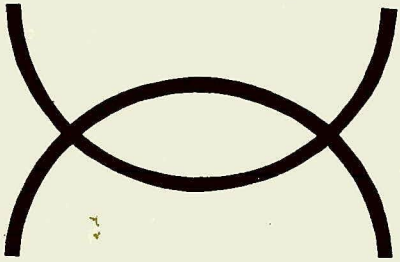
GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY AND PSYCHODRAMA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY
AND PSYCHODRAMA



Vol. XXV, No. 1-2, 1972

Official Organ of the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama

Published by Beacon House Inc., 259 Wolcott Avenue, Beacon, N. Y.

SUBSCRIPTION $12.00 YEARLY
CURRENT SINGLE ISSUES $4.00
SINGLE BACK ISSUES $5.00
FOREIGN POSTAGE $1.00 ADDITIONAL
DOUBLE CURRENT ISSUES $8.00
DOUBLE BACK ISSUES $10.00

Any issue is current until the following issue is off the press. Thereafter it becomes a back issue.

Membership dues in AMERICAN SOCIETY OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY AND PSYCHODRAMA: $12.00 annually, including subscription to this journal.

NOTE TO AUTHORS:

Articles submitted are carefully considered by members of the Editorial Committee, and are subject to editorial changes without notification to authors. The decision of the Editorial Committee is final.

No free reprints can be furnished. Use of cuts or drawings requiring special processing are at the expense of the author.

Prices of reprints of articles appearing in GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY are based on printer's quotation, subject to change according to current costs. Authors are advised of printer's prices at time of paging.

Manuscripts and communications for the editors should be addressed to the Editorial Committee of GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY, Beacon, N. Y. 12508 and *not to an individual.* Unsolicited manuscripts which are not accepted for publication will be returned only if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Manuscripts must be neatly typed and submitted in *duplicate.*

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

For information concerning membership in the AMERICAN SOCIETY OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY AND PSYCHODRAMA write to:

Zerka T. Moreno, 259 Wolcott Ave., Beacon, N. Y. 12508

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY
AND PSYCHODRAMA

Volume XXV 1972 No. 1-2

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY
AND PSYCHODRAMA

Volume XXV 1972 No. 1-2

CALENDAR OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

Zürich, Switzerland :: August 19-25, 1973

Honorary President: J. L. MORENO, M.D.

President: A. FRIEDEMANN, M.D.

Associates: R. BATTEGAY, M.D. AND A. UCHTENHAGEN, M.D.

EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF PSYCHODRAMA AND SOCIODRAMA

Münich, Germany, 1974

Honorary President: J. L. MORENO, M.D.

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY AND PSYCHODRAMA

Volume XXV 1972 No. 1-2

CONTENTS

FOUNDED BY J. L. MORENO, 1947

HUMANIZING GROUPS THROUGH PSYCHODRAMA

SECOND J. L. MORENO MEMORIAL LECTURE
Presented at the Thirtieth Annual Meeting
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY AND PSYCHODRAMA
Hotel Barbizon Plaza, New York City, April 8th, 1972

LEWIS YABLONSKY

California State College, Hayward

> The control of the robot is complicated for two reasons. One reason is that the robot is man's own creation. He does not meet it face to face, like he did the beasts of the jungle, measuring his strength, intelligence and spontaneity with theirs. The robot comes from within his mind, he gave birth to it. He is confounded like every parent is towards his own child. Rational and irrational factors are mixed therefore in his relationship to robots. In the excitement of creating them he is unaware of the poison which they carry, threatening to kill their own parent. The second reason is that in using robots and zoomatons man unleashes forms of energy and perhaps touches on properties which far surpass his own little world and which belong to the larger, unexplored and perhaps uncontrollable universe. His task of becoming a master on such a scale becomes a dubious one as he may well find himself more and more in the position of Goethe's Sorcerer's Apprentice who could unleash the robots but who could not stop them. The Apprentice had forgotten the master's formula, we never had it. We have to learn this formula and I believe it can be learned.
>
> —J. L. MORENO

The problems that negatively affect the existential condition of people in society exist at various levels and can be found in many degrees of intensity. There are common *miniproblems* or "little murders" that disturb people's equilibrium. Social dislocations such as crime, divorce, drug abuse, and even mental disorders are complex and painful difficulties, but each carries with it at least a possibility of resolution. The parameters of these miniproblems are visible and consequently they can often be successfully resolved.

On a more disturbing level of intensity are *megaproblems,* issues that tend to defy solution because of their enormity. The presence of robopaths in social machines is an example of a megaproblem at this ultimate level. One reason why this condition is so difficult to deal with is that it is not generally considered bad. It is an existential malaise that inheres in the "good people" in the system.

Traditionally, social problems or behavior problems are considered to be manifestations of deviance—acts outside of the norms, including the law. In this context deviance includes, of course, such patterns as crime, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction and psychosis. All technological societies are inundated with these problems and the development of massive therapeutic programs and organizations (often more dehumanizing than the original problem) is directed at treating such deviance.

