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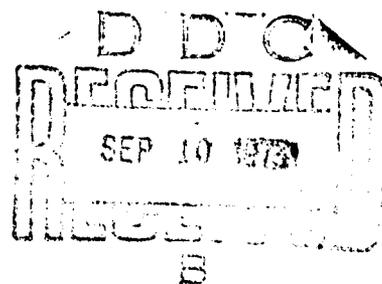
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ISRAELI MILITARY PSYCHOLOGY, 1973

By JAMES T. LESTER

26 June 1973



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## ISRAELI MILITARY PSYCHOLOGY, 1973

### INTRODUCTION

Psychology in the Israeli Defence Forces has been reviewed by an ONRL Liaison Scientist on three earlier occasions: 1961, Chapanis (ONRL-36-61); 1967, Rasmussen (ONRL-44-67); and 1969, Zeidner (ESN 23-3, 79-81). All three earlier visitors were impressed by the warmth of their reception and stimulated by their contacts both in the military organization and in the universities. I have recently made such a visit to Israel, and can report the same kind of enthusiastic response to stimulus conditions there. Unfortunately, I think, I cannot speak of many things that I experienced in Israel - not that they are classified, nor even illicit - they are simply not very "relevant." Therefore, I cannot say much about driver behavior in Tel Aviv (one of the world's strictest driving tests, one of the world's highest accident rates, second only to Italy in emission of the operant honking response); about the incredible persistence with which Arabs in old Jerusalem try to evoke consumer behavior from one (illustrating both a cultural tradition and the potency of intermittent reinforcement); about the young Americans at sunrise atop Masada (a mountain top on which a contingent of Essene Jews in 76AD killed their wives and children and then themselves, rather than allow the group to be captured by Roman troops) who strolled among the ruins debating the exact wording of "Supercalifragilisticexpialidocious"; about the old Polish Jew at Masada, who eased around the hostel area in the dark with a sub-machine gun, explaining vaguely to me that he was there not as a guard but "for control"; or about the huge laugh Goldie Hawn got from the Jewish movie audience when she described a kiss as being "like Christmas."

The purpose of this report is to review the application of psychology to the military situation in Israel for readers who may not have seen the earlier reports, and to describe some changes in the picture since 1969.

### BRIEF HISTORY OF ISRAELI MILITARY PSYCHOLOGY

The Defence Forces were formed in 1949. The earliest psychological applications apparently had to do with pilot candidate selection, which was initially done largely by a psychiatrist; the first military psychologist was Ronald Shouval (or Sobol), who when the military psychology effort expanded became the first Chief Psychologist (now in the Department of Psychology, University of Tel Aviv and currently on sabbatical in the US). In 1950 the Air Force and Army jointly set up a Psychotechnical Center to deal with selection and classification problems, and within this Center a Research Section was initiated (both the Center and the Research Section comprised a very small number of people, the latter perhaps only one person, Dr. M. Reeb). This Psychotechnical Center based its procedures primarily on the British War Office Selection Board techniques (also highly influential on OSS procedures, and ultimately traceable, I think, to the work of a German military psychologist in the early 30's).

In 1953 a new Center was established, the Manpower Classification and Assignment Center, and the psychology effort was transferred to this (under the Adjutant General), but responsibility for psychological research was now assigned to the Chief Psychologist (Shouval, until 1965). Without having seen actual figures, I estimate there may have been about ten military psychologists in Israel in the late 1950's.

In 1961 when Chapanis visited, he noted that basic selection for all three services was done by the Army organization, at the recruiting and classification base just outside Tel Aviv; this is still true, although more specialized selection efforts are located in the specific services. Psychologists then were playing a role in psychometrics, officer candidate selection, and attitudinal studies. Chapanis made no particular mention of the Research Section.

By 1967, when Rasmussen visited Israel, various organizational changes had occurred in the military, and psychological applications were now located within a Personnel Branch, where there was an Organizational Affairs Division which broke down into three sub-units: (1) Training, Instruction, and Regulation Section; (2) Quantity Section, concerned with manpower planning; and (3) Quality Section, responsible for establishing induction standards and determining the quality of the input necessary to meet personnel requirements for all three services. Psychology was represented mainly in the Quality Section, which included the Staff Officer for Psychological Affairs and the Psychological Research Section. There still remained at this time a Manpower Classification unit (under the Adjutant General) where psychologists were also to be found. Finally there were a small number of psychologists attached to the Navy and Air Force. By 1967 Shouval had been replaced by Lt. Col. Moredcai Eran as Chief Military Psychologist (i.e., Staff Officer for Psychological Affairs), and Eran was also continuing to act in his former role as head of the Research Section. Reeb was still active in manpower and classification research.

