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Founded by J. L. Moreno, 1947

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Sociometric Applications in a Corporate Environment

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ABSTRACT. We have discovered that an organizational development team in the corporate setting of a major gas and electric utility can use the techniques of sociometry effectively. We present a brief historical background of the science of sociometry and then discuss our experiences in applying sociometric techniques to both large and small groups in a large corporation. We present specific step-by-step techniques that have proved effective in an organization development intervention in a system of 40 people. Our experience suggests that as a method of working with groups and a method of measuring results, sociometry has great potential for usefulness in organizational settings. The evaluation method used in the 40-person system application represents a major contribution to the organizational development field, which has in the past had difficulty measuring the effect of its work in a system in a change process.

THE TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOMETRY and roleplaying can be used effectively in a corporate setting. Sociometry is a powerful tool for reducing conflict and improving communication in a work group because it allows the group to see itself objectively and to analyze its own dynamics. After group members see their group through the window of the sociogram, they can improve mutual understanding and interpersonal skills through roleplaying.

Theory and History

Whenever people gather, they make choices—where to sit or stand, who is perceived as friendly and who not, who is central to the group, who is rejected, who is isolated. All people use a set of criteria to make these

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choices. When members of a group are asked to choose others in the group based on a specific criteria, everyone in the group can make choices and describe why the choices were made. A description emerges of the networks inside the group, and a drawing of those networks is called a sociogram.

Having a drawing or map of the relationships helps the group to engineer how it wants to proceed with relationship building. The sociogram at the end of a group's work session may be different from the one at the beginning. The group and/or consultant can compare the map of the group's relationships at the beginning to the map of where the group is at the end in order to measure the changes that have occurred.

J. L. Moreno conducted the first long-range sociometric study from 1932 to 1938 at the New York State Training School for Girls in Hudson, New York. The first sociograms were published in 1934, revealing the positive and negative connections in a group. Initially, sociometric techniques were applied in the selection of work partners and school roommates and in forming military teams. When sociometric criteria were used for selection, the group was much more successful (by such measures as satisfaction, costs, and productivity), than when sociometric criteria were not employed. Moreno (1934) in *Who Shall Survive?* discusses these initial experiments in detail.

The charting of the sociometric choices and the plotting of sociograms are tedious processes. In the last few years, computer technology has begun to solve the problem of data compilation and analysis. Robert R. Blake and Anne Adams McCause of Scientific Methods, Inc. (P.O. Box 195, Austin, TX 78767) presented a paper entitled "The Rediscovery of Sociometry" at the Moreno Centennial Conference in the spring of 1989. They detailed the past and current applications of sociometry in corporate settings and discussed available computer technology. Dr. Thomas Treadwell of West Chester University's Department of Psychology (West Chester, PA 19383, 215-436-2945) has a computerized software package called COMPSOC SOCIOMETRY PROGRAM in its final stages of development for the IBM PC. We have developed some sociometry processing applications for the Macintosh.

Corporate Applications

Corporate applications range from technically simple to sophisticated and complex. We will discuss examples at both ends of this spectrum—a simple method for the selection of a leader of a task group and a complex intervention in a 40-person system in conflict.

Regardless of the level of technical complexity, two elements make the difference between an effective use of sociometry and a mediocre one.

The selection of the criteria is one element, and the ethics, or value base, of the consultant is the other. The selection of the criteria is discussed in the section below. Because sociometry looks at a system as a whole, it is most appropriately used by a consultant who has a whole-systems approach—a consultant who helps a group look at its norms and behaviors in the context of the systems and environment in which the group finds itself. An unacceptable approach would be to assess the data gathered with the intent of discovering a specific objective, such as determining who was dysfunctional in the group, with the possible outcome of that person becoming a scapegoat and perhaps being fired. The importance of the ethical use of sociometry in corporate settings cannot be minimized. Along the same line, the ethics of the consultant concerning confidentiality must be impeccable; sociometric data are so powerful that, if misapplied, a person's career and self-esteem could be destroyed.

Method

Carl Hollander (1978a) states that there are five basic stages to a sociometric intervention: criteria selection, matrix formation, sociogram charting, analysis, and application. These occur no matter how simple or complex the intervention. For the purposes of organization development work, a sixth stage, evaluation, should be incorporated. Evaluation consists of assessing the effectiveness of the work done in the intervention.

Criteria Selection

Criteria selection makes or breaks the sociometric intervention. Each criterion presents, in as simple a format as possible, a meaningful choice to the person. For example, if asked, "Whom would you most like to have as part of this auditing [specified type of] work team to audit remote sites [to work in this specified way]?", the person will name a choice. The selection of the criteria is crucial because any question will elicit information, but the information may be confusing, distracting, or irrelevant to the intervention's objective. The criteria must be like a surgeon's knife—most effective when it cleanly isolates the material of interest. In responding to the question, each person will choose, based on an individual interpretation of the criterion. These interpretations, or sub-criteria, for this particular question could include: Do I want a person who works hard? who is a power-broker? who is amiable? a minority? An explicit statement of the criterion will tend to reduce the number of interpretations and will therefore increase the reliability of the data.

Hollander (1978a) strongly suggests that the criteria be as simply stated and as straightforward as possible. He says, "The number and range of

choices must be stated clearly: You may name as many or as few as you like. Name your first and last choice. Rank order every person in the group. You may, or may not, include yourself." Generally, Hale (1985) suggests that questions be future-oriented, imply how the results are to be used, and specify the boundaries of the group. The criteria should be designed to keep the level of risk for the group appropriate to the group's cohesion and stage of development.

A Simple Application

A simple sociometric application is the selection of a person by asking a group to make a sociometric choice based on a specific criterion. This application uses action sociometric techniques, described by Hale (1985, p. 145) as choice-making "occurring in the here and now on identifiable criteria for selection" (see Table 1). One example of this simple applica-

TABLE 1
Hale's Classifications of Criteria, with Examples

General	vs.	Specific
With whom would you walk after dinner?	Of the people you met tonight:	With whom would you walk in an unsafe part of the city at night?
Actual	vs.	Hypothetical
Whom in the group do you choose to invite to share your home for a week?		With whom in the group would you share a bomb shelter in a nuclear attack?
Action	vs.	Diagnostic
Whom would you choose as team leader?	In your work group:	Whom do you trust?
Personal	vs.	Social
Of the people you know, with whom would you leave your children?		Of anyone in the division, with whom would you work on an assigned project?
One-way	vs.	Two-way
Whom in the group do you choose to cross-train?		Whom in the group would you choose to work with to design a cross-training program?

tion is the selection of a task leader by the group that will be doing the task. This example described below, also illustrates the concepts of sociogram and sociometric star. The exercise is graphic and concrete.

The consultant asks the group to stand up and then says: "Whom in this group would you most like to have as leader for this task? Move as you need to and place your right hand on the shoulder of the person you choose. There are only two rules: You may choose only one person, and you must choose someone."

If an organizationally skilled, detail-competent person is most desired as leader, the criterion might be: Whom in this room would you trust to take all the orders for lunch, collect the money, get the correct orders, and make the right change? If an intuitive, big picture, future-oriented person is most desired, the criterion might be: If you had to project a new cultural phenomenon, unheard of at this time, whom in this room would you ask for information?

This exercise may be repeated several times in a short period. Different criteria can be created so that each member of the group could emerge as the most selected person—the sociometric star for a specific criterion. In each of the examples above, a different person would likely emerge as the sociometric star.

As another option with this exercise, the consultant could change the rule from you must choose someone to you don't have to choose anyone. Under this rule, any isolates in the group will identify themselves through their lack of choosing and being chosen.

The consultant may need to remind the individuals in the group that the choice must be absolutely honest and not made from any need to protect, to gain favor, or for any other reason that manipulates the group's patterns of interpersonal connectedness. Hollander (1985) suggests "Honesty often can be encouraged by sincerely communicating the seriousness of the sociometric choices to the respondents." This is the beginning of learning to trust the natural process of the group—acknowledging and respecting that the natural patterns of connectedness will lead the group in the direction it needs to travel. Once a group experiences this concrete way of selection, it can use this as one tool for making choices efficiently and accurately when the criterion is specific.

We would caution that there is a high degree of political awareness in corporate settings that needs to be considered when consultants use an action sociometric technique. We have found, for example, that a group of managers asked to select from the criteria, Whom would you choose as champion of this politically important effort? invariably selects their vice president. We have had to learn to ask less political questions, such as those listed below.

Whom in this room would you choose:

- to generate creative ideas?
- for support in taking risks?
- to relay messages accurately?
- for help in dealing with a difficult client?
- to run a business for profit?
- to get reliable information on top management decisions?
- to keep a confidence?
- who gives recognition for a job well done?
- who has shown the most growth in the past year?

We have used this action sociometric technique in small groups and in the group of thirty-six participants in the following example. We see no reason why it would not work as well in even larger groups. People enjoy the activity and appreciate the giving and receiving of recognition that takes place. We took instant photos from a high vantage point so people can later see themselves in the action sociogram.