The standard "therapeutic systems" include prisons, mental hospitals, clinics, and individual treatment. Even the best-financed, best-staffed, and most efficient of these approaches fail more than they succeed in treating the *problems* they have been designed to "solve." One reason for their failure is that the treatment programs are artificial efforts to inject deviants with humanistic vitamins they did not receive in the more natural life situations of their families, schools, and communities. Often—as, for example, in prisons—the treatment is worse than the disease, since it compounds the fracture.

The people who are most likely to manifest the symptoms of criminality, drug abuse, mental aberrations, or drop-outism are those people who are asocialized in the most destructive social machines by robopaths. Joey, the "mechanical boy," for example, was very likely a victim of robopathic parents in a social machine family.

Any society that has social problems (or, better, symptom formations) such as alienated, disaffiliated drop-outs, criminals, or drug-addicts is afflicted to the degree of its manifest social problems by a subtle disease in its central nervous system.

The treatment of isolated individuals—the "traditional deviants" who manifest the more overt-apparent problems like criminality and drug abuse—leaves the main societal problem of robopaths in the social machines unaffected. It is the robopaths and their robopathic leaders who perpetrate megaproblem societal diseases. The crimes of pollution, poverty, prejudice, and war, for example, are responsible for more human destruction, physical and social, than all of the traditional deviant social problems (e.g., crime, drug addiction, psychoses) combined. The traditional deviants in this context are the victims of these ills; and the perpetrators (either by commission or omission) are generally in power.

Social problems that demand solutions may thus be divided into two basic categories: (1) "legal deviance," those that are considered "normal" and emanate from official robopathic behavior in social machines; and (2) "traditional deviance," which includes such behavior patterns as crime, drug addiction, and mental illness. Both flow from the same social system.

The "legal deviant" problems of a dehumanized society are the central focus of this appraisal. If methodologies, strategies, and techniques can be developed for treating robopaths and social machines, the *secondary* symptoms of "traditional deviant" problems would automatically be solved.

The formal system has produced a variety of group techniques for cracking the defensive shields of robopathic game-players. In the past decade a variety

of such humanistic systems has become popular for producing changes in robopaths in social machines. These approaches, generally referred to as group therapy, include such specific methods as sensitivity training, psychodrama, Synanon, encounter techniques, and Gestalt therapy. A central theme of all of these approaches is to produce interaction situations (for brief and sometimes long periods of time) where people communicate on a deep humanistic level. The ideal premise or goal is that this type of interaction will produce greater self-awareness, better ability to communicate, get people more in touch with their "real feelings," resolve identity problems, increase spontaneity and creativity, and in general make people more humanistic in their interpersonal relationships. The overall impact would be to humanize groups. In this regard, J. L. Moreno comments: "A truly therapeutic procedure cannot have less an objective than the whole of mankind."

These varied approaches are what I would term "innovation groups" in the sense that the normative factors of interaction in the standard society are modified. Innovative attitudes toward time, space, roles, verbal volume, and language are adopted in order to help people communicate with each other on a deeper, more meaningful level of interaction. The rules of formal, routine interaction are dramatically changed in these groups so that new approaches, feelings, and experiences are permitted. This possibility attempts to open people and groups to "changes."

The central conscious and unconscious goal of all these aproaches is to get people to become better at humanistic interaction—to modify robopathic role-players so that they communicate better with themselves (their interior feelings) and with other people. To help people establish their personal identities so that they can become more compassionate members and participants in the larger humanistic community.

The new approaches in part supplant older styles of "individual treatment" that have too often become calcified social machines of the plastic society. Psychoanalysis, for example, has become an antique form of treatment, at least for combating robopathic behavior in social machines. Classical psychoanalysts are too often robopaths themselves in the sense that they play *super-ordinate* roles with *subordinate* patients. The emphasis is on methodology, not on touching, relating, or human compassion. The analysand is often further isolated from his social groups in the process. The procedure of analysis is past-oriented rather than geared to the "here and now." The two participants, analyst and analysand, are forced to function in an ahuman format. One person, the psychoanalyst, is seated and methodologically denies his feelings, while the other, the patient, is seated or reclined and cannot get up and act out when he feels like it. The description and analysis here is of the general structure of the traditional therapeutic situation. Obviously there are many individual psychotherapists whose humanistic insights allow them to transcend the limitations of their profession. Increasingly, many sensitive therapists are turning to group methodologies as adjuncts to or replacements for their individual practices.

PSYCHODRAMA: PHILOSOPHY AND METHODOLOGY

Psychodrama is a philosophical and methodological approach to human interaction. It was specifically designed by its originator J. L. Moreno (in 1911) to combat the forces of robopathology and social machines. The psychodramatic system has been the fountainhead for many of the innovation group approaches that have been developed over the past fifty years. Psychodrama's *methodology* and *philosophy* will be assessed here in depth, since they help to explain the structure of other innovation group approaches to the fundamental problems of a plastic society.

Psychodrama has considerable adaptability and flexibility. All that is required for a session is the problem (philosophical or concrete), the group, and a psychodramatist. The freedom for a group to act out its problems is represented by the freedom of space of a stage, or any open space. In this regard, psychodrama "on stage" is an intensified version of people's lives on the more formal "stage" of society.

