

SOCIATRY

*Journal of
Group and Intergroup Therapy*

PSYCHODRAMA

SOCIOMETRIC METHODS

RE-GROUPING

ACTION METHODS

RE-TRAINING

THERAPEUTIC FILMS

SOCIAL CATHARSIS

SOCIODRAMA

Volume I

MARCH, 1948

Number 4

It is hereby understood that all articles are accepted for exclusive publication in this journal. Articles printed in SOCIATRY become the property of Beacon House Inc.

Manuscripts and communications for the editors should be addressed to the Executive Committee of Sociatry, Beacon, N. Y., and *not to an individual*. Unsolicited manuscripts which are not accepted for publication will be returned if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Entered as 2nd Class Matter, March 1948 at the Post Office, Beacon, N. Y., under the act of March 31, 1879.

Volume I

MARCH, 1948

Number 4

SOCIATRY

Journal of Group and Intergroup Therapy

SUBSCRIPTION \$6.00 YEARLY

FOREIGN POSTAGE \$1.00 ADDITIONAL

CURRENT SINGLE ISSUES \$2.50

SINGLE BACK COPIES \$3.00

Make checks payable to Beacon House Inc.

Published four times per year by Beacon House Inc. at Beacon, N. Y., in April, August, December and March. Address communications to: Beacon House Inc., Beacon, N. Y., or 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

SOCIATRY

Journal of Group and Intergroup Therapy

Volume I

MARCH, 1948

Number 4

J. L. MORENO, EDITOR
Beacon, New York

ZERKA TOEMAN, MANAGING EDITOR
Psychodramatic Institute
New York City

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

LEWIS BARBATO
University of Denver

ROGER G. BARKER
Clark University

MARGARET E. BARRON
Federal Security Agency

KENNETH D. BENNE
Columbia University

LELAND P. BRADFORD
National Education Association

ARTHUR W. CABLE
University of Arizona

HUBERT S. COFFEY
University of Cal. at Berkeley

LLOYD ALLEN COOK
Wayne University

PAUL CORNYETZ
Brooklyn College

MAYHEW DERRYBERRY
U. S. Public Health Service

H. V. DICKS
Leeds University, England

ERNEST FANTEL
Veterans Administration, L. A.

NORMAN FENTON
Department of Correction, Cal.

PIERRE D. FOUQUET
Office Public d'Hygiene Sociale,
Paris, France

JOHN R. P. FRENCH
Nejelski & Company, N. Y. C.

ROBERT B. HAAS
Ohio State University

MARGARET HAGAN
American Red Cross, Wash., D. C.

BERT B. HANSEN
University of Montana

GERTRUDE S. HARROW
University of Chicago

CHARLES E. HENDRY
University of Toronto

HELEN H. JENNINGS
American Council on Education

LILLIAN WALD KAY
New York University

LEONA M. KERSTETTER
New York University

GERALD W. LAWLOR
Brooklyn College

S. S. LIFSON
U. S. Public Health Service

RONALD LIPPITT
Massachusetts Institute of Tech.

ROSEMARY LIPPITT
Camp Fire Girls

JOSEPH I. MEIERS
Creedmoor State Hospital

ABRAHAM MYERSON
Boston State Hospital

FLORENCE B. MORENO
Psychodramatic Institute, Beacon

ELWOOD MURRAY
University of Denver

WINFRED OVERHOLSER
St. Elizabeths Hospital

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JOSEPH H. PRATT
Pratt Diagnostic Hospital

Boston, Mass.

J. R. REES
World Health Federation,
London, England

HOWARD P. ROME
University of Pennsylvania Medi-
cal School

HANS W. SCHWERIN
University of Breslau

PAUL H. SHEATS
University of California at L. A.

ELISABETH STEVENS
University of Kansas

NAHUM E. SHOOPS
P. S. 157, Brooklyn

EUGENE H. SLOANE
Willimantic State Teachers College

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN
Harvard University

PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS
Columbia University

ALVIN F. ZANDER
Springfield College

FORTHCOMING ISSUE OF SOCIATRY

VOLUME II, NUMBER 1

Protocol of a Sociodrama Session, with Audience Analysis

Pastoral Psychodrama—Sherwood Palmer

Complacency Shock as a Prerequisite to Training—Leland P. Bradford and
Paul H. Sheats

Instructions for Practitioners in Psychodrama, Sociodrama and Group Psycho-
therapy

Combining General Semantics with Sociodrama for a Laboratory Method in
the Social Sciences—Elwood Murray

Hypnodrama, An Approach to Synthesis of Psychodrama and Hypnosis—
J. L. Moreno

Survey of Group Psychotherapy

SOCIATRY

Journal of Group and Intergroup Therapy

Volume I

MARCH, 1948

Number 4

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL, THE SOCIODRAMA OF MOHANDAS GHANDI — J. L. Moreno.....	357
PROGRESS AND PLANS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH — J. R. Rees.....	359
SOCIOMETRIC PLANNING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH, PRELIMINARY NOTES — J. L. Moreno.....	361
NOTES ON FUNCTIONAL AND FEDERAL ORGANIZATIONS — J. Cohen.....	365
NOTES ON FUNCTIONAL AND FEDERAL ORGANIZATIONS — Edward Glover	366
IMPROVISATIONS — AN APPLICATION OF PSYCHODRAMA IN PERSONALITY DIAGNOSIS — Urie Bronfenbrenner and Theodore M. Newcomb.....	367
DYNAMICS OF PSYCHODRAMA IN THE TEACHING SITUATION — Jean D. Grambs	383
FIRST FRENCH EXPERIENCE WITH PSYCHODRAMA — Mireille Monod.....	400
SOCIODRAMA IN THE SOCIOLOGY CLASSROOM — Florence B. Moreno.....	404
A MODIFIED PSYCHODRAMA TECHNIQUE FOR REHABILITATION OF MILI- TARY PSYCHONEUROTICS — Joel Shor.....	414
THE PSYCHODRAMATIC METHOD IN COLLEGIATE INSTRUCTION — Claude C. Bowman	421
SOCIODRAMA AS AN AID TO LARGE GROUP COMMUNICATION — Paul H. Sheats	431
THE "DOUBLE SITUATION" IN PSYCHODRAMA — Zerka Toeman.....	436
FORMS OF PSYCHODRAMA — J. L. Moreno.....	447
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH.....	449
ANNOUNCEMENTS	453
MORENO CLINIC	455

EDITORIAL

THE SOCIODRAMA OF MOHANDAS GHANDI*

There are sociodramas which take place on the reality level, in the villages and communities, in the streets and houses where people live. A stage, like those we have in our therapeutic theatres, is not required for their enactment. It is a form of self-directed sociodrama which Ghandi had chosen to inaugurate, develop and pass over to us for its re-enactment.

No one in this theatre has ever met him in person and no one here has met him in his death but nevertheless, at this moment his death surrounds us, the community of the living. It has come to us by word of mouth, the printing press, the radio, the motion picture and television. The sociodrama of Ghandi can begin without his presence, without his dead body, without any informants, living witnesses telling us how he died.

The sociodrama had a religious-therapeutic form long before its modern, scientific version was invented. Ghandi's life and death is an illustration of such a version, the survival of an aboriginal sociodrama. There is a type of superior man who enters with his genius, his skills and ambitions into the already established opportunities of his time. He enters a drama which others have started, rehearsed and directed; he becomes its hero. Then there is another kind of superior man; he creates his own opportunities, writes his own plot, directs it, chooses his *dramatis personae*. He, the playwright, applies his dramatic talent to his own life, develops and plans it systematically from a to z, as if it were a work of art. This was Ghandi. He was the director of his own sociodrama; he had an invisible stage under him wherever he sat, stood or walked, in the market place, in the prayer house, in the prison cell or in the palace of kings, with an audience of millions, visible or invisible accompanying his actions. He took it upon himself to play the role of the poorest, of the humblest ones. He walked because they walked, instead of riding in cars; he wore a loin cloth because the poor Hindus could not afford more; he ate the simplest food, to be felt as *their image* by the ones whom he tried to free from their fetters. He had a growing consciousness of his coming death and received his murderer like a liberator. The case of Ghandi overreaches the sociodramatic frame; it becomes "axiodrama" as it focuses on ethics and universal values, a synthesis of axiological meanings with psychodrama, a drama of the eternal verities, truth, justice, beauty, love, grace, perfection, eternity and peace.

* Taken from the directorial comments to a sociodrama session portraying the effect of Ghandi's life and death upon a given audience, February 6th and 13th, 1948.

Ghandi was, among other things, a case-illustration par excellence of the ignorance, bias and futility of some of the current psychoanalytic theories when applied to the creative person, the religious genius and saint. As his life was open to the public, millions of people could see with their own eyes that the most bizzare and eccentric techniques can be welded into a prompt and clear design of productive living. As a therapeutic actor he easily won the race against a whole generation of psychotherapists, and as to the future of his kind of heroism on this planet, it be better that the creator (adjustment to an idea) survives and not the fit (adjustment at all cost).

For us sociatrists, however, the death of Ghandi is not an answer but the confirmation of the hypothesis that peace to man cannot come from a single individual, however great and saintly. The "sociodynamic effect" of his crusade of peace can only be guessed at roughly. It divided the world into two camps, friends and enemies; and if the structure of his social atom could be charted it might show that for everyone he tried to save there was one who thought of murder. Ghandi would have needed two billion doubles in order to conquer the whole of mankind. As it is, the one he had died with him.

J. L. MORENO

PROGRESS AND PLANS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH*

J. F. REES, M. D.

World Health Organization, London, England

The planning and the organization of an international congress of this type is in itself a project of some interest in the field of group dynamics and individual psychological reactions. Unfortunately no one to date has had time to make a very close study of these, but there are certain points which emerge which are of interest.

After a good deal of discussion and the making and remaking of various forms of programme for the Congress, the Committee in London which is responsible, and which contains people from the various professions concerned, devised the tentative programme which has been distributed to interested people throughout the world, and which takes as its main theme World Citizenship and Mental Health. In doing this, the Committee recognized that they were making a departure from the conventional method of Congress organization. The actual theme which they felt ran through their suggested programme, and the tentative topics for each day which they suggested as signposts indicating a general direction, emerged from their own discussions. They had in mind, like most other social scientists in the world, the rather immediate and pressing problems of international tensions and the possibility of making a contribution to their solution.

This programme was put out in English and in a French edition rather more than six months ago, with the suggestion that preparatory commissions should be formed, each of which should concern itself with the suggested general topic of one of the days, and that the material produced by such discussion groups should be sent in as soon and as often as may be, either in summarized form or in extenso to the central groups in London.

The general theme and structure suggested had the full approval of such people in the World Health Organization and in UNESCO as had seen it, and both these functional organizations of the United Nations felt that the suggested work was entirely in line with the tasks that confronted them. It is interesting to note that these were people who had already had to spend a good deal of time in thinking of these specific problems.

* This, and the following statements by J. L. Moreno, J. Cohen and Edward Glover have been reprinted from the First Bulletin of the International Congress on Mental Health.

Wherever the programme and its general intention was discussed with groups, either psychiatric or inter-professional, there was interest expressed and general agreement with the experiment. It is curious, therefore, to note that very little happened as the result of that interest. It was probably due to some fault in its presentation, or to some error in timing. It is true, of course, that the summer vacation came very soon after the programme was released, and this applies in the European countries as well as in the United States and provides an excellent rationalization for anyone who found it difficult to get down to active work and the discussion of these topics. But yet it would seem as if there was something more than that to account for the difficulty. In fact, practically nothing has been sent in to the London Discussion Groups from any of the countries that were interested, and it is suggested that this is a matter for some consideration and study.

We know, of course, that groups are organized and have begun to meet and discuss these topics, and that in itself is something. Indeed, this is one of the functions of the Congress itself. Nothing but good can come from the stimulation of people in various academic centres and elsewhere to come together from different disciplines and discuss community and international problems and try to co-ordinate their understanding and knowledge in these fields.

Psychiatrists, like all doctors, are certainly individualists, and it would seem as if this also applies to the men and women in other related professions. There is some evidence that it is easier to get intra-professional groups to meet and function than it is to get inter-professional groups to do the same thing. Is this because we have a certain fear of exposing ourselves and our ideas to the criticism of our colleagues, or is it because we have a fundamental feeling that our own discipline is really more important than any other? There certainly seems to be some small indication that other professions are more ready to accept the doctor into their groups than the medical profession is ready or finds it easy to accept other workers into a group which is primarily medical.

These are a few of the difficulties which have been showing themselves. They bring to mind the question of whether the urgency of the situation in the world justifies the attempt to force the pace in getting these discussion groups together, for which we have been responsible. It would clearly have been easier to go more slowly. Would it also have been wiser, under the circumstances?

Despite these difficulties, progress is being made by individual groups in some fourteen or fifteen countries that we know of, and without doubt thoughts

are beginning to focus on specific aspects of these problems, and we shall see emerging fairly soon the particular lines which we can most usefully follow in the Congress itself. Whatever does come in between now and next spring will of course be the result of inter-professional thinking on a national basis. We are hoping to arrange for a residential inter-national preparatory commission, meeting in or near London just before the Congress, and for a few days after it as well. The residential group should get to the point of effective work very much more quickly than a non-residential group; and if in fact that can be satisfactorily selected, of younger men and women representing many different countries and all the disciplines, it should produce something of value.

We are hoping in London that before long material will begin to reach us from the different groups, and that we may see the points which are particularly of interest. We shall also, no doubt, quite soon begin to find points of disagreement, and possibly some other small but important points of agreement that we are hoping for.

For the actual Congress itself, we are arranging two speakers for each morning session, the first one speaking on the general theme of that day; the second speaker who will probably have been a member of the international preparatory commission, giving rather specifically the summarized group opinions.

We have allowed for a number of different specialist meetings to go on in the afternoons, so that there will be opportunity for many people who wish to read individual papers to do so, and some of these will no doubt be more especially on clinical or technical topics. The main importance of the Conference, however, is the potential contribution that it can make towards better inter-professional work and towards the resolution of tensions.

We are going ahead, therefore, with all our plans for the Congress itself, knowing that much hard work will have to be put in beforehand, and that all of that is but a beginning of what will be needed if we are to make our most effective contribution to international mental health and the peace of the world.

SOCIOMETRIC PLANNING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH, PRELIMINARY NOTES

J. L. MORENO, M. D.

Sociometric Institute, New York, N. Y.

I.

The first step in the planning of the International Congress on Mental Health is the formation of small professional committees in various localities

in each country; the second step, the formation of residential and non-residential groups preparatory to the Congress; the third step, the social organization of the Congress itself; the fourth step, the formation of local committees in every country after the Congress is over. In order to produce effective and cohesive teams the structure of committees should be organized along sociometric lines. It is upon them that the final success of the Congress depends.

1) A good team, that is, well organized, will agree on almost any social issue within the limits of its members' wisdom, responsibility and spontaneity. A bad team, that is, poorly organized, will disagree on almost any, even the most incidental issue, as for instance, what its meeting place should be. The first step is therefore, to organize teams which promise to work together smoothly and effectively. Thus we should ask ourselves: How are good teams organized?

2) When a number of individuals meet for a specific purpose their relationships are already structured to a considerable degree before a word is spoken. This "given" structure is bound to colour the opinions expressed, the controversies aroused by the differences of opinion and the representatives chosen to act on behalf of the group. We will know how to organize good teams if we know what types of interpersonal structure are favourable and which are unfavourable for group action.

3) A good team works naturally for unity, co-operation and spontaneous agreement.

4) If we ignore the underlying unconscious structure of the group and begin to operate on the surface as if it would not exist the result is usually that innumerable irritations emerge even among members who are otherwise considered of the same opinion. It is therefore dangerous to start a discussion with the "content" of the programme or the type of social issue which should be promoted primarily; for instance, is it more important to promote "better" rearing conditions of children or better working conditions in industry; prevention or diagnosis of mental disease; ethnic prejudice of minorities or the common traits of men in all groups. The decision which to tackle first, second or third may be of the greatest political importance, but it is bound to arouse unlimited controversies because of the personal differences, the ideological loyalties and group cleavages of the members. It is therefore wise to avoid this and of strategic importance to begin with the beginning, with the structure of the immediate group which is to become also the model of all the teams derivated from it.

5) In this immediate gathering (at the Beekman Hotel, May 1947)

there are about 35 to 40 persons. Before any discussion has begun we may try to form a committee by the following method: each member chooses three and rejects three (no self choice and no self rejection); a) as a *person*, because of his character, sincerity, honesty, etc. and then he chooses and rejects again three; b) as an *authority*, because of his competence and scholarship in a certain field. The positive score for the first choice is 3, for a second choice is 2, and for a third choice is 1. The negative score for a first rejection is 3, for a second rejection is 2, for a third rejection is 1. From the summation of all the positive and negative scores will result a member with the highest score, with the second highest score, etc. A committee of seven for instance, will consist of the seven members who have scored from 1 to 7 in rank. In all probability this committee of 7 from the group of 40 present will reveal its basic, underlying structure and invisible commitments. The criterion for such tests should be preferably that the first committees are formed for "a purpose of developing cordiality and exchanging opinions." Such teams formed to develop cordiality and agreeability among the chosen members, human warmth and friendliness, are more important than teams which are formed and given the power to make decisions. Good decisions will flow naturally out of a team which has developed cordiality and friendliness among its members. Because of the peculiarities of human nature and the groups which we are forming, we should underplay the intellectual character of their relationships and emphasize the kindness among them. This will be the truer the more intellectualized and indoctrinated the members of a particular group are, and this will also be truer the less valid and undisputable knowledge there is established on the subject of social issues and especially which among the social issues is of greater or lesser importance. A super-intellectual attitude in members of a social enterprise in regard to which there is very little true knowledge, is far more harmful than a pre-scientific, humble attitude; especially if the men chosen for the team are enthusiastically dedicated to the aims of the group, above the average in character, wisdom and knowledge.

II.

- 1) This is a code of behaviour for social scientists, a "sociatric" code.
- 2) Social scientists should learn how to form "healthy" groups and work in teams; just as painters, carpenters, electricians, miners or automobile workers know how to form effective groups on their mechanical level and how to work in well balanced teams.
- 3) The health of a group is the complete physical, mental and social spontaneity and cordiality of the group as an interactional whole; it is not

merely the physical, mental and social wellbeing of every single individual composing the group. Therefore, do not join a group which is not formed in accord with the scientific principles of social health.

4) The health of all groups, small or large, of which a society consists — as is the health of all individuals composing them — is fundamental to the attainment and maintenance of peace and security.

5) The health of a group is the continuous creation of physical, mental, social and cultural values in which all people share and not merely the absence of warfare and self-destruction, the absence of "sociocide."

6) Goodness, cordiality and unselfishness — they can be summed up as objective feelings — are weakly developed in our interpersonal relations. But in a favourable social soil they can be cultivated; they are easily discouraged, therefore, give them a good start.

7) Well-structured and coherent groups are the best start towards the cultivation and development of social fellowship; in a well-structured and coherent group the seeds are easily planted and can be brought to full growth. Poorly structured and incoherent groups are like sickly and incoherent individuals. They are a poor start for the cultivation and development of social fellowship.

8) Practice social feelings; they can be trained.

9) Once the groups are formed and full of well-being the members can begin to sort out the problems and consider the jobs to be done, one by one. They can survey the knowledge which is available in regard to each specific problem. If there is specific knowledge available in regard to a problem to be solved; the application will be easy. If there is only divided and half knowledge available then some decision will have to be made and risks be taken. If there is no knowledge in regard to a specific problem, the inspiration and intuition of the team members will come to their rescue. Just as spontaneous inspiration and intuition is at times the only arbiter in individual methods, also in social matters we have to resort to the inspired action of groups when a rationale is lacking.

10) If a social scientist enters a situation as member of a group he should act in accord with the code; behaving like a social scientist means to apply the scientific methods with which he is acquainted to the immediate situation at hand. Action in prospect may be premature, action in retrospect may be too late, action in situ is the thing.

III.

An "experimental" congress on mental health was held at the Psychodramatic Institute in the course of June, 1947; similar to the psychodramatic tribunal of the Nuremberg trials of last year a few role players were selected to portray the prospective *dramatis personae* of the forthcoming congress to be held in London in August, 1948, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the sociologist, the anthropologist, the social worker, the nurse, the psychoanalyst, the educator and so forth. As role players were preferred men who are actual representatives of these professions. In the course of the experiment each played the role of his own specialty and then in the role of *every other* specialty, expanding his experience by reversal of roles. The sessions took place before a carefully organized audience, composed of a proportionate number of representatives of every specialty which might participate in the congress.

NOTES ON FUNCTIONAL AND FEDERAL ORGANIZATIONS

J. COHEN, Ph.D.

International Congress on Mental Health, London, England

I.

1) Functional units serving an international purpose seem to have come into being for the first time after the World War I with the framework of the League of Nations. The International Labour Office may be regarded as a unit of this type and the value of its work is widely recognized even by those who regard the League itself as a failure, and it may be that the success of the I. L. O. is attributable to its functional nature rather than to its federal origin.

2) The obvious disadvantage of *federal* units set up for health or social welfare lies in their liability to becoming entangled in political controversy and hence subject to direct political control. Conversely, the advantage of a world unit which is primarily functional lies in its relative freedom from obstructive entanglements and control. Indeed it would seem as if the effectiveness of any world organization varies inversely with the closeness of its ties to federal authority. This is intelligible in view of the fact that the objective situation in world problems of health, labour or social welfare requires scientific study which can only be conducted in conditions free from political control. To the extent that such control operates, the effectiveness of scientific study in the international field is reduced.

3) It is probable that any world functional unit with a federal origin carries an inherent instability. So long as the unit does not function too

effectively its instability may pass undetected. As soon, however, as the unit displays a tendency to act in accordance with objective needs rather than with policy or directive at source, the weakness becomes manifest. This seems to be borne out by recent experience in UNRRA, FAO, UNESCO. There would appear to be an intrinsic inconsistency in a unit, comprising representatives of diverse and often mutually conflicting interests, attempting to work for an ulterior aim at variance with sectional interests. For if the aim to serve a world community were permanent, there would no longer be a *raison d'être* of the component national elements in their present form.

4) If it is considered desirable that existing group loyalties should be redirected to serve the primary aims of a world community, then the extension and strengthening of functional world units must help to this end. For every success which they achieve will tend to weaken those narrow group loyalties which conflict with the broader aim. Such functional units, particularly in the health sphere, may well become symbols of a new supra-national collaboration.

II.

EDWARD GLOVER, M.D.

International Congress on Mental Health, London, England

On the question of functional versus federal organizations and on the canalising of group loyalties, I can only add to the view (with which I am sure the other members of Preparatory Commission No. 1 will agree) that, in the absence of preliminary discussion of the concept of loyalty and of the dynamics of group organization, it is not possible to do more than express personal opinions which have, however, not a vestige of scientific value.

My own view is that already group units tend to be too large. I prefer them to be functional but have no objection to any other form that *works* — works in the direction of harmonious adaptation. I believe also that international groups should have *subsidiary functions*, i.e. that they should contribute to and *subserve the efficiency* of functional units; in the same way that I believe national groups should subserve the functions of family groups and that family groups should subserve the development of the individual; in this last case through the process of free culture transmission.

IMPROVISATIONS—AN APPLICATION OF PSYCHODRAMA IN PERSONALITY DIAGNOSIS

URIE BRONFENBRENNER AND THEODORE M. NEWCOMB

University of Michigan

Psychodrama, like Proteus of old, takes many forms for many purposes. As a method, it stands not for a single technique but for a family of techniques. The authors were privileged, in connection with their service in the personality assessment program of the Office of Strategic Services, to serve as midwives to one member of this family. Since then the major author has shared with other teams in guiding its further development.¹

The O. S. S. program had as its mission the screening of all personnel sent overseas for O. S. S. activities. The activities included such diversified assignments as member of a research team working on the economic geography of the Orient, radio operator for a unit of the French Underground, propaganda writer for a radio station in the Pacific beaming programs to Japan, leader of a team of saboteurs to be dropped behind German lines, stenographer for O. S. S. headquarters in London, or physician for a detachment behind enemy lines in Burma. Many of these assignments called for active operations under considerable stress. Others meant sitting in a neutral country or distant corner of the globe waiting for something to happen. Still others were the often routine but important tasks of maintenance, supply, and communications. (By no means all of them were, as suggested in a previous article in this journal, positions of leadership.) One of the few characteristics that all O. S. S. assignments had

¹ While principal responsibility for development of the technique has rested with the authors, the improvisations method in its present form represents the creative and cooperative effort of many persons. Specifically, four groups of clinicians have contributed to its development.