From a retrospective point of view the earlier organization of psychology in the Defence Forces seems somewhat scattered and messy; on paper at least it appears rather uncoordinated. One must remember, though, that the number of people involved was quite small, all knew one another quite well, and there was much informal interaction. Psychological applications seem to have been well accepted and valued all along the way. One notes, however, that psychologists were somewhat buried in the organization, and in a position mainly to give advice when asked and not to exert any powerful influence within the organization. At least this is how the present Chief Psychologist, Cdr. Ben Shalit, saw the earlier picture, and he set out to change it.

#### CURRENT ORGANIZATION OF MILITARY PSYCHOLOGY

Shalit is the third incumbent, following Shouval and Eran. At 37, he is the oldest of some 60 psychologists in the Forces, which is to say the

whole unit is quite young. He took an MSc in Clinical Psychology at the University of Edinburgh, then accepted the first psychological post with the Navy, where he initiated the idea of the Field Psychologist, unique so far as I know to the Israeli Defence Forces. While with the Navy he took the PhD, with a clinical dissertation, at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He likes to see things move in directions he chooses, has the courage of his convictions, and is not lacking in convictions.\*

It seems to me that the four main features of his administration so far have been (1) a readiness and ability to take advantage of possibilities for expansion of military psychology, in terms of both numbers and areas of application; (2) expansion in particular of the Field Psychologist effort; (3) an organizational change whereby the Chief Psychologist has increased considerably in organization status, now equivalent to something like a "Psychologist-General"; and (4) a desire to avoid fragmented efforts, to achieve and maintain an encompassing conception of psychological work in the military. Colonels and Generals seem to be easily reached by phone from Shalit's office, and apparently they do not hesitate to initiate requests directly to him for data or recommendations. One very salient impression from my visit is how quickly, and without undue red tape, communications are effected, projects undertaken, recommendations are made, and decisions implemented. (The details of the Libyan airliner incident, which took place just a few days after my departure, certainly underlines these observations.)

An attempt to describe the present table of organization involves me in a nice example of Shalit's independent approach to administration. Feeling that the official way of labeling the inter-nested divisions, branches, sections, units, etc., was somewhat inappropriate, he had his stationery letterhead designed to suit his own view of the appropriate labels. Therefore I am not entirely sure that an independent military informant would describe this corner of the organizational structure exactly as below, but it makes no difference. Intriguingly, his letterhead also shows a symbol - not officially sanctioned - of his own design, representing the Military Psychology Unit: the Israeli sword and olive branch, the sword forming the central part of the Greek symbol for Psi, all this topped by an eye which

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\* A fascinating documentation of this assessment, as well as an insight into the sociology of present-day Israel, can be found in accounts of Shalit's struggle with the Israeli government over whether or not his children, with their Scottish gentile mother, could be "registered" as Jewish. See e.g., Time, 11/29/68, 2/2/70; Look, 6/16/70; Newsweek, 2/2/70

symbolizes assessment, insight, or something along that line. Members of the Unit also wear the symbol as an insignia, though this is not authorized.\* All this implies a willingness to accept various ways of doing things in the Israeli military, of which I saw further evidence, e.g., in five days of visiting military installations I saw not one salute, although regulations still call for it. A second example: the uniform includes a hat, which is to be worn out-of-doors at all times, but masses were failing to do so; debate over what to do about it was swayed by arguments that this was not a question of respect for authority but simply a dislike for wearing hats, and hats may now be stuffed under one's epaulets rather than worn.