In a session a *subject* emerges from the group with a particular problem to be explored. It may be his relationship to his parents, his job, or, more generally, his existential-spiritual condition. The subject or protagonist is a representative of the group (the immediate group present and the one in the larger society). All participants in the group are encouraged to enact their emotions and conflicts through the subject.

The following actual session may serve as an example of a group psychodrama. Out of a group of eighteen people a man steps forward on the stage. He says that he has all the accouterments of success. He has professional stature, likes his job, earns a sizeable income, claims to love and be loved by his wife and children; however, there is a void in his life. He cannot specify what it is, but he feels empty and unfulfilled; and he sees no prospects for positive change. Life has no meaning for him. He has recently been contemplating suicide; as he put it, he wants "to get out of the nothingness of this life."

The session specifically opens on a make-believe Long Island commuter train in a scene where the man is returning from a day at work as an executive in a large corporation in Manhattan. "I feel as if I'm on a train that is on a track that will never end. And if it does, I don't want to get off."

In the three-hour session, he plays himself in his most relevant relationships, with his family, at work, and with the memory and reality of his dead parents, who wanted him to succeed in a specific way. As he explores his inner world by objectifying it in actuality on the stage, he begins to make a series of discoveries.

He is not as honest in his human relations as he overtly claims or likes to think. He "repeats and repeats and repeats" the same behavior "day after day after day." He has lost the memory of any peak experiences in his life; for example, his romance with his wife, the early happy years of their marriage, the birth of his son. His job has become for him an empty ritual, it no longer has any point—if it ever did.

In the psychodrama of his robopathic existence he tries radical new alternatives to his life: an emotional scene reviving his marriage; a really honest discussion with his son; a scene denouncing himself and his fellow (robopathic) employees. His spontaneity and creativity become revived by the session. He renews his interest in his social sphere of people. He literally cries about his not touching or feeling the people close to him anymore. He does this psychodramatically and begins to revive his humanistic juices.

The members of the group join in on the session and begin to reveal their points of identification with the protagonist. The protagonist and the group in the "psychodrama of robopathic existence" experience each other in new, different, and creative ways. They touch, hug, cry, examine, speculate—in brief, they live a deeper, more humanistic reality. Most important, the spontaneity and creativity they have experienced carries over into their "real life." The session has revived some creative forces in the man that open him up further to his family, friends, and colleagues when he leaves the psychodrama session. This revival hopefully produces larger ripples of impact.

Psychodrama is primarily a group process, although it may shift from the group to an individual's problem at varying points in a session. The director constantly moves toward mobilizing the group to work together on their mutual problems and feelings, even though only one or two members of the group serve as the session's primary representatives. The response of people in the audience is often greater than that of people on stage. There are several central elements, roles, and techniques used in psychodrama to focus a session. These are described in detail in the following sections in order to emphasize the dynamics of psychodrama, and also to point to possible applications of these techniques as ways of humanizing the larger "stage" of life.

The Director

The role of the director continually fluctuates in the course of psychodrama sessions. The director may be passive or aggressive, depending on the needs of the subject and the group. At times the director may play the needed role of an authoritarian father or a demanding mother, when he feels he can perform the role more effectively than an auxiliary ego. The director observes nonverbal as well as verbal communications. For example, a protagonist may be overtly agreeing quite pleasantly with his employer; at the same time his red, clenched fists reveal an underlying hostility that may be manifestly related to the subject of the session.

In the broader life scene, some people becomes directors by helping to open up people close to them—by "directing" them to examine their deeper feelings. Such individuals facilitate more honest and compassionate human interaction. An example would be a colleague who goes beyond his or her formal role in order to relate to someone at a personal level.

Role-reversal Technique

Role-reversal is the psychodramatic procedure in which A becomes B and B becomes A. For example the executive subject in the briefly described existential psychodrama takes the role of his wife and the woman playing the role of his wife becomes him. This provides him with another refreshing perspective on his life. He sees himself through his wife's eyes. As the wife, the subject said in the psychodrama of their sex life: "You've become a complete bore. You never do anything new or different. Screwing you is like being in bed with a machine." Role-reversal is used for any or all of the following purposes in a session:

1. The subject who plays the role of the relevant other—as, for example, the husband becoming the wife—often begins to feel and better understand the other person's position and reactions in the situation. This tends to improve their sensitivity, compassion, and empathy. For example, in the session described, the father reverses roles with his six-year-old son. In the role of the son he begins to feel what it is to look at himself as a father, and at the world from a six-year-old viewpoint. The father in the role of the son says: "Dad, you're always so busy. You never read to me or hug and kiss me anymore. What's wrong with me?" (Often at this point the father is put back in his own role by a role-reversal and must respond to his son's poignant and pertinent question.)

2. Role-reversal may be used to help the protagonist see himself as if in a mirror. The father playing the role of his son sees himself through the child's perception. This instrument has the effect of producing insights for the protagonist as he sees himself through the eyes of another.

3. Role-reversal is often effective in augmenting the spontaneity of the protagonist, by shifting him out of robot-like defenses. The subjects may become more creative in their real life roles by shifting themselves out of their usual ruts of standard enactments in psychodrama. Since the session is in part play-acting, without the real adversary, the subject can try out new responses of anger, love or understanding. This broadens the person's repertoire in real life. Also, the subject has an opportunity to assess the depth of his feelings.

