group and not extended to the organization, its failure is quite unavoidable. Conditions for achieving leadership of these groups are much better here than in the segregating type of organizations, however, for here participation is voluntary, and the means of control are largely symbolic and not coercive. Participants' attitudes are much more likely to be positive, and their groups more receptive to organizational leadership. The organization, in turn, makes a much larger investment in leadership training and symbolic control of the participants, and to the extent that it commands other kinds of power, it is much more reluctant to use it.

The subordinate leader of small groups in socializing organizations had best be the expressive one. The organization's prime aim is to affect the participants deeply; its agents for this purpose are the expressive

struction; that successful therapy requires changes in a patient's personality, not just his following the therapist's advice, and that religious organizations are not just social clubs. This assumption is in part the consequence of implicit theoretical premises to the effect that the goals of these organizations cannot be served through instruction, advice, or "social" gatherings, but require deeper impact on the participants' personalities. Furthermore, organizations ought to be classified according to the business they are really in, however their licenses read. Thus, mental hospitals that do not cure but only keep inmates off the streets should be classified as segregating organizations, and so on.

[23] The theoretical reasons for this assumption cannot be spelled out here; they lie in the realm of psychology and their discussion would carry us far afield from the subject of this article.

leaders—teachers, therapists, ministers—who either interact directly with the participants or at least affect them indirectly by influencing the small group in which the participants are involved (e.g., classes or therapeutic groups). Each organization (and each small group) of course also has instrumental needs. Buildings need to be attended to, funds must be allocated, and so on. Still, these considerations pertain to the acquisition and allocation of resources whose nature differs from that of the organizational goals. Unlike the profit goal, socialization goals are such that merely combining resources better, or giving superior status to instrumental role-clusters and to instrumental leadership, reduces the effectiveness of the organization. (These statements, it should be stressed, refer not to the overall head of the various organizations under discussion, such as school principals, hospital directors, or other administrative heads, but to those in the ranks immediately above the members, i.e., teachers, psychiatric social workers, and parish clergy.)

Organizations whose goal is to produce goods, or services, or to exchange them—such as factories, shops, and banks—require more commitment from their participants, including the lower-ranking ones, than do segregating organizations, but they can function quite effectively with considerably lower levels of commitment than socializing organizations. As a rule, producing organizations operate more effectively if their leadership is accepted by the small groups within them. If organizational leadership is rejected, however, producing organizations still can operate more effectively than much of the current literature suggests. The participants can "trade" the organization a "fair day's work" for a "fair day's pay" without being committed to its goal (profit), to many of its rules, or to its management (treated as mere "officials"). This is especially the case when the work is routine, requiring little initiative or responsibility. The latter qualities are difficult to supervise or measure, and they require internal commitment and rewards other than remunerative ones. It is easier for an organization to build a pyramid without its participants' commitment than to conduct research leading to a lunar landing. Producing organizations, hence, tend to rely on

a mixture of "official" power (especially remunerative) and leadership. What proportions are most effective depends on the kind of work carried out, according to the dimensions suggested above.

Apart from the amount of leadership an effective producing organization requires (and how much it actually commands), its maximum effectiveness is clearly served by making the instrumental superior to the expressive leadership. In this sense, producing organizations are in direct contrast to socializing organizations. Optimal combination of means is more directly relevant to the success of a producing organization than are its workers' moral and social lives. Production requires giving priority to calculations involving division of labor, assignment of personnel, and soon, and in fact, the interest of producing organizations in the expressive activities of participant groups is largely instrumental. Attention to expressive activities, including providing organizational leadership for them, is justified by the belief that it enhances organizational control of the *instrumental* activities. The need for expressive leaders is thus secondary. If expressive considerations were to prevail, production considerations would have to be significantly and regularly neglected to assure "good" social relations between the workers and the foreman. While foremen not infrequently give precedence to expressive considerations, this clearly is not the intent of the producing organization, and not what effective service of its goals requires.

Thus, each type of organization has a different need to control its participants, according to its goals and the degree of participant commitment these goals require.[24] This suggests an optimal relation between the instrumental and expressive leaders for each type of organization. Segregating organizations do not require much commitment of the lower participants for effective operation, and in any case can rarely affect relations be-

tween instrumental and expressive leaders, who both tend to be informal. Socializing organizations require deep commitment of the lower participants; the changed state of these participants is their main "product." This requires subordination of instrumental considerations to expressive ones, which in turn requires subordination of instrumental to expressive leaders. Producing organizations require a "medium" degree of commitment. Their handling of lower participants is subordinated to other, wider considerations of combining means of which the work of participants is only one, for their product is not a state of the participants but goods or services. The participants' morale (in the broadest sense of the term) is but one consideration among many, and the expressive leader in charge of this category of means is hence subordinated to the instrumental one, who is in charge of the broader combination of means and more "calculative" in his orientation to the workers. Thus a theoretical link exists between the kind of orgainzation in question and the power relations between the two types of leaders.