While the group is in each pattern, we help the members of the group to see and understand the sociogram by asking them to describe the pattern, asking how the pattern reflects real life, and asking what the group would need to do to close up any gaps. The members learn very quickly and concretely about the informal organization underlying their formal organization. As one participant said, "It's how we really feel; but we don't say it very often." At this point, the action sociometry can be used as initial training for diagnostic sociometric work.

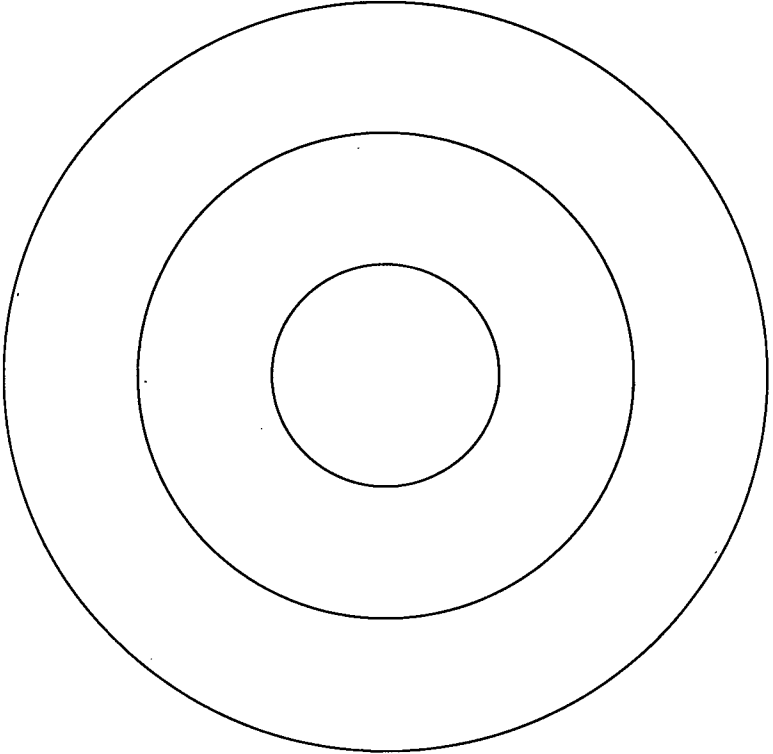
A More Complex Application

Sociometry has proved to be a powerful adjunct to standard organization-development (O.D.) techniques in resolving conflict and building teamwork in a large system. Our case example is a 40-person system, consisting of a vice president and all those who report to him directly or indirectly. The consultants were invited to help with the presenting problems of infighting and low morale.

When we were invited to this organization, we knew from informal contact with employees in the organization and from our initial contracting meetings with our principal client, the vice president, that trust was a key issue. Many commented, "People just don't trust each other around here." As part of our gathering of data about the organization, we included a sociometric criterion about trust. Our data-gathering process consisted of an organizational diagnosis questionnaire and individual interviews with all members of the organization. The interviewer asked several

open-ended questions about the organization, in addition to the sociometric question.

For the sociometric question, the interviewer reminded the employee about the confidentiality of any response and then presented a blank "trust target" (Figure 1). The interviewer then said, "Consider all the people in the organization with whom you have a working relationship. Of these, please write in the center ring the names of those toward whom you feel high trust, in the second ring the names of those toward whom you feel moderate trust, and in the outer ring, the names of those toward whom you feel distrust or antagonism." This question was the sociometric criterion on which interviewees based their choices.



Name _____ Date _____

Criterion: _____

FIGURE 1. Target for Use in Social Atom Explorations

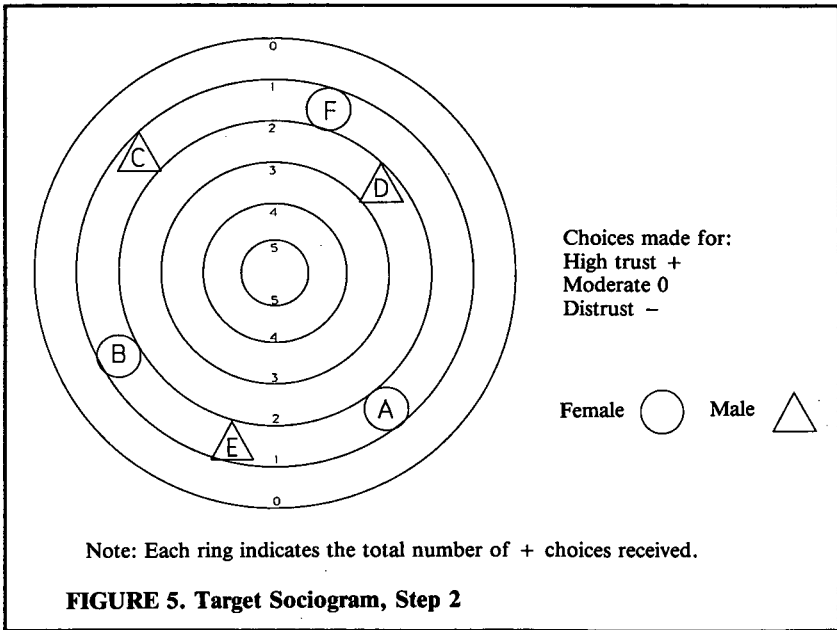
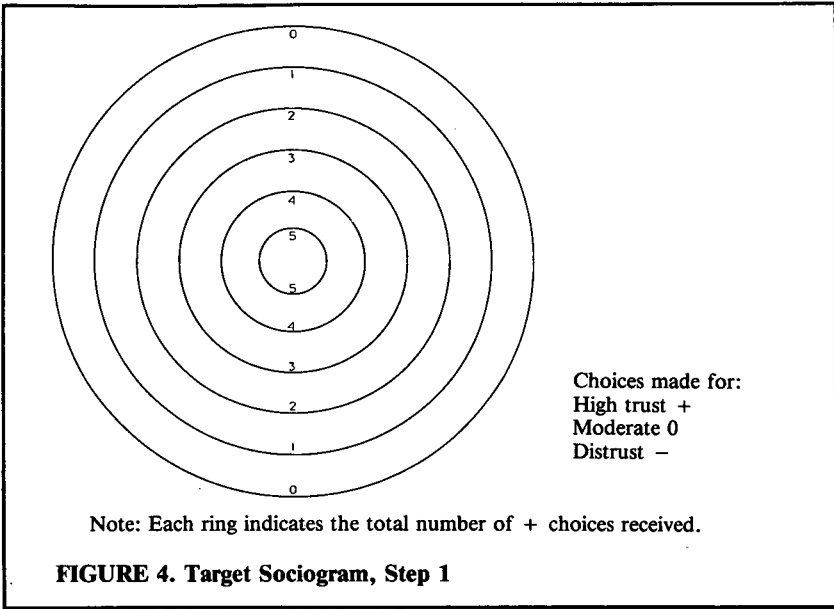
We could have improved our data by making the criterion less ambiguous; that is, by defining more clearly what was meant by trust. We also should have been more consistent in how we presented the question; one interviewer presented an organizational chart to help people make selections, and one did not. If neither had presented an organizational chart, it is possible some people would not have been chosen at all. Despite these problems in methodology, we still obtained useful data.