The first was the staff of Station S in the O.S.S. Assessment Program. The authors are particularly indebted to Dr. Donald W. Mac Kinnon, Dr. James G. Miller, Dr. John Fearing, and Dr. Edward C. Tolman, who by their encouragement and active participation in the construction and administration of improvisations, helped carry the technique through its initial and most difficult phases.

The second contributing group was the staff of the Psychological Department at the Army Aural Rehabilitation Center, Borden General Hospital, Chickaska, Oklahoma. The authors wish to acknowledge particularly the encouragement of Grant Fairbanks and the active collaboration at this and later stages of Robert D. Boyd.

The third group of workers was the staff of a course in the Psychology of Interpersonal Relationships offered by the major author at the University of Michigan. We are particularly indebted to William F. Soskin, whose originality and clinical insight stimulated much of our thinking about analysis and interpretation of improvisation performance.

Finally, the present revision of improvisations has been developed as part of the Research Project on the Selection of Clinical Psychologists being carried on by the University of Michigan under contract with the Veterans Administration. The standard series described in the present paper grew out of the work of a committee comprised of Max L. Hutt, E. Lowell Kelly, Dorothy P. Marquis, William F. Soskin, and the major author.

in common was that adequate performance depended upon "successful" interpersonal relationships. This fact provided the cue for including in the assessment program a number of test procedures requiring candidates to participate together in the carrying out of tasks both at the verbal and performance level (e.g., group discussion, employment interview, debate, group solution of a physical problem, etc.).²

As members of the assessment staff, the authors were impressed by the fact that most of the procedures then in use, while often valuable, tended to evoke the conventional and intellectual rather than the idiosyncratic and emotional aspects of interpersonal behavior. Several factors appeared to account for this tendency. First, whether the tasks were verbal or physical, they called primarily for intellectual activity — e.g., problem solving, discussion of social or political issues, interviewing for facts. Second, for a number of the activities utilized, there existed a repertoire of conventional modes of conduct which the subject could readily adopt. Thus the debate offered *formalized ways for structuring* disagreements; parliamentary procedure and club room courtesies were frequently adopted in the discussion; and the employment interview easily became a routine questionnaire on vital statistics and occupational history. Third, except for the employment interview, the problems called for participation by four or more people; this tended to make less likely the growth and expression of personal feeling of the kind that often develops in even a brief relationship between two people. Finally, in each of the existing procedures, the candidate was asked to step into a situation which had no structural continuity with the past. Thus the candidate usually felt that he had to develop *interpersonal relationships* (or at least go through the motions) from scratch; before he could carry this process very far, the situation would often be over. All of this does not mean that emotional involvements were absent but rather that the procedures utilized were not optimal for their development.

In an effort to develop a situation test which would avoid the inhibiting factors mentioned above, the authors hit upon a psychodramatic approach the basic elements of which are evident from the following example.

Candidates A and B are told that they have been fellow workers for several months. B has a car; A does not. This morning, as on one or two previous occasions, A arranged to borrow B's car.

Candidate A is given the following additional data. He had driven B's car for only a block when he overlooked a stop sign and was hit by a truck which damaged the car very severely. A returns to the office to find B.

² For a description of these procedures see Murray, H. A. and MacKinnon, D. *Assessment of O. S. S. personnel*, *J. Consult. Psychol.*, 1946, 10, 76-80.

Candidate B is given the following additional information. Shortly after A had arranged to borrow B's car, B got a message which requires that he definitely have his car this morning. He looks around for A. Luckily A is just coming in the door.

Note that the task is not primarily an intellectual one; it is a problem of interpersonal relations rather than of reasoning. While the situation may provoke some conventional responses (e.g., "I'm very sorry"; "It's OK," etc.) there are very few rules-of-thumb or convenient stereotypes which either participant can utilize for any length of time. Also, each person has stepped into a role which presumes continuity both in the past and in the future (i.e., they have been, and presumably will continue to work in the same office). Thus an attempt is made to reduce the barriers to emotional involvement. In effect, what has been evolved is a projective technique which, like the Thematic Apperception Test, is based on a partially structured situation. The participants are not told what to say; they are merely given the antecedent circumstances. Once the situation begins, each person is on his own; he has to improvise. Hence the name by which the procedure was designated.

At first, an attempt was made to select improvisation situations on a work sample basis. Utilizing reports from the field, the staff tried to set up for the candidate an interpersonal problem presumably typical of a situation he might meet in his projected assignment. This policy proved impractical, if only for the reason that it was often impossible to predict typical problems; O. S. S. missions tended to be unique experiences. Moreover, another basis for setting up improvisations was proving more rewarding. The improvisation test came toward the end (the third evening) of the assessment program. By this time, the staff had already come to a tentative judgment regarding the candidate's assets and liabilities but were often uncertain and desirous of further evidence on specific points. Accordingly, the practice developed of constructing improvisation situations to test specific hypotheses about the candidate, hypotheses that had been developed over the course of the three days of paper-and-pencil tests, psychiatric interviews, and group procedures. For example, the assessment team for candidate X³ may have come to have serious reservations about his ability to work with subordinates. They feared, perhaps, that he was a "bicycle rider" personality — one who bowed down to those above him but bore down heavily on those below. To obtain further data on this question, the staff team set up an improvisation situation in which X, in the role of a superior, would be called upon to define his relationship to someone beneath him in the ladder of

³ Candidates were divided into groups of five or six; each group was studied by a team of three to four staff members.

authority. Thus he might be confronted with an employee who had committed a minor infraction of rules. The test of candidate X might hinge, for example, upon whether he bothered to inquire into the reason for the infraction or proceeded summarily to assert his authority.

An additional important aspect of the improvisations technique as applied at O. S. S. was the utilization of the audience. After the scene had been enacted the master of ceremonies (who was a staff member) stimulated discussion among the dozen observing candidates by asking such questions as: "What did you think of the way this situation was handled?" "Was the behavior that we saw here typical of Joe as we have come to know him over the past few days?" "Did you see anything that surprised you?" etc. Such discussion served a number of functions. It enabled the staff to gauge the candidate's insight into human behavior as this was reflected in his observations of his fellows. It provided an excellent setting for projection on the part of the observer, since his mode of criticism, whether favorable or unfavorable, was often revealing of himself. Finally, the discussion served to increase stress for the two participants, who would often spring to their own defense and become considerably involved emotionally — even, occasionally, to the point of physical aggression.

The content of improvisation situations, as developed by the authors and other members of the O. S. S. assessment staff, has been summarized in a previous article in this journal.⁴ This article, however, does not indicate the psychological basis of improvisation, nor does it point to the limitations of the procedure. Although the score of psychiatrists and psychologists who comprised the assessment staff rated improvisations as second only to the interview in terms of clinical usefulness, the fact remains that no definitive data concerning validity or reliability are as yet available. Those who were principally engaged in the development and application of the technique in the O. S. S. program were concerned about a number of imperfections. Chief among these was the absence of standardization and of common criteria for interpretation. The use of tailor-made situations, while it had the advantage of specificity, made comparison of performance from man to man exceedingly difficult. Further uncontrolled factors were introduced in the discussion by the audience following the performance proper. Although a number of efforts were made to construct a rating scale for the use of staff members, these attempts did not prove very successful. Because of the variability in the conditions and character of performance, judges were unable to rate all candidates on a consistent series of variables. They preferred instead to note down subjective clinical impressions

⁴ Symonds, P. Role playing as a diagnostic procedure in the selection of leaders, *Sociatry*, 1, pp. 43-50, 1947.

which were later integrated with all other data available about the candidate. Another important limitation was the fact that not all tailor-made situations turned out to be productive. There was a consistent quota of "duds" — enactments which were entertaining but virtually useless beyond giving confirmation to very obvious aspects of behavior. Finally, there was the very important practical consideration of the time required for constructing tailor-made situations for each of 24 subjects (the average size of an assessment class). Even after the staff had developed a library of plots, matching the plot with the man and making the necessary alterations involved several hours' work for each team of staff members.

While these defects were recognized, further development by the authors of improvisations in the O. S. S. program was interrupted by their transfer to other activities. One of the authors, however, continued to work with the technique, first in an army rehabilitation center and later in university classes in psychology. Although in both of these instances, the emphasis was primarily on the use of improvisations as a training and teaching technique, considerable attention was given to the diagnostic aspect of performance. Thus when the question again arose, in the fall of 1946, of using improvisations as a tool for personality assessment, there was basis in experience for improving the method.

The specific occasion for the readaptation of improvisations for diagnostic purposes was the inception of the Veterans Administration Research Project on the Selection of Clinical Psychologists.⁵ A major segment of this program was devoted to situation tests of the type utilized in O. S. S. assessment, including the technique of improvisations. After a year of experimentation carried on concurrently both in research and in classroom applications, a version of the improvisations technique was developed which, while far from perfect, appears to represent a significant improvement over earlier forms. The important features of the technique as most recently utilized are summarized below.

1. *Structure and Content.*

With increasing experience it became apparent that certain kinds of improvisation situations were more likely to evoke significant aspects of behavior than others. A comparison between those situations which proved most rewarding and those which were relatively sterile suggested that the following characteristics tend to facilitate the appearance of clinically significant behavior.

a. *Relatively free structuring.* As may be expected in the light of the

⁵ Kelly, E. L., Research on the Selection of Clinical Psychologists, Jr. of Clin. Psychol., 3, pp. 39-42, 1947.

general theory of projective techniques, the structuring of details of plot or role tends to inhibit spontaneous emotional identification and increase the likelihood of intellectualized or conventionalized response. Those situations prove most rewarding in which only the minimum essentials are given. Specifically, it appears particularly important to avoid structuring of the person's feelings. Almost invariably when the subject was told in advance that he was to behave in a certain emotional manner (e.g., be angry, repentant, friendly, domineering, etc.) the result was an artificial and comparatively barren performance, a dutiful "going-through the motions" rather than an experiencing of emotion. Best results were obtained when the subject was presented with the bare elements of the problem and left free to experience whatever feelings the situation and the behavior of his *vis-a-vis* might provoke. This principle of free structuring is illustrated in examples provided below.

- b. *Departure from real-life role.* Consistent with the principle that emotional inhibitions are less likely to function when the person's attention is diverted from himself and his present relation to the environment, experience indicates that projection of self tends to occur more readily in improvisations when the subject is asked to assume a role far removed from his actual life situation. Thus he may be cast in the role of a child, a person of the opposite sex, or someone older than himself.
- c. *Focusing on classical conflict situations.* Of the many kinds of relationships portrayed in improvisation situations the ones which appear to evoke clinically significant behavior most consistently, and also most strikingly, are those which focus on what, for want of a more specific term, we may call classical conflict situations in human relationships.⁶ These are the experiences that are shared by practically all persons in the culture and consequently may be expected to have emotional meaning for every subject. Moreover, they deal with attachments that are basic to the emotional security of the individual and consequently touch him in areas in which he readily becomes ego-involved. The present series of improvisations, for example, focus about the following relationships:

- (1) *The child-parent relationship.* Here the emphasis is on the conflict between the child's dependence on the parent and the

⁶ The authors are particularly indebted to Dr. Max L. Hutt for calling attention to the efficacy of classical conflict situations when used as the basis for improvisations.

demands of self and society for independence and self-sufficiency.

- (2) *The authority relationship.* This is the extension of the parent-child relationship into the adult world. It encompasses conflicts between superior and subordinate, between social codes and personal preferences, or, in a still broader framework, between society and the self.
- (3) *Relationship with the opposite sex.* This includes not only the subject's conception of his sexual role but also his capacity for give-and-take in intimate personal relationships.

2. *Standardization of procedure.*

In order to provide some common basis of comparison from subject to subject, and to eliminate the necessity for constructing new situations for each person based on previous knowledge of his life history, a standard series of improvisations was devised which is believed to be applicable to adult subjects in general. This standard battery consists of six situations, two for each of the classical conflict situations outlined in the preceding section. The presence of two situations for each type of relationship permits the subject to be seen in both roles. For example, in the heterosexual situation he takes the male role in one situation, and the female role in the other. Observation of the subject in six different settings also provides the observer with an extended sample of behavior. Also, the practice is followed of having the subject participate in the first three situations with one partner and the remaining three with another. In this way it is possible to note the growth of an interpersonal relationship over a period of time with two different people.

The directions for each of the six improvisation situations follow. In order to eliminate differences in oral presentation by an examiner, the subject was handed a slip of paper on which the instructions were printed. Each person receives only his own instructions and consequently does not know specifically what his partner has been told.

SCHOOL SITUATION (1A)

Participants: Mr. Thomas — Superintendent of Schools
Mr. Green — A High School Teacher

Directions for Mr. Thomas: You are the Superintendent of Schools in a community with a population of five or six thousand. Mr. Green is a teacher in your high school. He is about 35 years of age and a bachelor. You have

heard such persistent rumors regarding Mr. Green's sexual conduct, that you have decided something must be done. You have called Mr. Green to your office.

Directions for Mr. Green: You are a public high school teacher in a community of five or six thousand people. You are about 35 years of age and unmarried. You have just had word that the Superintendent of Schools would like to see you in his office.

FRATERNITY SITUATION (1B)

Participants: Fred and Sid

Directions for Fred: Fred, you're a *college freshman*, and a fairly new member of Tau Alpha, one of the leading campus fraternities. Tau Alpha has a "big brother" system wherein each new member is under the "guidance" of a senior "brother" who helps him learn the ways of college men. Sid is your senior brother. Earlier today he asked you to drop into his room for a chat. You are just entering his room.

Directions for Sid: Sid, you're a *college senior* and a leading member of Tau Alpha, an outstanding fraternity on campus. Recently your house accepted to membership a freshman, Fred. Your fraternity has a "big brother" system wherein senior members each have one new member under their guidance. Fred has been assigned to you.

Unfortunately, Fred's behavior as a fraternity man has been seriously unsatisfactory. You have heard many unfavorable comments. Since he's your man, you've called him in to speak to him. He is just now entering your room.

CAMP SITUATION (2A)

Participants: Boy and Father

Directions for Joe: Joe, you are a twelve year old boy without brothers or sisters. All year you have been looking forward to leaving for your first experience in boy scout camp which runs for two months this summer. Camp begins next week. You are starting your packing as your father enters the room.

Directions for Father: You have just learned that your company has chosen you to go on an important business trip to South America this summer. You are to leave next week. Your 12-year-old son Joe has been planning for a long time to go to scout camp for two months this summer. Your wife is now rather disturbed at the prospect of being left entirely alone. You know she will feel much happier if Joe remains at home this summer. Joe is in his room packing. You decide to have a chat with him and go into his room.

PALS SITUATION (2B)

Participants: Rex and Jim

Directions for Rex: Rex, you're a youngster *about 12 years of age*. There are times in every youngster's life when he feels like running away from home. Things have happened to make you feel that way this morning. You've decided to run away, and you're on your way now to talk it over with your closest buddy, Jim.

Directions for Jim: Jim, you're a youngster *about 12 years of age*. Rex is your closest friend and you always play together, but for some reason or other, Rex hasn't been around all morning. You are just on the point of going over to his house when you see him coming toward you.

TALK SITUATION (3A)

Participants: Mary and Jim

Directions for Jim: You and Mary have been going together for several months. You feel that the time has arrived when you must come to an understanding about your relationship. You are sitting with Mary and have a chance to talk about it in private.

Directions for Mary: Same as above.

COUPLE SITUATION (3B)

Participants: Mary and Dick

Directions for Mary: Mary, you and Dick have been "going around" together for over a year. Naturally, you've gotten to know each other quite well, and as a result, whenever you're alone you find yourselves becoming more and more intimate. Things have reached a point where there are "no holds barred." You have been thinking about this and decide to talk about it with Dick. You are sitting with him and have a chance to talk in private.

Directions for Dick: Dick, you and Mary have been "going around" together for over a year. Naturally, you've gotten to know each other quite well, and as a result, whenever you're alone you find yourselves becoming more and more intimate. Things have reached a point where there are "no holds barred." You have been thinking about this and decide to talk about it with Mary. You are sitting with her and have a chance to talk in private.

Note that the situations are arranged in two series (A and B). The first situation in each series involves an authority relationship, the second a parent-

child relationship, and the third a heterosexual relationship. The situations are matched roughly so as to permit role reversal, but not rigorously so; for example, situation 2A involves a father role while situation 2B does not. Complete rigidity of role structure was sacrificed here in the interest of variety.

Analysis and Interpretation

Much still remains to be done with respect to the analysis and interpretation of improvisation results. The use of an extended series of standardized situations does offer opportunity for the utilization of a rating scale. Thus in the VA Research Project subjects were rated on a long series of traits and skills as revealed by a wide variety of clinical techniques, including improvisations. The analysis of these data, when completed, will shed some light on the applicability of a generalized scale of this sort to the improvisations technique. The development of a scale specifically adapted to the characteristics of the improvisations method, however, has not yet been accomplished. The authors feel that such development must wait upon a better understanding of the dimensions of behavior elicited by the technique. Specifically, it seems important to identify those aspects of improvisation performance which appear to be particularly significant for personality diagnosis. Such exploration is still in progress and much remains to be done, particularly by way of testing specific hypotheses within the framework of experimental design. Nevertheless, it is possible to indicate with some assurance several points of focal importance.

First among these is the manner in which the subject fills in the gaps in the partially structured improvisation situation which is presented to him. Of particular significance is the way in which he structures his own role and that of his partner. Thus whether he is dominant or submissive, outgoing or withdrawn, extropunitive, or intropunitive, may reflect his characteristic mode of adjustment to a parent figure, a subordinate, a member of the opposite sex, and so on. Also important in this connection are the "third parties" whom the subject brings into his conversations, and the way in which he relates these persons to himself. For example, he may blame a rival, "pass the buck" to higher authority, attack or lean for support on a member of the family, a friend, his girl, or any of a wide variety of persons or groups.

Another focal aspect of performance is the subject's sensitivity and adaptation to the behavior of his partner. Each participant enters the improvisation situation with his own attitudes, expectations, and objectives. The fact that these are not likely to be in complete harmony with those of his *vis-a-vis* is perhaps the factor which does most to precipitate the emotional involvement characteristic of most improvisation performances. Even though the subject

may have planned his course of action in advance, he is usually forced into spontaneity by unforeseen and uncontrollable elements in the behavior of his fellow-participant. These elements also serve to mobilize affect so that, even though the situation is artificial to begin with, it soon becomes imbued with emotions that are real; that is, the subject becomes ego-involved. It becomes a matter of obvious clinical significance whether, under these circumstances, he is able to remain sensitive to the behavior and feelings of his partner and to respond to them appropriately, or whether his actions are determined largely by his own needs.

A third dimension of improvisation performance is the consistency or variation in the participant's behavior from situation to situation. For example, the subject may be punitive in every scene, or he may show striking differences in emotional response as he shifts from one role to the next. These differences often fall into a consistent pattern. The "bicycle rider" personality mentioned earlier in a case in point; the subject is ingratiating and submissive when cast in a subordinate role; unsympathetic and overbearing when given a position of authority. Occasionally, shifts in the participant's behavior toward his *vis-a-vis* reflect feelings developed in the course of the preceding scene. Thus the boy who has been rejected by his father in the Camp Situation (2A) may, when cast as Mary in the Talk Situation (3A), give the boy-friend, Jim, an unexpected brush-off.

A fourth factor, related to the above, yet worthy of specific notice, is the varying degree to which the subject is able to accept and stay in a particular role. The participant ordinarily identifies with certain roles more readily than with others. Also, the degree of acceptance or rejection of the role may vary during the course of the improvisation, and this variation provides a cue to the subject's particular sources of satisfaction or anxiety. Resistance is manifested in a variety of ways. e.g., by open rejection ("I can't do it") by paucity of activity, by burlesquing or resort to stereotypes, or, most frequently, by breaking out of character (laughing, looking at the audience, asking for clarification of instructions).

A fourth aspect of improvisation performance which appears to merit specific attention is the manner in which the subject handles the emotional elements inherent in the several situational plots. It has been found helpful to restate this point in the theoretical framework provided by Rorschach.⁷ In the subject's behavior what is the balance and interplay between affect and intellectual control? Do emotions tend to override inhibiting barriers? Is there a

⁷ Rorschach, H. *Psychodiagnostics*, Hans Huber, Berne, Switzerland, 1942, pp. 19-118.

tendency to avoid emotion through escape into intellectualization or socially-stereotyped response? Is there over-control of affect with absence of spontaneity and warmth? Or, is the subject able to achieve appropriate interaction of emotions and intellectual control?

Finally, there is the question of how the subject permits the situation to end. Does he insist on carrying his point, seek a compromise, play the martyr, or simply leave the matter in mid-air? If he is left with unresolved tension, it is useful to note its emotional character (e.g., guilt, resentment, feelings of inferiority) and the way in which anxiety is handled, (e.g., aggression, withdrawal, rationalization, projection, excessive control). Behavior in the closing phases of the improvisation attains added significance from the fact that subjects, while they often become oblivious of their observers in the mid-course of performance, are likely, as the situation approaches its end, once again to become sensitive to the fact that they are being judged.

The preceding discussion summarizes some of the questions which the clinician may profitably ask himself as he observes improvisation performance. The next problem is that of indicating where one looks to find the answers to these questions. The problem is by no means a new one, however, for observation in improvisations has much in common with observation of a subject during the clinical interview. Indeed, the former technique has certain advantages for the observer since he does not, as in the interview, have to participate actively in a relationship with the subject. The interviewer is almost inevitably subject to the distractions and distortions of perception which arise from necessary concern with one's own words and actions. In any event, the kinds of cues that are important for interpreting behavior in improvisations are precisely those which the astute clinician utilizes in the interview situation. Specifically, three areas of observation may be distinguished: a) verbal content, b) voice characteristics, and c) bodily movements and postural adjustments.

Verbal Content. This refers not only to the literal meaning of what is said but also, more fundamentally, to its projective significance. The affective coloring with which the subject endows particular words and ideas is especially important. Noteworthy also is the language structure (e.g., illiterate, florid, pedantic, logical, indecisive, confused), and its emotional significance. (e.g., slips of the tongue, omissions and blocks, sudden shifts in train of thought, resort to passive vs. active verbs, idiosyncratic use of words and phrases, frequent repetitions). It is obvious that content analysis is considerably facilitated by having available a transcript of the conversation for detailed study.

Voice characteristics. Voice characteristics refer to timing (speed, rhythm, pauses), pitch, intensity, and quality (precise, slurring, infantile), and changes in any of the above during performance (e.g., dropping or raising of voice, change in speed or emphasis).

Bodily Movements and Postural Adjustments. The present workers have been particularly impressed by the possibilities which this area of observation offers for enriching the interpretation of behavior.⁸ It may be that bodily movements are set in high relief in the improvisation technique by virtue of the fact that the observer is free to give all his attention to the subject's behavior and is not obliged (as he usually is in interview) to follow carefully what the subject is saying so that he may make the appropriate response. Also, the necessity of watching two people at once makes one sensitive to contrasts in the appearance and action of both parties. Each of the three areas of behavior outlined above may be broken down further in terms of various aspects of content, voice, and movement which appear to be clinically significant. By way of illustration, we offer below a frame of reference currently being developed for the analysis of bodily activity and postural adjustment. Although highly tentative in its present form, the outline offers promise as a point of departure for systematic investigation. The schema was developed on the general hypothesis that the physical characteristic of a movement (how it is made and what parts of the body are involved) may offer cues as to its psychological significance. The characteristics are considered under four headings: Quality, Front, Locus, and Direction. Under each heading, material is presented in two columns. In the column at the left, we attempt to delineate the attribute of movement under discussion, in the right hand column, we offer tentative hypotheses as to its clinical significance.