SOME APPLICATIONS

The propositions I have advanced here are derived from two lines of analysis. Like all such theoretical derivations, they must stand the test of empirical research before they can be held valid. If vadidated, they would have significant implications for several seemingly unrelated areas of applied sociology; they would suggest revisions of the sociology of rehabilitation, therapy, labor relations, and education.

Much of the literature in these fields stresses interpersonal relations, leadership styles, and group atmosphere, as if the structural contexts in which these are introduced were immaterial. A "sensitive" supervisor or "democratic" foreman can achieve leadership of participants' groups, thereby enhancing organizational effectiveness. But the preceding analysis suggests that structural and cultural factors strictly limit the degree to which an organizational "official," whatever his style, can gain the leadership of a group of participants, as well as the kind of leadership he can gain.

If the preceding analysis is valid, efforts to capture the expressive leadership of the in-

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[24] Elsewhere I have proposed a typology of organizations: coercive, utilitarian, and normative. (See Etzioni, *op. cit.*) That typology provided a category for every complex organization. The present typology is not exclusive; it only provides for one or more examples of the most typical organizations in each of the three categories of the exhaustive typology. To note this difference, here the terms segregating, producing, and socializing are used.

mate groups in segregating organizations by assigning a few professional workers (social workers, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists) must fail unless the basic nature of the organization (its security arrangements, restrictions of privileges, attitudes of guards or attendants, etc.) is changed. The inmates' groups in organizations tend to reject the organization's values (they feel the whole official conception of justice is distorted), its goals (they feel that their confinement is unjust), and its personnel (they feel that the guards or attendants are cruel and arbitrary). Anti-organization leaders and groups tend to prevail,[25] and though professional personnel in such a context may find isolated inmates who have not been assimilated and acculturated by the inmate community and who are amenable to their treatment, their efforts will largely be "washed out" by counterforces in the inmate community.[26]

The context changes when, instead of sending a few rehabilitation-oriented professionals into a segregating organization, their number and power in the organization is increased to a point where they can change some of its basic characteristics. But we are dealing then with a different type of organization, one that is, or is becoming, a socializing type. In segregating communities *per se*, isolated rehabilitation efforts, which require influencing inmates' expressive orientations and activities are liable to fail. A more effective approach would be to concentrate the available rehabilitation-oriented personnel in forces large enough to affect the basic structure of a few segregating organizations, and assign them to those most prone to change (as a result of favorable community interest, for example, or recent weakening of the coercive structure), rather than to distribute these scarce professionals among a large number of organizations on the assumption that they will convert other persons to their

[25] Norman S. Hayner and Ellis Ash, "The Prisoner Community as a Social Group," *American Sociological Review*, 4 (1939), pp. 362–369.
[26] Lloyd W. McCarkle and Richard R. Korn, "Resocialization Within Walls," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 293 (1954), pp. 88–98. See also Stanton Wheeler, "Role Conflict in Correctional Communities," in Donald R. Cressey (ed.), *The Prison*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961.

viewpoint, or in response to some sort of misplaced egalitarianism.

The preceding analysis implies that in producing organizations foremen trained in "Human Relations" workshops are likely to be least effective! The Human Relations tradition calls upon the foreman to be a "great man," which some might be and a few might become, but most are clearly not, nor are they capable of becoming, great men. A foreman is expected to hold two roles simultaneously, to be both an instrumental and an expressive leader. Under pressure from management, he is expected to set specific work loads and assignments, to supervise production, and maintenance of machinery, to encourage adherence to rules, etc. He might accomplish this, if the workers consider their pay adequate and their working conditions satisfactory, if they are not politically antagonistic to the particular production system, and if he understands the work process. Suppose that he now enters Human Relations training; he attends seminars, workshops, meetings with representatives of the Labor Relations Department and so on. He is encouraged to become the workers' expressive leader as well, to be not only respected, but also liked, popular, loved; to be concerned with workers' personal problems, participate in their social life, be a "father" and a "friend."

To a limited degree an instrumental leader can exercise expressive leadership without commanding the rare talents of a "great man." A foreman can have a beer with his men or go bowling with them without corrupting his authority.[27] But sooner or later the relation between his expressive and instrumental commitments will come into question. When management increases its demands, the foreman must decide whether he will seek to circumvent the new demands, thus keeping his "popularity" with the workers, or impose them, which is likely to alienate the workers and undermines whatever expressive leadership he has attained.[28] Attempts to do both things simultaneously

[27] Sykes, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–262.
[28] William F. Whyte and Burleigh B. Gardner, "The Man in the Middle: Positions and Problems of the Foreman," *Applied Anthropology*, 4 (1945), pp. 1–28.

produces a high level of tension for the foreman. This role-strain [29] is heightened rather than reduced by Human Relations training.