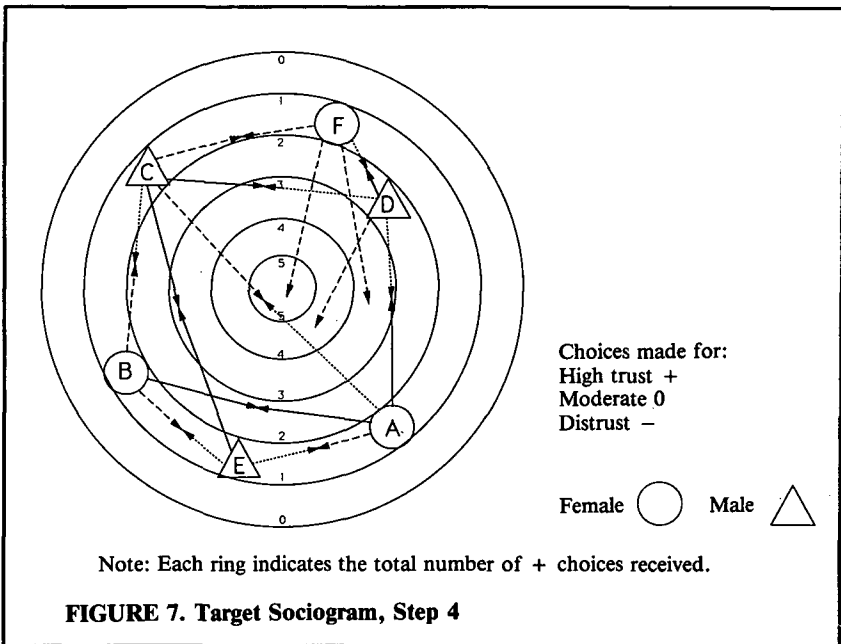
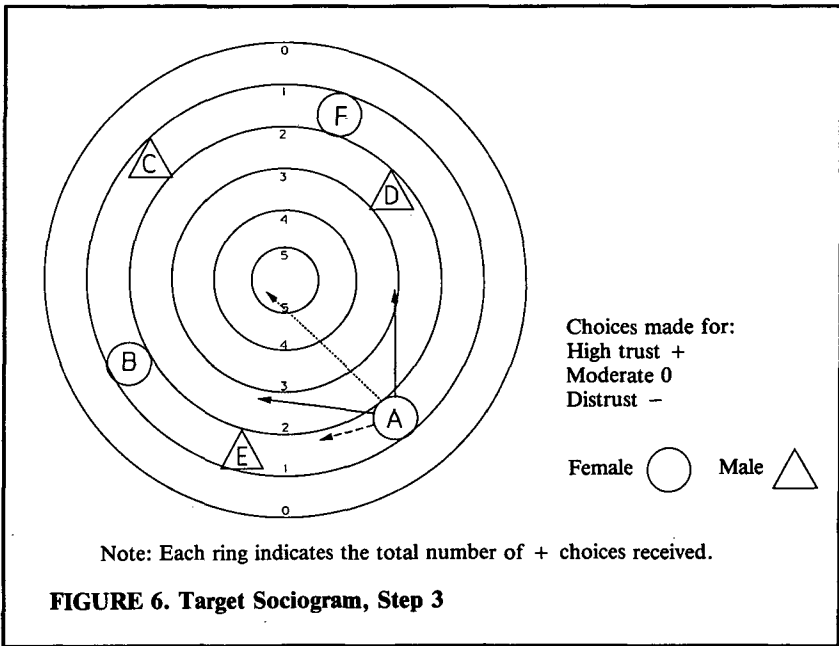
We considered including a rejection study—asking the question: Whom do you actively distrust?—but decided not to because the data generated from such an inquiry would, when fed back to the group, further “antagonize the participants, destroy their trust, and perhaps cause someone unnecessary pain, embarrassment, or exposure” (Hollander, 1978a). We also believed that the outermost circle on the trust target would give us sufficient information to identify the problems.

The classical notation system as illustrated by Ann Hale (1985) requires a choice for every person. We encourage people not to force choices that may not exist because such a choice may skew the information’s accuracy. In the corporate environment, people may not have working relationships with every person in the work unit. A person may emerge as an isolate, and that may be accurate if that person works alone and does not need to be part of a team. The question for such an individual becomes whether he or she needs social contact or has enough from other sociometric networks to which he or she belongs. The question for the group, because membership on the team is not a requirement for the work, becomes a question of whether or not the members are comfortable with that person in the role of isolate.

After selecting the criterion and gathering the data, we charted the matrix of responses (Figure 2). This matrix showed us who had high or medium trust or distrust for whom, as well as how many times a person chose others and how many times a person was chosen in each of the categories. High and medium trust or distrust was charted as +, 0, and –. Another description of the process of forming the matrix is presented by Hale (1985).

We next charted the sociogram of the organization by drawing lines of high and medium trust and distrust between people. We did this both directly on the organizational chart and in the more traditional way (see Figures 3 and 7). The sociomatrix and the sociogram immediately told us where the interpersonal problems were in the organization, which individuals needed coaching, and which relationships needed strengthening or disputes needed resolution. They also identified the stars, information that would be essential to rebuilding the organization successfully.





Seeing the sociometric data charted was exciting and useful to us because we could immediately see exactly where problems existed, which relationships needed improvement, and whom we should recruit as allies in the conflict management effort.

We followed analysis with application. A major part of the application consisted of holding offsite meetings for the management team and then for each unit in the organization. The agenda for these meetings included a number of standard organization-development processes as well as feedback to the group about its own sociometric data. The number of participants in these sessions ranged from 4 to 10. The sociometric feedback to the group enabled the group to see itself objectively, to analyze its functioning, to begin to make agreements about how to improve its functioning, and to do all this in a relatively short time.

The sociometric method is particularly effective because it builds on data that group members accept and because it enables members to see themselves as others see them without provoking defensiveness. It frames confusing interpersonal relationships objectively, so even the least skilled person in a group can see what needs to happen. For people used to working with blueprints and diagrams, it is very comforting to have their team dynamics drawn. They know how to adjust drawings so that symmetry occurs; now they can adjust relationships so that synergy occurs.

Results

The sociometric technique can also be used to measure results. In our case example, we re-administered the sociogram at the end of a year's work in the system. The question we asked was the same as it had been a year before (i.e., high trust, moderate trust, distrust/antagonism). We gave each person a new blank sociometric target as well as a list of the people he or she had included in the first target. These names were in random order so that position on the list did not correspond to the level of trust. We asked each person to re-distribute these names on his or her target and then, in a different color of ink, add new names to the target.

In this way, we measured changes in trust level and also changes in the amount of relatedness in the group. In our case sample, we found that distrust/antagonism had been cut in half, high trust had increased by 19%, and that significant working relationships had increased by an average of five per person.

We also calculated the coefficient of cohesion of the group both before and after our intervention. This coefficient of cohesion is the number of mutual choices—I choose you at the same level that you choose me—divided by the total choices made, with the maximum possible value

equal to 1.0. This coefficient is a measure of the degree of bonding among members in the group. Hollander (personal communication, 1990) generally looks at this coefficient in terms of quartiles: A group scoring in the top quartile (.75 to 1.00) would be a highly functioning team; a group scoring in the lowest quartile would be a group with very low cohesion.

In our case example, the coefficient of cohesion of positive mutuals (total positive mutuals divided by total positive choices) went from 31% to 56%. The overall coefficient of cohesion (total mutuals, positive, zero, and negative, divided by total choices) went from 28% to 43%. These data confirm subjective observations of improvement. Sociometric data are particularly valuable in a field with relatively few objective measures of evaluation.

In the closing session, we used an action sociometry with the group, based on the criteria discussed earlier in the simple application section. The group responded openly, was very involved, and enjoyed the process. Most likely, the members would have been incapable of this activity before the intervention.

Conclusion

We conclude that an organizational development team can effectively use sociometry in a corporate setting. The evaluation method used in the 40-person system application contributes to the organizational development field, which, in the past, has had difficulty measuring the effect of its work in a system in a change process.

As a method of working with groups and as a method of measuring results, we conclude that sociometry has a bright future, especially when new software becomes available to process the data.

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Influence, Leadership, and Social Desirability in Psychotherapeutic Groups

Sarah Ben-David

ABSTRACT. This article concerns a study that examined the issue of leadership in a psychotherapeutic group and the correlation between social desirability and influence within these groups. A sociometric questionnaire was administered to nine therapeutic groups working under the same therapist. Six of the groups were made up of prisoners serving sentences in an Israeli maximum security prison. Members of the remaining groups were probation officers and students in a teacher-training seminary. Responses to the questionnaire indicated the existence of three types of intergroup leadership/member relationships: a popular, socially desirable, and influential leader found in the sex-offender therapeutic groups, an unpopular yet influential leader as found in violent groups, and a sociometric star with no relation to the degree of his or her influence found in the remaining groups.

THE SOCIOMETRIC STATUS, leadership, social desirability, and degree of influence of the natural group leader, the therapist, and the assigned director are extensively discussed in sociological literature (Dies, 1985; Gallagher, 1974; Hollander & Webb, 1958; Jennings, 1958; Kellermann, 1985; Kinder & Kolmann, 1976; Koomen, 1988; Lapp, 1962; Lundgren & Knight, 1977; Parson, 1985; Yates, 1976).

The individual's sociometric status within a particular group was found to be directly related to the person's degree of interest in that group, the level of emotional maturity of the group member, and the degree to which his or her efforts are directed toward attaining the goals set down and defined by the group (Jennings, 1958; Koomen, 1988; Yates, 1976). People undoubtedly tend to become "friends" with and are attracted to those who are similar to them and who hold familiar opinions and attitudes (Ben-David, 1983; Newcomb, 1961; Parson, 1985). Jennings (1958) notes that the leader of a given group can also be defined as the individual awarded the greatest number of votes by the group members. He is the sociometric star of that group. Bales and Slater (1951) claim, however, that the choice of a leader is based on universal considerations, whereas

the choice of the best-liked or sociometric star is generally based on particular ones (Parsons & Shills, 1951). Therefore, there is little chance that the two choices will be one and the same person (Hollander & Webb, 1958).

The research study discussed in this article examined the social structure of nine therapeutic groups—six prisoner groups and three civilian or noncriminal groups. The primary question posed by the research was as follows: Is there a link between an individual's influence within the therapeutic group and that person's popularity and sociometric status as a member of that group? The main tool employed in the research was a sociometric questionnaire.

The Sociometric Questionnaire

The sociometric questionnaire is used extensively as a diagnostic tool with both research and practical application. Its primary attribute is that it reflects actual behavior and the pattern of relationships existing in real situations rather than internalized attitudes and theoretical postulates (Lindsey & Byrne, 1968; Passariello & Newnes, 1988). Responses to the sociometric questionnaire require the subject to distinguish between his or her personal reference and the overall evaluation of a hypothetical situation (Bales & Slater, 1965; Burk, 1968; Silfen, 1978). The questionnaire requires definitive answers.