A. Quality.

<i>Description</i>	<i>Hypotheses</i>
1. <i>Relaxed.</i> Movement flows easily with freedom and follow-through.	Suggests effective interaction of emotion and intellect.
2. <i>Jerky.</i> The movement is quick, somewhat uncoordinated, perhaps exaggerated, begins and ends suddenly.	Appears to indicate tension or overt anxiety which is not being controlled successfully.
3. <i>Abortive.</i> These are movements which are begun but cut short before completion, e.g., the subject starts to clench his fist but stops midway.	

⁸ The authors are especially indebted to William F. Soskin for first calling their attention to the significance of movements in the interpretation of improvisation performance.

Description

4. *Controlled.* Movement is measured, deliberate, labored, without follow-through.
5. *Immobilized.* This is the extreme of 3. The movement is completely or almost completely inhibited. The body segment is not relaxed, but tense; muscles seem set and rigid as if the impulse for movement were present but being held in check.

B. *Front.* The term front refers to the contour which the total organism, or various segments (hands, face, trunk), present to the environment. It is helpful to distinguish two extreme types of front.

Description

1. *Closed.* The organism flexes, contracts, and presents its harder surfaces to the environment (back arched, head down, arms and legs close to body, fists clenched, brows knit, jaw set).
2. *Open.* The organism exposes its softer, more sensitive surfaces to the environment (arms and palms open, body exposed, head back, eyes open, lips and mouth open broadly).

C. *Locus.* Locus refers to the region or regions in which motor activity is most marked.

Description

1. *Peripheral locus.* Movement is restricted to the peripheral parts of the body (hands and feet).

Hypotheses

May be indicative of what the subject feels basically but cannot allow himself to express. Such movements frequently appear to be suggestive of hostility (abortive clenching of fist, pulling back of arm), escape (retracted movement toward door), or strong affective needs.

Suggests inability to express emotion—strong inhibition or repression.

Hypotheses

From the point of view of interpretation, two types of closed front may be noted:

- a. The closing-in may be one of *encapsulation*: the organism seems to be trying to make itself as small as possible, to crawl into a shell (stooped posture, head bowed, arms and legs close over body as if to protect it).
- b. The closing may be one of *offense* (clenched fists, head thrust forward, jaw set, closely-knit brows).

The general impression is one of giving or receiving pleasure, affection, or support. Feelings of hostility or fear are at a minimum.

Hypotheses

Suggests need for keeping emotional expression at a distance. When marked, may indicate anxiety and immaturity in development of flexible emotional control.

Description

2. *Central locus.* Movement present in central portions of the body (eyes, lips, mouth, shoulders, trunk).

Hypotheses

Suggests ability to use emotions freely. When extreme may be indicative of immature dependence, narcissism, reliance on pleasure principle. Particularly significant here are lip and mouth, movements of torso.

D. Direction. It is convenient to discuss direction in terms of three planes.

Description

1. *Vertical plane.* Movements in this plane are upward or downward. They include total body movements (kneeling, rising on toes) or segmental acts (stamping foot, raising arms, banging fist).

Hypotheses

Movements reflect the way in which the subject relates to authority—those below and those above. This includes not only persons but introjected concepts such as religion, conscience, power, ideals, etc. The significance of the movement cannot be judged from direction alone. It must be inferred from direction in conjunction with quality, front, locus, etc. Thus a raised fist may suggest defiance of authority; an open front with upward orientations may suggest supplication, downward movements of the entire body with closed front may suggest submissiveness and fear, and so on.

2. *Transverse plane.* The movements are directly toward or away from another person (partner) or group (the observers).

This is the plane of interpersonal give-and-take. Whether the act is one of giving or receiving and whether its intent is pleasantly or unpleasantly toned depends on the accompanying physical characteristics. Thus a closed front with abortive movements of clenched fists would clearly suggest hostility, an open front with grasping movements of arms and mouth suggests the taking in of something that is desired.

3. *Lateral plane.* This is the side-wise plane at right angles to the other person or group. The subject turns away from his companion or the audience and no longer faces the other party.

This appears to be the plane of escape. The subject either has no interest in or is threatened by the other person. This may be because he cannot express his emotions directly to the other person. Subjects frequently move into the lateral plane when their emotions become most intense.

The above represent what may be designated as the *formal characteristics* of movement. The observer will of course utilize other more familiar aspects of bodily response. For example, there are the well-known clinical signs of anxiety such as blushing, perspiration, dryness of the mouth (as reflected by wetting of the lips), frequent swallowing, changes in rate and depth of breathing, restlessness, etc. Also, it is to be remembered that posture and movement may reflect organic as well as emotional factors.

Finally, it is to be noted that the significance of behavior is not inferred from any single aspect (such as quality of movement) taken separately but from the total pattern of activity exhibited by the organism, including verbal content, voice characteristics, posture, movement, overt signs of physiological change, and so on. It is important also to note changes in the pattern with time. Such changes provide cues regarding the shifts in emotional state and flow of ideas experienced by the subject. While usually there is a direct correlation between what is being expressed in verbal content, voice characteristics and movement, occasionally the relationship is inverse; that is, feelings which the subject inhibits at the verbal level find expression in bodily activity.

In conclusion, the authors wish to emphasize that while the material presented in the present paper has grown out of several years' work with the improvisations technique, it is based fundamentally on clinical impressions as yet unconfirmed by controlled experimental study. It is with the express hope of stimulating such investigation on a broader scale that the procedures and hypotheses that have grown out of clinical experience with the improvisations technique are here put to paper.

SUMMARY

The present paper describes a psychodramatic technique adapted for personality diagnosis. Designated by the term *improvisations*, the technique involves the participation of two subjects in a partially structured interpersonal relationship. The essential psychological features of the method are outlined and a standard series of six situations, based on classical conflicts in human relationships, is described. Aspects of improvisation performance which appear to be focal for clinical observation are indicated. Cues for interpretation are drawn from verbal content, voice characteristics, and physical activity. A frame of reference for analyzing postural adjustments and bodily movement is offered. The authors emphasize the need for continuing investigation and development of the technique within the framework of experimental design.

DYNAMICS OF PSYCHODRAMA IN THE TEACHING SITUATION*

JEAN D. GRAMBS

University of Stanford

Psychodrama is one of many new techniques in education, the use of which will greatly increase the effectiveness of what is being taught. The writings of J. L. Moreno and his co-workers provide the basic theoretical material for any discussion of psychodrama. However, while a number of reports are available on the value of this technique in a variety of teaching and learning situations, a careful analysis of why new learning occurred has rarely been made. As participant, director, and observer of many "teaching" psychodramas, the author presents the following analysis of the dynamics of psychodrama for the educator in particular.

We are concerned with the dynamics of psychodrama. The very use of the concept, dynamic, establishes a psychological bias. It is accepted in this discussion that "the interaction between parts of a system [is] more important than the parts themselves."¹ This approach means concern with the way individual personalities organize their life space, and assumes that no single activity, such as preferring lemon pie to chocolate pie, stands alone, but is a manifestation of the total personality in action. It is in opposition to the view of psychology that attempts to "analyze psychological phenomena into fundamental variables without taking account of unity and interaction."²

What is it, then, that happens in a psychodrama situation that makes people learn?

To begin with, the limits of the "psychodrama situation" must be defined. It is known that in psychotherapy as much of the healing process goes on *in* the patient *outside* the therapist's office as in it. The doctor can set this process going, can direct it, guide it, and provide important pushes along the way, but the therapy situation itself includes far more than this direct face-to-face contact of patient and doctor. In the teaching situation, similarly, the educational process may come to a focus in the classroom, but the students continue to learn the lessons of the classroom long after the bell has rung — that is, where teaching of a high order is concerned. With psychodrama, this continuation of learning beyond the classroom is true to an even greater extent.

* The theoretical material presented was developed as part of the author's doctoral dissertation, "A Psychodramatic Approach to the Teaching of Personnel Relations in a Course on Supervision," unpublished mss., on file in Stanford University School of Education Library.

The impact of the learning via psychodrama is such that the student often carries the memory of what occurred long after other learnings have faded, if the experiences of the author are typical. How long this memory lasts has not as yet been measured. But even if we do not know how long the psychodrama experience affects a person's behavior, it is postulated that this memory is a dynamic one; it continues within the personality to affect how the individual uses and understands further experience.

Not only does the psychodrama act within the individual for a long time after it has taken place, but the process is started before the psychodrama even occurs. Moreno refers to the "warming-up" process. In the educational use of psychodrama, this process includes whatever material the class has been given which will culminate in an acted-out situation. That is, the psychodrama situation can be said to start when the class is aware that a psychodrama is to occur at some indefinite time in the class period, and therefore the group absorbs the other material (lecture, discussion) in terms of the possible participation in a psychodrama. And the situation ends only when the psychodrama experiences cease to perform a dynamic function in the personality.

The psychodrama situation, then, really starts when the class knows that a situation is to be performed and that anyone in the group is a possible participant. The uncertainty within the group as to who will be involved is essential to the total psychodrama experience. There is, of course, an immediate increase in tension. With this increase in tension because of some unknown event that may involve anyone in the group, the individuals are, as it were, alerted for an emergency. (The "spontaneity factor.")

Psychologically, this is a significant state of mind.³ When one approaches a new situation, one has to sharpen one's perceptions. The familiar reaction patterns must be rehearsed in imagination in preparation for coping with the unknown factors that may emerge. While habitual ways of reacting are thus to some degree reinforced under tension, another element comes into play. One's perceptions are heightened. One is sensitized to more things in the environment than before because one is not sure which of the elements in the environment will be those with which one will need to deal, or which ones will be of help in handling the new problems. This increase in sensitivity to new elements in the environment means that not only is more seen, but more is absorbed. Someone following a well marked trail in the woods is not likely to notice many of the clues as to his whereabouts in the passing scene. Some clues are not necessary for a successful return home because the trail is all the guide needed. But if one is striking out across new country, one must be very watchful for even the slightest landmark in order not to get lost when retracing one's steps.

The student is in the same situation preceding a psychodrama enactment as is the individual who is hiking through the woods without a trail. The student is on his guard for any information that will be given that will help him if and when he is required to go through a psychodrama for which this information might be pertinent.

This sensitizing process has been talked of mainly in terms of leading the group towards an awareness of the need for new knowledge or training. However, it is our experience that the dynamics of the psychodrama itself⁴ are such that even if students did not feel the need for more knowledge, still the very fact that a psychodrama was to be enacted produced the increased sensitivity we have mentioned. Therefore, because of this psychological tension and heightening of perception that accompanies it, plus the new need to acquire helpful information, the educator is in a position to teach more because the group is alert to learning more.

That tension can be a barrier to learning is well known — for instance, panic is the result of an emergency situation of such proportions that the personality cannot take in a number of aspects of the environment that will help him cope with the impending disaster. The psychodrama is effective in providing optimum learning because the dimension of the emergency to be handled is only great enough to produce learning, not great enough to produce panic.⁵ It is true, however, that the dividing line between panic-tension and learning-tension is not the same for all individuals, and the teacher needs to be aware of this difference and adjust the roles taken in psychodrama accordingly.

As has been seen, before a psychodrama is enacted, the group responds to the possibility in terms of an emergency that is foreseen but whose outlines are unclear. The emergency aspect of psychodrama⁶ is one of the most significant dynamic factors in the total psychodrama experience. What does the psychodrama emergency mean for the participant? Although no one lives a life in which every hour of every day is concerned with only highly familiar situations into which few if any new and unforeseen elements intrude, it is true that for most of us the major surprises in our daily lives are of a very minor character or occur only rarely. If a new event does occur, we usually are aware of it enough beforehand to plan out our behavior. Also, whatever of novelty does enter is usually of a very private nature in the sense that no one but ourselves is aware of the degree or impact of the novelty presented. Because of the private nature of whatever emergencies we meet, most individuals have developed a habit of reacting even to these emergencies so that the surface, at least, looks undisturbed. The person who does not develop this appearance of competence in everyday life we consider to be someone lacking in poise. This skill

in dealing with expected novelty is a veneer that psychodrama penetrates. We will explore further why this is so.

The emergency situation that is created by participation in a psychodrama is primarily of a public nature. Everyone in the class knows that this is a new situation and the individuals participating feel "out in the open." That there is not the terrifying experience of psychic nakedness is due to the element of objectivity which is another facet of the psychodrama situation as it is used in teaching.⁷ This will be considered in more detail later.

Why is it, one may ask, that the public nature of psychodrama has a learning impact upon individuals when the same situation in every-day life may produce no new learning? What happens is not too complicated. When one is talking with an individual one is usually concerned about *his* reactions, and from time to time one tries to imagine how the other person may see oneself. However, there is rarely a checking of impressions between the one acting and the individual acted upon. I may think that someone has had a bad impression of me, but I will not ask him to corroborate that impression. Thus the looking at myself from the outside is but an extension, a projection, of an inner state and has little of the quality of objectivity one connects with being really able to get outside an event and examine it.

In a psychodrama situation with an audience this impression of looking at oneself from a distance is actually brought into play. It is self-consciousness⁸ but that it is a particular kind of self-consciousness is a factor overlooked by those who recognize this ingredient when talking about psychodrama. The self-consciousness that most of us are familiar with is the kind that often results in the display of mannerisms that betray lack of inner poise. Self-consciousness seems to *blind* the person to what he is doing rather than making him more aware of his actions. As a matter of psychological fact, this self-consciousness is a misnomer because it is really the feeling of being a square peg in a round hole. One is aware of the situation as one in which one does not quite fit securely enough, and the mannerisms are the way one tries to attain a better fit. The new situation, however, engrosses so much of the attention that one is less self-aware when one feels "self-conscious" than normally; it is the unusual or unexpected aspects of the situation that one is most aware of — it is these that demand one's full attention.

Now psychodrama does produce a self-awareness as distinct from self-consciousness. The participant is both actor and audience. He has the audience viewpoint until the last possible moment when he is called upon to participate; he returns to the audience attitude as soon as he is finished. This occurs because

the attention of the group, of which he is inextricably a member, is focused on his behavior and the total situation, as distinct from what he is himself in isolation. The individual is thus forced to see himself from the outside, to be really conscious of his actions. Even if he is given no chance to act again in the same situation in order to make overt behavior adjustments, he has "seen" himself in action with a clarity he probably never approached before. On the basis of such new vision, the individual can begin to adjust his overt behavior in similar situations; he has also for the first time acquired a way of getting outside his own behavior and examining it.

The situation into which the individual is thrust in a psychodrama is, by way of recapitulation, an emergency. This emergency is public in nature. Because it is public, because the participant is both actor and audience, the self-consciousness is transmitted into self-awareness. With self-awareness comes the opportunity to learn better attitudes and ways of behaving.

Self-awareness will not, however, in and by itself produce learning of behavior and attitudes. Individuals often are aware of bad habits in themselves, but powerless to change them. The total psychodrama situation is such as to maximize any chance for change that the individual is capable of. Self-awareness is a vital force in learning new behavior; when the group comments on the psychodrama situation, when others show different ways of dealing with the same or similar situations, the individual sees possibilities for new kinds of adaptive behavior in himself. Also, the self-awareness plus group comment points out inescapably how certain ways of reacting are inadequate. Instead of reinforcing the inadequate behavior, the total psychodrama situation provides the greatest possible opportunity for change. Does the individual, and can the individual, take advantage of the opportunity? What in psychodrama assures us that most individuals will be able to take advantage of this opportunity?

It has been pointed out, first, that setting the stage for a psychodrama creates a tension in the group that makes the individuals more able to absorb clues and cues to appropriate behavior; second, the public nature of the emergency situation of the psychodrama changes self-consciousness into self-awareness as the participant both plays a role and is part of the audience for his own acting. A third major element, one that channelizes the experience toward behavior and attitude change, can be called objectivity. The concept as used here connotes two other dynamic factors in psychodrama: acceptance and projection.⁹

Participation in a psychodrama that results in changed behavior is one in which the atmosphere of the whole group is acceptive and permissive. Everyone is told, and later this must be translated into feeling, that perfect

performances are neither expected nor desired. The good director expresses explicitly the feeling of the group before this feeling rises to the level of anxiety. The group is directed to focus its attention upon using the psychodrama as a shared and common experience for further learning; a direct outcome of this kind of direction is that the participants in the psychodrama become anonymous. The individual is subordinated to the role in the situation, and it is this role that is the point of group discussion. For this reason, what the person acts out becomes divorced from what he is himself — on the verbal plane; but on the emotional plane the situation is close to his personality dynamics due to the operation of the projective mechanism, to be discussed elsewhere. This dichotomy between the actions of the person and what the person is himself is the key to acceptance in the psychodrama learning situation. Because it is accepted that the behavior in the situation is of a different order than *one's own* behavior, then the ego need raise few barriers to any insights leading to behavior change. And where such insight could be positively damaging, in the borderline neurotic personality, the individual is protected — and so is the teacher and the class — from having to deal with too much knowledge. That individuals reject their own actions in the psychodrama is a very usual phenomenon; it is important to be able to accept even this as part of the total acceptance. This over-all acceptance will permit change to occur if it is at all possible for the personality to do so outside of strict therapy.

We have pointed out that an important dynamic factor in producing behavior and attitude changes in psychodrama is the objectivity that encloses the total situation. This objectivity, furthermore, is composed of two elements, acceptance and projection. Both of these factors together make it possible for the individual to use the psychodramatic experience in learning. What happens to the audience, the non-participants?

In a classroom situation, only a few of the group usually can take part in the psychodrama. One must ask what are the experiences of those who do not have the opportunity to participate actively. Do they also learn?

The preparation of a class for psychodrama, which involves creating tension for all members of the group has already been described.

This means that the whole group is alert to clues as to what is or will be appropriate behavior, and more ready to accept new ideas than in almost any other learning situation. The effect on the audience continues while the psychodrama is going on. Casual observation of an audience witnessing a psychodrama demonstrates that they are involved in the action.¹⁰ There are indications that if the members of the audience are given a collective role, i.e., friend of the

participants, the audience is enabled to see and learn more.¹¹ The experience of the author suggests that a study of the times when an audience laughs at a situation would provide some important clues as to the typicalness of the way the situation was being enacted. It is not that the situations in themselves are funny, but that the audience sees a sort of caricature of ordinarily accepted behavior. Very little has been done to evaluate audience response.^{12, 13}

What can be learned by an analysis of the audience situation? The emergency nature of the psychodrama has a kind of simple and direct dramatic appeal similar to what one feels as an outsider observing, say, a wedding of strangers or very distant acquaintances. One is *of* the spectacle because it is so easy to know how the participants are feeling, but one is not *in* it. The central roles in psychodrama, as in our example of the wedding, will have strong affiliations for the observer; the situation rouses close memories or hopes. This might, on the surface, seem not true unless the situations used in the classroom were taken from the direct experience of the group. In many classrooms the psychodrama can be drawn from the present or future roles of the group members, and thus will obviously attract and involve the emotions of audience as well as participants. But even if the situations are not obviously related to the group's apparent roles in present or future, the psychodrama still will affect the audience; first, because its dramatic qualities allow for the greatest possible identification with the actors, a phenomenon observable in the far more artificial media of stage and screen, and second, because the participants are friends or acquaintances, so that what happens to them is of more concern than it would be with strangers.

The director will play a large part in directing and maximizing the group's learning. He can make it easier for the audience to experience vicariously what is occurring by the manner in which he sets the stage and the degree of tension he has built up before the psychodrama participants are selected. Another key to audience involvement is the use of the audience as informants. Even if the situation is drawn as an illustration of an abstract concept, allowing the group to sketch in the details, to describe the roles to be taken, gives the group members a stake in seeing how well their formulation meets the test of dramatization; the members will be asking themselves: does this situation really illustrate the concept? Do the actors portray the roles so as to make the concept clear? Where could a different situation have presented the idea better, or different roles, or different actors? While the audience may have more of an *intellectual* stake in the situation, the skillful director will want to increase as much as possible the emotional stake as well. Increasing the stake that individuals have in what goes on means that they are more interested and observant, two

states of being highly desirable in increasing learning. There seems to be little danger that the audience can have too great an involvement in what goes on when the situation is a learning, classroom situation.

A final word must be said about the sequel to the psychodrama. The director becomes the teacher; it is his function to draw out with the group the important and significant elements of behavior that were observed. It has been found that psychodrama touches off discussion without any prodding on the part of the teacher. The members of the group are more than eager to start an analysis of what occurred; it is up to the teacher to capitalize on this eagerness and direct it toward what he considers the important learning outcomes. The composite impact of the dynamic factors we have already discussed result in a highly favorable climate for the teacher to assist the group in seeing important principles of behavior, or whatever concept the psychodrama was used to illustrate. It is believed that the forces that make psychodrama significant for participant and audience continue to operate when the classroom returns to the usual classroom atmosphere, especially where the group is concerned with getting the full meaning out of what was witnessed or felt in the psychodrama. The skill of the teacher in making use of these forces through an appreciation of the dynamics of psychodrama will be the main determinant of the level of learning that results. All that can be pointed out here is that psychodrama sets the stage for more effective teaching.¹⁴

The concept of spontaneity has not yet been discussed, a concept used extensively by Moreno and others in their discussions of psychodrama. Spontaneity is a function of the individual, and occurs in a psychodrama situation because of the emergency nature of this technique. We are not therefore concerned with spontaneity except insofar as it describes the spontaneous, unplanned reaction of the individual to the situation. As used by Moreno, spontaneity is an ability, and psychodrama is a method whereby one can find out how much of the ability an individual has. Through psychodrama, too, one can increase an individual's capacity for being spontaneous.

Another concept that may have been slighted in this discussion is the role-playing aspect of psychodrama. The taking of roles is considered by many to be an outstanding contribution of psychodrama to individual understanding. It will be discussed in a forthcoming article on projection.

In summary, then, the major dynamic elements in the psychodrama situation that are conducive to learning new attitudes and behaviors have been identified as: 1) the *tension* that is created, prior to the playing of a psycho-

drama, which is due to uncertainty *about dealing with a new situation* and directly fosters a need in the individual to absorb whatever learning material is provided; 2) the psychodrama situation creates a *public emergency* that makes the individual participant *self-aware*; 3) objectivity is achieved by *acceptance* of psychodramatic behavior that is a *projection* by the individual of his own needs on a *relatively unstructured situation*, and because of these two factors his ego is involved to the point where change is permitted, but not the point where change is prevented; and 4) the *audience becomes vicariously involved* in the action so that the dynamics of the psychodrama act upon the audience's ability to learn in the same direction but to a lesser degree than is true of the participants.

A discussion of psychodrama in teaching cannot be completed without also presenting two factors that, while related to the psychological dynamics summarized above, are really more appropriately discussed as aspects of learning theory in general. These two factors are: 1) the value of a common experience which the group can utilize in drawing implications and generalizations; 2) using concrete, "live" data for generalizations rather than depending wholly on verbalisms.

The need for common experiences in collegiate education is the sort of need that too many times is met by assigning the same chapter of a text book. As has been said:

A major problem is the 'talking past each other' that occurs when teacher and students try verbally to share their experiences as a basis for building up common understandings and principles. In a majority of teaching projects there seems to be a need for concrete common group experiences which can be used as the basis for unambiguous study and evaluation.¹⁵

In the use of psychodrama, the group sees the same thing and can then talk with understanding about the issues and problems that are raised. They can continually refer to the common experience as the source of data—everyone knows what is being referred to.

The concrete, *alive*, character of psychodrama is its second important contribution to education in general and it is not unique to psychodrama. So often—too often—the referents of words are never brought into the realm of discussion. This is true partly because of laziness, partly because reality is too challenging for some intellectuals, partly because we have so few teaching situations in which the referents for our concepts are *there*, so to speak, where they can be seen, felt and touched. If "real" data are used, it often is at the

risk of wasting valuable time; the use of excursions, surveys, and so forth, while extremely valuable for certain outcomes, are often very time-consuming. Psychodrama is a sort of short-cut towards reality while not being really a substitute for reality. That what occurs is real is attested to over and over by audiences who, while accepting the artificialities of the situations, at the same time point out how "true to life" the psychodrama was.

This discussion of psychodrama is, admittedly, exploratory in nature. Most of the things that have been said about the dynamics of this technique are unproved; a tremendous amount of research has yet to be done on this process before one can know for sure how it effects people, and why. However, there is a great need for theorizing, as well, for suggesting on the basis of psychological principles and experience with the technique the possible reasons for the effect that psychodrama has upon those who contact it.