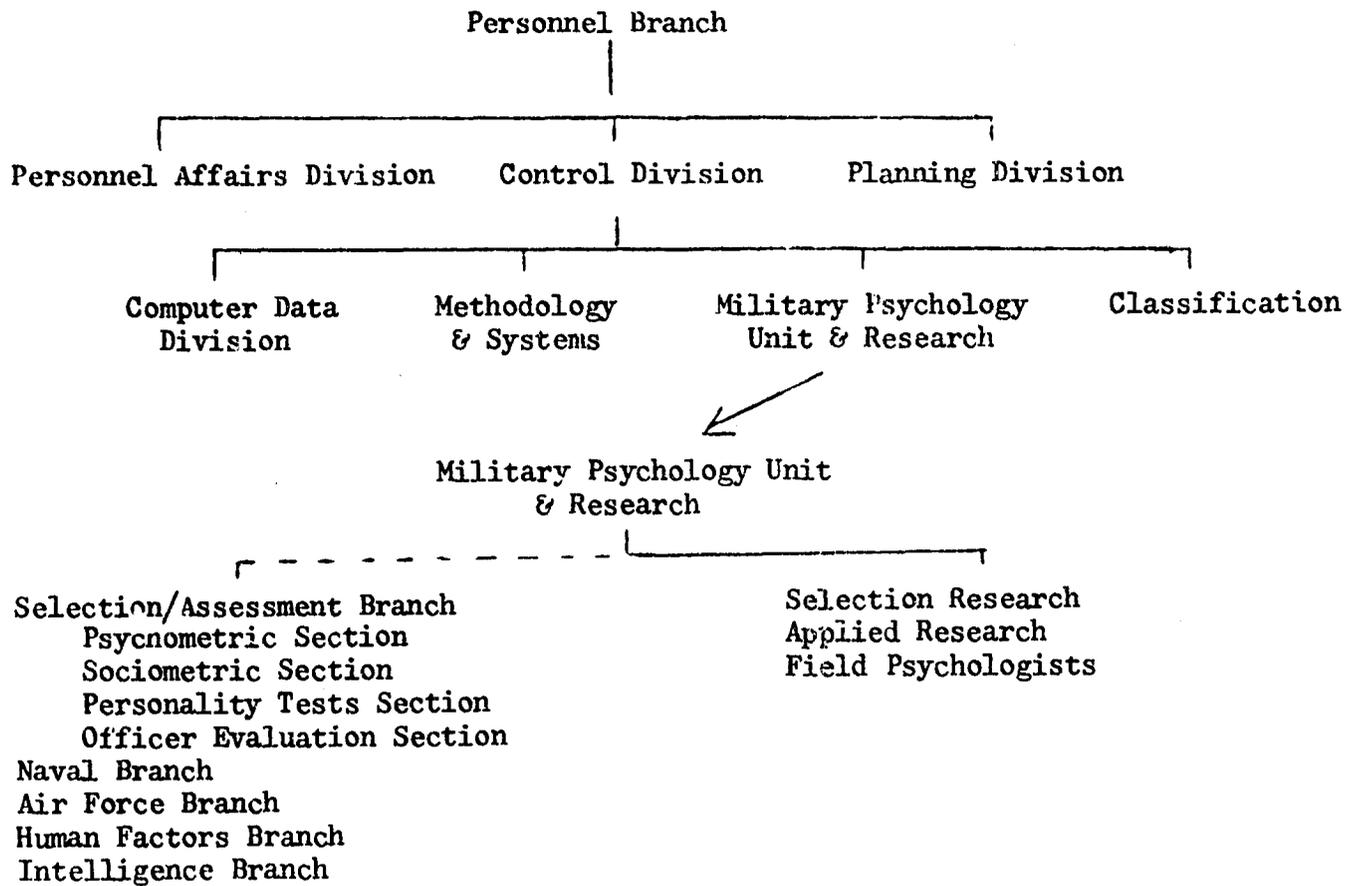
Shalit is in charge of the Military Psychology Unit (also known as the Psychology and Research Branch) of the Manpower Division (possibly known to the military as the Personnel Branch). The structure of the Personnel Branch is shown in Figure 1. Under his direct command are the three sections of the Unit: (1) Selection Research Section, (2) Applied Research Section, and (3) Field Psychology Section; these three sections comprise approximately 60 persons (eight PhD's, 12 MA's, and about 40 BA's).