For example, in the described session we learned that the executive had tremendous hostility for his father, even though he was dead. After literally being in his father's shoes in a psychodramatic role-reversal, the subject began to understand what his father went through in his life, and he became more sympathetic to his position. In the session he "forgave" his father, and in the process he released part of his gut-like ball of hostility.

Role-reversal is not only a technique; it can also become part of a person's life style. To take the role of others is in reality to become more sympathetic and compassionate. Knowing more about how the other person feels is bound to affect one's everyday actions in a positive way.

The Double

The double gets behind the subject and takes the subject's role. The double can give the protagonist needed support in a situation. At other times the double

may express feelings of fear, hostility, or love which the protagonist, on his own, is unable to act out.

As an example, the father in the case cited had a double who began to say (for him) to his child, "You take up too much of my time, even when I'm not with you. You interfere with my success in life. I'm forced to keep a job I hate just to support you and your mother." After the father released his hostility by confirming what the double had expressed for him, he claimed to feel better.

The double may take a chance and express certain hypotheses which appear in the situation. For example, a double in the case cited earlier said (for the subject) to his wife, "I hate you because you're just like my mother." The subject may confirm or deny the double's statement. The subject may or may not agree with many thoughts which the double expresses. In this respect, the double is useful in helping the subject elicit new cues or lines of further understanding. The double produces an added dimension of the subject which he, for various reasons, cannot present or examine himself. The double thus helps the subject to enlarge his spontaneous role-playing ability.

Here again the technique illustrates a real-life necessity for people—a need to identify more intensively with others. Doubling in real life opens up new and different lines of communication and interaction among people.

The Soliloquy

The soliloquy is a technique that parallels, for example, Hamlet's soliloquy in Shakespeare's play. It involves the subject thinking his thoughts out loud in the middle of action, in an important life situation. It is a useful technique for expressing the hidden thoughts and action tendencies of the protagonist in a situation. The protagonist's improvisations are parallel with his overt actions and thoughts and with hidden action tendencies and thoughts which he may have in reference to a specific person or a specific situation. When the protagonist soliloquizes, he may clarify and structure insights and perceptions, and prepare himself for future situations. The degree that a person's soliloquy differs from his behavior in a situation is the degree to which he is presenting a false image to the world. This is one of the essential problems of a robopathic existence.

A robopathic person's inner, buried emotions and yearnings may be revealed in the soliloquy by a double, and this may facilitate more humanistic behavior. In regular interaction, more honest soliloquies encourage people to present their most truthful feelings in action. In the "robopathic existence" session, when it was learned that the man involved had considerable hostility toward his father, he was encouraged to actually express it by punching a pillow held by an auxiliary ego playing the dead father's role. After a furious barrage of hostile punches that had been pent up for years, the director asked the protagonist to stop after each additional punch and talk about it. After each punch the director asked, "What was that for?" The subject in various ways stated that he felt rejected, abused, abandoned by his father. Honestly releasing these feelings for the first time in his life made him feel better.

In later discussions with the group the executive learned he was not alone. Many members of the group felt estranged in the same way. This group confessional made many people in the group, who had shared their inner emotions, feel better. The total impact on the protagonist who acted out was both emotional and intellectual; and the overall group had a greater feeling of being together and more loving with each other.

Moreno comments succinctly on the relationship between action and the intellect:

> Excessive insight often hinders spontaneity from flourishing and the striving toward self-actualization. It is a tragedy. Frequently we turn toward the intellect and are often carried away by a false sense of euphoria, losing contact with the here and now, the immediate task of our responsibility. On the other hand, when we turn away from the intellect, we lose the great sense of meaning and value which we would want to attach to an action. And so we are faced with two extremes: the simpleminded, naive, unsophisticated hero and the excessive, overbearing, paralyzed non-doer.

Frozen robopathic non-doers are often spurred into action and awareness by psychodrama. Sometimes an element of overreacting is encouraged. The psychodramatic session may have characteristics of what Moreno calls "surplus reality." The situation is blown up out of proportion and magnified to enable the subject and the group to get a closer look at the situation under the psychodramatic microscope. The subject and the group get to see themselves with all of their facades in a setting in which errors of judgment and behavior are not as destructive or traumatic as they might be in the real situation. These surplus-reality explorations give people an opportunity to be more inventive in their human relationships. People in the group are encouraged to become freer, more spontaneous, and more humanistic in their real life.

In this regard Moreno advocates a more universal psychodrama, a psychodrama of the streets in real human situations:

> Psychodrama is not restricted to a psychodrama theatre. Life may provoke a simple man to turn psychodramatist. Imagine that you are in a restaurant eating at a table and a Negro sits down next to you. The manager comes and advises him to leave: "Negroes are not allowed as guests." You may have the urge to put yourself in the place of the Negro and, in protest, when he leaves the restaurant, you leave with him. This is the first psychodramatic law: Put yourself into the place of a victim of injustice and share his hurt. Reverse roles with him.
>
> You may remember the concentration camps in Auschwitz. Millions of Jews have been thrown into gas chambers and burned alive. Men, women, children. Millions of people knew about it, Germans and non-Germans, but did nothing. But there emerged during that period of the lowest depth of inhumanity a few men who dared to challenge this action, this mass murder. They were a number of German pastors who insisted on going with the

Jewish victims into the camps to suffer with them every kind of humiliation, starvation, brutality, even going into the gas chambers to be burned alive. Against the proudest of the Nazi authorities they felt their responsibility to participate with the innocent victims in the same martyrdom. And when they were not permitted to go, they were shot and died. Among such unusual characters in Auschwitz were three men—a priest named Kolbe, another priest by the name of Lichtenberg, and another who was officially a Nazi storm trooper by the name of Gerstein. These men died as bearers of truth.