FINDINGS AS TO THE BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDE CHANGE THROUGH PSYCHODRAMA

Research studies are, in the main, of two types. One kind has significance because the data gathered provide evidence that proves or disproves some matter of fact. The other kind is significant because of the approach taken toward the solution of a problem; this research study on the use of psychodrama falls into the latter category. The over-all purpose of the study was to explore a technique in college instruction, and, as one aspect of this investigation, to inquire into a somewhat new approach to the evaluation of an instructional program.

A brief review of the problem is in order: Dr. A. John Bartky, Dean of the School of Education of Stanford University, agreed to use psychodrama as the major teaching technique in his course in supervision, an advanced graduate course for experienced teachers given in the Spring Quarter, 1947, at the School of Education. The course was developed on the basis of two assumptions, first, that school administrators and supervisors are constantly facing school situations that involve insight into and skill in dealing with human relations. Second, it was assumed that significant learning can take place on the advanced graduate level in behavior and attitudes, thus warranting instruction in this area in the university. Psychodrama was felt to be singularly appropriate to meet the problem of inducing new learning in human relations with adult students.

A carefully prepared outline including suggested psychodramas was made for the whole course. A test battery of original tests, a Rating Scale plus three

paper-and-pencil projective tests, was administered to the group of 78 students at the beginning and at the end of the course. While the psychodramas actually used differed in a number of instances from those included in the pre-planning, the use of psychodrama as the major teaching technique was consistently adhered to. As a result, two-thirds of the class participated in at least one of the psychodramas, and many took part in several.

The two questions to be answered are, then: 1. What has been learned about the appropriateness of using psychodrama in college classes? And 2. To what extent were the projective tests developed for this research useful in evaluating the learning experience?

In answer to the first question it appears that psychodrama is a useful and worthwhile instructional device; it can be used in advanced graduate classes to provide important learning situations. Psychodrama has, indeed, a unique contribution to make to the academic classroom. Too often instruction is concerned with abstract concepts and generalizations. It is a common complaint that students cannot apply in behavior the ideas that they are familiar with on the verbal level. Psychodrama is a very simple way of presenting the real-life application of a general principle, and, in reverse, a psychodrama situation is a good source from which to develop the important principles involved.

The psychodrama experience is such as to maximize learning as it is concerned with areas of behavior and attitudes. The participant in the psychodrama situation is confronted with an emergency whose outlines have been sketched only crudely; it is up to the participant to play the role accurately, to meet the problem of the situation adequately, to find the appropriate solution in terms of the problem and the role he is playing. This demand upon the resources of the participant heightens the learning possibilities; few classroom situations, indeed, call upon more than a fraction of the resources of the individual. Psychodrama is a very challenging device for the students. The audience also becomes involved in the action of the psychodrama, particularly if they have been directed by the instructor to identify with one of the participants.

Psychodrama is of special value in areas of instruction where problems of human relations are being considered. In real life, persons involved in dealing with others have little or no chance to learn ways of behaving other than those that have, for good or bad reasons, become part of their habitual way of reacting. The school administrator or supervisor, for example, rarely if ever sees others in a similar position dealing with personnel problems. Each administrator acts alone; he cannot learn by observing others. In real-life, similarly, there is no chance to retreat once one has made a decision, or said the particular words.

If what has been done or said is inappropriate, it is just too bad; in such situations, most people have evolved defense mechanisms that are only rarely adequate. Psychodrama is remarkably useful in preparing such persons to handle personnel problems by allowing them to explore on the play-level some more appropriate ways of dealing with other individuals. There is no grave penalty for failure; in fact, failure is expected and accepted. The opportunity for new learning is maximized; the participant becomes more self aware and, for the first time, can see himself *in action* as others see and respond to him. The observers are able to explore vicariously other ways of dealing with people — the words, gestures, actions that can be used. The most carefully analysed generalization can never provide this facsimile of real life. In the area of human relations it is probably most difficult to lead others to new and better ways of behaving; there is too much at stake usually, and to discuss personal problems only reinforces each person's hold on his own habits. Psychodrama is one way of loosening this hold on habits, of releasing the person a little bit so that he can explore in an unusually permissive atmosphere some new and better patterns.

The use of this technique on the college level, or, as in this study, on the advanced graduate level, can be highly successful. In the supervision course which was the focus of this research, the psychodrama situations appear to have produced good results, with certain important qualifications. In the first place, the use of the psychodramas did provide rich material for class discussion. No matter which way the particular situation developed, important problems were uncovered; if the situation, for example, concerned interviewing a prospective teacher, both what the principal did or did not do could be discussed. When several students were given the same psychodramatic situation to solve, then the merits and advantages of the different approaches could be analysed. However, there is one important qualification that must be made here. The psychodramas were pre-planned. The course instructor and the author picked the particular situations to be enacted several weeks before the personnel in the class were known. This has the advantage of providing a structure for the course that might otherwise be lacking. But it might be suggested to others who wish to use this technique in teaching that the psychodramas should perhaps be more closely allied to the real-life experiences of the students.

In this particular course in supervision, for instance, it was surprising to learn that most of the students did not have administrative experience. However, this information was available too late to change the structure of the course. Had the planning of the course been more closely related to where the students were in their own thinking the psychodramas might have seemed less

artificial, a comment that a number of the students made. Also, a canvass of the students might have been conducted to gather from them typical incidents in their own experience that could then be used for the psychodramas. Had this approach been taken it would have been possible to get a more accurate picture of what were the central problems for this particular group of students. As it was, the situations selected were chosen on the basis of the experience of the instructor, and, it is felt, did not fit to a degree in all instances, the needs or experiences of the group.

In the second place, psychodrama participation was appropriate to this age group. It had been felt by some students who were not in the supervision class that these dramatic little "plays" would seem juvenile. Also, it was thought that adults would not like to get up in front of each other and go through an act. A number of the members of the class also reacted this way; that psychodrama was a bit childish. This reaction is to be expected and should be dealt with. It is a symptom, however, of a much deeper problem. Adults in our culture lack a great deal of the spontaneity of youth, and psychodrama does make considerable demands upon the individual's spontaneity. For this reason it is a difficult challenge for certain tense and rigid personalities, nor is it easy for more resourceful individuals. Where children can throw themselves happily and eagerly into a "play-acting" situation, adults are much more uneasy and self-conscious. Thus it is necessary to prepare the situation with great care. It was felt that the experience with psychodrama in this course in supervision could have been more profitable had the class been introduced to psychodrama more gradually. It might have been better had the instructor established rapport with the group through a period of several weeks, before attempting to use students in the psychodramas. Some of the student comments on the use of psychodrama indicated the wisdom of this procedure in the future. Also, the build-up to psychodrama might have been a part of the regular class instruction, indicating that this technique might prove of value in in-service education and so forth. The dynamics of the psychodrama might have been presented with some comments at length that would establish a permissive atmosphere. If these preparations are made, there is every reason to believe that psychodrama can be used very effectively with mature and experienced individuals.

In the third place, psychodrama is most effective when used in small groups of not more than 35 individuals. The course in supervision in which this research was done numbered over 75. Most of the psychodramas were presented before this large audience. Three times, however, the class was divided into three sections. There was almost unanimous agreement that the

use of psychodrama in these smaller groups was very worthwhile, very interesting, and very appropriate. One contributing reason was that in such small groups the members could build up the situations themselves. This meant that the situations selected had more the ring of authenticity (at least subjectively this would be the reaction) than was the case with the pre-selected psychodramas for the large group. When the group members contributed to the descriptions of characters and the situation the group developed a stake in the presentation that was not apparent in the large group psychodramas. It was found, also, that when the group was small almost everyone was eager to take part in the discussion following the psychodramas. The leaders of the sections had the feeling that it was almost like taking a lid off the students, the response in the discussion period was so widespread and so great. The experience in the smaller sections showed clearly how rich in learning material psychodrama is.

It has been pointed out in this study that there are ample theoretical grounds for the conviction that psychodrama is productive of important learning. The conclusion of this study is that it is an appropriate and worthwhile teaching technique in advanced graduate classes particularly when the subject matter of the instruction is in an area touching on human relations.

The second major problem of concern in this research has been to determine whether or not projective devices could be used to measure changes in attitudes occurring as a result of the classroom experience with psychodrama. The analysis of the test data show the following to be true:

First, changes in attitude did occur as a result of the psychodrama experience and the course instruction. The students in general shifted in one of two directions: in terms of some of the situations covered by the test battery, the students shifted from the teacher's point of view to the point of view of the administrator. In terms of other situations covered by the tests, the students shifted into more adequate insight into the factors involved in human interrelations. It is of interest that the over-all shift was in both of the above attitudes, rather than just one. It was remarked earlier that on the whole the members of the class had had teaching experience, but lacked administrative experience. By the end of the course there was more of a tendency on a part of more of the class to view teacher-administrator problems from the point of view of the administrator, which, in effect, implied some rejection of the teacher as the key person in the specific problem situation. Particularly did this change in attitude occur in problem areas where the *authority* of the administrator was in some way involved; in situations where it was more obviously a problem growing out of the *teacher's own situation*, the attitude shift was toward more acceptance and insight.

It is suggested, on the basis of the evidence presented by the test battery, that the use of psychodrama made the above attitude change possible by presenting to the group the problems of administration in such a fashion that personal identification with the problems could be accomplished. In other words, instead of merely talking about the administrator in personnel relations, the students could *feel* the impact of administrative responsibility.

Second, one of the tests, the Problem Situation Test, was a better indicator of change than were the other tests in the battery. The Rating Scale was not intended as a projective test; it was included as a way of revealing change on the overt level. As a matter of fact, little change of significance was revealed on the Rating Scale during the course of the class work. The Sentence Completion Test was designed to get at basic attitudes toward the teaching situation. The students on the whole were fairly negative at the beginning of the course, and remained so on this test at the end of the course. Attitudes toward particular aspects of the teaching situation did not change markedly. However, in the Problem Situation Test, the students did show rather interesting changes in attitude. The solutions given for the ten problem situations presented showed that the students were able to find better, or at least different, solutions to the problems. The Psychodrama Situation Test was promising, but further work would need to be done to assess its real worth in this sort of research.

The experience with the three projective tests used in this study suggests the following conclusions: Paper and pencil projective tests may be designed to tap a specified area of attitudes, as toward a vocational situation. Individual patterns appear from a study of the responses to such a test; a repetition of the test over a period of time may or may not show change. In the case of the Sentence Completion Test, as used in this study, it is doubtful if any short-run changes would be revealed. The Problem Situation Test, on the other hand, could and did show changes since the respondent was put in the position of solving a problem; in the Sentence Completion Test the response situation was too limited, and thus touched only set attitudes.

One further important use that could be made of the paper and pencil projective tests as developed for this study is for individual diagnosis. After learning what attitudes may be expected in general, it could be of considerable value to the instructor to see the individual reaction pattern in terms of future educational need. As was learned from the two case studies presented in this research, one could spot rather readily the areas where each of the individuals was weak and where strong; where more education should be accomplished in order to equip the individual as an administrator. This knowledge of the indi-

vidual's particular weakness or strength should then be related to the psychodrama situations. In this way re-training could be carried out in terms of each person's own need. The projective test reveals the individual's attitude pattern without putting the person on the spot, so to speak.

The experience analysed in this study with psychodrama as a teaching technique, plus the development of projective paper and pencil tests to evaluate the students' learning has shown that these two devices have much to offer of value in making teaching and learning more productive and more effective.

NOTES

1. Sargent, Helen, "Projective Methods: Their Origins, Theory, and Application in Personality Research," *Psych. Bull.*, 42:257-93, 1945.
2. Sargent, *op. cit.*
3. The ideas expressed in the following section concerning the psychology of the new situation are, in the main, those presented by Dr. Roger G. Barker in lectures on the Psychology of Adolescence, Stanford University, 1945.
4. Hendry, Charles E., Lippitt, R., and Zander, A., "Reality Practice as Educational Method," Psychodrama Monograph, No. 9, Beacon House, New York, 1944.
5. The audience situation may, however, produce panic in certain individuals, particularly those with any previous experience with "stage-fright."
6. Moreno, J. L., *Psychodrama*, Beacon House, New York, 1946, Vol. 1, p. 261.
7. Wright, B. A., "An Experimentally Created Conflict Expressed by Means of a Projective Technique." *Jour. of Soc. Psych.*, 21:229-45, 1945.
8. Bavelas, Alex, "Role-Playing and Management Training," *Sociatry*, 1:183-89, 1947.
9. Del Torto, J., and Cornyetz, P., "Psychodrama as Expressive and Projective Technique," Psychodrama Monograph, No. 14, Beacon House, New York, 1945.
10. Moreno, Florence B., "Psychodrama in the Neighborhood," *Sociatry*, 1:168-78, June 1947.
11. Zander, Alvin, "Role-Playing: A Technique for Training the Necessarily Dominating Leader," *Sociatry*, 1:225-35, June 1947.
12. Moreno, J. L., *op. cit.* p. 261.

NOTES

13. Toeman, Zerka, "Role Analysis and Audience Structure," Psychodrama Monograph, No. 12, Beacon House, New York, 1944.
14. Hendry, et. al., *op. cit.*
15. Barker, Roger G., "Psychodrama in Teaching Scientific Method in Social Sciences," *Sociatry*, 1:179-82, 1947. Murray, Henry, *Explorations in Personality*; Tudyman, A., and O'Reilly, E. P., "A Performance Measure of Administrator Success in the Resolution of Teacher Problems Solvable by the Consultation Approach," unpublished Ed.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, Calif., 1947.

FIRST FRENCH EXPERIENCE WITH PSYCHODRAMA

MIREILLE MONOD

Child Guidance Clinic Claude Bernard, Paris, France

A very important evolution characterizes French psychiatry of today; the Monist school and psychosomatic theories have become more well known in French psychiatric circles. During the same period psychoanalysis gained annually in importance and authority in France. Largely due to this growing recognition, psychotherapy was adopted and became a new tool of psychiatry.

Immediately upon conclusion of World War II, English and American psychiatric and psychological literature spread through France. Particularly the experiences with army selection encountered great interest in our country. Within the limits of an actual revival of French psychiatry group psychotherapy* methods and especially psychodramatic therapy** are studied intensively in France today.

Last year (1946) we had the opportunity to study Dr. Moreno's methods in New York and Washington, D. C. As soon as it became known in Paris its wide doctrinal basis and its very new aspects gave birth to a warm interest but also to some criticism. It is only through very systematic experimenting done under favorable conditions that this therapy will take root in France.

In one of the French Child Guidance clinics of Paris, open to all problem children of the secondary school system and more especially designed to be a center for new experiments, we attempted the experience which we are going to relate. In October 1946, the physician in charge of this clinic, Dr. Juliette Boutonnier asked us to try a session of psychodrama. It was the first time in France that anyone tried to practice psychodrama and we could not base our work on any precedent.

It is not necessary to recall here the principles of Dr. Moreno's psychodrama. He uses the therapeutic theater to treat his patients. He makes them play their inner problems and helps them to solve these in their daily life after they have solved them on the stage.

From November 1946 until July 1947 we treated forty-one children who were referred to us for various difficulties: 33% were referred for behaviour problems, instability and poor school work (with normal I.Q.); 27% were

*J. L. Moreno (Ed): *Group Psychotherapy*, Beacon House, New York, 1946.

**J. L. Moreno: *Psychodrama*, Beacon House, New York, 1947.

referred for inhibition and abnormal shyness; 20% were referred for emotional disturbances; 12% were referred for stuttering and motor instability.

To be certain that improvement could be attributed to psychodrama, we noticed that the child should attend at least four sessions.

Out of the forty-one patients, nine left during the treatment because they were sick, because their parents did not bring them back, or because the child itself showed opposition or fatigue. Besides these we had two failures; they were two psychoneurotic children, too difficult to be treated under our crowded working conditions.

Organization of the Work

Once a week we had a session in a class room where we had a little stage erected at the front end of the room. Experience has shown that children who have never attended psychodrama sessions find it difficult to play immediately if placed in a group which has had some previous psychodramatic work. So we created a short probation session of half an hour in which we received the new patients for the first two or three sessions. We organized three groups during the winter: a group of children between 9 and 12 years; a group between 12 and 15 years; and a group between 15 and 17 years. The groups were formed with boys and girls in approximately the same proportion.

We found that the optimum number of children was four. With more than four or five children present, one or two lose the benefit of the session. As for the number of adults necessary to the session, we find that two or maybe three was the best solution for a group of from four to six children. It is, of course, much better to have both a man and a woman and we worked with such a team at the beginning. As our work extended however, we were obliged to work with only two women in the eldest group and we obtained success in spite of this.

The question of an audience arose very often in this experimental clinic. It seems difficult to give a rule. The best solution seems to admit two or three spectators, but not more. Our experience taught us that the best way to manage spectators was to invite them to play with the children.

We followed with success the method of Dr. Moreno, one of us (always the same one) did the warming up, interrupted the play to introduce new situations and directed the final discussion. The other person acted only as auxiliary ego. We had practically no time for individual psychodrama sessions. We were able to give individual attention only to two cases at the beginning of the year. During the year we took most of the children aside for one or

two individual interviews about psychodrama. As a rule we noticed an immediate improvement after this interview, during which we spoke more directly and personally to the child. But as the child became more used to this method of therapy the individual interviewers were not necessary anymore. Some of the children were treated simultaneously by psychoanalytic therapy. The combination of the two therapies gave good results. We noticed that an interruption of more than two sessions (two weeks) was bad. At least one session was necessary for the child to recover his former progress.

Results

We took as criterion of improvement first our own impression during the sessions; then the appraisal of the parents for which we asked by interviews and letters; and finally that of the school teacher to whom we sent a letter at the end of the year (July 1947).

Most of the children began first to show improvement of socialization in their contact with the other children in the (treatment) group. Two of the patients failed because they were in a group. They were among the youngest (9 years old). They improved at once when taken in individual sessions. We were obliged to stop the individual sessions for we were short of time and the children were treated afterwards by individual psychoanalytic therapy.

Generally speaking, we noticed the first improvement after four or five sessions. As a rule, an individual interview was given at this point in the treatment in which the child understands and accepts the psychodrama as a therapy and no longer as a form of play. Children understand why "having been referred for poor spelling or shyness, they come to play comedy."

Out of 33% referred for behaviour problems, instability and poor school work we obtained 63% of success. In 27% referred for inhibition and abnormal shyness we were 100% successful with children who attended more than five sessions. Out of 20% referred for emotional disturbance we obtained 80% of success, and out of 12% referred for stuttering and motor instability we obtained 50% of success.

On the whole we find 73% of success which we interpret as follows: certain improvement — 85%; normalization and complete disappearance of symptoms — 15%.

We have shared the work and followed the inclination of the children. For some of the children the same adult played the same role each time, as for instance, mother, or child, or teacher.

This work done at the Child Guidance Clinic "Claude Bernard" in Paris represents a real economy of personnel, a very important factor in our country, ruined by the war. During the school year forty-one children were treated by four adults, five hours a week. Only four of these children were treated simultaneously by psychoanalytic therapy.

Conclusion

This first experience is, of course, very incomplete. We are very young at this kind of therapy so we made numerous mistakes and often lost time. Nevertheless, it is interesting to know that the psychodrama, or a group psychotherapy based on the "mime" has been tried these last months in Paris as well as in a Psychiatric Center in the north of France.

This is the first and very modest French publication dealing with psychodrama but we are certain that it is only a beginning, and that other and richer experiences will follow.

SOCIODRAMA IN THE SOCIOLOGY CLASSROOM

FLORENCE B. MORENO

Psychodramatic Institute, Beacon, New York

INTRODUCTION

In papers previously published, the use of psychodramatic techniques as a teaching method on the college level has been described. Hagan* applied the method to social workers, Barker* to social psychology classes, and Kay,* to psychology classes, both in the university and hospital. They indicate the importance of allowing students to discover for themselves the *reality* of their theoretical discussions by actually acting out specific situations related to these discussions. Applying this technique to sociology classes has, as yet, not been described in the journal so that it seems in order at this time to present data sufficient at least to indicate the possibilities which sociodrama, psychodrama's "sister" (which deals with the *collective* problems of the sociologist) could have in teaching *sociological concepts*.

The use of sociodrama as a method for teaching sociology to nurses has proved especially interesting and valuable as the data presented here indicates. The nurse, very often, does not fully realize the importance of sociology in the curriculum, and it becomes necessary to impress her with the fact that her role as nurse is not limited to administering competent physical care, but also involves an understanding and objective approach to group and intercultural conflicts. Studying sociology gives her the necessary insight into human relations, but while she may be able to remember the theoretical implications of conflicting values and attitudes involved in interpersonal and intergroup problems, is she resourceful enough to apply this theoretical attainment in practice to all kinds of novel situations which she may face? And equally important, have her own values become so "conserved" within herself that she is unable to be free of them in order to see the patient's world within his own framework of values instead of only those of her own? It is felt that she cannot fully gain this necessary insight by merely verbalizing; therefore, she needs to have a chance to explore her own depth of theoretical "absorption" and her own degree of objectivity by actually practicing, in dramatized hospital and community situations, the handling of typical and unusual social conflicts.

* Hagan, Margaret, and Wright, Edith, "Psychodramatic Techniques as a Teaching Device in an Accelerated Course for Workers with Neuropsychiatric Patients." *Group Psychotherapy*, Beacon House, 1945.

* Barker, Roger G., "Psychodrama in Teaching Scientific Method in the Social Sciences," *Sociatry*, volume 1, no. 2, 1947.

* Kay, Lillian Wald, "Psychodrama Examines the Doctor," *Sociatry*, volume 1, no. 1, 1947.

The present experiment was carried out in an advanced sociology class of 14 undergraduate nurses. The students have attained a body of knowledge regarding personal and group interaction problems, and it is now the function of this class to discuss how this knowledge can be applied to actual community health problems. Some emphasis is placed upon the nurse's need for impartiality and tact in dealing with social forces which infringe upon the physical and mental health of community members. Limiting all this to discussion makes the interacting of diverse social groups in a community seem, frequently, to be a fantastic adventure outside of the students' immediate classroom world, and their problems and solutions a mental and verbal exercise. A teaching technique is needed, therefore, which lifts *all* members of the class out of their roles of students and places them in "real life" roles related to the community. This means, then, that the dynamics of social interaction within the community itself must get into the classroom. This is plausible if we make the classroom a stage, representing a community, and all the students playing the roles of its *strategic* members. One nurse, "the testee," so to speak, plays her role as nurse to determine her own adequacy in handling these various forces. There is no audience in the sense of one experiencing and identifying with a few active role players; all individuals present are active participating collective role players.

WARMING UP THE STUDENTS.

The class begins, as usual, with the instructor presenting a leading question:

INSTRUCTOR: "What do you think a nurse might do to open a way toward improving community conditions for youth?"

STUDENT: "Contact the Parent Teacher's Association and give a talk to key people in the community. They're the most interested in children."

INSTRUCTOR: "All right, who do you think should be included in such a meeting?"

STUDENT: "Business man, school principal."

INSTRUCTOR: "Does any one else have any suggestions?"

STUDENTS: (different ones name the roles) "Teacher," "racial groups," "religious and nationality groups," "society woman," "girl scout leader," "housewife," "political leader."

INSTRUCTOR: "Well, Miss Jones, since you were the one who suggested the P. T. A. meeting, would you like to be the nurse who conducts this meeting? (She agrees.) Would you come up by the desk, please? You are going to lead the meeting this afternoon, and the students will be your committee members. (Turning to students) And now which of these various roles would each of you like to play?"

MISS CRANE: "I'll do the big business man. I think I know enough about that."

MISS BRETT (colored student): "I'll represent the colored group."

MISS COHEN: "I'll take the Jewish group."

MISS ZAVATSKY (from a small mining town): "I'd just like to play a housewife — a poor housewife and mother."

MISS HARROW (from a small village in Newfoundland): "I'll do the society woman."

This goes on until each student, with the exception of business man and society woman, chooses her own role according to her own racial, religious, and socio-economic background.