Under his professional supervision but not direct command are five somewhat independent "branches": Army Selection and Assessment Branch (which is probably a direct-line descendant of the 1950 Psychotechnical Center); Naval Psychology Branch; Air Force Psychology Branch; Human Factors Branch; and Intelligence Psychology Branch. "Professional supervision" means that hiring is under the Chief Psychologist's supervision, research efforts under his coordination, and testing and evaluation under his detailed direction. The Human Factors effort is mainly contracted out at the moment, and the Intelligence Branch was out of bounds for me; the rest of the organization will be discussed below.

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\* The insignia will be officially sanctioned on Independence Day this year, vindicating Shalit's policy of establishing the fact first and letting the rest of the necessary events follow.

Figure 1



MILITARY PSYCHOLOGY UNITSelection Research Section

In charge of this Section is Mrs. Daniele Gordon (MA, Hebrew University) who reviewed the work of the Section for me, together with Eli Fishof (MA, Hebrew University), Shalit's second in command who is mainly concerned with coordination of research, and I was impressed by the quality of the thinking and of the work executed.

Basic selection and classification procedures are by now quite routine, and include periodic efforts to check on their usefulness. Men and women report to an assessment center six to 12 months before actual induction and take the basic assessment battery which includes psychomotor aptitude and performance tests, a Biographical Data form and an extensive personality battery including the Eysenck questionnaire, the Taylor Anxiety Scale, the DAP, 8 TAT cards (some revised), and a sentence completion technique. This and personal data obtained provide advance information for personnel planning. At actual induction, some are given additional testing, e.g., if the initial data suggest officer candidate potential. Within the officer candidate group those who express specific interests (such as pilot, commando, etc.) receive still further testing and interviewing. But all proceed into the same basic training, during which decisions are made about selection for further leadership training (squadron leader courses and officer training). During basic training peer ratings on "potential for squadron leader" are obtained, which comprise part of the basis for selection for that course. During the squadron leader course peer ratings are again obtained, this time for "officer potential"; both sets of peer ratings comprise part of the file on which officer selection is based. Officer selection used to be done by Selection Boards following the British model, but on the basis of research results the Board System has been dropped and selection is wholly computerized on the basis of data concerning (1) intellectual and educational potential, (2) peer ratings, and (3) a psychologist's evaluation of personality. Further decisions about specific operational units appear to be in the hands of the units themselves, where Field Psychologists if present may or may not play some role.

Current research projects are aimed at refining various facets of this process with particular reference to officer selection: getting a better idea of the weights with which the various assessment elements enter into final selection decisions, finding redundant or superfluous data, revising and designing new personality assessment techniques, improving the reliability and validity of interpretations of psychological test data, and studying individual differences among psychologists in the interpretive process. Failure rate in the officer course is running 15-20%; such confidence does the military have in the mysteries of psychological research that they are asking the Selection Section to try to identify these 15% during the first week of

training! Shalit hopes to integrate selection for specific units and specific jobs, now done more or less idiosyncratically by unit staff, and to get it on a common methodological basis.

#### Applied Research Section

Head of this section is Joachanan Eshel (PhD, Hebrew University). Projects may be undertaken either by request from other sectors of the Defence Forces or by initiation from within the Military Psychology Unit. Some work is very short-term, a response to a specific request (a goal of the Unit is to try to anticipate such requests and to gather the relevant data in advance of the request, facilitating a rapid response when it comes), or it may be more programmatic and systematic. An example of the latter is the Section's continuing work on morale surveys (perhaps the area of major concentration). Eshel also reviewed with me some work on officer performance evaluation, the uses of discipline and punishment, factors influencing accident rate in a demolition unit, field studies of factors influencing sleep patterns, training and instruction, and officers' evaluations of cadets-in-training.

Morale surveys have been carried out irregularly ever since 1948. The effort now is to make the data collection systematic, and to analyze the global term "morale" into elements of known relation to efficiency or effectiveness; a draft of a standardized questionnaire is being tested. Studies so far of the meaning of morale are reported to have shown clearly that feelings about the job context - food, lodging, recreation, etc. - have little relation to actual effectiveness on the job, although such feelings are usually identified by both men and officers as important to morale. Much more important to actual effectiveness are feelings about one's own competence for the job and the competence of the others around one, especially the leader. It is, of course, one thing to uncover this fact and another to communicate it effectively to leaders. The goal here is eventually to have accurate information, relevant to performance of units, readily available to commanders who will accept and use it in a constructive way. Achieving constructive acceptance and use, on a routine basis, may be more difficult than obtaining useful data.