Another important consideration here is that the foreman returning from Human Relations Workshop is likely to find the role of expressive leader filled, and the incumbent is likely to prevail in any conflict with the foreman over this position. The incumbent expressive leader may be an "old hand", a union steward, or merely an influential worker; [30] in any case, he has few, if any, instrumental demands to make of the workers and hence can be relatively "purely" expressive in his relation with them. Such leaders are, as a rule, selected by the workers themselves; they tend to be spontaneous rather than imposed leaders. But the foreman is not selected by the workers and, compared to the informal expressive leader, he is farther from them in terms of income and rank. Since he must, at least occasionally, transmit pressures from management in his instrumental capacity, a foreman is likely to lose in such a competition for expressive leadership. And not only does he fail to secure the expressive leadership role, he also jeopardizes a possible coalition with the incumbent expressive leader. Although the producing organization's goals would be advanced by such a coalition, the Human Relations approach in effect renders it improbable by teaching foremen to challenge the indigenous expressive leadership.

The preceding analysis is also relevant to the management of therapeutic mental hospitals. One controversy in this field focuses on the question: Should treatment be largely in the hands of psychiatrists or can other professionals fully participate? This is a complex issue with many ramifications, but one point is closely related to the matters at hand. Psychiatric treatment, like other socialization and re-socialization processes, involves a supportive element to provide emotional security, and a demanding one to encourage growth, experimentation, and learn-

ing.[31] In the primary family, as it existed among the middle classes in the 19th-century Germany and France, the mother (or nurse) was probably the primary source of support; the father, of growth. This is not to assert that one actor cannot fill both roles. In a successful psychiatric relationship the therapist probably provides both, varying the amount of support relative to pressure to grow from session to session, and in particular over various phases of the relationship. But a division of labor between the psychiatrist and another agent of re-socialization— a psychiatric nurse, social worker, clinical psychologist or the like—would make more treatment hours available for each patient, reduce costs per hour, and hasten the patient's advance, for the psychiatrist would be free to specialize more in pressure to grow if another staff-member provided support.

The theory advanced here, though, should not be viewed as simply supporting the participation of other professionals in the treatment process. Sharing the treatment would be effective only if the psychiatrist (as the instrumental leader) collaborates with other professionals (as expressive leaders). One of the best ways to assure such a coalition is to give a clear power (and status) advantage to one of the two kinds of leaders, and since no member of the treatment team has as much prestige, or power, as the psychiatrist, in Western medicine at least, the psychiatrist is the obvious person to coordinate the efforts of the treatment team. It follows that the psychiatrist can never act as a purely instrumental leader, for at least he is also charged with guiding the expressive aspects of the treatment and articulating them with his own work.

In therapeutic mental hospitals two or more staff members often participate actively in the treatment process. This does not necessarily reduce the effectiveness of treatment, as the Bales-Parsons dual-leadership theory might suggest, because the expressive and instrumental leadership roles may be distributed among more than two actors, as in an extended family. Such a division is attained

[29] William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960), pp. 483–496.

[30] Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union*, New York: Harper, 1953.

[31] Parsons, *The Social System, op. cit.*, pp. 299–301. See also Talcott Parsons, "Illness and the Role of the Physician," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 21 (1951), pp. 452–460.

when several professionals work simultaneously with the same patient.[32] Needless to say, the need to harmonize the treatment efforts, and hence to institutionalize psychiatric coordination, grows with the number of professionals participating.

Other applications of the preceding analysis can be mentioned only briefly here. Mostly Army infantry units have two institutionally-provided leaders, the officer and the NCO, whose division of labor seems to follow the instrumental-expressive line. Armies differ greatly, though, as to which kind of leadership is given the superior rank, for reasons that have yet to be explored. All religious organizations provide for expressive leadership, but they differ in the degree to which they provide instrumental leaders (as against leaving this role to the laity), and in the degree formal or informal [33] instrumental ones. Finally, for reasons that are far from clear, many American high schools provide no satisfactory formal expressive leadership. "Homeroom" teachers act as expressive leaders in some schools, but often they are "offi-

cials" who possess some specialized knowledge or are in charge of discipline so that a home-room teacher typically attempts little and succeeds even less in securing the expressive leadership of the student groups. Actually the rotating system of classes, which regularly redistributes the students from hour to hour, undermines the sociological importance of this organizational unit, and by default increases the importance of the non-organizational peer-group and its informal expressive leaders. This might well account for the limited effect of high-school teachers on the deeper normative orientations of their students.[34] Any organization that requires a positive commitment from its participants must provide the leadership of participant groups, instrumental and expressive, or gain the collaboration of the informal leaders, if it is to be effective, but not all such organizations do so.

Behind these and many other applied problems lies one analytical issue: the role of dual leadership in linking organizations and groups of participants. The leadership of groups in organizations is a major mechanism by which groups and organizations are articulated, one that in part reflects and in part affects the degree to which groups and organizations, and their expressive and instrumental considerations, work hand in hand or at cross purposes.

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[32] This approach is often practiced by rehabilitation officers. For an illustration, see Celia Benney, "Casework and the Sheltered Workshop in Rehabilitation of the Mentally Ill," *Social Casework*, 41 (1960), pp. 465–472, and Bertram J. Black, "Rehabilitation of Post-Psychotic Patients by Industrial Workshop," *Diseases of the Nervous System* (Monograph Supplement), 22 (1961), pp. 1–4.

[33] Paul M. Harrison, *Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.

[34] James A. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*, New York: The Free Press, 1961.