A bearer of truth is not necessarily the instrument of a godhead or of any particular religion, although he may be related to a particular religion (as in the case of the Christian). The bearer of truth does what he does because of his innermost desire to establish the truth and justice and love of humanity regardless of consequences. It is a moral imperative.

In this regard psychodrama and other spontaneous methods have a broad applicability and hopeful potential for humanizing groups. By means of these systems people are encouraged to break out of their circumscribed robopathic roles, to communicate, to express their deeper emotional feeelings, and to become more compassionate.

The growing revolutionary attack against dehumanized societies can have the effect, up to a point, of making people aware of ahuman conditions and of providing some sketchy experimental methods for a counterattack that would utilize the described innovation group approaches. One caveat is required in this regard. Innovation group methods are at best only crutches—auxiliary or substitute approaches for modifying social machines and producing significant social change. The basic institutions of a social machine society need to be changed in order to produce a fundamental revitalization of regular, day-to-day human interaction.

A reversal of the machine systems' social death-dealing consequences requires an effort at all levels, by all people in a social machine society. The first step is an awareness and an acceptance of the fact that the times are precarious. There is no external enemy to be confronted—it exists in dialectical battle in all people, and in all societies. No one, not even the most horrendous political robopath, should be "put down." The condition of robopathic social death is the real enemy.

Creative and more humanistic qualities are required in the basic institutional forms of the family, education, religion, economics, and government if overall social machine systems are to be significantly modified. A greater consciousness of the megaproblem of robopaths versus social machines will hopefully activate people in various positions in plastic societies to move toward vitally needed humanistic social change.

REFERENCES

MORENO, J. L., *Who Shall Survive?*, Beacon House, Beacon, N. Y., 1953.
MORENO, J. L., *Psychodrama*, Volumes I, II and III, 1946-1969.

THE PIONEER OF THE GROUP ENCOUNTER MOVEMENT

THOMAS TREADWELL AND JEAN TREADWELL

Philadelphia, Pa.

The purpose of this paper is to (1) identify the Pioneer of the Group Encounter Movement, and (2) expose and clarify some of the ambiguities, contradictions, and backbiting evident in the Group Encounter Field.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

A brief survey of the origin and development of the group movement is extremely necessary but a most difficult task due to the embryonic stage of the movement. Carl Rogers writes, "It would, in fact, be surprising—and perhaps worse—if we *were* all that sure all this soon about what they are, because the group experience is so new. It is a potent new cultural development, an exciting social invention, a truly grass roots movement that has grown out of personal, organizational and social needs."[1] Rogers is really saying the Group Encounter Movement has finally become a reality, although, it is quite clear that the movement is apparently viewed as a very recent phenomenon. Due to this contemporary phenomenon, there are many conflicting attitudes regarding the genealogy of the Movement.*

Although the Group Encounter Movement is a recent phenomenon, the ideas and knowledge which it represents are, as developments in the applied behavioral sciences go, relatively old. For example, some of the early empirical small action group studies stem from Anton Mesmer (1790), Ferdinand Tonnies, (1887), C. H. Cooley (1902), Joseph Pratt (1905), George Simmel (1908), Jacob Moreno (1911 & 1913), E. W. Lazelle (1921), John Dewey (1922), G. H. Mead (1934), Sigmund Freud (1922) and Trigant Burrow (1927).[2] It is important to keep in mind that the aforementioned studies certainly had a therapeutic precept but they were lacking a scientific technique.[3]

The intensive (encounter) small group concept has its derivatives in the action workshop ideology that dates back to the late eighteenth century. However, the results of these studies were extremely inadequate in understanding what went on in groups, which is understandable, for the researchers lacked the scientific instruments to measure and examine the complexities of the action group process.

The important scientific breakthrough came in 1931 when Dr. J. L. Moreno introduced Sociometry, his system for measuring interpersonal relations. This instrument aids in examining and differentiating the structure and dynamics of

groups, types of forces operating within groups, and the "measurability" of these effects. There is no doubt that "Sociometry is and probably will remain a generic term to describe *all* measurements of societal and interpersonal data."[4] As one can see prior to sociometry, ". . . no one knew what the interpersonal structure of a group 'precisely' looked like, in parts and as a whole, and, therefore, no one knew how to isolate, prevent or predict disturbances in groups. In the presociometric period all interpretations were based on hunches and intuitive speculations."[5] In short, the historical foundations of Moreno's system of interpersonal relations ". . . is based upon the 'primary dyad,' the idea and experience of the *meeting* of two actors, the concrete-situational event preliminary to all interpersonnel relations."[6] These fundamental sociometric foundations date as far back to approximately 1914 when Moreno first defined encounter and the encounter group concept.