Officer evaluations are made, as in most services, by superior officers who rate inferiors in what psychologists would refer to as a subjective, intuitive way. The Section aims to make this process more systematic and objective, although here (as usual in researching evaluation schemes) many officers have some resistance to giving up their own evaluative procedures. Field Psychologists have been employed in a study of what senior officers are looking for in junior officers, in an effort to turn global ratings into specifiable behaviors and finally to crystallize the most relevant behavior items into a Q-sort deck; if this should prove practical, then future evaluations might be made by psychologists, on the basis of Q-sorts filled out by officers. Once again one has the difficult problem of a criterion against which to judge validity; the objective system may be less arbitrary and personal, but will it be better? Eshel is looking for answers to this question.

One psychologist in the section has gotten interested in the military disciplinary court and individual differences among commanders in its use, as these relate to rates of occurrence of first and second offenses of various kinds. Preliminary findings suggest that rate of occurrence of offenses is best reduced by a policy of maximum variation in use of severity of punishment; commanders both maximally severe and maximally permissive seem to have the higher rates. It appears that men are influenced not simply by the threat of punishment but by their perception of the policy under which punishment is given; and a policy which creates maximum uncertainty in a potential offender about what punishment he could receive may be the most effective. This goes in the face of common sense and the commander's wish to let his men know where he stands, and once again the military psychologist is faced with the problem of the communication and implementation of his findings. Commanders, it is said, do not want to be Machiavellian (or Skinnerian) but do want the punishment to be tailored to suit the individual case and want to be "fair" and "right" (often at the expense of effective disciplinary action). The AWOL soldier is a common problem (yes, apparently even in Israel!); regulations include requiring the man to return to duty in the unit which he left, but this often leads to repeated offenses. Suspecting that AWOL behavior is often a response to family difficulties at home (at least in Israel), psychologists are urging an experimental policy of reassigning AWOL soldiers to units stationed nearer their homes; if the policy is adopted in enough commands, the results will be carefully researched.

Many European investigators are currently studying sleep, almost all of them under laboratory conditions. The Israeli military psychologists are attempting to study sleep patterns and relevant influential variables under field conditions, with reference to the soldier's ability to maintain assigned periods of wakefulness. Eshel's group has looked into variables such as living conditions, daily routine, commander behavior, amount of effort in previous few days, time on the post, time in the military (this seems to be a particularly potent variable), and other factors.

The Applied Research Section does not as yet have a major involvement in studies of training. Commanders are autonomous with regard to how training in their units shall be executed, and the Section has done only a loosely connected series of studies in this area. There is a Training Branch which devotes itself to specifying the content of training programs, but few (according to Shalit) have perceived the value of questioning the empirical relation between training methodology and performance criteria.

#### Field Psychology Section

Shalit's first year in the Navy was spent rotating, at his own request, through the major types of naval duty, and throughout his service he spent at least 50% of his time in the field. It is still a key element in his philosophy, that approaches to problem-solution should be based on a first-hand knowledge of the conditions under which the problem arose. The natural expression of this idea is the assignment of psychologists to organizational

units, and this is the idea behind this Section. The Field Psychologist attempts to integrate himself into whatever unit he is assigned to, and to know the life of the men and officers in that unit from the inside. Yet, he is responsible, ultimately, not to the unit commander but to the Chief Psychologist; he is part of the unit, yet he is not. This is a source of strain, but also of the possibility for insights that are often closed to someone completely enveloped in a group's dynamics. His basic mission is to experience the life of the unit as phenomenologically as possible, but also to search this experience objectively for insights, problem definitions, and research questions; and to serve as Socratic gadfly and source of feedback to unit leaders. Within that framework he has enormous freedom of movement, in style of operation, in choice of areas to give closest scrutiny to, etc. His contribution to problem-solutions is often Rogerian, offering a willing listener to unit staff reflecting and clarifying; but obviously this style does not suit everyone and some operate more aggressively. Much of what he or she does is entirely contained within the operational unit, but in some instances the Field Psychologist calls on the resources of the rest of the Military Psychology Unit, e.g., for research that goes beyond the simplest kind of data collection. The effort of the Applied Section to make morale surveys objective and systematic leans heavily on the Field Psychologist, to obtain valid data and to carry out the sensitive task of feeding back the results to commanders (or, to use it as a springboard for further research).