1. From among the group members, whose company do you like best?
2. From among the group members, whose company do you like least?
3. Which group member, in your opinion, has the greatest influence on events occurring within the group?
4. Which group member, in your opinion, has the least influence on events occurring within the group?

Questions 1 and 2 relate to the subject's social preferences, whereas Questions 3 and 4 allude to an individual's influence within the group. For this reason, the questionnaire cannot truly be defined as a classical sociometric tool.

A review of the professional literature reveals that there is no optimum method for accurately weighing responses to the sociometric questionnaire (see Bjorstedt, 1956; Gronland, 1959; Yates, 1976). Consequently, responses to the sociometric questionnaire were analyzed on a dichotomous basis—chosen (mentioned) or not chosen (not mentioned). No attempt was made to weigh the responses. Participants were encouraged to respond to the questions honestly and truthfully and were guaranteed anonymity upon request. So many made use of the anonymity option that it was impossible to construct a sociogram.

The Subjects

The sociometric questionnaire was administered to nine therapeutic groups, all of which worked with the same therapist. Two groups consisted of prisoners sentenced for miscellaneous offenses ($n = 10, 13$); two other groups were made up of prisoners sentenced for armed robbery ($n = 9, 8$); two groups were prisoners convicted of sex offenses ($n = 17, 14$); two groups were probation officers ($n = 7, 9$); and one group was students attending a teacher-training seminary ($n = 10$). The questionnaire was administered at the beginning of a group therapy session.

Findings

An analysis of the correlation between leadership and sociometric status, as well as the degree of differentiation of responses, revealed that there were three types of group structures:

1. In the two robber groups, a significant negative correlation existed between social desirability or sociometric status and influence within the groups, $r = -.62, p = .05$; $\chi^2 (1, n = 17) = 4.56, p < .05$.

2. In the two groups of sex offenders, there was a significant positive correlation between these two variables, $r = .56, p = .05$; $\chi^2 (1, n = 31) = 6.38, p < .02$.

3. Responses for noncriminal groups, $\chi^2 (1, n = 26) = .79, p > .30$, and miscellaneous offenders group, $\chi^2 (1, n = 23) = .041, p > .50$, showed no correlation between social desirability and influence within the group.

Table 1 presents the distribution of these variables in the three types of groups.

The two robber groups were also characterized by a particularly broad dispersal of sympathy and no particular sociometric star. By contrast, in each of the two sex-offender groups, an outstanding and well-liked individual sociometric star was chosen.

A similar pattern was observed regarding the degree or level of differentiation in the responses. In the robber groups, there was little or no differentiation in the responses. For example, a person named as a good friend was also chosen in other questions. The sex-offender groups and the two probation-officer groups had a high level of differentiation in their responses. The miscellaneous offenders and the student groups indicated medium or different levels of differentiation.

Discussion

Results of the research indicate the existence of a relatively unique phenomenon relating to the personality traits and the social characteristics of

the members of the groups under consideration. The phenomenon becomes particularly obvious when we note the marked difference between the robber and the sex-offenders groups.

Individual members of the robber groups have, in their past, employed aggression as a prime tool for attaining their goals. These individuals also possess a particularly machoistic gender perception. The results of the questionnaire reveal that the most influential members in the robber groups are not the ones most liked by other group members. It can be assumed that within the robber groups, there exists an internal struggle for control, power, and influence over the other members. As a result, those who exert their influence over and within the group generate a disproportionate amount of frustration among other group members who aspire to the same position. They are therefore not liked (see Burk, 1968).

By contrast, a competitive behavioral pattern does not emerge within the sex-offender groups. Aggressiveness in sex offenders is most often expressed indirectly. The sex offenders' masculine self-image is defective. Within this group, those exerting the most influence over the others are also the most popular. As such, there is legitimation for a group structure containing a highly influential leader.

Further support for this is to be found when we examine the distribution of sympathy in these groups. The dispersal of sympathy is extremely widespread in the robber groups, and there is no dominant group member or sociometric star. The reverse was evident with regard to the sex-offender groups. The distribution of sympathy is not widespread, and one dominant star did emerge. Therefore, it appears that within the robber groups, there exists an underlying force that does not permit the emergence of stars. On the other hand, the sex-offender groups encourage and support the emergence of leaders, at times creating such leaders where none exists. Reinforcement for this conclusion can also be found in the degree or level of differentiation in the responses. Within the robber groups, relationships seem total or all-inclusive. Meanwhile, in the sex-offender groups, relationships appear specific, facilitating an approach based on characteristics often found in a particular leader or star.

In summary, it appears that the robber groups prefer a group structure and intergroup relationship that are egalitarian in nature, whereas sex-offender groups seem to prefer a group structure possessing a clearly defined and obvious social hierarchy. The differences found in the relationship between influence within the group and social acceptance or popularity may be explained in terms of the special characteristics of the individuals who make up the group, the social norms accepted by them, and their sociometric status outside the group.

One of the limitations of the sociometric questionnaire is that it does not allow an analysis of the motivation for or the reasoning behind the selections. Therefore, any attempt at explaining these findings must be viewed as tentative. Further research should be conducted to ascertain and evaluate factors relating to the differences between the groups and the therapeutic and theoretical significance of the findings.

Based on these findings, it would seem that violent criminal offenders reject domineering and powerful leaders, potential leaders, or other influential persons. It is therefore suggested that a more democratic approach be considered when treating this type of prisoner. Such an approach would eliminate competition within the group and enhance the therapeutic value of the treatment.

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Moreno's Sociometric Study at the Hudson School for Girls

A. Paul Hare

ABSTRACT. This article summarizes J. L. Moreno's sociometric reconstruction of the community at the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson between 1932 and 1938. It discusses, on the basis of Moreno's *Who Shall Survive?* (1953), the tests Moreno used (acquaintance, spontaneity, situation, roleplaying, parent, and family) with home and work groups and his procedures for reconstruction of the community. By the time Moreno had concluded his work at Hudson, attraction between the girls in the residential cottages had increased and the number of run-aways had decreased.

J. L. MORENO'S VERY ACTIVE CAREER centered on the belief that an individual could be spontaneous and creative only if surrounded by a supportive set of other individuals that he called a social atom. To this end, he developed sociometry as a set of measures to identify social networks, psychodrama as a method of social atom repair when individual therapy was indicated, and sociodrama for group and intergroup therapy (Hare, 1979, 1986; Fox, 1987).

Over the years, Moreno presented his basic ideas in many articles and chapters in books. Fox (1987) edited a comprehensive collection of Moreno's work in one volume. Moreno's description of his major sociometric reconstruction of the community at the Hudson School for Girls, some 300 pages in *Who Shall Survive?* (1953), is out of print and unlikely to be reprinted. For those already familiar with Moreno's research, the following summary will be a reminder of the complexity of his program of intervention. For others, it will serve as an introduction that may motivate them to read the original work in all its detail. Throughout the summary, most of the terms and phrases are Moreno's, and I have used quotation marks only when it is especially important that the reader be aware of Moreno's exact descriptions.

The Hudson School for Girls gave Moreno a chance to develop and use a number of sociometric techniques, including the sociometric test, the test of emotional expansiveness, the acquaintance test, the spontaneity test, the role playing test, and techniques that deal with interaction in small groups. Although he used some or all of these techniques in other educational or community settings, Moreno's work at the Hudson school from 1932 to 1938 represents his most extensive use of these methods. His aim was to balance the spontaneous social forces "to the greatest possible harmony and unity of all."

For Moreno, the work at the Hudson school was the closest he had come to a complete sociometric experiment. He cautioned, however, that one should be aware of how far it was from going the whole way. The school's administrative structure was only partially involved, the profit motive and economic dynamics did not enter into the experimental design, and the paternalistic character of the community made the experiment comparatively easy. A change in the system of values did not enter the experiment because the desire for such a change was not articulated in the membership. All in all, Moreno concluded, the complete sociometric experiment was still a project for the future.

The New York State Training School for Girls, near Hudson, New York, was the size of a small village. The 500 to 600 residents, girls, "still in their formative age," who were sent from every part of New York State by the courts, were to stay at Hudson for several years until their "training" had been completed.

In its organization, the community consisted of two groups—staff members and students. The complex included 16 residential cottages, a chapel, a school, a hospital, a small department store, an industrial building, a steam laundry, an administration building, and a farm. Black and White girls were housed in separate cottages. In education and in social activities, however, the girls mixed freely. In each house, a house-mother functioned as a parent. All meals were cooked in the houses under the direction of a kitchen officer. The girls participated in the houses in various roles—as waitresses, kitchen helpers, laundresses, or corridor girls.

The research at Hudson was first reported in 1934 in *Who Shall Survive?* In that edition, Moreno acknowledged the collaboration of Helen Jennings, who played a major role in collecting and analyzing data. The material in this article is summarized from the second edition of the book (Moreno, 1953, pp. 219–527).