THE SESSION*

P. T. A. PRESIDENT (played by instructor): "We are very fortunate, indeed, to have Miss Jones, our city nurse, come to speak to us this afternoon. She is well acquainted with community health problems, has been successful in helping other communities work out their youth programs, and I know she will be happy to help us find a way of meeting the needs of youth in our community. Miss Jones."

The group claps loudly. All seem warmed up to their new roles and enter immediately into the spirit of an actual meeting.

MISS JONES: "Thank you. I'm very happy to be with you this afternoon. You see, our children aren't getting the recreation they should. The school does the best it can with its program while in school, but it does not provide for enough recreation outside. It's enough in school, perhaps, but outside we need more. The movies are a bad influence, so is the radio — blood and thunder, murder, etc. are contaminating our youth. I propose, therefore, that we open the schools. Teachers could take turns supervising."

There is a pause after this speech as if waiting for a reaction from the committee members. Each one hesitated to make the *first* response. It becomes necessary, therefore, for the instructor-director to serve as an auxiliary ego and "re-warm up" the group by taking a role herself.

TEACHER (played by instructor): "I don't know about the rest of the teachers, but I certainly know I wouldn't have any extra energy to give to outside recreation after teaching all day."

SCHOOL PRINCIPAL: "I don't see how we can open the schools. We can't afford to pay our janitors more to work extra hours. You need help for that."

* All the responses of each student are recorded, but due to limitations of space, only the characteristic portions of their speeches are used here.

It's extra work keeping up the school after the children have wrecked the place. And they leave papers and things around. And our teachers can't give the time."

(The group is again warmed up, and many hands go up; *particularly noticeable are those hands of students who never voluntarily respond in roles of students.*)

HOUSEWIFE: "Miss Jones, I am the mother of seven children, five girls and two boys. (Class laughs.) And I think it is up to us mothers to take care of this — after all it is our children who will go there. I don't think it's up to the teachers. We could take turns supervising."

COLORED CITIZEN: "The conditions in our section of the town are terrible — poolrooms, gambling, etc. — our children haven't any place to go. But usually when we have sent them to your affairs, they come back complaining that *little murmurs were going on* in the crowd the moment they appeared. I would like to know what can be done about that?"

JEWISH CITIZEN: "Me too."

MISS JONES: "One thing we must remember, this project is to be formed for every one, regardless of race or religion. Every one is welcome."

BUSINESS MAN (Mr. Crane): "I've always been regarded as a liberal, *but* I think I'm doing your school a favor to let my child go to your school, and I don't want my children to go around mixing with all kinds of people. I think this whole idea is communistic."

MISS JONES: "Well, Mr. Crane, I think we'd better have a definition of communism."

JEWISH CITIZEN (out of role somewhat): "Oh-oh, this can go on forever."

Miss Jones ignores the issue and turns to the "housewife."

HOUSEWIFE: "I always tell my children to mix with all groups. They always say that it takes the white keys to make music, but the black keys have to be used, too — and it's the black and white together that make the harmony. And it's people like Mr. Crane that block that harmony."

It is difficult to describe the dramatic intensity of this last speech and its effect upon the group as the colored girl, with an appreciative smile on her face, looks around at the student who just spoke.

MISS JONES: "I think if we can prevail upon Mr. Crane for his help, he'll come along with us."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "It's all right to sit and talk about all this, but I don't think it will ever work, when it's Mr. Crane who controls all the funds."

SOCIAL WORKER: "If you citizens don't want to do it, I could get other sources to help. There are plenty of other people who would be willing to do something for our children."

CITIZEN OF POLISH DESCENT: "We have no sufficient funds, no place for our children to go, but we do have a church basement. We could loan the church basement, if you could fix it up. Children could get together and sew."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "Miss Jones, you're new here, and you probably don't realize it's the business men and politicians who control things here. You won't get anywhere."

MISS JONES: "It is because I am new here that I can probably be of the most help. I am an outsider who does not belong to any one group."

HOUSEWIFE: "I agree with Miss Cohen, but we appreciate, Miss Jones, your effort to add vigor to our town. Mr. Crane represents only 25% of the people who won't cooperate and it's 75% of the people who need this thing. We won't cooperate with them either. We won't buy things from their stores."

SOCIAL WORKER: "What good would that do? Then he'll fire the workers in our town."

HOUSEWIFE: "How can he — he needs them."

SOCIETY WOMAN: "This thing doesn't have much relationship to me, but I should think the children could help to fix up a place and work it out themselves."

SCHOOL PRINCIPAL: "How many nights a week would this be? Well, after thinking it over — if we could have adequate equipment, and the children would be responsible and we could have responsible people to supervise, we might be able to swing it. Parents are not usually so good."

ITALIAN CATHOLIC: "We could have a bazaar in our church, and make money in that way."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "Yes, but that brings in the religious aspect, and if it's held in one church, other groups won't like it."

MISS JONES: "That shouldn't interfere. In a town I know, there's a children's center in one church, and it's open to the children from all other churches. Everybody comes and thinks nothing of it."

GIRL SCOUT LEADER: "We find in our groups that children always clean up after. I'm sure children will clean up if they are given the school."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "Mrs. Zavatsky (housewife), Mr. Feldman (school principal), I think you're being too idealistic, and it *won't* work. I think we have to be realistic about this."

BUSINESS MAN: "You people are just talking in your own circles. Why don't you discuss things on *our* terms?"

MISS JONES: "All we can hope to do is to try. All people have to do something different, besides their work. All of you know that, and that you need recreation, too. Everybody needs more stimulation to work better."

HOUSEWIFE: "But you have to get full support of Mr. Crane. If you don't, it won't do any good."

POLITICAL LEADER: "If the majority want enough recreation, they can divide their efforts among themselves without the richer members of our community."

MISS JONES: "If Mr. Crane would help, other groups would help, too. The two groups working together could raise funds and put it over."

The class had gone beyond its allotted time already, and it was necessary to end the session at this point.

STUDENT REACTIONS

Since the sociodrama was used primarily as a learning technique to give students a deeper insight into the social forces which a nurse may find herself related to in a community, questions are posed to determine what meaning the whole performance has for them. The following is a dialogue between the instructor and students. The responses are made in the roles of the students, but for the purpose of identifying their specific connections with the sociodrama, they are represented here by their sociodramatic roles.

INSTRUCTOR: "You all did a fine job. What did you think of yourselves?"

JEWISH CITIZEN: "I don't think that's the way it would really be. You wouldn't gather a group together that way without first soft-pedaling a man like Mr. Crane. You'd contact him first, win him over, get him to talk before the group itself. The whole thing was very idealistic — getting nowhere, just a big fight between the big business and little man, the kind of thing you might find in a movie — big business fights little man and vice versa."

MISS JONES: "I think it's right about contacting Mr. Crane first. It's easier to win him in a person to person contact — in a private interview you can have more influence than with all the rest of the group fighting him."

INSTRUCTOR: "That's a good suggestion, but would you agree that eventually all these conflicts have to come out into the open, and that these people of diverse opinions would have to get together to face these issues with each other, if they are ever to work together cooperatively?"

MR. CRANE: "Yes, if they have cooperation eventually. But I should think a man like Mr. Crane would go away more determined not to help than ever. Playing his part, I know I felt more antagonized."

MISS JONES: "That's why I think it's important to appease him first."

Various members of the class nod heads in agreement.

INSTRUCTOR: "That's probably a good suggestion — the problem is one of building up Mr. Crane's ego, flattering him, and preparing him for what he may face, indicating your faith in his ability to handle the situation in the best interests of the youth of the community."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "You could make him feel that it would have economic gains for him in the long run. More people would patronize him in his business."

INSTRUCTOR: "Miss Crane, did you play Mr. Crane the way you thought a typical business man would react to this kind of thing, or did you play him just the way you would if you were really a business man yourself? In other words, were you yourself sympathetic with Mr. Crane? What has been your experience along these lines?"

MR. CRANE: "No, I wasn't sympathetic. But that's the way some of them are. I've worked for them. I'd try to cooperate and help really. But, in this scene he was just put on the defensive which made things still worse."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "I don't think you should get everybody together this way. That doesn't really happen anyhow."

HOUSEWIFE: "Oh, it does so. This is just exactly the way it happens in our town. They tried to start just this very thing, and this is just about the way they fought it out. I wish you could come to our town and do something like this."

INSTRUCTOR: "Well, perhaps it is possible that those from large cities and small communities have different notions as to how these people would respond, or as to how these problems are handled."

Instructor continues: "How about the society woman? Did you act her the way you *thought* she would respond to the project, or did you act the way you would if *you* were a society woman? Have you had any experience with them?"

SOCIETY WOMAN: "I haven't had any experience with them. I think I should have been more sympathetic — Should have suggested ways I could have raised money, etc."

INSTRUCTOR: "In other words, that's the way *you* would have acted?"

SOCIETY WOMAN: "Yes. Actually, though, I would expect her to be indifferent, and that's why I acted her that way."

INSTRUCTOR: "This is an interesting point, isn't it? Do you remember last semester when we talked about the stratification of groups, how cleavages develop, and one group develops a stereotyped notion of the other without actually knowing all the facts? Do you see how you all spontaneously fit them into a specific pattern? As we know, all business men are not so unrelenting toward financing community projects, all society women not indifferent to social problems, and all poor housewives not so antagonistic toward upper socio-economic groups."

Instructor continues: "So far we have agreed that it would be better not to ask Mr. Crane to come to a meeting without first winning him and perparing him; then, we realize that we cannot just have a meeting to put people on the defensive, but must reach a point of cooperation. This falls back again upon the nurse's role, doesn't it? What about Miss Jones? Did she handle the situation with tact and impartiality, and how successful do you think she was in reaching any cooperation?"

MISS JONES: "Well, I'd like to speak for myself first. I don't know whether the rest of the group noticed it or not, but I felt terribly antagonistic throughout, particularly toward Mr. Crane. I just couldn't control myself. I was also terribly annoyed with Miss Cohen, who was always tearing down any suggestion that was made, or anything I tried to build up. It was always, 'It won't work, it won' work'. It would have been better if I had seen Mr. Crane individually first."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "They probably all should have been seen first individually."

SCHOOL PRINCIPAL: "I thought Miss Jones was impartial the way she handled everybody, though."

HOUSEWIFE: "She could have been more flattering to Mr. Crane right there in the group — could have had him speak before the group."

MR. CRANE: "He could be the organizer of the whole thing."

INSTRUCTOR: "Miss Jones admitted her own feeling of partiality for the oppressed groups, and probably that is why she was unable to think of more tactful phrases to use in making each one feel his own importance to the project. For instance, she said: 'If Mr. Crane would help, etc.', indicating her inability to resist being swayed in favor of those opposed to Mr. Crane.

It was evident, however, that she was trying her best to be objective in a very difficult situation; this was her first test in facing a group where diverse

opinions were emerging unexpectedly and to which she had continuously to make an adjustment. This is the reason why we had this surprise dramatization today. You are given an opportunity to practice facing these community problems on the spur of the moment. Even if you had prepared a speech, you may have found it completely useless when finally faced with a free discussion of this kind.

The remainder of the class can now profit by Miss Jones' weak as well as strong points, and we can try another community situation with another surprise issue which some one else in the class may try to handle. Eventually, we must come back to Miss Jones for re-training, however, in order that she may have a chance to practice disciplining her own feelings in favor of a more objective goal — bringing the group together by making each member feel his own worth and need for cooperation in the project. Some of you suggested preparing Mr. Crane for the situation; another suggested flattering him before the group itself; another suggested having him speak before the group and be the primary organizer. However, we will work on this some more, until through exploring various ways of handling these situations you finally feel the most adequate in your role as community nurse."

JEWISH CITIZEN: "But people wouldn't speak out so openly in a real meeting — for instance, against Mr. Crane that way."

HOUSEWIFE: "Oh, they would. They do in our town."

Instructor: "This may or may not be an extreme case; however, it is certainly not an *impossible* case, and we know that these problems are inherent in a community. Whether or not they come out in the open in just this way, they are there for you to face, and this demonstration tested your own objectivity in handling them."

SUMMARY

1. The session was a sociodrama in which collective roles and problems were primarily involved, but the individual or private elements of the roles came into the picture by being either compatible or in conflict with the collective aspects of the roles. For instance, the girl who portrayed the business man portrayed him exactly the opposite of how she felt as a "private" person, although after she experienced his role, she began to defend him because he was antagonized and "put on the defensive." The colored girl, the Jewish girl, the one playing the poor housewife, the Catholic girl, and the Polish girl who were undoubtedly in sympathy with their roles, demonstrated the *compatibility* of the private and collective role aspects. The colored girl had a chance to air her feelings with regard to being an only colored girl among "white" students. Certainly, during the dramatic speech of the "poor house-

wife," interpersonal perhaps more than intercollective feelings were evidently flowing among the students.

2. The session has demonstrated (1) how nurses can be trained for their roles in communities, (2) its function as a point of reference for "driving home" sociological concepts in the present class as well as subsequent classes, (3) how new insights can be gained on the part of the students concerning their own attitudes toward cultural groups which they have not yet experienced in all dimensions (that is, "getting into the shoes of the other fellow"); its possibility of re-training those attitudes by continuing this same situation in which members of the class take the roles *not* related to their own social, religious and socio-economic backgrounds; for instance, Mr. Crane portraying the Jewish citizen, and the Jewish citizen portraying Mr. Crane, etc.

A MODIFIED PSYCHODRAMA TECHNIQUE FOR REHABILITATION OF MILITARY PSYCHONEUROTICS

JOEL SHOR

Yale University

The following is an account of the psychodrama technique utilized at a military hospital and neuro-psychiatric section during 1945-46.*

Thursday was set aside as Psychodrama Day. In the mornings, the psychodrama integrator interviewed each of the prospective patients (usually four) who were to be given the opportunity that day for psychodramatic catharsis and insight. The integrator explained to the patient the general nature of the dramatic activity as a part of the treatment program recommended by the ward doctor. During the interview, the patient was asked to discuss his post-discharge plans in some detail. He readily expressed some of his concerns and anxieties, especially those he felt were related to his hospitalization as an NP patient. The integrator pressed him for full descriptions of those situations he expected and feared would disturb him, whether at home, on the job or among his friends. He was reassured of the professional background and therapeutic intent of the several "actors" who alone would be present at the dramatic sessions; a definite appointment was made for that afternoon.

The integrator met with the actors (usually two male psychologists and two female social workers on the NP staff) to discuss the day's program. He described each patient's social history and his basic personality patterns, in the light of the conferences held with the appropriate ward doctors earlier that week. The actors were informed of the concrete concerns and disturbing life situations in each case; appropriate roles were tentatively assigned.

Each psychodramatic session was of approximately 45 minutes duration. The patient came to the NP Recreation hall, where a stage was available; he was usually somewhat apprehensive at first. Following simple introductions, the integrator announced the first situation to be enacted and prepared the patient for some initial discomfort. The patient was encouraged to stop any scene "not working out just right" and to tell the integrator what he felt was "wrong" or difficult to respond to. Revisions in the details of any character were carried out as the patient suggested. When he blocked or failed to "warm up," he was encouraged to verbalize his feelings; these were usually partial

* Kennedy General Hospital, Memphis, Tenn.; Neuro-psychiatric Section, under Lt.-Col. Samuel Paster, Chief of Section.

insights into his anxiety. Immediate discussion on stage would bring some clarification of his conflict. Scenes were then repeated until the patient succeeded in carrying through to the results he verbalized as his immediate goals; these goals were expressed often only after indirect suggestion by the integrator as to the "strongest" or "most reasonable" solutions. New situations were selected for dramatization in the light of developments on stage and also of the discussion of post-discharge problems earlier that day.

Each 45-minute session was concluded with an open conference between patient and integrator. The scenes were reviewed and the dynamics of conflict and blocking were pointed out. The partial insights were integrated especially through a free comparison of the patient's success in handling the various situations enacted and also through a description of his progress in the repetitions of the specially difficult conflict situations. The patient described his feelings throughout the session and perhaps raised questions. Many (about half) of the patients were assured of a second or third follow-up session.

Subsequently, the events and developments of the session were reported to the ward doctor by the integrator. Diagnostic, prognostic and therapeutic implications were discussed at this point. New cases also were recommended for psychodramatic experience.

Results

A wide variety of NP types were seen in these dramatic situations; psychotics, organic brain damage cases and a variety of psychoneurotics and reaction types. These varieties assisted our exploration of the psychodrama technique in such short-time contacts. We developed our criteria for successful participation in the dramatic activity. We observed the full process of "warming up," blocking, verbalizing the conflict, then renewing the effort; the anxiety neurotic patient showed most complete emotional involvement and projection of his disturbed attitudes. He usually concluded a session with an increase of self-insight and a feeling of being more prepared to meet the dramatized conflict situation in real life; as one such patient said, during the repetition of a family scene in his second session, "I feel I can stand up better to my father this time; I know how it feels. I've been thinking about it since last time. He's from a different world. I can't blame him; but just stay out of his way."

Other types of patients showed much less success. The organic brain injury case could not abstract his sense of his own personality to project it away from his concrete concerns; he simply reiterated his preoccupations and sense of impotency. The schizophrenic could not warm up and usually refused to accept

any externally suggested fantasy situation. Interestingly enough, the moderate situational anxiety type also allowed himself less emotional involvement in the dramatic activity; he, at first, resisted the challenge to spontaneity, insisting he "would have planned what I wanted to say." These less deeply neurotic patients generally warmed up slowly but finally became somewhat involved. They manifested a greater spontaneity and flexibility, free of a repetitiously neurotic structuring of each situation. They interacted with the particular suggestions and idiosyncrasies of the actors. However, they were just as ready to verbalize their problems and insights directly as to enact them.

The gaining of insight and the experiencing of some cathartic release under "safe" conditions are major goals in the psychodramatic activity. In addition, the patients may derive some generalized ego strength by preparing themselves concretely for certain crucial challenges; explaining their NP breakdown to friends and family, applying for a job or managing a change in vocational adjustment. Perhaps a successful solution in these specific areas may join with an effective handling of a certain few more basic problems of personal relationship, and together these may carry him through a few unforeseen or unprepared for situations. No follow-up data is available at this point except for encouraging reports of successful furloughs. The ward officer frequently reported that the patient spoke with more confidence, in his final interview, of his readiness to *face the civilian world*. In any event, the patients most successful in the full psychodramatic process were the most eager and enthusiastic to continue the psychodrama sessions.

SAMPLE OF PSYCHODRAMATIC MATERIAL

Paul T. a 24 year old corporal, was a radio signalman in the Army Air Force for two years. He has an excellent combat record, and experienced much strafing and bombing, while in the air as well as on the ground. Following a heavy bombing, he manifested confused states and anxiety attacks of such severity that he was given a tentative diagnosis of "psychosis". He was hospitalized and returned to U. S. where he was treated to 27 insulin shock treatments. He slowly improved, became more relaxed, but continued to be depressed and to express generalized fears of the future. When taken from the closed ward and placed on the open ward, he became more actively anxious. The ward psychiatrist began psychotherapeutic interviews and found Paul in *good contact but deeply concerned over many concrete reality situations*. The psychologist administered projective personality tests (Rorschach, Sentence Completions and Drawings of Human Figures). The diagnosis was soon changed to Psychoneurosis, Anxiety type with overlaid depressive features and other

combat fatigue symptoms. At this point psychodramatic activity was begun with him along with individual psychotherapy to help prepare him for his discharge to civilian life.

Paul discussed his general lack of confidence and his many worries; returning to his former "nerve-wracking" job in a noisy steel mill, mixing with other people socially, and having his family watch him and notice that he is anxious and has changed. He described his father as "high strung, busy, not close; . . . it upsets me to talk to him". His mother is "nice, encourages me to go out, tries to help me forget. . . She's understanding". Paul was seen three times; each time the vocational and social situations were worked through first; he was led up to the home situation. The following are extracts from the protocols of the three sessions dealing with his home situation. Progress from the other areas gradually became evidenced in his handling of his parents.

Session One (Scene: Returning home after discharge from military service)

Mother: Paul! It's so good to see you back. How are you? Now, you've come to stay? For good? How do you feel?

Paul: (flustered, embarrassed, turns to Psychodrama Moderator and says,) "No, no. On my furlough, my mother just told me to relax. She wouldn't ask me things. I just sat down. I had tears in my eyes. She showed me around the house and fixed something to eat. Then she got everybody up."

Moderator: All right, let's begin again.

Mother: Paul! Come in. You're looking fine. Put your things down and rest here. Let me fix you something to eat.

Paul: No, mom. I'm not hungry. I'll just sit awhile.

Mother: It's good to have you home again. Everyone will be glad to see you. Let's have a gathering tomorrow night. We'll invite your friends.

Paul: No, mom. I don't think I'd care for a party. I just want to take it easy, sit around, listen to the radio.

Mother: All right Paul, then we won't have a party. But why not spend tomorrow visiting around. It'll do you good after spending all those months in the hospital. Did you have a good rest?

Paul: I'm all right, mom. I just don't want to go out. I don't know. I'll just take it easy here at home.

Father: (coming in) Hello Paul. Glad to have you home.

Paul: Hello, father.

Father: What's the matter? You don't look so well.

Paul: (to Moderator: "That would get me. He's always criticizing me, says I'm no good. My mother always tries to stick up for me. But I just get more upset".)

(Scene repeated to this point.)

Father: Well Paul, are you going up to the mill with me tomorrow to see about getting your job back?

Paul: Well, I want to stay around the house awhile. It's good to be home. I'll get back to *normal soon*.

Father: What do you mean 'get back to normal'? Aren't you normal now?

Paul: Yes but everything's so new—

Father: But you don't want to put off getting your job back.

Paul: I'll like to wait and see how things turn out.

Father: What did you do overseas, Paul?

Paul: Oh I just worked with radio messages.

Father: I thought you were flying around. You could do that radio work on the ground. I can't see why you went out of your way to fly when it was dangerous.

Mother: Now, father, let him alone. He's all tired out. He just came home. He had a hard time. He'll be all right.

Paul: (to Moderator. "My mother always bore the burden for me while I kept quiet. My father would keep quizzing me, sort of making fun of me. I'd feel like telling him off, but I'd keep quiet.")

(Scene repeated to this point.)

Father: You don't look well, Paul.

Paul: After all, I've been away three years. You don't expect me to look the same.

(To Moderator: "I can't get in the mood. I get upset.")

Session Three (two weeks later).

Scene: Again returning home after discharge.

Mother: Paul, it's good to see you. (Moves to embrace him).

Paul: It's good to be home. (Embraces mother). I'm home for good. I'm going to stay around and take life easy awhile.

Mother: All right son, what can I fix for you to eat?

Paul: Oh nothing, mom. I just want to sit and talk.

Mother: Paul, why were you in the hospital?

Paul: I was just resting up mom, because of my nerves. But I'm not nervous any more.

Mother: Are you really feeling well now? Maybe you ought to rest up a few more weeks, at home.

Paul: I don't know, mom. I'll see. I've got some plans.

Mother: What kind of plans son?

Paul: Pa will probably want me to go right back to work in the mill. Well, maybe I will go back, for a while, after I have a couple of weeks to look around. But I'm not going to end up staying in the mill, the way Pa has all his life.

Father: (coming in) Hello Paul, you're back home. Good to have you home again.

Paul: Thanks pa. I was glad to get out of the hospital.

Father: Oh yeh, you never did tell us why they put you in the hospital anyway. What was it about?

Mother: Now pa, let him rest up; all the boys go to the hospital for a rest. He'll talk about it another time.

Paul: It's all right mom, I feel o.k.

Father: Well son, you just don't look as good as I expected you to—after so much rest in the hospital. I just wondered . . .

Paul: I feel o.k. I'll rest up a few days at home and then I'll be all set for work.

Father: But you've been resting. Why not come up to the mill tomorrow and get right into it?

Paul: I've been thinking about all that, Pa. I think I ought to combine work with schooling—radio training, what I did in the service.

Father: Why do you have to go to school? Didn't you learn it in the Army?

Paul: Well, not enough. I've got to take a regular school course, about 9 months—maybe two years if I'm good at it. (To Moderator—He'd never understand—my father's from a different world. I guess I just gotta try to explain it.)

Father: But son, what about the risk involved? If you fail, you may not get your job back later.