Encounter Groups

Going back to 1914, Moreno defined and described "encounter" and the *encounter group concept* in much the same way as it is presently being experienced in groups. This is best illustrated by Professor Paul Johnson of The Christian Theological Seminary:

> In the spring of 1914 Moreno published in Vienna the first of a series of poetic writings entitled "Einladung zu einer Begegnung" (Invitation to an Encounter), which is evidently the first literary definition of encounter, the concept which has become central in the existential movement. To describe the encounter, he portrays two persons exchanging eyes to comprehend and know each other:
>
> 'A meeting of two: eye to eye, face to face,
> And when you are near I will tear your eyes out
> and place them instead of mine, and you will tear
> my eyes out and will place them instead of yours,
> then I will look at you with your eyes and you
> will look at me with mine.'
>
> The literary magazine *Daimon*, of which he (Moreno) was the editor, carried in the February issue, 1918, a dramatic dialogue by Moreno entitled "Einladung zu einer Begegnung: Die Gottheit als Autor" (Invitation to an Encounter: The Deity as Author). In this article appears the term "interpersonal communication" (zwischenmenschlicher Verkehr). The term "interpersonal relations," which Robert MacDougall used in 1912, came to prominence in his book *Who Shall Survive?* (1934) and in the journal he founded in 1937, *Sociometry: A Journal of Interpersonal Relations.*
>
> During the years 1918-1920, Martin Buber was a contributing editor of *Daimon*, and his articles appeared side by side with Moreno's, prophetic of the role each would have in the history of interpersonal theory. The I-Thou concept of God was the keystone of the interpersonal arch as documented in their publications, 1920-23.[7]

In Moreno's early writings one can readily trace an awareness of interpersonal sensitivity and the *sensitivity-group phenomenon* when he writes:

> There are actors who are connected with one another by an invisible correspondence of feelings, who have a sort of heightened sensitivity for their mutual inner processes, one gesture is sufficient and often they do not look at one another, they communicate through a new sense as if by a 'medial understanding.'[8]

In psychodrama,* one individual is representative of the group in a self exploration of his life, under the supervision of a director and supported by group members. One does this by reversing roles with the significant others in his world and viewing them and himself through different eyes. Like the many forms of sensitivity training, psychodrama uses both verbal and non-verbal techniques in exploring one's self as well as developing the emotional interaction of the individual and the group.[9]

"Take my ideas, my concepts, but do not separate them from their parent, the philosophy; do not split my children in half, like a Solomonic judgment. Love them in toto, support and respect the entire structure upon which they rest. Make them your own as completely as I do. Role reverse with me and put yourself entirely into my position."[10] This is Moreno the man and this is Moreno's credo; it was due to this quality of thinking that he was able to *disseminate* his ideas. However, after voluminous reading, the results of Moreno's philosophy become sadly apparent. Yes, Moreno's concepts have been internalized and implemented into the contemporary concept of the group movement. Nevertheless, in most instances, the original creator has been all but forgotten.

At the risk of painting too grim of a picture let me cite you an example from Jane Howard's article entitled "Inhibitions Thrown to the Gentle Winds" (1968) where she described some of her experiences at Esalen and the variety of techniques employed by the Human Potential Movement.[11] Although she is one of the individuals who is seemingly unaware of the historical roots, perhaps her omission can be overlooked for she is not a behavioral scientist. However, Dr. Abraham H. Maslow, a former president of the American Psychological Association and a founder of the School of Humanistic Psychology was nevertheless compelled to set the record straight and so responded to her article. He wrote to the editors:

> Sirs:
>
> Jane Howard's article on Esalen and other new developments in education and psychology was excellent. I would however like to add one 'credit where credit is due' footnote. Many of the techniques set forth in the article were originally invented by Dr. Jacob Moreno, who is still functioning vigorously and probably still inventing new techniques and ideas.[12]
>
> Waltham, Mass. Abraham H. Maslow
> August 2, 1968

Maslow is certainly emphasizing the point that group trainers have absorbed Moreno's techniques and concepts. But at this writing the result is the separation of ideas from the parent, the philosophy.

In further support of this statement, Siroka, Siroka, & Schloss (1971) emphasize that the majority of "sensitivity trainers," perhaps unaware of the historical development of the group movement, implement Morenean techniques as part of their basic repertoire; these techniques were developed in psychodrama. The authors feel this is understandable "since many of the most important names in sensitivity training were at one time students or observers of Moreno. This list includes Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and Leland Bradford, some of the original founders of the National Training Laboratories,"[13] (N.T.L.). However, this author questions the attitude of "understandability," for it is this type of attitudinal framework which perpetuates mistrust and future ambiguities. I am in firm agreement with Maslow's position that one receive "credit where credit is due" and that Moreno should not be just one more man to be discovered posthumously.