Moreno wished to know about more than the simple social organizational details of the community. He observed that whatever the social structure of a particular cottage might be, it was necessary to determine

the psychological function of each of its members and the psychological organization of the cottage group. A girl's social function, for instance, might be that of supervising the dormitory, but her psychological function was that of the housemother's pet, someone who was rejected by the members of her group and isolated in it.

The social organization of the total community had beneath its outer appearance another aspect. Attractions and repulsions between Black and White girls gravely affected the social conduct of the community. Although the girls were housed separately, emotional currents radiating from White to Black girls and from Black to White had to be ascertained in detail, their causes determined, and their effects estimated. Similarly, emotional currents radiated from one cottage to another among the White trainees, irrespective of their housing and other distinctions. Psychological currents also flowed between the officers and students and among the officers themselves. The sum of all of these currents affected and shaped the character and conduct of each person and each group in the community.

Moreno was aware that his experiment would not be welcomed equally by all segments of the community (1953, pp. 220-222). Although he had the support of the superintendent, he also had to deal with the board of trustees, the staff, and the Department of Social Welfare in the city of Hudson. He sensed that he had friends and enemies in all these sections of the community. To measure his relationship with the various groups, he used a "sociometric self-rating," mapping out in his mind two or three times a day how he was interacting with the key groups upon whom the success or failure of the project depended.

Sociometric Tests of Home Groups

The natural family, the cell of the social organization in the community at large, was missing at Hudson. The girls were separated from their parents and were assigned to a housemother. They were separated from their siblings and placed in groups of girls who were unrelated to them and to each other. For the natural parent, a "social" parent had been substituted; for the natural child, a "social" child. Moreno used the sociometric test, asking individuals with whom they would choose to associate for a given activity, to determine the "drawing power" that one girl had for another or for the housemother and, in return, the drawing power of the housemother for a girl. Through this device, he wished to find out to whom each girl was attracted and by whom each girl was repelled. The analysis of all these attractions and repulsions would give an insight into the distribution of emotions in the community and the position of each individual and group in relation to the emotional currents.

The criterion on the sociometric test used at Hudson was the girls' like or dislike of other members of the community in terms of living in the same house with them. At that time, the school population from which the girls could select home associates was 505. After pretests, Moreno decided that, to provide sufficient data, each girl should be allowed five choices. The test was given to all the girls at the same time. Moreno always insisted that the criterion of choice should be clear and that the group or community should be reorganized on the basis of the results of the test. In this case, the instructions were as follows (1953, p. 104):

You live in a certain house with certain other persons according to the directions the administration has given you. The persons who live with you in the same house are not chosen by you and you are not chosen by them, although you might have chosen each other. You are now given the opportunity to choose persons with whom you would like to live in the same house. You can choose without restraint any individuals in this community whether they happen to live in the same house with you or not. Write down whom you would like first best, second best, third best, fourth best, and fifth best. Look around and make up your mind. Remember that the ones you choose will probably be assigned to live with you in the same house.

Moreno then classified each girl according to the choices she had made and the choices she had received and made a drawing to represent each girl's "social atom." Large circles represented other cottages and small circles represented girls within a cottage who had been chosen by the subject or had chosen her. A line extending halfway from one individual to another represented a choice; if the choice was positive, the line was solid, if negative, the line was dotted.

Larger "sociograms" were constructed to illustrate the choices of members of a single cottage. Moreno could then compare the actual composition of the cottage with the composition desired by its members: Whom would they like to have in and whom out of the cottage? In a typical cottage, Moreno observed that there were some girls who, like stars, captured most of the choices. Others formed mutual pairs, sometimes linked into long mutual chains or into triangles, squares, or circles. Some girls were not chosen at all.

After drawing sociograms to represent the choices for each cottage, Moreno found that the choices crisscrossed throughout the total community, uncovering the invisible dynamic organization that actually existed below the official one. Suddenly, what had seemed blank or impenetrable opened up as a great vista. The choices ran in streams from one cottage to another. Girls in some cottages concentrated their choices within their own group. Others gave so many choices to other cottages that it appeared that the residents desired to disband.

Limits of Emotional Interest

Instead of the 2,525 choices expected on the sociometric test (505 girls $\times$ 5 choices), only 2,285 were actually made. Individuals varied in the extent to which they used their choices. Two hundred girls used only four choices, and some used fewer. Moreno suggested that the process of slowing down of interest and the cooling off of emotional expansiveness represented the sociodynamic decline of interest. After a certain number of efforts, the interest grew fatigued. Extinction, the sociodynamic limit of a person's expansion, Moreno termed *social entropy*.

Sociodynamic Effect

Another process seemed to occur with peculiar regularity. The number of choices was not divided equally among the girls. Some attracted more attention, receiving more choices, whereas some attracted less attention, receiving fewer choices or remaining unchosen. A few girls received more than 40 choices, and 75 girls remained unchosen. Moreno called the process of persistently leaving out a number of persons in a group the *sociodynamic effect*.

Attractions, Repulsions, and Indifferences

Human relations, Moreno commented, could be compared to a two-ended stick. The emotions going from a person are only one half of the stick, those coming back are the other half. To gain information about the motives for each individual's choices, Moreno interviewed each girl to find out how she felt about living with the persons she had chosen or rejected and what her motives for choosing or rejecting them had been. Each of the persons she had named was also asked how she would feel about living with her and what her motives had been. Moreno designated the set of individuals who interlocked with any given individual the *social atom*. The sociometric test was the first attempt to detect these atoms. The interviews attempted to penetrate beneath the surface and determine what motivated the choice. For example, one girl said of her first choice, "We seem to understand each other, although we are very different." Her first choice declared that the individual who had chosen her was "so interesting. She seems to feel things so deeply." Moreno did not categorize the motivations by type.

At the Hudson school, the 505 different atomic structures often differed from the position of the individuals in their home groups. The structures frequently overlapped with one another, and many individuals were part of several structures.

Sociometric Classification

On the basis of the sociometric test, Moreno was able to classify each individual and each group within a community. In contrast to methods of classification that were current at the time, Moreno's approach did not classify individuals separately. Rather, he defined an individual in relation to other individuals and a group in relation to other groups. Moreno constructed a table for each individual that showed choices sent and choices received, within or outside of the group. In each four cells of the tables, the first figure represented attractions and the second (separated by a dash) represented the rejections. The choices and rejections sent and received inside the group represented an individual's position in the group. The choices and rejections given and received outside the group represented an individual's position in the community.

Moreno identified the following eight sociometric classifications; an individual might belong in several categories (1953, p. 235):

Positive or negative. Positive, the subject chooses others; negative, the subject does not choose others.

Isolated. The subject is not chosen and does not choose.

Extroverted or introverted. The extroverted subject sends the majority of her choices to individuals outside her own group; the introverted individual sends the majority of her choices to persons inside her own group.

Attracted. The subject uses more than half of the choices permitted.

Attractive. The subject receives more than half of the choices permitted. (*In or out* is added to indicate whether the choices are inside the subject's group or outside; when this is not added, the choices are understood to relate to both inside and outside the group.)

Rejecting. The subject uses more than half of the rejections permitted.

Rejected. The subject receives more than half of the rejections permitted.

Indifference. The subject is indifferent to the individuals who are attracted to her or who reject her.

In classifying individuals, Moreno did not rely on sociometric data alone. For example, the classification of one girl as isolated, rejected, and rejecting was corroborated by an intensive study of her conduct. The negative and isolated situation of another girl in the community was verified by her lack of sociability. In each case, the sociometric classification was substantiated by clinical evidence and further testing. Any change of conduct appeared immediately in the sociometric test. When the sociometric test showed a change in classification, a change in conduct was in evidence.

Even though two individuals might have the same or a similar sociometric classification, one person might be part of a network of individuals who were well adjusted, whereas the other might be chosen by individuals who were practically cut off from the rest of the community. Moreno thus observed that the sociometric position of an individual was not sufficiently defined unless the sociometric test was given to the whole community to which that individual belonged. The surrounding structure might throw new light upon the position of an individual and revise a premature interpretation. At the Hudson school, further differentiations between individuals were obtained by studying their relation to their housemothers and their classification in their own work groups.

Group and Community Organization

Several measures were derived to provide a basis for classifying types of group and community organization. For the cottage groups, the number of choices going inside the group were compared with those going outside the group. If the majority of the group members preferred to remain within the group, then the organization tended to be introverted. If the majority of the members wanted to live outside, then the group tended to be extroverted. Introverted group organizations tend to be warm and over-filled with emotion; extroverted group organizations tend to be cold, with little emotion spent within the group. When members were not interested in whether they lived with each other or with outsiders, Moreno said the organization was one of "solitaires." If the introverted and extroverted tendencies reached equilibrium, the organization was "balanced." On average, the members of the cottages at the Hudson school showed more attraction for members inside the cottage than outside. It was evident, therefore, that the cohesive forces at work in the community were stronger than the forces drawing the girls away from their cottage groupings.