Paul: Well Pa. I figured out the chances on my future; the labor competition for jobs like the mill is high anyway. I'd like to take advantage of the G. I. Bill to go to school and get training on the job.—I decided definitely not to stay in the old job all my life, like you have. I may go back for a few weeks to make a few dollars and get on my feet. (To Moderator: "I'm familiar with the routine by now. I can handle the problem now. I feel more confidence now . . . I guess I have to stay out of his way, and just let him be his old way.")

THE PSYCHODRAMATIC METHOD IN COLLEGIATE INSTRUCTION A CASE STUDY

CLAUDE C. BOWMAN

Temple University

This is a report on the use of role-playing as a pedagogical device. Twenty-eight undergraduate students, fourteen men and fourteen women, and their instructor, the present writer, were the subjects of this experimental venture in formal education. This was a class in social psychology at Temple University.

Since the entire energies of both students and teacher were to be given over to an exploration of the psychodramatic method, it was considered advisable to forego the use of textbooks and extensive bibliography—usually standard equipment in collegiate instruction. During the very first session it was explained that the approach would be quite novel, consisting in the dramatization of familiar, everyday roles rather than verbal discussion of textbook assignments. The instructor confessed that this was the first time that he had attempted to use this method. He also said that he had no idea how the whole venture would turn out but wished to enlist the cooperation of the entire class in a pioneer effort.

The response of the students was enthusiastic. Here was the promise of a refreshing deviation from textbook learning and an opportunity for activity rather than the enforced passivity of the usual classroom. Here was something new and different, and they were to be given the privilege of charter membership. To some it may have held out the pleasant prospect of a "snap" course. At any rate, the instructor did not find it difficult to establish a good *rapport* with the students from the start. This auspicious beginning was augmented by the physical facilities made available for the purpose. Arrangements were made for us to use a room with a small but altogether adequate stage, built for instructional work in dramatics.

Several sessions of the class were devoted to an exposition of the method to be employed. Reference was made to the pioneering of Dr. J. L. Moreno in developing the potentialities of the psychodrama in both psychotherapy and education. Several instances of the use of role-playing as an educational method were presented.¹

¹ Cf. Chas. E. Hendry, Ronald Lippitt, and Alvin Zander, "Reality Practice as Educational Method," Psychodrama Monograph No. 9, Beacon House, N. Y., 1944.
John R. P. French, Jr., "Role-playing as a Method of Training Foremen," in GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY, edited by J. L. Moreno, Beacon House, N. Y., 1945, pp. 172-187.

However, these necessary preliminaries were not laid on with a heavy hand for fear of spoiling the *rapport* and dampening enthusiasm. It was felt that the psychodramatic method could be successful only if students and instructor could break through the thick crust of somber abstraction that commonly encases the classroom.

As to subject matter for psychodramatic presentation, it was decided to choose common roles that would be most familiar to everyone. Parent-child relationships constituted the first unit of the course. Each student was required to suggest five episodes dealing with these relationships that would be practicable for dramatic presentation. The cast of characters was kept quite simple—no more than two or three persons—and incidents revolving around the behavior of other persons not appearing on the stage were avoided. The earliest dramatizations dealt with such problems as the use of the family car, the hour the adolescent child gets home at night after a date, and smoking. Throughout the course most of the dramatic plots were gleaned from the suggestions of students.

In each dramatization several teams of parents and children were selected from volunteers. In order to give the audience varied portrayals of the same roles, the second team of actors was not allowed to witness the first presentation and the third team was out of the room during both the first and second dramatizations. Each team was asked to map out their general approach in the barest outline so that plenty of spontaneity would remain for the actual dramatization. As might be expected, some persons were more inventive and more dramatic than others, consequently the stimulation furnished to the audience varied too. Where the role-player struggled self-consciously, the reaction was often one of detached amusement. On the other hand, where spontaneity and genuine emotions were evident, the classroom audience watched intently, *entering imaginatively* into the situation unfolding before their eyes.

After several family situations had been dramatized and the group had gained some familiarity with the procedure, it seemed desirable to proceed more systematically. At first the general discussions held after dramatic portrayals brought forth a wide variety of reactions and criticisms. Some felt that the particular parent was too strict or too lenient. Others criticized or approved the child's behavior. (There was little criticism of dramatic ability since it had been explained that polished performances were not essential to the success of the method.) For the most part, these unguided reactions of the audience consisted of appraisals of the parent's or child's ability to handle successfully the problem presented to him in the psychodramatic situation. In

other words, the natural or undirected tendency in criticism was toward an intensely pragmatic approach.

Thus it became evident that special steps would have to be taken if any deeper insight was to be gained into the imperatives of a role. Accordingly the audience was asked to observe the dramatizations with the following questions in mind: (1) what seem to be the real motives of the characters portrayed? (2) what rationalizations, simulations, dissimulations appear in each role? (3) how commonly does this role behavior occur in society and in what groups is it likely to be typical?² Such questions were designed to direct the students' attention toward a more scientific understanding of role behavior.

It must be remembered that adolescents seldom view parent-child relations without emotional bias, for most of them are entangled in conflicts with their own parents. This struggle, in its overt and covert aspects, is a struggle for independence from parental authority. Actually it is more than this. It is, in reality, a battle between two tendencies within the adolescent: the desire for emotional emancipation ("independence") versus the desire for emotional security. The parent is also the embodiment of the child's conscience and, as such, alternately excites fear and submission on the part of the child or hostility and resistance. Moreover, adolescents who are college students in an urban institution, as in the present case, present special problems. Most of the students in this particular course were living at home with their parents. As a consequence they have more daily contacts with their parents and more opportunities for conflict than in the case of adolescents going to school or working away from home. Many additional conflicts take place in this group of urban college students because the child is in a process of rebellion against the national, religious or class culture of his parents. It should be obvious, then, that the adolescent boy or girl studying social psychology cannot easily strip away the emotional patterns that have been evolving out of extensive parent-child interaction through the years.

In the dramatizations it soon became apparent that some of the actors were obtaining release from the inhibitions of real life. For example, it was common for the adolescent child in the drama to be defiant and argumentative toward the "parent". The motivation of such stage behavior probably had mixed origins. On the psychological side, the actor portraying the child's role

² In sociology we are more concerned with social types than with individual differences. Consequently an effort was made to interpret role behavior as typical of a certain class of people in society rather than to stress the particularity of the specific incident. Moreno emphasizes the same point in *distinguishing between the psychodrama and the sociodrama*. Cf. J. L. Moreno, "Sociodrama, a Method for the Analysis of Social Conflicts," *Psychodrama Monographs*, No. 1, Beacon House, N. Y., 1944, especially pages 2-5.

is likely to have realized that he could defy the stage parent (who was, after all, merely a fellow student) with impunity. One young woman, dramatizing the role of the girl who was being scolded for coming home so late the night before, stated that she got a terrific kick out of talking back defiantly to her "father", since she was never able to act in this manner at home. This stage defiance may have been motivated also by the desire to win the approval of one's fellow students sitting in the audience. To act obedient and submissive would make one appear a traitor to one's contemporaries.

This was one evidence of the bias of one's actual role behavior affecting the role-playing on the stage. Another evidence of bias was the dim view taken by many students of the behavior of parents. The teacher-director capitalized on these unsympathetic attitudes toward parents by requesting such persons to go up on the stage immediately and take the parental role. In one memorable instance a young woman had insisted that there should be no regulation whatsoever concerning the hour an adolescent gets in at night. She was then requested to play the role of mother in dealing with a daughter. The daughter pressed her on this matter until "mother" finally stated that 4 A. M. was too late—"because of what the neighbors might say." This student readily admitted in the ensuing discussion that her original judgment had been somewhat irresponsible and that she now understood much better the imperatives placed upon parents.

Indeed, as this unit of the course progressed, it became clear that it was no easy task to help adolescents develop genuine insight into parental roles. In the first place, as indicated above, students are participants in parent-child conflicts and thus tend to have the biases appropriate to their role and status. Over and beyond this, the student who takes collegiate courses in psychology, sociology or education is very likely to expect sympathy from his teachers whenever parent-child relations are discussed. Such a sympathetic interpretation, more or less conventional in these instructional fields, grows out of an attitude of respect for the child that has characterized liberal thought in America for a number of decades.³ As a matter of fact, some students seemed quite baffled when the instructor took pains to explain the imperatives, responsibilities and motivations of the parental role in our culture. They had expected a teacher of sociology to be "on their side." On more than one occasion the instructor found himself defending parents against a group of hostile adolescents.⁴ There is some scattered evidence that a number gained new

³ Cf. Claude C. Bowman, "Hidden Valuations in the Interpretation of Sexual and Family Relationships," *AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Vol. XI, October, 1946, pp. 536-544.

⁴ Such easy generalizations must be qualified. Actually, several students would stop after class and, out of hearing of their fellow students, show sympathy for parents and their problems.

insight through participation in, or witnessing and analyzing the dramatizations. One student related that, during an argument with his father, he suddenly began to laugh, remembering the dramatizations in his course in social psychology. He told his father about it and they laughed together. This young man stated that "for the first time I am able to understand how my behavior must look to my father". Interestingly enough, he was a psychology major and had taken eight or nine courses in that field and additional courses in sociology.

II.

The second unit of the course concerned racial and religious prejudice. Aside from the increasing awareness of this problem on the part of the American public in general (witness the tremendous scientific and literary output during the last ten years), this topic was well received because most of the students were members of racial or religious minorities. In spite of this enthusiasm for the topic, it was felt advisable to proceed cautiously. Members of groups that have experienced the sting of prejudice tend to be sensitive. This sensitivity can be kept under control in an abstract discussion fairly easily but dramatizations of concrete situations are likely to bite more deeply into one's emotions. Accordingly, the first episodes chosen for dramatic enactment were somewhat remote from the personal experience of any student. In the first instance, prejudice against the Chinese was chosen because there were no Orientals of any kind in the class. A young woman asked her room-mate to go on a double date with her. The room-mate consented until she learned that her escort was to be a Chinese, then she refused. A long argument ensued. In the second instance, two fraternity men debated the advisability of inviting a Greek boy to their rush party.

After this "warming-up" process, discrimination against Negroes and Jews was studied *via* the psychodramatic method. These episodes were especially interesting, for both of these minority groups were heavily represented in this class. A number of life situations, suggested by the students, were presented with interesting variations. A Jewish student played the role of an anti-semitic Gentile, dramatizing his part vigorously and eloquently. Several Gentiles were cast in the role of Jews and Negroes played the part of white persons. Members of the class demurred against playing the role of prejudiced persons but they were drafted with the assurance that no one would assume that their role behavior on the stage represented their real attitudes.

Since the procedure was now more familiar to both students and instructor, more attention was given to analysis and interpretation. In one fifty-minute period a single episode might be dramatized three times. (The actual

presentation might take only five minutes each time but the remainder of the period was needed for a description of the situation to be acted out, suggestions from the class for development and *denouement*, selection of actors, etc.) Yet a five-minute episode could provide material for three or four subsequent sessions, the dramatization being the point of departure for an extended analysis of the problem raised. Unless a great deal of attention is devoted to the work of scientific interpretation, dramatic role-playing can have only a superficial value for education.

III.

In a final unit the approach was supplemented with reading assignments. The topic chosen was teacher-pupil relationships and, before any dramatics were used, five sessions were devoted to a discussion of certain chapters in Willard Waller's "Sociology of Teaching." These assignments included such topics as: teaching as institutionalized leadership, traits determining the prestige and disrepute of the teacher, and social distance in the school. Psychodramatic presentations then followed. In one instance a student came to the teacher's office to inquire about his chances of passing the course; in another, a student asked the teacher about a certain radical student organization on campus. More extended attention was given to the following situation. The class of twenty-eight was divided into two parts, one half serving as audience and the other half as a high-school class in civics. Two of the older students were asked to take the role of teacher and conduct a lesson on the importance of international cooperation as the road to world peace. The one "teacher" was mild and sympathetic, the other harsh and domineering. In each case the "pupils" were asked to describe their attitudes and interpret their behavior. Likewise the "teachers" were questioned about their roles and the problems involved. Here too, as in the parent-child dramatizations, one noticed a great deal of defiance of authority. The "pupils" took delight in misbehaving, talking back to the "teacher," giving flippant answers to serious questions. Indeed, it was necessary to assign the role of obedience and docility to some in order to avoid a completely obstreperous group! Since at least one-third of the class were preparing to teach after graduation and a number had already done practice teaching, discussions in these units were usually quite animated. The course ended with an analysis of the frustrations and the satisfactions of the teacher role.

It is time to list the shortcomings that appeared in this particular experiment.

(1) The class was very heterogeneous. Today, with so many veterans in college, the age range in an undergraduate class may easily be as much as

twenty years. In this class the youngest were nineteen and the oldest thirty-five. This heterogeneity seemed to be an obstruction in dramatic role-playing. Married men of thirty looked on with detached amusement, and even impatience, while parent-child relationships were enacted. On the other hand, the older students played the roles of parents and teachers more convincingly.

(2) The roles of parents and teachers often did not get sufficiently vigorous and realistic portrayal. The youth and inexperience of the students accounted for this, of course. This shortcoming was the more noticeable by contrast with the vigorous presentation of roles of children and pupils which, as noted above, often furnished catharsis for the actors.

(3) In the earlier part of the course so much attention was given to the mechanics of organizing and presenting the dramatic material that analysis and interpretation suffered. This deficiency was rectified somewhat in the later units. Nevertheless, the fifty-minute period does not seem to be the optimum length of time for a class session of this type. Both students and instructor experienced a sense of frustration in being required, by the exigencies of formal education, to break off interpretative discussion abruptly just when full interest had been aroused. When the class met again, it was two or three days later and interest had subsided.

(4) There were definite limitations to the dramatic method in regard to subject matter. With both teacher and students inexperienced in the use of this method, it seemed advisable to keep the dramatizations simple, with episodes involving only two or three persons. This simplicity limited the field of study in an obvious manner. More important, however, was the lack of an historical dimension in the dramatizations. The relationship between a parent and a child of eighteen, for example, has a history of at least eighteen years, yet this whole background has to be added to the dramatic portrayal by the imagination. At best the single dramatic episode furnishes only a few clues to the past; consequently a good deal of time was inevitably devoted to speculation concerning the history of the family relationship under scrutiny.

Furthermore, the ordinary person, in attempting to enact a role, even one that is familiar to him, is likely to become a "ham" actor rather than a finished artist. The emotions expressed will tend to be crude and there may be a stiff, self-conscious manner that expresses little. This state of affairs throws an unusually heavy burden upon the audience, for the latter must supply the nuances of thought and feeling lacking on the stage. Of course, even the best actors can only suggest the subtle reactions of human personality, leaving a great deal of creative interpretation for the observer. In this respect the

writer is less limited than the actor, for he can describe socio-psychological phenomena with all the resources of a language infinitely complex in its potentiality.⁵

V.

The important advantage of the psychodramatic method in teaching is that it supplies concrete human material as a basis for abstract analysis. One of the chief deficiencies of instruction in the social sciences is the pre-occupation with abstract terms that are ill-defined or even devoid of content. Logomachy can be avoided where the classroom group has a concrete situation to use as a reference point in theoretical analysis. Moreover, all the members of the class, no matter how varied their backgrounds, have witnessed the same behavior on the stage, so that the difficulties of inter-communication in the learning process are minimized. Under these conditions it is not so likely that one person will have a situation in mind that is altogether different from that conjured up in the mind of another.

The importance of concreteness is even greater in the case of those playing the various roles. A student might conceivably read about and talk about certain roles for many years without acquiring the understanding that could emerge from a brief experience in role-playing. At best verbal discussion and reading can stimulate the imaginative playing of another's role. Such imaginative role-playing is thin and shadowy compared to the actual role-playing made possible in the psychodrama.

There can be little doubt about the interest evoked by the psychodramatic method. Thus, it supplies a motivation basic to effective learning. In this particular class it was obvious that almost everyone paid close attention to the dramatizations and in the discussions that follow there was plenty of comment, both from the actors and the audience.

VI.

On the basis of this preliminary exploration of the use of the drama in collegiate instruction, a few suggestions are offered regarding the optimum conditions for its success.

(1) Ideally, the teacher-director should be a person of vitality and social facility. Students will not be stimulated to uninhibited psychodramatic efforts where the classroom atmosphere is dull and forbidding. From the very first,

⁵ At one point an effort was made to have the actors think out loud on the stage in connection with their role behavior, although the technique was not developed to any great extent. This complicates the procedure but it can be accomplished with the use of what Moreno calls the "auxiliary ego." For students of social psychology this particular dramatic procedure seems to have significant educational value.

the classroom situation should be defined as relatively free and spontaneous. Moreover, the teacher-director must be imaginative and flexible, seizing upon suggestions, seeing the educational potentialities in the dramatizations, utilizing the best talent of the group for the purpose in hand.

(2) The class should not be too large, consisting, perhaps, of no more than twelve members. Since much of the educational value comes from actual role-playing, there should be ample opportunity for every member of the group to play the various roles.

(3) A class period of approximately two hours, certainly no less than ninety minutes, seems to be the optimum length of time for this purpose. This gives time for both dramatizations and analyses.

(4) A homogeneous class is, in many respects, highly desirable. Students should be at approximately the same stage of their intellectual development, otherwise some are bored and others are baffled. Needless to say, this principle applies to all group education. In this type of class, however, homogeneity of age and life-situation is especially important if, as is inevitable, problems of direct personal significance to members of the class are dramatized. On the other hand, heterogeneity along racial and religious lines can heighten interest in the presentation of many issues. The presence on the stage and in the audience of members of the ethnic groups under consideration points up to these issues more sharply than would otherwise be the case.

(5) Careful planning should precede dramatic presentations. This includes outlining the episode to be used, selection of actors, and making suggestions for role enactment so that desirable contrasts and comparisons are given. In the class described herein, the actors prepared their material only in barest outline, leaving much to spontaneous improvisation. This procedure has the advantage of spontaneity: genuine attitudes and feelings are likely to be revealed rather than carefully constructed poses and rationalizations deemed suitable for the purified atmosphere of the classroom. Such spontaneity also provides an emotional catharsis of vast importance in psychotherapy. Yet, for educational purposes, there are real advantages in careful preparation of roles beforehand. Student-actors are less likely to get out of character and to fumble about for words and ideas. Performances prepared and even rehearsed ahead of time proceed more smoothly, enabling the audience to absorb the experience more completely without the jarring interruptions induced by amateurish improvisation. A course might very well include both the more spontaneous and the more carefully prepared types of presentations, at least until the instructor has

an opportunity to appraise the value of the respective methods for the group involved.

(6) Unless the group is one that already has a good theoretical orientation to the roles under consideration, provision should be made for such abstract study. Reading assignments in appropriate books can be utilized systematically to supplement the dramatic presentations. This gives a further emphasis to interpretation of the dramatic material. In the present instance the interpretative emphasis was sociological but the same episodes could be given psychological, anthropological, or ethical interpretation, depending upon the nature of the instructional course.

Indeed, it may turn out that the most fruitful use of psychodramatic role-playing in the educational process will be as a supplementary device in various fields of knowledge — history and the social sciences, psychology and literature. To be sure, the psychodramatic method cannot be introduced abruptly into an undergraduate setting where formalized procedures hold sway. But these highly formalized methods need to be examined anyway.

SOCIODRAMA AS AN AID TO LARGE GROUP COMMUNICATION

PAUL H. SHEATS

Associate Director, University of California Extension

Customarily, the methodological approach to the problem of communication in meetings, conferences, and conventions where face-to-face group discussion is impossible is to resort to informing techniques such as the lecture, the debate, or the symposium. Even the panel method has been modified in practice so that only rarely now does it represent a cross-section of the audience informally discussing problems which are the audience's problems and not those of imported "experts." Recognizing the resistances to effective learning which over-reliance on "telling" induces in adult audiences, particularly in those problem areas where behavioral change is required if progress toward a solution is to be made, some conference and program chairmen have begun to experiment with large group communication techniques which will, in part at least, restate the audience member in his proper role.

Film forums represent one effort to meet this need particularly in those situations where problem-type films (still few in number unfortunately) are used. This is a report of the use of sociodrama in one meeting of a two-day regional conference on Health and Human Relations, conducted under the auspices of the San Diego Social Hygiene Association. The steps in the planning of the session and the progress of the meeting itself are described in the hope that those who may be reluctant to use sociodrama in large group situations may find help and encouragement in this record.

The four main sessions of the conference explored the responsibilities of the home, the school, the church and the community, with respect to family life education, character education and venereal disease control. All sessions of the conference, other than the one reported here, used the symposium panel method of presenting material to the approximately 300 delegates in attendance at the meetings.

Planning for the session began eight days ahead of the scheduled program, when the chairman* for the meeting called together a group of about fifteen persons among whom were members of the public school staff, the President of the P.T.A., the Educational Director of the Family Service Association, an instructor from the State College and a practicing physician. This group

* Mrs. Lenore Panunzio of the San Diego Adult Education Department staff to whom the writer is indebted for some of the data in this article.

operated as a planning committee and explored various methods which might be employed in approaching the topic assigned for the opening morning session which was "Parents in Perplexity." After considerable discussion the group decided that role playing could be used effectively in spite of the fact that relatively few members of the large audience expected could be actively involved in the role playing sequences. It was further agreed that the most realistic approach to the topic would be through a bona fide discussion group dealing with family life problems demonstrating its use of role playing in the exploration of those problems before the audience. Accordingly a group was set up which included some members of the planning committee along with others who might be more representative of the parent groups in the community. It was further agreed that this group would actually spend enough time together discussing problems of family life so that on the morning of the scheduled demonstration the audience could be let in as observers to watch the group exploring its problems at what would be the second meeting of the group.

This procedure was followed and in the warm-up session of the discussion group a problems census produced the following list of items:

1. What shall be parental attitude toward "petting," "dating," "going steady"?
2. How and when should parents answer questions about sex?
 - a. What if son or daughter is too shy to ask questions?
 - b. What if parent is too embarrassed or doesn't have the ability to answer?
3. What to do when parents disagree on how to discipline children?
4. The rights and duties of parents toward children.
 - a. punishment and discipline.
 - b. authoritarian parents vs. parents with authority.
 - c. one-parent homes.
 - d. bad parental example.
5. Children who
 - a. come in too late at night?
 - b. date "wrong" kind of companions or associate with "wrong" gang?
 - c. do not assume responsibility for their share of household duties?
6. Where can parents get information on these problems?

On the morning of the conference demonstration the leader explained to the audience that the discussion group seated on the stage was at the point of selecting from this list of problems the one to which they would now devote

more detailed study and analysis. Throughout the demonstration the leader played a dual role by interrupting the group process frequently to act as clarifier on points of method and dynamics. The following excerpt from an edited record of the discussion will illustrate the procedure and the role of the clarifier:

LEADER: I think we are ready now to select from our list of problems one which you think ought to occupy our attention for this and perhaps the next session of our group. There is obviously some overlapping in the points which came out of our meeting last time but it does seem rather important to start our discussion tonight with that point of our problem which you people feel is most urgent and important.

MEMBER A: I certainly hope we can get into a discussion of this petting problem because with two teen agers in my home that point and staying out late nights are the most urgent items to me.

MEMBER B: I should think you could just sit down and have a talk with your children and give them a little information about some of the risks they run by not getting their rest and by not associating with the right kind of companions.

MEMBER C: Oh — I don't think that would help much, teen agers can't be told very many things, least of all by their parents.

(Leader turns to audience in his role as clarifier, and says)

Here you see a group plunging into the discussion of the first problem mentioned. The leader would seem to have a responsibility at this point for reminding the group that at the moment it is choosing among the various problems identified on its list and that while several members are apparently quite willing to discuss this topic at once there is no assurance that a majority of the members really feel that this is the point at which the discussion should begin.

(Leader turns back to group in his role as leader and continues)

LEADER: I wonder if before we discuss this first question we might not get a more representative expression of interest in these topics and then decide whether this is the point at which we wish to begin our discussion. Are there any other problems on this list which other members of the group feel we ought to consider this morning?

MEMBER D: I think that question 4 is a very basic one and will really involve some of the points which have already been referred to.

MEMBER E: I certainly agree. If we can get help on understanding the kind of relationship which parents ought to try to have with their children it would certainly be a big help to me.