Kurt Lewin—Emergence of the Bethel Laboratories

Another important figure in the group movement was Kurt Lewin (1890-1947), who followed shortly after Moreno. Lewin further developed the sociometric concept and concentrated on the dynamics of group structure, group ideology, conflicts between and within groups, various types of group spontaneous substructuring, the stability of a variety of spontaneous group structures versus structures created by external authority, minority problems (1935), renegade, scapegoat, and double loyalty conflicts.[14]

Lewin's acquaintance and enthusiasm with sociometry and some of the work of Moreno carried out in Europe, especially *das Stegreiftheater* and *Who Shall Survive?* and his devoted interest in group or action dynamics was further enhanced after he met with Moreno several times in 1935.[15] Furthermore, Lewin's publications prior to his meetings with Moreno, did not concentrate on group or action dynamics, but rather he was known for his work in Gestalt and topological psychology.[16] However, his first publication dealing with group theory, action theory, and methodology appeared in the Journals of the Moreno Institute, 1936, regarding "Techniques to investigate 'democracy' and 'autocracy' as group atmospheres."[17]

Moreno reports that during their meetings, "He (Lewin) expressed in our talks particular interest in the democratic structure of groups, in contrast to their *laissez faire* and authoritative structure, problems with which I experimented at that time; . . ."[18] Pitirim A. Sorokin writes "The initial impetus to the study of small groups was given by Moreno's theory of the social atoms and his "Sociometry," followed by Kurt Lewin's studies of small groups."[19]

Furthermore, Muzafer Sherif reports in his article, "Integrating Field Work and Laboratory in Small Group Research," that the various psychological 'trait' theories or personality typologies were extremely inadequate in explaining social relations.

> When Moreno's work appeared in this country in the mid-thirties presenting his sociometric technique for the study of interpersonal choices and reciprocities among individuals, (i.e. role relations), it quickly found wide application. A few years later Kurt Lewin and his associates demonstrated the weighty determination of individual behavior by the properties of group atmosphere. *This line of experimentation was the basis of other subsequent studies coming from the proponents of the Group Dynamics school.* [20] (Italics mine)

Thus, Kurt Lewin, a proponent of the Group Dynamics School, is usually credited with developing the first T-Group* (training group) at a 1946 summer training conference of community leaders at a State Teachers College in New Britain, Connecticut. The result of this training conference opened new avenues for research, thus, the following summer, 1947, Lewin's associates established a training laboratory (N.T.L.) in Bethel, Maine, to further develop and understand the T-Group process as an unstructured group.[21]

In Moreno's words, ". . . my pioneering status in this field was already established and so I became the model for his first efforts in this, for him, new direction of research."[22]

The Initial Training Centers

Originally in the 1930's and 1940's there were only two private organizations devoted to the teaching and training of group leaders.

(1) Sociometric-Psychodramatic Institutes, Beacon, New York and New York City, 1937.

(2) National Training Laboratories (N.T.L.), Bethel, Maine, 1947.[23]

Since their inception, training and growth centers have been rapidly emerging and spreading throughout the world. There is no doubt that the group movement's breadth is so vast and varied that no one to my knowledge has been able to compile a complete training or growth center directory. In the spring of 1971, *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* devoted the April issue to the group movement and designed it particularly for the practitioner, with the hope that he would find within it ". . . a clearer understanding of the multiplicity of group procedures."[24] Partial fulfillment of the Guest Editor's goal was the inclusion of a selected list of institutes where one can receive training in group work. Unfortunately, the list is neither exhaustive (60 training centers) nor completely accurate, however, it does illustrate the extent to which the Personal Growth center business has grown.[25]

In discussing the initial training centers, Gottschalk and Pattison (1969) point out a definite correlation between the Morenean Psychodramatic techniques and sociometric methodologies with that of the laboratory training concepts employed by the National Training Laboratories (N.T.L.).* They write:

> The direct development of the training laboratory came from the collaboration of three men: Leland Bradford, Ronald Lippitt and Kenneth Benne. All

> three had an educational background in psychology, experience in working with community educational projects dealing with major social problems related to human relations. They had been exposed to and influenced by J. L. Moreno's methods of psychodrama and had experimented with various role-playing procedures in community educational projects directed toward effecting social change.[26]

Furthermore, Kenneth Benne, a founder of N.T.L., and Bozidar Muntyan credit Moreno as being the pioneer of the action and group research movement. They write:

> The editors make special acknowledgment to Dr. J. L. Moreno, who has pioneered in the areas currently referred to as psychodrama, sociodrama, roleplaying, action dynamics, warming-up technique, group psychotherapy and sociometry, and who first introduced these terms into the literature, with some of the meanings emphasized in the present volume. To a great extent, the basic impetus for certain new trends in group and action research can be traced to the work of Moreno and his numerous associates.[27]

Moreno's influence upon the early N.T.L. leaders is obvious for they were exposed to and influenced by his methods. They also published their articles dealing with group and action methods between 1936 and 1953 in the journals of the Moreno Institute: *The Sociometric Review, Sociometry, Sociatry* and *Group Psychotherapy*.[28] More importantly, Moreno's voluminous contributions have affected and inspired not only the group movement in general, but also education, industry, mental health, hospitals and government agencies. Moreno is held in the very highest esteem by many as well as being considered a controversial and mystical figure by others. Hannah Weiner, a renowned Psychodramatist, writing about Moreno's pioneering ventures, emphasizes that "he creates before our eyes. What is disturbing is that he has not one style of creation and he has a balance logic of his own. Therefore, Moreno is not always understood." She further emphasizes that "a key to Moreno is his acceptance and love of children who he feels hold the key to survival and the future."[29]