This Section is fairly new, having only recently been generalized from the Navy to the Army (Air Force units do not lend themselves so well to the conception). So far the Section has an excellent image, and commanders are requesting more Field Psychologists than can be supplied. Qualifications are a BA in Psychology and acceptability for officer status. Once accepted as a candidate for Field Psychologist the new recruit (male or female, usually a recent graduate - the whole thing reminds me very much of the US Peace Corps in several ways) goes through the regular 12-week officer's course. He then takes a 2½-month military psychology course: two weeks' classroom instruction, one month in a field setting under supervision, and a final month of instruction which covers aspects of research design most relevant to his work setting, and military information pertinent to his work. This training lays heavy emphasis on methods of observation and on the role of change agent. He is then assigned to a unit where he develops his own job, from help with setting individualized selection criteria for jobs within the unit to organization of group experiences for "team-building." All Field Psychologists return to Tel Aviv weekly for sharing of experiences and problems, and all file weekly reports on their units, which they share with one another but which are never seen outside the Unit.

Field Psychologists are in a position to observe and make recommendations on a variety of unconventional issues. For example, one noticed that infantry troops in hot weather, stopping to open soft drinks with their ammunition magazines, often damaged the stock; it was possible to redesign the stock

so that a tool for opening bottles was included. Another noticed that an expensive sight on a sub-machine gun was almost never used in the field; his impressions were confirmed by systematic data collection, and the sights were eliminated from later versions of the weapon. Another observed that communications problems among team members sighting and firing an artillery weapon were slowing down the firing rate; introduction of simple color coding in the sighting system significantly improved the performance of the team. Alertness to such grass-roots human factors issues is encouraged in the training of the Field Psychologists.

There are at present some 20-25 people in this Section, and since most will probably go for advanced degrees in Psychology, it seems there will be a steady stream of people entering Israeli professional psychology who have begun their careers with a most unusual applied psychological experience.

#### Naval Psychology Branch

This Branch is headed by G. Keynan (MA, Hebrew University) and includes some six psychologists. The Navy has four units in which service is voluntary (submarines, offensive and defensive commandos, and naval officers), and much of the work of the Branch is devoted to selection for these voluntary units. For this they use some paper-and-pencil tests (including some projectives such as a modified TAT and sentence-completion which they strive to quantify as far as possible) and a week of situational tests, from discussion groups to performance in stressful aquatic circumstances. In the situation tests the emphasis is on developing specific behavioral descriptive check lists and avoiding the ambiguities of vague trait ratings. Peer ratings are important. The Branch is also highly interested in the development of the morale data bank already described, and in objective means for measuring the performance of work-teams (they reported to me that on the morale questionnaire being tried the key item in the most important cluster of items asks, "How is your morale?"). Only one and a half people in the Branch are devoted to full-time research so the volume of projects carried on has to be limited; there is some interest in the study of motion sickness, instruction methods, and human factors questions. Two psychologists give some time to clinical work but more from their own interest than from an organizational recognition of a need.\*

#### Air Force Psychology Branch

This Branch is incorporated within the Air Force Aeromedical Center; the Branch head is Alex Hess (PhD, Northwestern University), and the per-

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\* As a matter of fact, Shalit claims there is comparatively little need for clinical psychological services in the Defence Forces, especially treatment, since the established selection procedures effectively weed out disturbed personalities who then can obtain subsidized help outside the military.

sonnel include eight civilian psychologists, from part-time graduate students through several PhD's, and four female inductees serving as Psychotechnicians (administering and scoring tests and carrying out short structured interviews on interest and motivation). The Branch carries out specialized testing and selection functions for the Air Force, pursues some research, and offers a small clinical service to air crews and their families (Hess has a background in child and clinical psychology).