Organization of Work Groups

The first goal of Moreno's research had been to analyze the relationships within and between cottage groups. When the research team next applied the sociometric test to the work situation, an additional factor had to be considered. This was the nature of the work, including the materials, tools, and machines. Two aspects now entered the test: (a) the relations of the workers to each other and their supervisor and (b) the relation of the workers to the particular technological process. A third aspect, the economic, was not evaluated in the test because the girls at Hudson received no monetary compensation.

The sociometric test was varied to fit the new situation. The tester entered the workroom and tried to achieve rapport with the group by explaining that sincere answers to the questions about to be asked might lead to a better adjustment of the work situation to their wishes. Each individual was asked the following questions:

1. Did you choose the work you are doing now? If not, name the work you would prefer to do.

2. Choose five girls from the community whom you would like best of all as co-workers and name them in order of preference: first choice, second choice, third, fourth, and fifth. The individual you choose may at present be in your home group or in this work group or in other groups. Choose without restraint whomever you prefer to work with.

3. Choose three co-workers from the group in which you are now participating whom you prefer to work with. Name them in order of preference: first choice, second choice, and third choice. Consider in choosing that some parts of the work are done by you in association with a second or third person and you may wish other associates instead of the ones you have now.

The test was given to all work groups in the community. Where incompatible individuals were identified, changes were made in the group composition or organization, resulting in an increase in productivity. In the steam laundry, for example, the two girls who had key roles as feeders of the machines were found to reject each other. One of them was the leader of a rebellious gang that had set off a race riot in the school. The two girls who, as catchers, removed the laundry from the machine also rejected each other. When the rebellious girl and one of the catchers were replaced, the relationships between members and with the supervisor improved. The relationship between the new pair of feeders was indifferent, and the relationship between the new pair of catchers was positive. As a result, the output of the whole group improved and interpersonal frictions were much reduced.

In a comparison of home groups with work groups, Moreno noted that a lack of positive choice within a work group may have had a less disturbing effect than lack of choice within a home group. Interest in the work could provide compensation for lack of interest in co-workers.

Acquaintance Test

Once the sociometric test had given information about the network of persons who had a fairly strong positive or negative attraction for each other, Moreno became interested in the number of people within each in-

dividual's range of social contact. To gain this information, Moreno devised the acquaintance test, which measured the volume of social expansion of an individual. The test was given to every incoming girl after she had been living in a cottage for 30 days, conditions were the same for every individual tested, and the test was repeated every 30 days. The instructions were as follows:

Write the names of all the girls whom you can recall at this moment to have spoken to at any time since you came to Hudson. It does not matter how long ago you made an acquaintance, nor if you spoke to her only once or many times. If you do not recall an acquaintance's full name, write her nickname or her first name or identify the person in some way. Do not include girls with whom you live in your cottage.

From an analysis of the data for 16 girls tested over a 6-month period, it was evident that the acquaintance volume varied considerably from individual to individual. Six months after entering the Hudson school, living under the same conditions and having the same opportunity to meet others, one individual had only 8 acquaintances, yet another had 131. The first girl's acquaintances were distributed among five cottages, whereas the second girl's were distributed among 16 cottages. Although the number of acquaintances showed some relation to a girl's intelligence, it was more closely related to her social and emotional skills.

The Spontaneity Test

After analyzing the sociometric network and the motivation of the members of a group, Moreno found that he wished to go more deeply into the structure of the group. He wanted to devise a way of watching how individuals entered into social relations. He felt that arousing and probing the spontaneity of the individual was the alpha and omega of the search.

As an example of the spontaneity test, Moreno presents in his book the case of Elsa, who was one of a group of five in her cottage of 25 girls. On the basis of the sociometric test, Elsa was classified as isolated and rejected. The data from the motivational analysis supported this classification.

The spontaneity test was developed to explore the range and intensity of the spontaneity of individuals in their exchange of emotions. Moreno observed a subject in spontaneous interaction with another person in the test situation and noted the other's type and volume of emotions and their spontaneous reactions to each other.

A subject was instructed as follows:

Throw yourself into a state of emotion towards X. The precipitating emotion may be either [*sic*] anger, fear, sympathy, or dominance. Develop any

situation you like to produce with her, expressing this particular emotion, adding to it anything which is sincerely felt by you at this time. Throw yourself into the state with nothing on your mind but the person who is opposite you. *Think of this person as the real person whom you know so well in everyday life. Call her by her actual name and act towards her the way you usually do.* Once you have started to produce one of these emotional states, try to elaborate the relations towards that person throughout the situation, living out any experience, emotional, intellectual, or social.

The partner received no instructions except to react as she would in actual life to the attitude expressed toward her by the subject. The two persons were not allowed to consult with each other before they began to act.

In his works, Moreno observes that this type of spontaneity test is not entirely unstructured because the two partners know one another. Life has already prepared them for each other and for the test. They do not need any preparation regarding their feelings for each other and the kinds of conflicts they get into. This is different from the psychodramatic situation test, in which the subject faces an auxiliary ego who is an artificial experimental agent.

In the course of the test, the person tested was placed opposite every person who was found to be related to her. After the subject had produced any one of the four states toward a partner, the partner was instructed to produce the state she chose toward the subject. The person tested could choose to produce the same state toward all partners (e.g., sympathy), or she might produce a different state each time. She might start out to be cordial and sympathetic but, before she knew it, her true feeling would show and she would warm up to anger and hostility.

The reaction time, the words spoken, the mimic expression, and the movements in space of both individuals were recorded by the tester. Every 10 seconds, the number of words spoken was recorded. The interaction pattern for each individual was symbolized along a time line of alternating periods of interaction and pauses, with the number of words spoken during each period of interaction indicated (1953, pp. 361-362). Today, we would videotape the exchange.

Situation and Roleplaying Tests

According to plan, Moreno moved with his research into further dimensions of group structure. The situation test was designed to explore the "situation matrix" consisting of space and time relations, locus and movements, acts and pauses, volume of words and gestures, initiation, transfer, and termination of scenes. The roleplaying test was designed to explore the "role matrix" of a group, which consists of private and social roles.

As an illustration, Moreno again described the activities of Elsa, who took part in one of the roleplaying groups that was organized for test purposes. She often acted out different roles—daughter, mother, girl-friend or sweetheart, housemaid or wealthy lady, pickpocket or judge. She acted parts in many different life situations as they had impressed themselves upon her while she was growing up in the slums of a great industrial city. In one of these situations, she was faced with a home conflict in which the mother and father had a heated argument that finally led to their separation. In another situation, she was fired from a job because she came in late; in a third situation, she faced a romantic conflict in which she loved a boy who was as poor and rejected as she was.

An analysis of the text and gestures produced in these roleplaying situations gave Moreno clues to better understand her early family life and the emotional tensions that gradually brought about her status at Hudson school. The roleplays also gave those members of the group who rejected her an opportunity to see Elsa operate in a variety of situations other than those to which they were accustomed.

In *Who Shall Survive?*, Moreno provided a detailed analysis of the data drawn from the spontaneity, situation, and roleplaying tests. He found that what may appear on the surface as an attraction or rejection may actually be a complex mix of emotions. In Elsa's case, he found that the network that contributed to her conflict was so complex that a spontaneous adjustment had become almost impossible for her to attain. An attempt at a cure involved a chain of individuals with whom her position was interlocked. School officials arranged for her to transfer to another cottage where she might be able to establish new relationships with the girls and with the housemother.

Further Sociometric Analysis

Moreno continued his sociometric analysis of aspects of community life with studies of the extent to which the cottage provided a "psychological home" for the girls, the network surrounding two girls who ran away, and the effect of having members of two races and only one gender in the community. One effect in the latter case was that some of the Black girls were cast in the male role by some of the White girls and became the object of infatuations.

As a method for analyzing the sociometric data for the whole community, Moreno made maps of the "psychological geography." The map showed the topographic outlay of the Hudson school and the psychological currents relating each region within it to every other region. Red lines from one cottage to another represented currents of attraction, black

lines currents of repulsion, and lines that were half red and half black represented split currents.

The maps demonstrated a trend of greater friendliness toward cottages and neighborhoods that were more distantly located and feelings of incompatibility toward adjacent groups. Being neighbors, it appeared, gave more occasion for friction because contacts were more frequent and intimate. It seemed that what was present and helpful was often forgotten by neighbors and what was unpleasant turned them away. An exception to the rule was two cottages that were so distant from the rest that they were more dependent upon each other. They developed more like a single family living in two houses because the attitudes of the two housemothers were conciliatory.

Interracial relations between the White and Black groups were another exception, but in the opposite direction. The closer the cottages for White girls were to the cottages for Black girls, the friendlier the attitude was between the groups. The farther the Whites' cottages were from the Blacks' housing, the less was the interest on both sides. Moreno suggested that one explanation for this was that the interracial choices and attractions were largely motivated by sexual interest. For this reason, the sexual current between White and Black girls became strong enough to override antagonistic racial currents.