MEMBER A: A lot of the trouble of course is because the parents themselves aren't in agreement as to how the children should be treated.

MEMBER F: I think the parents have to present a united front or they are licked before they start.

MEMBER G: Children know alright when they are getting a square deal and if they feel they are, the relationship will be OK.

LEADER: How many of you feel that the discussion of topic 4 would be a good springboard for us to use this evening? (A show of hands shows that a fairly large majority accept this suggestion.)

MEMBER C: It may surprise some of you to learn that I don't believe in discipline in the home. It seems to me that when parents try to superimpose their adult authority on children the children have a perfect right to resist, and parents shouldn't be surprised when children become aggressive toward them.

MEMBER G: Well it all depends on what you mean by discipline.

MEMBER D: (interrupts) I don't see that we are getting anywhere with all this talk. I have one idea what discipline means and you have another and we aren't really talking about the same thing at all. I wonder if we couldn't find a specific situation and talk about that for a while?

(Leader turns to audience in role of clarifier and comments as follows)

At this point you see a group pretty well bogged down by communication difficulties. The member who has just spoken sensing this fact, appeals for something concrete and specific on the basis of which the group can continue its analysis and discussion more profitably. This situation well illustrates the difficulties we get into as groups in attempting to verbalize about problems and situations which at their core are behavioral in nature. Problems of human relationships and group interaction are difficult to treat on a purely verbal level, and in such areas the use of sociodrama or role playing is especially valuable.

(Leader turns back to the group and continues the discussion)

LEADER: That is an excellent suggestion. Why don't we set up a typical family situation in which a problem of discipline has arisen?

The group then proceeds to define a middle class family situation with two children, a twelve year old boy, a sixteen year old girl, with father pretending to be authoritarian in his methods of control, dominating not only the children but the mother as well. The scene selected is at a point after dinner when the sixteen year old has announced her intention of going out for the evening.

After the scene has been played, the discussion group begins to analyze the mistakes which were made and to hypothesize as to the causes of the difficulties revealed. At this point, somewhat to the surprise of the planning committee, a program which had been intended solely as a demonstration with perhaps fifteen minutes of audience comment and discussion at the end of the role playing sequence turned into one of the most lively examples of audience participation which a discussion leader could hope for. Without the leader's suggestion audience members insisted on (1) a reversal of roles on the part of two of the group members who played the original scene and (2) on replacement of two of the characters in the first scene by members of the audience, one of whom was a teen ager himself and in a position, so he explained, to really interpret what a teen ager feels in such a situation. The second attempt at acting out the scene with a changed cast and audience participation demonstrated quite effectively the kind of discipline which operates under parents with authority as compared with those who are merely authoritarian. The contrasting scenes were discussed by the original discussion group and by members of the audience.

The most important test of effective communication in large or small groups is, of course, member or group action demonstrating application of what has been communicated to self or community improvement. All of the evidence is not yet in with respect to the meeting just described. That there has been follow-up in the development of discussion groups for the study of family life problems is clear. That some of these groups have successfully used sociodrama as a methodological aid to the clarification and solution of their problems is also apparent. Quantitatively, the attendance at the meeting and the degree of audience involvement and participation were enough to convince the program committee as to the usefulness of sociodrama for this type of conference.

It should be pointed out in conclusion that when role playing is used in such a situation for purposes of large group communication a kind of pre-meeting preparation and planning is required with which many program chairmen will be relatively unfamiliar. However, granted a willingness on the part of a chairman or leader to invest the additional time required in adequate preparation a two way transmission line of communication can be established which will make effective learning possible even in the large group situation.

THE "DOUBLE SITUATION" IN PSYCHODRAMA

ZERKA TOEMAN

Psychodramatic Institute, New York City

INTRODUCTION

It has often been pointed out that psychodrama, similar to sociometric procedure, does not discover anything new, but is able, because of the sophistication and flexibility of its methods, to develop an idea further into its most remote and least obvious ramifications. The double appears in the mythology of many cultures and has been described by some of the great writers of ancient and modern literature. In these descriptions the double is a symbolic experience, performing acts of his own, outside of the volition or control of the subject. The hallucinated double of a mental patient comes into the room, sits down, or, as in the well known case of de Maupassant, dictates his work to him. In the psychodrama the double is an objective experience, both double and subject perform the same act, think and act at times in unison. De Maupassant's double subjugated him to his will and created his work, it was a figment of his own mind and an "involuntary" production, he could not share it with another person at the time of its occurrence. The psychodramatic double situation is a voluntary production, the subject has either a major share, or at least an equal share in it.

In an earlier paper* I described the double technique in psychodrama as follows: "For the double ego technique the patient and auxiliary ego are placed on the stage together. In order that the patient (often called "primary ego") accepts the presence of the auxiliary ego on the stage, she is told to consider the ego as her double, the invisible "I," the alter ego with whom she talks at times but who exists only within herself. In the psychodrama this invisible double is projected into space, embodied by an actual person and experienced as outside of the patient. The patient represents the deeper, inner levels of experience while the ego acts as double, copying physical bearing in every way and representing the outer levels. However, in actuality the patient usually begins by first revealing the superficial layers; the auxiliary's task is then, for strategic reasons, the reverse of the director's formal instructions. It is her job to stir up the subject to reach deeper levels of expression by peeling off the outer, socially visible "I" of the subject, and by reaching for those experiences

* See "Clinical Psychodrama: Auxiliary Ego Double and Mirror Techniques," *Zerka Toeman, Sociometry*, Volume 9, No. 2-3, May-August, 1946.

and imageries which a person would reveal when talking to herself, alone, in the privacy of her own room." Thus the production of subject and ego is a common task, shared by every member in the audience. It is not merely something which takes place in the mind of a single individual, but a systematic process taking place in an objective setting. In the "imagined" double experience the subject is generally fearful, or at least fear and panic are the outstanding factors in the situation. In the psychodrama double experience fear may enter into the situation when the subject realizes how much the double knows about himself, but it is only one of the factors which operate in it and the fear occurs only occasionally. The more the subject warms up to the double situation, the more he loses his fear. In literature the double is usually depicted either as the person's better self, as in Edgar Allan Poe's "William Wilson," where the double acted as his guardian angel, or as the person's worse self, as in Robert Louis Stevenson's "Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." De Maupassant recognized his double as an "Intimate Enemy." In psychodrama no moral values are placed on the double, he is neither the better nor the worse part of the self; he is merely there, at times the better, at times the worse part. Nor is there in psychodrama any clearcut division between the subject and the double. They are fused and separate and fuse again. One of the most masterful descriptions of the double phenomenon in literature is repeatedly encountered in the works of Dostoievski. However, he too, felt the double to be parts of people; the people so divided are as two halves of a third divided personality, halves which, like the doubles, seek themselves and pursue themselves. In psychodrama the purpose of the double is not to claim or prove that the subject is two people. The double may represent many other reflections of the subject, not merely one. In fact, the more doubles the auxiliary ego can produce the more integrating the double experience will be for the subject. The chief purpose of the psychodramatic double is to stimulate, not to pursue the subject, to help and retrain, not to persecute. Dostoievski injected his double with all the manifestations of the Devil who comes to the subject and declares himself his double, a creation of Man in his own image. To Dostoievski the double is an hallucination, in psychodrama it is a consciously produced and elaborated experience; the very incarnations of the double are put side by side with the subject on the stage, and there he acts out situations as a real person.

We may, therefore, distinguish three types of doubles, I) the fictitious double constructed by the fertile imagination of a writer, as Dostoievski, etc., II) the psychotic double which is an hallucination by a mental patient, and III) the psychodramatic, therapeutic double which is an *experimental device*; by means of dramatic methods he is given three-dimensional reality.

Double Technique and Double Experience in Psychodrama

The function of the auxiliary ego in psychodrama has been described elsewhere.* Usually it relates to representing absentee members of the subject's world. The double technique, however, is a special technique within the auxiliary ego's sphere. A skilled auxiliary will be quick to gather and use information concerning the subject which has been revealed in previous action or in the pre-double situation interview. This information has to be translated into suitable action on the stage and will act as a preliminary starter for the double situation to be enacted. As the double situation is often entered into when the subject warms up too slowly or is unable to get at basic levels of experience, the auxiliary ego has a particularly difficult task. The subject may produce all kinds of resistances. These the auxiliary ego has to make use of and to work through until the deeper levels are reached.

The Double Situation with Nancy

The following illustrations* will serve to explain how the double situation in psychodrama develops. Our first subject, Nancy, was a young married woman who was three months pregnant. She and her husband were studying psychodrama and they offered themselves as subjects for this session. In preliminary scenes with her husband which showed how they had met and married, Nancy revealed some anxiety about her future. The director then moved her into the double situation. The scene was set, late at night, with the subject and her double preparing to go to bed. Although the double situation may be started almost anywhere and any time, this particular setting is a useful one as the end of the day, before sleep overtakes us, is a suitable time for cogitating over the day's happenings in particular and the future in general, a fertile moment for self-communication. The subject and ego were thus preparing to go to bed, and reflecting upon the coming of the baby. After Nancy tried to "cool off" in the scene by calling to her husband, asking whether he was coming to bed soon, etc., (her husband sat on the edge of the stage, watching the scene) I began to warm her up by reflecting along the lines of whether the baby would be a boy or a girl, whether my husband was happy about the arrival of the baby, whether I was glad, whether our marriage was satisfactory, etc. Nancy retorted to all these remarks in a positive way, on a somewhat unrealistic, idealizing, slightly manic level. She mentioned only the "good" things in the situation, avoiding the consideration of the responsibilities and difficulties involved. I, therefore, began to counter with a number of more serious remarks, questioning

* "Psychodrama," Volume 1, J. L. Moreno, Beacon House, 1946.

* Both sessions were directed by J. L. Moreno.

our maturity for taking such a step, worrying about the finances since I would no longer be able to work, at least for quite a while, what the baby would do to our marriage, whether I would be disfigured or incapacitated after the event. Nancy persisted in verbally pushing problems out of the way: "What's the use of worrying about such things"; "We're both so happy about it." However, her body no longer expressed the same emotions as before, she began to slouch and her face looked worried. The director changed the scene: "This is the hospital, the labor pains have begun, the baby is about to be borne. Now go ahead, both of you." At this point I felt that Nancy was far more frightened than she had allowed herself to admit. By warming up to Nancy's world I was carried away from myself and I became like Nancy. I could feel like her and with her. Thus I felt that she realized that her production up to now had been unrealistic, but that she was slow to warm up to the double situation. The director moved towards me and prompted me to warm up to the pain, the suffering and so on, but I had already warmed up to "our fear of death," death of the baby, death of ourselves, and who would take care of "our husband" and "our baby" in that case, that I could but briefly dwell upon the pain as prompted, and began to tremble. I noticed that Nancy, too, was trembling. I said: "I hope everything goes alright," and began to weep. Some audience members told me after the session that Nancy had already started to weep, but I had not noticed it until after I wept myself. I became further involved in her fears when I saw that she too, was weeping. I said: "I hope I won't die." Nancy, who was by this time weeping out loud, replied: "I don't want to die." This was the moment for me to retract and get back to the positive aspects of the situation, so I said: "Well, I'll probably be alright. People don't die of childbirth these days, this is not the eighteenth century. Doctors know so much about these things today." This reassured Nancy, who said: "He's supposed to be a very good Doctor and he told me everything was going just fine." I answered: "Sure, I'm young and healthy, and it will all be over in no time."

After this scene a good deal of reassurance had to be maintained for the subject, so the following scene was a future projection with Nancy and her husband, allowing complete freedom of expression for the subject, who projected the baby as a girl, six months old. Nancy display far greater imagination and authority in this scene than heretofore, having been very much dominated by her husband's presence up to this point. She reported to us at later intervals that she gained confidence through the double scene. She admitted that these fears had been very often with her up to the time of her production on *the stage*, and wondered how I knew about it, but that this working them out had made

them recede considerably and that she faced the arrival of the baby with more peace of mind. It was quite obvious that she would never have admitted to them openly, without the deep action method being applied.*

The Double Situation with Linda

The second case is that of a young woman whom we may call Linda. She had recently divorced her husband and was fearful about her future relationships to men, although she did not realize this. Linda produced first a number of scenes with various men of her acquaintance, warming up only on the superficial, social levels. Then the director suggested a double situation. She tried continuously to slip out of the situation, for instance, by saying: "Let's go and tell Mary (room mate) about what happened at school today, she'd laugh at that story with John," or, "I forgot to brush my teeth and have to go to the bathroom," "I have to empty the ice box," etc., restlessly moving into the background. I, as the double, at first went along with her in space, copying every one of her gestures, but then, when she had accepted me as her double, I began slowly and gently to counter her: "Mary's asleep, I can't wake her now," "Let's empty the ice box first," "I'm too tired to brush my teeth anyway." This brought the subject back to herself and she began to concentrate on preparing her clothes to wear the next day. I again went along with her but began to move back into the proscenium by refusing to make any more decisions. I walked ahead of her to the bed which was right in front of the audience and the director. Now Linda followed my actions, rather than setting them herself. Although no coercion was used she copied my motions, walked behind me. Then she sat down on the bed, so did I. She took off her shoes, and so did I. At this point I felt from Linda's long pauses between acts, slower, pensive movements, and from the way she responded to the total situation that she had reached a level of deeper reflection than heretofore. Therefore, I immediately moved into the fear I had of meeting men, especially those unknown, the fear of people in general, and how hard I always tried to make a good impression on them. Linda agreed at once: "That's what Dick (husband) always used to tell me. I try so hard to overcome my fear that I become overexcited and exhibitionistic. I go out of my way to attract attention and become unnatural." This was the first time she agreed with me. Up to this point she neither denied nor agreed with anything I produced, she merely jumped from one situation to another. Now she began to enlarge upon my production and became enveloped by the process. It had taken a good deal of fencing around the superficial aspects of her life before we could enter into the deeper ones. From this point

* A single psychodramatic session usually cannot do more than point out the problem. In a series of sessions a gradual structuring of the conflict and retraining of the subject in action takes place, and a cure from such anxieties is achieved.

on Linda warmed up more and more. It was a fascinating series of stepping stones in our mutual feeling (tele) process. Once the mutual tele pattern had been sufficiently established for the basic relationship the rest followed easily. The director asked Linda whether she had lately had a dream. Linda answered: "I often dream." The director instructed us then to fall asleep and to try to dream; he suggested that we see "the same things in our dream, and to enact this dream together." We warmed up to sleep and after a little while stepped out of bed. Linda did not speak. I realized that she had not mentioned her parents in the previous scenes at all, but that the dream concerned them, so I took a chance: "It's about Mother and Dad." Linda countered: "Yes, and in our house in Connecticut, our old home. But it's much larger, and it's growing larger all the time." I said: "I'm scared. It's so weird, why should the house grow like this?" Linda: "And what are all these people doing here? I suppose it's one of Mother's socials. I just can't bear them, I'm going to get out of this." Double ego: "I always want to run away and hide when these people swarm around the house. But where can I go without being seen?" Linda: "To my room upstairs, that's where I'll go. Dad, where's Dad? I don't see him. He hates these affairs of Mother's as much as I do, but somehow he gets away with it. I've just got to go upstairs." Double ego: "What will Mother say if she finds out?" Linda: "I don't care, though I guess she'll be mad at me. Oh, where are those stairs? Here they are, and all the time the house is changing. Blue walls? I never saw such a color in this house before!" Double ego: "It's most peculiar. Let's go upstairs." Upstairs Linda thought she'd better go down again. Linda: "Where are those stairs now? I've got to get down or Mother will scold me. Where are they?" Here she began to run around the stage wildly, looking for the stairs. Her gestures were frantic and her voice rose in pitch. She became far more intensive and dramatic than before. She pointed: "Look! Oh, look!" Double ego: "Where have they gone? Oh, what's happened to them?" Linda: "There they are, they're just a big, black, gaping hole. That's where that woman threw down my shoes. I suppose I'll have to jump down." Double ego: "I don't want to jump down there, I'm scared." Linda: "I've got to jump down, I've got to get downstairs, I've got to find my shoes." Both of us jumped down. The director told Linda to replay the last part of the dream alone, the part about the stairs, but she was unable to warm up until the auxiliary ego again took the double role alongside of her. Linda (voice and movements still more frantic than before): "Oh, where are those stairs? Where did they go? How could they disappear like that? How can I get down without them?" Double: "I'll have to find the other stairs, then" (walked around to the other side of stage, Linda following). Linda: "No,

I won't go down these. They're the ones Mother told me she and Brother fell down. I don't want to fall down them and hurt myself." Double ego: "But I've got to get down there somehow! How will I get down if I don't use these?" Linda: "I don't want to fall down those steps, I won't go down there. Mother threatened me that I might fall down and harm myself or she might fall down them again and die. She passed out once from falling down them. I can't use these stairs."

Analysis of Double Technique and Double Experience

Besides the techniques described in my previous paper, techniques of the pure action type have been found extremely useful with subjects who produce great resistance to start with or a growing resistance in the course of the double situation. The rapport between the subject and the auxiliary ego may be fairly well established on the surface of the verbal associations. Everything seems to run smoothly and the subject appears cooperative. Suddenly the auxiliary ego double feels that the subject tries to bring the double situation to a premature end, that the maximum of production and catharsis has not been reached yet; she realizes that the subject is afraid of what she may reveal if she warms up still further and therefore attempts to interrupt or terminate the double situation. The double ego may, on the verbal level, be soft, gentle, permissive, but produce counter-actions which are intended to draw the subject back into the situation. For instance, a subject says: "I'm tired now, let's go to sleep"; then she closes her eyes, withdraws from any action; or, she may say suggestively to her double: "Let's go into the other room and undress, to get ready for bed," and start to remove herself physically from the scene. Then the double may get into an opposite motion, walk around the subject before she can step off the stage, or get off the bed or chair, and break into all kinds of actions which suggest to the subject motorically to *stay* in the scene and to *continue, to warm up in a different direction*. Just as the resistance of the subject may be silent, so the aggression and persistence of the ego is equally silent, gestural and motorically active.

After this phase is successfully completed, it is interesting to watch a subject when she begins to warm up and accept the double as if she would really be her double. Then the subject stimulates the double to an idea or action, but in reverse, the double stimulates the subject to an idea or action. The closer the double gets to the subject, the more the subject warms up and reveals further experiences. The most intimate personal experience of the subject's are thus highly intensified. It is interesting to note that it is not necessary for the double to be always of the same sex as the subject. Double situations with

mixed sexes have been produced effectively and with the subject losing the sense of the presence of a member of the opposite sex and fully accepting the double in terms of a representation of him- or herself.

The illustration of Linda's double production shows the amount of material which can be obtained by the double dream method when the subject is carefully guarding her secrets, anxious not to give herself away. Through the dynamics of the warming up process she was gradually led into her own lifeline and could not resist until the whole episode had been entirely lived out. The latter part of her dream production turned out to be not a dream (as the first part had actually been, and one she had recently dreamt), but an incident which had occurred when her mother had guests in the house, the same house in which Linda had been married but in which her parents no longer lived.

The stimulus which comes to the subject from the body image of the double, when the double lowers his head with the subject, moves his arm with the subject, closes his eyes with the subject, the animal effect of the mere doubling up of the same gestures, purely physical, have a profound effect in producing in the subject the image of a co-existing body and mind. Once this relationship is there the auxiliary ego can begin to deviate somewhat in action and bodily expression, and stimulate the subject along a different track or set of tracks. The auxiliary ego started the dream by structuring the situation: "It is strange that I should dream about Mother and Dad." The subject fell in with this and enlarged upon it, producing the house in which she had lived as a child. Her parents had meanwhile moved to a different residence but in the dream Linda was once again a little girl, afraid of meeting her mother's friends at a social gathering. The house looked weird, larger than in reality, and continuously grew until she became so afraid that she had to go upstairs, to her own room, to hide there until the company had left. But when she wanted to return to the stairs again because Mother would be angry, the stairs had disappeared and turned into a gaping black hole into which she finally vanished. When the latter part of the dream was once again enacted it became evident that these were the stairs from which her mother and brother once fell down, and since they were older and more powerful than she, she was afraid to use them for fear of what they might do to her. Although the auxiliary ego became far less directive once the subject started her dream, there were a number of times when she was able to stimulate the dreamer by co-experiencing and co-producing, enlarging here and there upon the dream. This is an extremely subtle technique in the double situation and well worthy of further study.

The Matrix of Identity and the Double Experience

The double experience is probably the foundation of intuitive experiences between lovers, husbands and wives, intimate friends, and may be the basis for what has been called "identification" by psychoanalysts. The old Indian "Twa ma si," this is me, is another, religious confirmation of the double experience. The role experience of a spectator in a theatre is a double experience. It is the experience of identity — and not indentification, which implies that the self and the mirror are not the same thing, but that the subject imagines that they are the same by adding something to it or subtracting something from it. It is probable that in the double situation one of the oldest experiences of the infant and child is paralleled and that is perhaps the reason for its enormous effectiveness. It is the experience of the child looking into a mirror and seeing another child, a stranger, but someone who looks and acts exactly like himself.

According to spontaneity theory, the first matrix of experience is the matrix of identity. The bodies of several individuals and the shapes of many objects have a share in it. If the double experience would be a transference relationship of the subject towards the double, nothing essential would come of it, except the free association and delusions the subject has in reference to the double. Conversely, if it would be a transference relationship of the double towards the subject, nothing could come of it either, unless the subject would be of such extreme suggestibility that everything produced by the double would be blindly accepted, which has never happened to date. Furthermore, the double experience cannot be explained only by the empathy which the double may have in regard to the subject. Some elements of transference, as well as some elements of empathy may operate in the relationship, but through empathy or transference alone the double is not able but to intuite certain elements which the subject may feel at the time of the double situation.

According to admissions from subjects, what is particularly striking to them is when the auxiliary ego seems to divine something which the subject tries to hide, or of which he was not fully aware; but when struck by this phenomenon of insight which the auxiliary ego seems to have he enlarges on the spot. The auxiliary ego, made bolder by this retorts with further additions, to which the subject again adds new pieces and this process goes back and forth from subject to ego and ego to subject, until the whole configuration of an experience is lived out. This is not only true on the verbal level, but perhaps still more profoundly on the action level. The double ego, for instance, begins to weep and that is exactly what the subject was on the verge of doing, and now the subject weeps with the ego. Or the ego strikes his head with his fists and

the subject goes a step further and jumps down. The subject will say that he wanted to do that, he wanted to hurt himself and die. This two-way feeling out, the auxiliary ego first feeling out the subject, and the subject feeling out the ego, that is, what the ego feels out about himself, produces an interaction on the depth level. It does not deal with projected material but with real events, it is a tele phenomenon. The two doubles are held together by a tele experience; empathy and transference play some part in it but they do not represent the core of the processes of the relationship.

In the double situation what often most propels the subject to a similar experience beneath the surface is the distressed facial expression of the double, gestures he makes; the words he speaks may be immaterial or rather incidental because as the subject warms up to the same or a similar gestural pattern the verbal follows automatically. An important phase in the double situation is when the double gives herself the fullest possible receptivity by repeating the words of the subject in an auxiliary ego sense, by repeating the feelings the subject has, feelings of mourning, of joy, or resentment, anger or hostility. By giving the subject the experience that the double next to him feels the same feelings, by actually giving him that feeling of identity which we discussed before, the discovery that there is someone in space who is not himself but still entirely like himself, a double who knows everything about him because he *is* himself; who at times reveals certain parts of him which he is not able to reveal himself and so represents an indispensable component of his psyche, the link is established. The double is the beginning of a society. He has always been unconsciously aware that he exists, but it is only in the double situation of the psychodrama that he is brought into the full reality of daylight. This phase of whole identity is only one of the phases characteristic for the double experience. At times a second phase sets in, the double systematically and consciously elaborates the feelings which the subject has by multiplying their intensity or their quantity. If the subject is somewhat sad, the ego becomes double depressed. If the subject is glad about a relation, the ego magnifies it further, far beyond the admission of the subject. This phase of extending the subject's feeling levels has two purposes. On one hand it is meant to bring the subject to agreement with these extensions and to stimulate additional dimensions, on the other hand to provoke him to halt the double's appercues. Another phase is one in which the double becomes highly directive and bold in remarks and actions. The subject may show considerable aggression and resentment and produce counter aggression in which the double immediately joins with a permissive and cooperative attitude as if nothing had happened. Still another phase occurs when the double anti-

pates the subject's actions in the future — what he will do tomorrow. The deepest and rarest phase in the double experience is when the subject loses the feeling that the double is another, he is like in a "double trance." The threshold* between them is gone, he and the double are one. This may well be the basis for the mystic idea of oneness and for the mediumistic experiences described by psychic researchers.