The Israeli air crew situation is interesting, in that the minimum requirement is a mere ten years of formal education (in practice a high school diploma or equivalent) and intelligence in the top 40% of the range. Selection is progressive, beginning with results obtained at the recruiting centers before actual induction (described earlier) and ending with performance and sociometric measures obtained during flight school. The final selection for entry into training is based on the file containing all information about the candidate; a junior psychologist gives a clinical description of test results and a score expressing a summary evaluation; a senior psychologist reads this whole file, interviews the candidate briefly, and provides the ultimate summary evaluation score. A multiple regression equation has been worked out including 14 of these variables which is reported to give an R of 0.51 with course performance. Interestingly, these test interpretations are monitored in the interests of standardizing criteria among different psychologists. Three or four times a year each assessor gets a report on his own distribution of evaluative scores and on his correlations with a senior psychologist; marked skewing and persistently low correlations are discussed.

Only some 25% of the original candidates for air crew training actually begin the course; failure rate was not stated, but my impression is that everyone concerned is pleased with the selection procedures and with the final air crew product. However, research is under way on two alternative personality test batteries: one includes the California Personality Inventory (standardized on an Israeli population), the Stein Need Hierarchy technique, a sentence-completion technique with formal scoring, and an embedded figures test; the other includes a group form of the Holtzman Ink Blot technique, the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration technique (adapted), an objectively scored TAT, a body-image technique devised by Shalit, and sentence completion test. On a somewhat different tack, the Branch is working toward an analysis of the new human capacities required by the new aircraft being flown by the AF, e.g., strategies for dealing with visual and auditory overload; this analysis has suggested some selection techniques testing selective attention, speed and errors in dealing with dichotic information, and the like, which appears very promising according to Danny Gopher (PhD, Hebrew University) who is in charge of it.

The AF research effort in human factors was described to me by Colin Castle (MA, Hebrew University). It involves investigations into some specialized

problems (such as the best design for a chronometer), and a more general project aimed at overall cockpit design, for which the main effort so far has been the collection of opinions and preferences from experienced pilots. The latter have been processed in three ways: (1) by questionnaire asking about relative importance and, independently, relative frequency of usage, of different cockpit elements; (2) by a design mockup with photographs of standard cockpit elements which the pilot can redistribute in the mockup space as he desires; and (3) by a kind of "sociometric" approach, requiring pilots to compare various elements taken in pairs, from which data matrices and relative psychological distances can be derived, leading to pilot-designated "families" of displays that belong together in various psychological senses. It was clear that Branch psychologists have an unusually good relationship with pilots permitting easy access to both formal and informal data gathering. It is not so clear that channels exist for the application of the information gathered, but Hess aims at establishing a good human factors data bank in anticipation of problems which might be brought to him in the future.

Some laboratory research on the stress of anticipated unpleasantness has been published by Hess and Breznitz (Psychon. Sci. 23 (4), 211-2 (1971)).

#### Human Factors Branch

As indicated this Branch exists more on paper than in fact at the present time.

#### Intelligence Psychology Branch

I know nothing about this Branch except that it is headed by Major Ron Levy.

#### COMMENT

Here I will simply underline again the observation that Cdr. Shalit has definite ideas which are shaping military psychology in Israel at the moment. Two of the most basic of these ideas are (1) a belief in the necessity of an integrating conception of the work to be done and of struggling against the accumulation of sundry unrelatable projects, and (2) a very strongly empirical orientation which insists on approaching a problem from a base of verified facts (especially interesting in view of the fact that Shalit's father was founder of the Israeli Psychoanalytic Association). He reports that the Military Psychology Unit is relatively poor and that this forces everyone to think hard and to make the best use of available resources; projects can be determined by need rather than by elaborate apparatus and the need to keep expensive staffs busy. And, of course, it is important to note that it appears that a far higher proportion of the research results and recommendations actually influence policy in

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Israel than in most places, though this is pure speculation and would be impossible to confirm or disconfirm.

The staff I met were young, fresh, and enthusiastic - again I am reminded of my earlier experiences with the Peace Corps. Shalit as an organizational leader shows a controlled zestfulness which manages to stay this side of arrogance, and which as far as I could see contributes something very positive to life and work in the organization; he is also quite un-militarily democratic.

So military psychology is alive and well in Israel. It is an interesting question (on which I am in no position to have an opinion at the moment) whether or not the psychology of the Israelis is becoming a military one, as some foreign observers fear.