An analysis of the data on girls who ran away from the school over a 2-year period indicated that girls who ran away lived in cottages ranked among the lowest for interest in living with members of the cottage, that is, the most "extroverted" cottages. Those cottages also tended to have a high number of incompatible pairs. Moreno concluded that it was always the organization of the group that kept an individual within the fold or forced the individual out.

Moreno continued to look in detail at the various types of relationships revealed through the sociometric data. In his book, he suggested how one could construct sociometric indices of these relationships that might provide clues to indicate the possibility of interventions, using group psychotherapy, psychodrama, roleplaying, or sociodrama (1953, pp. 452-455).

Construction and Reconstruction of the Community

Once Moreno had a grasp of the sociometric structure of the Hudson school, he set about the task of constructing compatible households as new girls entered the community and reconstructing old households and work groups as problems became evident. To help him in this task, Moreno devised two more tests, the parent test (1953, pp. 463-464), which allowed him to identify compatible pairs of girls and housepar-

ents, and the family test (1953, pp. 470–471), which allowed him to identify cottages that would welcome new girls.

For the parent test, the new girl was asked to entertain in her room in the reception cottage each of the housemothers who had a vacancy in her cottage. After the series of interviews, the girls and the housemothers were asked about their choices and their motivations for choices. The testing continued with the family test. The procedure was similar, only this time the new girl talked to a girl selected by the housemother who represented the general tone of the cottage. A different girl represented a cottage at each family test.

After completing the parent test and the family test for a new girl, Moreno went over the cottage organization for each potential assignment. The new girl might be placed immediately or, if no compatible situation could be found, she might be asked to remain in the reception cottage until the next test.

Entrance Test: Roleplaying

For the new girl, the tests were not yet over. She still had to go through an entrance test and, at the end of her stay at Hudson, an exit test. If her initial assignments to a cottage and work group did not prove satisfactory, she would have to go through a whole battery of tests again.

The entrance test consisted of three situations: family, work, and community. In each of these situations, newcomers enacted such crucial roles from their daily lives as daughter, sister, co-worker, wife or girlfriend, churchgoer, and student. The housemother and key members of the cottage took part in the roleplays with them. A jury was present to rate their performances. The roleplaying gave Moreno decisive clues for the most advantageous assignment of the newcomer.

Total Effect of Sociometric Reconstruction

Within a period of 18 months, 102 individuals (about one fifth of the population of the school) were initially assigned to a cottage or reassigned from one cottage to another. At the end of this period, the status of each cottage group had changed considerably when compared with its status before Moreno began his program of sociometric reconstruction.

A single case of initial assignment actually involved many more individuals. For example, when 20 new girls were assigned to cottages, more than 200 individuals were involved in some way when one considers the social atoms, the volume of acquaintances, and the positions in the networks of each of these 20 individuals. Moreno presented tables of data to show that

the ratio of interest increased in 15 cottages and decreased in 1. The average ratio of interest increased by about 10 percent. The sum of attractions, expressed in percentages, increased in 12 cottages and decreased in 3. The index of group attraction increased for 4 cottages, decreased for 10, and remained the same for 2.

Moreno indicated the best criterion for measuring the adjustment of individuals in a community such as the Hudson school was the number of girls who ran away, which showed the extent to which the community had become a psychological home for its members. Before the sociometric study, the Hudson school's level of runaways was relatively low in comparison with other state institutions, yet the number of incidents showed a remarkable drop during the years of Moreno's work.

The initial assignments through sociometric techniques had begun on February 22, 1933. After 4 months, the effect of the assignments became evident in the community. The number of runaways gradually dropped. During the following 8 months, only 6 Hudson residents ran away, an unprecedentedly low number. This would be unusual for an open population of an equal number of adolescents outside the institution. Because no essential change in the community setup had been made during this period, either in personnel or in the general character of the population received, the girls' greater inclination to remain at Hudson could be ascribed to the procedure of assignment. Moreno concluded that, because a greater number had reached the minimum of adjustment, few of them ran away.

The Impact of Moreno's Sociometry

After Moreno introduced the sociometric test, the method became so popular that his work was followed by hundreds of articles using some version of a sociometric or "near sociometric" test, primarily during the years 1950 through 1970. Reviews of the substantive findings and the methods are given in Bjerstedt (1963); Bramel (1969); Byrne and Griffitt (1973); Glanzer and Glaser (1959); Hale (1981); Hare (1976); Hare, Blumberg, Davies, and Kent (1992); Lindzey and Byrne (1968); and Moreno et al. (1960).

Since the end of the 1960s, interest in friendship groups and the underlying currents of attraction in formal organizations has continued, but the studies are no longer labeled as "sociometric." The research, now carried out primarily on university campuses with men and women who are dating, engaged to be married, or married, centers on the process of forming intimate bonds. The area of study is now labeled "close relationships" (cf. Kelley et al., 1983; Levinger, 1980). A close relationship is one in which the

two persons are willing to engage in self-disclosure. The function of friendship groups is now studied under the heading of support groups.

Readers of the current literature will find that Moreno had already begun to investigate most of the important aspects of friendship in his work at the Hudson school. For example, distinguishing an acquaintance from a friend, as Moreno did with the acquaintance test, is still necessary if one is to understand the underlying motivations for choice, as Moreno did in his motivation analysis, or to plot on a graph the degree of involvement over time, as Moreno did in his diagrams representing the interaction pattern of two individuals.

Moreno stated clearly that any test, including his own sociometric tests, only revealed the end product of an interaction rather than the interaction itself. He was more interested in the process. He devised the spontaneity test as a way of clarifying what actually went on in relationships between one person and a set of others. In a less complicated format, this procedure is now found in research in roleplays and laboratory experiments in which subjects with different degrees of intimate relationships are observed while they discuss revealing material or carry out other joint tasks.

Moreno did more than design a number of interesting tests. His goal at Hudson was the sociometric reconstruction of the community. By the time a new girl made her way through the situational tests, from entrance to exit test, she had presumably become quite familiar with roleplaying and the fact that Moreno was trying to make her stay at Hudson as productive as possible. She must have received the message that she was important and her social atom was important. She had learned how to adjust her behavior in interactions with different persons in different situations. She was learning the social skills that she had presumably lacked when she was sent to the school for "training."

Anyone currently providing social or psychological services at a residential school, psychiatric hospital, prison, or any other closed community would do well to reread Moreno's work, not only to find suggestions for tests of social relationships that might be adapted to a current situation, but also to absorb Moreno's overall approach to the enhancement of individual creativity through the social construction of reality in the community.

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BRIEF REPORT: The Operational Components of Drama Therapy

GREG PETITTI

J. L. Moreno, the father of psychodrama, saw theater not only as an imitation of life but also as “an extension of life” (Moreno, 1951) or the “recapitulation of unsolved problems within a freer, broader and more flexible setting” (Moreno, 1946). Moreno can be credited with most of the action methods and action techniques in use in group psychotherapy today. In addition to Moreno, other innovators have developed techniques for using drama in human relations. Hilarion Petzold (1982) identified a recent specialization, called drama therapy, as a wide “spectrum of methods” that combine drama and psychotherapy to pursue creative and educational goals and to provide insight into the individual’s specific emotional state.

History of Drama Therapy

Drama therapy in America and England began in the field of education. Drama used in schools as part of the curriculum and as an extracurricular activity became an alternative form of teaching and group methods during the 1960s. The work of Peter Slade (1954), Brian Way (1967), Viola Spolin (1963), and Richard Courtney (1974) laid the groundwork for moving creative drama from the classroom into other settings. The dramatic play, used in play therapy by Melanie Klein (1932), Virginia Axline (1947), and Margaret Lowenfeld (1979), served as a variant of play therapy and incorporated dramatic elements of roleplay, storytelling, and doll play into child psychotherapy.

Although creative drama, educational theater, and the dramatic elements of play therapy served as starting points for drama therapy in America, its roots were in the experimental theater companies of the 1960s, with their emphasis on collective creation and the use of theater to

effect change. The works of Artaud (1958), Brecht (1964), Grotowski (1968), and Moreno (1947) informed the theater as it looked for a new voice to respond to the social conditions around it, a voice that called for anarchy and social change.

Companies such as the Living Theatre (founded by Judith Malina and the late Julian Beck), the Performance Group (founded by Richard Schechner), the Theatre of Cruelty (founded by Peter Brook), and the Open Theatre (founded by Joseph Chaikin) sought to redefine and break down the barriers between spectator and actor. The theater became a shared ritual space to be used by both actor and spectator, a place where the overlap between the everyday world and the theatrical world was examined, explored, and exploded.