THE PROBLEM OF VALIDATION AND DOUBLE "CONTROL"

In order to estimate the validity of double experience the following experimental design was set up: The double situation with Linda was electrically and stenographically recorded, both verbal and action elements. Immediately after the session the double situation with Linda was replayed in the presence of the subject and every item presented to her for evaluation. In the process analysis two hundred and twelve items, either verbal or action elements, were counted. Every verbal repartee of the double was considered a unit, and every action was considered as a unit, whether it was accompanied by words or not. In the course of replaying the record the subject warmed up again to her own attitude during the session and scored the responses of the double as correct (agreement), incorrect (disagreement), or probable. The score was 82% correct, 10% probable, and 8% inaccurate. By this method an objective estimation as to the accuracy of double experience was possible.

Another design which proved useful was the introduction of a double near the stage as a control to the double in action. The double control, a trained auxiliary ego, attempted to warm up to the subject, a sort of mute audience double. As the production went on she scored the actual double's responses as to agreement, disagreement or probability with her own. She scored on a sheet of paper the difference between her own double experience and the experience of the double actor on the stage. A 68% agreement between the double actor and the double control was found.

* Subjects often express resentment at the double situation. This resentment is the greater the closer the auxiliary ego comes to crossing this threshold, reaching a full duplication of many of the subject's carefully concealed experiences. It is like an unexpected intrusion; the subject is frequently determined to keep the truth to herself, alone, "the truth hurts."

FORMS OF PSYCHODRAMA

Terms and Definitions by

J. L. MÓRENO

1. *Psychodrama*

It focuses on the Individual. It is a synthesis of psychological analysis with Drama. It attempts the active structuring of private worlds and individual ideologies. There are various types of production in use a) the totally unstructured situation; no focus is given to the subject, not even an "ink-blot," a "picture" or a problem to solve; implements are placed *at his disposal* but not enforced upon him (auxiliary egos, a stage or any other free space, an audience as a social world); they make possible a maximum degree of self direction, self expression and self production. It is a "Self test" in the midst of social reality. This type of psychodrama although it begins with a situation which is *clinically* at least unstructured does not deny, of course, the existence of a great deal of dormant structure in the subject. b) The relatively pre-structured situation, as a given interpersonal relation to portray, a problem to solve, etc.

Besides these two general types, there is a growing number of production techniques which will be summarized in a subsequent paper.

2. *Sociodrama*

It focuses on the group. It is a synthesis of the socius with Psychodrama. It attempts the active structuring of social worlds and collective ideologies. Among the dominant types in use are a) the totally unstructured situation, problem and production growing spontaneously out of the group present. b) the partly pre-structured audience situation, a common social syndrome derived from audience analysis, c) the partly pre-structured production on the stage.

3. *Physiodrama*

It focuses on the soma; it is a synthesis of physical culture and Psychodrama. The physical condition of the individuals before, during and after the production (warming-up process) is measured; it gives diagnostic clues for training requirements and provides the setup for retraining.

4. *Axiodrama*

It focuses on Ethics and general Values; it is a synthesis of axiological meanings with Psychodrama; it attempts to dramatize the eternal verities, truth, justice, beauty, grace, piety, perfection, eternity and peace.

5. *Hypnodrama*

It is a synthesis of Hypnosis and Psychodrama.

6. *Psychomusic*

It is a synthesis of spontaneous music with Psychodrama.

7. *Psychodance*

It is a synthesis of spontaneous dance with Psychodrama, the synthesis of all other forms of art, as sculpture, painting, creative writing, etc. with Psychodrama opens the way for action as well as group methods.

8. *Therapeutic Motion Picture*

It is a synthesis of motion picture and Psychodrama.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. L. Moreno: *Psychodrama*, Vol. I, Beacon House, 1948.

Milton H. Ward: *Psychomusic and Musical Group Psychotherapy*, see *Group Psychotherapy*, a Symposium, Beacon House, 1947.

Marian Chace: *Rythm in Movement*, see *Group Psychotherapy*, Beacon House, 1947.

Zerka Toeman: *A Sociodramatic Audience Test*, see *Group Psychotherapy*, Beacon House, 1947.

Margaret Hagan and Edith Wright: *Psychodramatic Techniques as a Teaching Device*, see *Group Psychotherapy*, Beacon House, 1947.

Louis Berman: *Research in Physiodrama, Sociometry*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1945.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH

London, England, August 11-21, 1948

The Congress will consist of three International Conferences:

1. *Child Psychiatry*. Theme: *Personality development in its individual and social aspects with special reference to aggression.*

2. *Medical Psychotherapy*. Theme: *Guilt* (These two Conferences will run concurrently from August 11 to August 14.)

3. *Mental Hygiene*. Theme: *Mental Health and World Citizenship*. (From August 16 to August 21.) This Conference will form the major part of the program. The following subdivisions of the general theme will be the main topics on consecutive days: (a) Problems of world citizenship and good group relations; (b) The individual and society; (c) Family problems and psychological disturbance; (d) Planning for mental health; organization, training, propaganda; (e) Mental health in industry and industrial relations; (f) Concluding session and summaries.

This Conference is sponsored by the International Committee for Mental Hygiene.

Membership is open to trained workers in mental health and related subjects and to members of recognized organizations connected with such work. This includes applicants in the following categories: (1) Members of professional associations in psychiatry, psychology, social work, sociology, anthropology; (2) members of the medical profession, the teaching profession including nursery school teachers, the nursing profession, and the clergy; (3) members of Preparatory Commissions working for the Conference; (4) individuals with special competence, special experience, or special interest in the field of mental hygiene.

It is generally agreed that one, if not the chief aim of the Congress is to facilitate the interchange of scientific knowledge and experience acquired in the social field during the war years. This aim cannot be even remotely achieved in a crowded conference if a hundred interests are allowed to compete for the time and attention of 2,000 members.

This has led to the setting up of preparatory discussion groups in the various countries with the purpose of thinking *beforehand* about a number of topics chosen by agreement. These groups, each composed of diversely trained

individuals, are being encouraged to turn their thoughts, knowledge and experience into certain specified channels, and out of this multifarious activity will emerge, it is hoped, a coherent body of material which will, first, re-interpret existing data in the light of the problems posed by the Congress theme and, second, map out the areas of future inquiry.

Preparatory Commissions, or discussions groups, are at work in many countries preparing material for this Conference. Their reports will form the basis of much of the final program and will influence the choice of speakers in the Plenary Sessions. A Monthly Bulletin about this activity is issued from England.

The main topics have deliberately been widely drawn, leaving Preparatory Commissions and individuals freedom to select subsidiary topics (within the general framework) on which useful contributions can be made.

More than 1000 interested persons from 44 countries have already indicated they would be present.

They will come from North and South America, Asia, Western Europe and the Eastern European countries of Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. A total membership of at least 2,000 is expected including an estimated 500 from the United States. At present, 83 discussion groups are at work throughout the United States on various aspects of the Conference's main topics. Their reports will be collated and integrated as the U. S. contribution.

Fifty additional groups are at work in other countries.

The tentative plans for the program of the International Conference on Mental Hygiene are as follows:

It is proposed to form an International Preparatory Commission with representatives from leading countries which would meet three weeks before the Congress. Its job will be to prepare a comprehensive document which would include recommendations based on the summaries of material furnished by the reports from regional discussion groups in countries all over the world. Such recommendations will be forwarded to the World Health Organization and UNESCO.

In the mornings there will be plenary sessions, with two main speakers—one chosen from the International Preparatory Commission and the other chosen from a country at large because of his prominence in one of the professions represented at the Congress. There will be two discussants and one individual to sum up, the latter to act as an alternate for either of the two main speakers if they have to drop out at the last minute. These five individuals for each of the five morning sessions, making 25 altogether, will be selected one only from

each country, so that there may be as many countries as possible represented in the morning sessions.

The afternoon sessions will be mainly multi-professional, multi-national small groups which will meet to discuss the document prepared by the International Preparatory Commission. There will be 20 to 30 individuals in these groups, discussing certain items to be selected and announced in advance of the meetings. At least one member of the International Preparatory Commission will be present at each of these group meetings to act as a mediator and to explain how the International Preparatory Commission arrived at the conclusions which it reached.

In addition, there will be opportunity for meetings of professions, such as psychologists, sociologists, etc. There will also be a number of small meetings, some of which may be organized by individual professions for the presentation of individual papers by persons who wish to present papers and have the competence to do so. Rooms will be assigned for these meetings and announcements of them made.

However, the main interest of those organizing the Congress is in the multi-discipline, multi-national sessions. At the final plenary session the document prepared by the International Preparatory Commission, copies of which will have been placed in the hands of every member of the Conference, will be brought up for final adoption with such changes as seem indicated. It has been planned to have a special committee working every night on modifications in this document as they come up in these meetings.

It is planned to publish the complete proceedings of the Congress.

A twelve-man Executive Committee of the International Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y., is co-ordinating activities in the U. S. All enquiries should be addressed to the Executive Officer: Dr. Nina Ridénour, from whom further information and application forms can be obtained. These forms should reach Congress headquarters in London by February 29. Travel arrangements are being handled through American Express Company. Since accommodations are limited, it is imperative that reservations be made immediately.

Dr. John R. Rees of London, who was chief psychiatric consultant to the British Army, is President of the Congress. It has the support of UNESCO and the World Health Organization of the United Nations.

It is proposed to form a continuing organization out of Congress to be known as the World Federation for Mental Health. This would become the

official voluntary consultative Agency in the field of Mental Health for UNESCO and the World Health Organization.

Financial support from private Companies and Foundations both here and in Britain, totalling \$100,000.00, has been received to date. Further funds are urgently needed to carry through a Congress of this scope and magnitude and a campaign has been started to raise an additional \$200,000.00 in this country. Contributions from individuals or groups will be most gratefully received. Suggestions as to sources of contributions would also be most welcome.

The Congress presents a great opportunity for the attainment of a larger collective wisdom through the pooling of information and escape from the limitations of a too-narrow national or professional point of view.

— ANNOUNCEMENTS —

Sociatry, New Contributing Editors

Dr. John R. Rees, London, President of the International Congress on Mental Health, formerly chief psychiatric consultant to the British Army.

Mireille Monod, Child Guidance Clinic Claude Bernard, Paris, France.

Sociometry, Volume 11, Number 1, Anniversary Number

The contents of this issue: George Gurvitch: "Microsociology and Sociometry"; Robert L. French and Ivan N. Mensh: "Relationships Between Interpersonal Judgments and Sociometric Status in a College Group"; Frank A. Stewart: "Sociometric Sampling"; J. L. Moreno: Sociometry, Sociatry and "The Rebuilding of our World Order, A Critique of Marxism."

Seventeenth Annual Rocky Mountain Speech Conference

University of Denver, February 12-14, 1948

Sociodrama is featured as the leading medium of adequate and effective communication. Among the topics are: Practice in Sociodrama, The Warming-up Process in Oral Reading and Acting, Action Methods in Learning, Mirror and Double Techniques.

Conference on Current Trends in Social Psychology

University of Pittsburgh, March 4-5, 1948

The speakers are: Wayne Dennis, Ronald Lippitt, K. T. Behanan, Jerome S. Bruner, J. L. Moreno, Robert K. Merton, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, James G. Miller.

Conference on Action Methods, American Psychiatric Association

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1948

The conference is to be a Round Table discussion on "Group-Action and Training Methods, Their Development on Sociometric and Psychodramatic Foundations." Among the speakers are: Richmond Beck, Joan H. Criswell, Margaret Hagan, Frances Herriott, Helen H. Jennings, John W. Macmillan, J. B. Maller, Bela. Mittelman, Frederick L. Patry, C. W. Shilling, Leland P. Bradford. Moderator of the conference is J. L. Moreno.

Books Received

Experimental Designs in Sociological Research by F. Stuart Chapin, Harper Brothers, Publishers, N.Y., p. 206, Price \$2.75

The American People, by Geoffrey Gorer, W. W. Norton Pub. Co., N.Y., p. 246, Price \$3.00.

Behaviour Disorders, a biosocial interpretation by Norman A. Cameron, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, p. 622, Price \$5.00.

La Sociologie au XX^e Siecle, 2 Volumes, edited by Georges Gurvitch, in collaboration with Wilbert E. Moore. Bibliotheque de Philosophie Contemporaine, Publ. by Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1947, p. 510.

Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry by Harry Stack Sullivan, Publ. by The William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, Washington, D. C., 1947, p. 147, Price \$2.00.

MORENO CLINIC

PSYCHODRAMATIC INSTITUTE PROGRAM — 1948-49

Part Scholarships Available

Special Rates for Veterans

In 1948 it will be twelve years since the Psychodramatic Institute opened its doors. During this period its Therapeutic Theatre has been applied to treatment, training and research.

The Institutes of Beacon and New York have organized facilities for the enrollment of one hundred students for the course during the coming year. All students are to receive instruction and training in sociatry, socio- and psychodrama, sociometry and group psychotherapy, covering among others, the fields of: Nursery School, Child Guidance, Public School Education, Juvenile Delinquency, Speech Disorders, Intercultural Relations, Leadership Training, Family and Marriage Problems, Music Therapy, Therapeutic Films, Rehabilitation of the Returned Soldiers and their Families, Community and Religious Problems.

The objectives of the program are: (a) Training of directors of psychodrama, sociodrama and group psychotherapy in the conducting of sessions; (b) Training auxiliary egos (therapeutic and research actors), of group interviewers and group lecturers; (c) Training of social analysts in clinical and actual situations; (d) Seminars covering the fields of psychodrama, sociodrama, sociometry, group psychotherapy and therapeutic motion pictures; (e) Research and field projects in psychodrama and group psychotherapy, with study of methods and analyzing and classifying psychodrama, sociodrama and sociometric materials.

Teaching and training will be given jointly at the auditorium of the New York Institute and at the Therapeutic Theatre of the Moreno Clinic.

Students fall under two categories: Category A: the Beacon Group-Enrollment in this group is limited to 30 students. Classes and sessions begin on June 1st and last for 4 months, until October 1st. Students of this group receive their room, board and training at the Psychodramatic Institute at Beacon, N. Y. The fee for students of this group is \$60.00 per week, \$240.00 for a four weeks' stay. Directorial work is part of the training of this group. Application for enrollment in this group should be in our hands by May, 1948, with registration fee of \$5.00. Members of the Beacon group may attend New York sessions at a small additional expense.

B: The New York Group-Students live in New York (those who have private residence) or commute from out of town and attend the classes at the New York Institute at 101 Park Avenue. These courses are continuous throughout the year. For this group sessions and classes are given 3 times a week in the late afternoon and evening, so that they are able to pursue a professional occupation during the day, or other academic studies. The full enrollment capacity of this group is 80 students. The weekly tuition fee is \$20.00, the fee for a 12 weeks' course is \$240.00; with additional training in directorial capacity the fee runs to \$360.00. There are a number of half scholarships available. Students who qualify for and obtain such scholarships pay half the tuition for the 12 weeks' course, \$120.00 and \$180.00 respectively. New York students may attend weekend sessions at Beacon, N. Y., staying at the Beacon Institute for the weekend if room is available, for an additional fee. Such weekend training is meant especially for students interested in directorial techniques and work with mental patients. All students are required to pay a registration fee of \$5.00 in advance.

J. L. Moreno, M.D., Director of the Psychodramatic Institute in Beacon and New York City, assisted by a staff of instructors, will conduct the seminars and sessions. Students will be permitted to use the library at the Psychodramatic Institute. Every student is expected to formulate and work out a research project related to his own field of application, under guidance. Upon completion of the course every student will obtain an official acknowledgment from the director as to the duration of the course and the accomplishments of the student.

Students interested in training courses in 1948 and 1949 may file their applications *now*; they will be placed on a preference list which will assure their admission.

ENROLLMENT CARD FOR STUDENTS
MORENO CLINIC
PSYCHODRAMATIC INSTITUTE

I enroll for a _____ weeks training course at
Beacon, New York

from _____ till _____

_____ and enclose herewith the registration fee of \$5.00.

Name, in full (please print) _____

Address _____

Fill in, tear off and mail to Moreno Clinic, Psychodramatic Institute,
Beacon, New York

Three New Publications:

**SOCIOMETRY, SOCIATRY and the
REBUILDING of OUR WORLD ORDER**

A CRITIQUE OF MARXISM

By

J. L. MORENO

PRICE \$2.00

**THE THEATRE OF
SPONTANEITY**

AN INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHODRAMA

by

J. L. MORENO

The pioneering book on Psychodrama and Sociodrama, Role- and Spontaneity Training. With Illustrations, Charts and Action Diagrams; Historical Documentations and Glossary of Terms. Clothbound, Price \$3.75.

**THE PSYCHODRAMA
OF GOD**

A NEW HYPOTHESIS OF THE SELF

With Introduction and Comments by

J. L. MORENO

This volume is the original exposition of Moreno's philosophy of the creator and of creativity.

CLOTHBOUND, PRICE \$6.00

BEACON HOUSE
101 Park Avenue
New York City

BEACON HOUSE
P. O. Box 311
Beacon, New York

SOCIODRAMA AND PSYCHODRAMA

METHODS AND PROTOCOLS

**A HAND BOOK FOR EDUCATORS
AND STUDENTS**

Edited by

J. L. MORENO

A SYMPOSIUM OF MORE THAN THIRTY CONTRIBUTORS

cca 250 Pages

AVAILABLE IN SPRING, 1948

Write for Copies to

BEACON HOUSE INC.

P. O. Box 311 - Beacon, N. Y.

SOCIATRY

*Journal of
Group and Intergroup Therapy*

PSYCHODRAMA

SOCIOMETRIC METHODS

RE-GROUPING

ACTION METHODS

RE-TRAINING

THERAPEUTIC FILMS

SOCIAL CATHARSIS

SOCIODRAMA

SUBSCRIPTION \$6.00 YEARLY

FOREIGN POSTAGE \$1.00 ADDITIONAL

CURRENT SINGLE ISSUES \$2.50

Make Checks Payable to Beacon House Inc.

SOCIOMETRY

*A Journal of
Inter-Personal Relations*

1937 - 1948

ELEVENTH YEAR OF ITS PUBLICATION

The First Journal of Inter-Personal Relations.

SUBSCRIPTION \$6.00 YEARLY

FOREIGN POSTAGE \$1.00 ADDITIONAL

CURRENT SINGLE ISSUES \$2.50

Make Checks Payable to Beacon House Inc.

NEW REVISED EDITION

ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

WHO SHALL SURVIVE

A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM
OF INTERHUMAN RELATIONS

by

J. L. MORENO

With a New Introduction

"SOCIOMETRY, PAST AND PRESENT"

Over 120 Colored Charts and Illustrations

Nearly 500 Pages

PRICE \$6.00

AVAILABLE SPRING, 1948

BEACON HOUSE

PUBLISHERS

101 Park Avenue - New York 17, N. Y.

Send Orders to Box 311, Beacon, New York

PSYCHODRAMA MONOGRAPHS

- No. 1. Sociodrama, A Method for the Analysis of Social Conflicts—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 2. Psychodramatic Treatment of Performance Neurosis—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 3. The Theatre for Spontaneity—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$3.75)
- No. 4. Spontaneity Test and Spontaneity Training—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 5. Psychodramatic Shock Therapy—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 6. Mental Catharsis and the Psychodrama—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 7. Psychodramatic Treatment of Marriage Problems—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 8. Spontaneity Theory of Child Development—J. L. Moreno and Florence B. Moreno (List Price—\$2.00)
- No. 9. Reality Practice in Education—Alvin Zander, Ronald Lippitt and Charles E. Hendry (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 10. Psychodrama in the Schools—Nahum E. Shoobs (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 11. Psychodrama and Therapeutic Motion Pictures—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 12. Role Analysis and Audience Structure—Zerka Toeman (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 13. A Case of Paranoia Treated Through Psychodrama—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 14. Psychodrama as Expressive and Projective Technique—John del Torto and Paul Cornyetz (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 15. Psychodramatic Treatment of Psychoses—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 16. Psychodrama and the Psychopathology of Inter-Personal Relations—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$2.00)
- No. 17. Origins and Development of Group Psychotherapy—Joseph I. Meiers (List Price—\$1.75)
- No. 18. Psychodrama in an Evacuation Hospital—Ernest Fantel (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 19. The Group Method in the Treatment of Psychosomatic Disorders—Joseph H. Pratt (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 20. Life-Situation Test—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 21. The Future of Man's World—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 22. Psychodrama in the Home—Rosemary Lippitt (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 23. Open Letter to Group Psychotherapists—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 24. Psychodrama Explores a Private World—Margherita A. Macdonald (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 25. Hypnodrama, A Synthesis Between Psychodrama and Hypnosis—J. L. Moreno (List Price \$1.50)
- No. 26. Action Counseling and Process Analysis, A Psychodramatic Approach—Robert B. Haas (List Price—\$2.00)

SOCIOMETRY MONOGRAPHS

- No. 1. Developments in Social Psychology, 1930-1940, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and Ruth Gallagher (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 2. Sociometry and the Cultural Order—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 3. Sociometric Measurement of Social Configurations—J. L. Moreno and Helen H. Jennings (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 4. Foundations of Sociometry—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 5. Group Method and Group Psychotherapy—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 6. A Constant Frame of Reference for Sociometric Research—Urie Bronfenbrenner (List Price—\$2.25)
- No. 7. Sociometric Control Studies of Grouping and Regrouping—J. L. Moreno and Helen H. Jennings (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 8. Diagnosis of Anti-Semitism—Gustav Ichheiser (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 9. Popular and unpopular Children, A Sociometric Study—Merl E. Bonney (List Price—\$2.25)
- No. 10. Prestige Rank in a Rural Community—Harold F. Kaufman (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 11. Personality and Sociometric Status—Mary L. Northway, Esther B. Frankel and Reva Potashin (List Price—\$2.25)
- No. 12. Psychological Organization of Groups in the Community—J. L. Moreno (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 13. Time as a Measure of Inter-Personal Relations—J. L. Moreno, Helen H. Jennings and Joseph Sargent (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 14. Sociometry of Leadership—Helen Jennings (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 15. Sociometric Structure of a Veterans' Cooperative Land Settlement—Henrik F. Infield (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 16. Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, A Sociometric Study—Charles P. Loomis (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 17. The Research Center for Group Dynamics—Kurt Lewin, with a professional biography and bibliography of Kurt Lewin's work by Ronald Lippitt (List Price—\$1.50)
- No. 18. Interaction Patterns in Changing Neighborhoods: New York and Pittsburgh, A Sociometric Study—Paul Deutschberger (List Price—\$1.25)
- No. 19. Sociometry in Education, A Symposium with Ten Contributions, Edited by Merl E. Bonney (List Price—\$3.00)

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

A Symposium with more than Fifty Contributions

EDITED BY J. L. MORENO

Clothbound, Price \$6.00

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
PSYCHODRAMA, SOCIODRAMA
SOCIOMETRY AND
GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

Training In Human Relations

BEACON, NEW YORK

— DECORATION WEEKEND —

First Day (May 28, 1948) — PSYCHODRAMA

Second Day (May 29, 1948) — SOCIODRAMA

Third Day (May 30, 1948) —

SOCIOMETRY AND GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

THE CONFERENCE IS SPONSORED BY THE MORENO
CLINIC AND OPENS FRIDAY, (MAY 28th) 11:00 A.M.,
AT THE THERAPEUTIC THEATRE WITH A SESSION
DIRECTED BY J. L. MORENO, M.D.

FEE: \$35.00 — Including room, board and tuition for the three day conference and training session. Make arrangements *now*.

(On June 1, 1948, following the conference, the summer training course of the Psychodramatic Institute begins.)

for Further Information Write:

MORENO CLINIC

BEACON, NEW YORK