By the late 1970s, individuals from these varied areas concluded that what they were doing was more than drama used in or alongside therapy—it was drama as therapy. Although no one individual can be called the founder of drama therapy, Gertrud Schattner, co-editor of the two volumes *Drama in Therapy* (Schattner & Courtney, 1981), is seen as one of the pioneers. It was also at this time that Eleanor Irwin began documenting and doing research in this new field, and her work continues to set a standard for others to follow. Alida Gersie, Marion Lindkvist, Dorothy Langley, and Roy Shuttleworth in England, and David Johnson, Renee Emunah, and Robert Landy in the United States have all contributed to the growth and development of the field. If anyone deserves a place as a major force in the development of drama therapy, however, it is Sue Jennings. For more than 20 years, Dr. Jennings has carried out research, written, and trained others in the field she helped to create in England. She has had a hand in the creation and design of four of the five training programs in England and, more recently, in Athens, Greece.

Philosophy and Theoretical Issues

Drama therapy is a specific form of intervention used to bring about intrapsychic, interpersonal, or behavioral change. In drama therapy, the therapist is trained in the art of drama/theater and uses dramatic interaction as the primary means of establishing therapeutic goals. Scenes may be enacted or depicted representing past, present, or future events, internal dramas, feelings, or mental states. These may be actual events or externalizations of internal mental processes. Techniques of relevance to the drama therapist include a wide range of creative dramatic exercises, story dramatization, pantomime, and movement, interrelated work in music and visual art, and formal theater production. Applications of

these techniques are based in a variety of models that have been formulated by the individual practitioner.

The absence of a unifying theory may be the greatest obstacle to continued growth of drama therapy as a profession. Because drama therapy theory is eclectic, there is some confusion about its identity and purpose. A drama therapy educator comments that "I have trouble separating psychodrama from drama therapy even though I understand the difference in technique. I know what is not psychodrama, but sometimes I do not know what is drama therapy" (McNiff, 1986).

Drama Therapy Sessions

A typical session is difficult to describe. A clinical session generally involves a preliminary warm up, a middle phase of action, followed by deroling and closure. In the case of training groups, a didactic phase may be added.

A Sample Session

The group in the following brief description of drama therapy met once a week for an hour as part of a daytime psychiatric program. Chronic schizophrenia, manic-depression, major affective disorders, and personality disorders were the predominant diagnoses of the patients in this program.

The group used a dramatization format based on the television series *Cheers*. In the beginning, actual episodes served as the starting point. Later, the ongoing group began to generate its own stories, based on issues at the day hospital. The session generally began by going around the group to check in with people and identify a theme for the story. From this, "script-writers" were designated to come up with a scenario from which the actors could improvise. Once the scenario was agreed upon and the necessary characters decided, members of the group volunteered to play a role. Group roles included being onstage as a character in *Cheers*, a member of the stage crew, one of the script writers, or a member of the audience. Sometimes, as the drama played out, it was possible to identify a protagonist whose issue was being worked on, but the primary focus of the group was on the collective story and how this related to the day hospital community.

The scenario for this particular session had three scenes: (a) "Sam" is caught with the "other woman" by his fiancée, "Diane"; (b) "Sam," being consoled by his "best man," decides to close up *Cheers* and go away; (c) "Diane" returns to the bar looking for "Sam" and discovers

an envelope on the table. During the course of the group, the actors were warmed up to their roles through a variety of techniques: for example, soliloquy, leader as double, or leader in role. For this session, the therapist played the role of "TV director," and the "script-writers" provided the warm up by outlining the scenario.

Action began with the actors taking their places and the director calling "roll cameras." We used a video camera and monitor to provide the focus for the scene by establishing the boundary in terms of who was in the scene and who was not. The therapist-TV director was able to mark critical features in the improvisation by limiting extraneous dialogue or by cutting the scene when the point was made. The "script-writers" were a useful resource to call upon when the action became blocked or confused. This provided opportunities to replay an action or rewrite the script for better understanding of relationships and to improve role performance. Replaying or reworking the scene after a consultation with the "script-writers" served to help focus the task and to make it more manageable.

Once the main action was finished, the actors were deroled and returned to the role of self. In this session, closure was the issue. The final scene had "Diane" walk into the bar, look for "Sam," discover an envelope, and read it silently to herself. The questions for Cheers were: Will Sam return? Will the couple reconcile? Will there be another Cheers? During the sharing, we identified that the Cheers questions were also the group's because the therapist was preparing to go on vacation. Would the therapist really return? Would all involved still like each other? Would the group go on?

This extended dramatization, rather than classical psychodrama, was used as a way of simplifying the role tasks and making them more manageable for the group members. The group members, before beginning "*Cheers*," had had difficulty maintaining boundaries between stage and audience, between self and role, between fantasy and reality. Boundaries of self seemed to be too diffuse, on the whole, so scenes in relation to other group members were difficult. Diffuse boundaries in relation to diffuse boundaries merely raised the anxiety of the individuals involved. Group members in scenes with one of the two group leaders seemed to work better, the leaders' own role boundaries helping the other persons establish boundaries for themselves. This, however, seemed limited to group members functioning at higher levels. Actual roles, clearly defined, with which people were already familiar appeared to work best—roles that had names, clear settings, and specific objects as props. "*Cheers*" provided the opportunity to begin with more defined roles as a way of working toward the fundamental goals of drama therapy: to be able to play the single role more fully and to increase one's repertoire of roles.

Conclusion

Drama therapy is filled with many techniques, yet the techniques should not define the field. It is up to the practitioners, trainers, and students to address themselves to the question: What is drama therapy? They need to consider the aim, depth, duration, and population focus of drama therapy. They need to clarify its relationship to a variety of theories and begin to develop its own theory, research, and body of literature.

The power of drama derives from its fiction, its imaginative reach that is both boundless and indefinite, where every new answer leads to new questions. Drama therapy is a new and developing field that is still testing its limits, as well as exploring that which can be imagined. Inherent in this is a challenge that asks all who enter the field to draw upon their own spontaneity and imagination to give shape and form to drama therapy, not to set it in stone, but to lay a foundation from which it can grow.

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Comments on Roleplaying and Education

In 1948, we published a book entitled *Psychodrama and Sociodrama in American Education*. It was edited by Robert B. Haas and contained contributions by a number of persons involved in the educational system, the majority of them in California. A few years later, that same book was exhibited in a court case as evidence that "communism" had crept into that system in that state. One can marvel that such an argument was raised merely because sociodrama and roleplaying are group methods and anything done by, for, and in a group was, in those bygone days of the early seventies, under suspicion. One may ask how such an argument could be given birth at all; what would one have to say about schools themselves, marriage, and the family? And did the accusers give birth to themselves? Did they not know that the small group begins with a pair? Are all human relations then under suspicion? The absurdity of this argument must have somehow penetrated even into the court of law because I am not aware that the above-named book was blacklisted. Indeed, it continued to be sold.

Even those of us engaged in the human relations field are not entirely aware of how much, in fact, roleplaying has become a household word. *The New York Times* of Tuesday, September 10, 1991, carries an item on the front page: "Kansas City Police Go After Their 'Bad Boys.'" It goes on to quote the commander of the internal affairs unit of that police force, Capt. Dean Kelly: "We want to latch on to the officer who has problems dealing with the public as soon as possible, before they get into bad habits that can cause a lot of problems." He said that the first group of bad boys was sent to a special 8-hour class that used "roleplaying" and other methods to help the officers improve their communication skills.

This is a far cry from the days when Jim Enneis started working with the Washington, DC, police officers, helping them, through roleplaying, to learn how to deal with the mentally disturbed person or family violence within the community in the 1950s. Now the searchlight is being thrown onto the manner in which the police force manages itself in relation to the public.

Another instance is revealed in the fall issue of *Save the Children*, which reports that its Home Instructional Program for Pre-School Youngsters has spread to 16 states in this country and tells how this education program helps parents provide their children with school-readiness skills. The para-

professionals, or parent partners, as they are also called, bring the activities and storybook for the week to the home and show parents how to teach their children the lessons. The paraprofessional and the parent roleplay. One plays the part of the mother; the real mother pretends to be (we would say role reverses with) the child. Together, they go through all the lessons.

Research is under way, including a 3-year study by the U.S. Department of Education, evaluating the effect of the program. The positive effects of the program have already been documented in Israel (where the concept originated). It is splendid to note how our methods have gone around the world and are now coming home once more. It is, however, necessary to point out that our American Association of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama and the American Board of Examiners and the Federation of Trainers have focused on specialization in the mental health field while neglecting the educators who need formal training and a respected professional identity to assist them in what is a most needed service to humanity. There is urgent need for this to be rectified.

ZERKA T. MORENO

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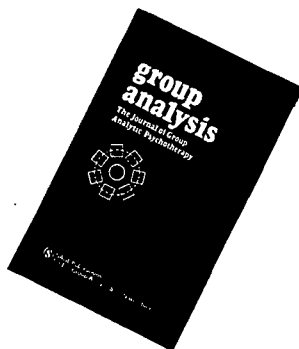
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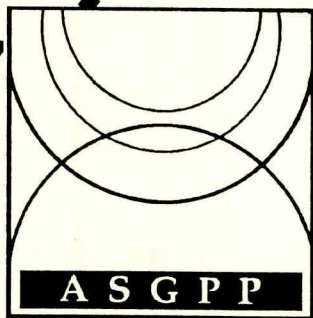
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