Nevertheless, whether he is accepted or rejected, it is important to note that his theories and methodologies are held as a signal contribution.[30] Moreno is well aware of this dilemma when he expresses, "there is no controversy about my ideas, they are universally accepted. I am the controversy."[31] I do not think anyone would disagree that "*to encounter Moreno is to not forget him.*"[32] (Italics mine)

However, we would now like to mention the present aura of confusion that permeates the group movement. For example, all one has to do is survey the literature on small group theory and action and one can easily detect the lack of consistency from one author to the next. This is partially due to recent literature and audio-visual material, both popular and professional, devoted to sensitivity and encounter experiences, laboratory training, counseling groups

and other group activities. Unfortunately, much of this literature eliminates the historical background as well as misrepresenting the many philosophical rudiments of this movement. Rather, we have witnessed a hodge-podge of "group literature" that appears to be some what representative of the group spectrum; this places many people in limbo regarding the foundations of the movement as well as creating skepticism regarding the applicability of the many group techniques.

Another disturbing factor the authors would like to emphasize is the misunderstanding prevalent among group leaders, group dynamicists, and group therapists regarding the ethics and validity of the many group approaches employed throughout the country. In support of this, many professional organizations* are calling for follow-up studies on the various group techniques as well as advocating professional guidelines to aid readers in evaluating some of the dangers, limitations, as well as accuracies of the various group experiences.

In a recent survey, Gazda, Duncan and Sisson (1971) report that there is a great lag between the development of both standards for training and practice as well as a code for ethical behavior and practice in group work. They emphasize that the Morenos recognized these dangers facing the group movement and were the first to develop and recommend a guide of professional standards which would be broad enough to include both medical and non-medical experts. These professional standards* appeared in 1960 and again in 1962 in the Journal of *Group Psychotherapy*.[33]

It apparently seems then that the group movement preaches "trust," "honesty," "sincerity," "discovery," "ecstacy," "selfawareness," "freedom," etc., yet some leaders seem to act in a contrary manner. Consequently, this backbiting and stealing of ideas, giving credit to a friend rather than to the creator, separating methodology from philosophy, appears to be normative among some leaders of the group movement. Thus, "the disowners undermine a system of thought, a view, a philosophy of the world, a synthesis of methods which hang together and whose break-up produces confusion instead of enlightenment, invite disaster instead of producing cohesion."[34]

Rather than experience a group breakdown we must obtain a mutual meeting ground, an environment that will foster cooperativeness, assimilation, inventiveness, spontaneity, and unity.* It is imperative that we come together to exchange ideas, to listen and respond to one another in the here and now. Therefore, it is incumbent upon all of us to be more open and not less so.

REFERENCES

BAIN, READ, *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, 1943.

BENNE, KENNETH, & MUNTYAN, BOZIDAR, *Human Relations in Curriculum Change*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951.

BONNER, HUBERT, *Group Dynamics: Principles and Applications*, New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959.

BRADFORD, LELAND, GIBB, JACK & BENNE, KENNETH (eds.), *T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964.

EDDY, WILLIAM B., & LUBIN, BERNARD, "Laboratory Training and Encounter Groups," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 8, April, 1971.

GAZDA, G. M., DUNCAN, J. A., & SISSON, P. J., "Professional Issues in Group Work," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 8, April, 1971.

GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS, A., & PATTISON, MANSELL, "Psychiatric Perspectives on T-Groups and the Laboratory Movement: An Overview," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 126, No. 6, December, 1969.

HAAS, ROBERT B., *Psychodrama and Sociodrama in American Education*, Beacon, New York: Beacon House, 1949.

HARE, A. P., BORGOTTA, E. F. & BALES, R. F. (eds.), *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*, New York: Alfred Knopf, Revised Edition, 1968.

HOWARD, JANE, *Please Touch: A Guided Tour of the Human Potential Movement*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1970.

HOWARD, JANE, "Inhibitions Thrown to the Gentle Winds," *Life Magazine*, Vol. 65, No. 5, 1968.

HUREWITZ, P., "Ethical Considerations in Leading Therapeutic and Quasi-Therapeutic Groups: Encounter and Sensitivity Groups," *Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama*, Vol. XXIII, 1970.

JOHNSON, PAUL, *Psychology of Religion*, New York: Abingdon Press, 1959.

KOCH, S. (ed.), *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., Vol. 6, 1963.

LEWIN, KURT, & LIPPITT, RONALD, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Autocracy and Democracy: A Preliminary Note," *Sociometry*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1938.

LIPPITT, RONALD, "Kurt Lewin, 1890-1947, Adventures in the Exploration of Interdependence," *Sociometry*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1947.

LONG, THOMAS J., "Sources for Short-Term Group Training Experiences," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 8, April, 1971.

MORENO, J. L., "Code of Ethics for Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama," *Psychodrama and Group Psychotherapy Monographs*, No. 31, Beacon, New York: Beacon House, 1962.

MORENO, J. L., "Common Ground for All Group Psychoherapists, What is a Group Psychotherapist," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XV, 1962.

MORENO, J. L., "The Viennese Origins of the Encounter Movement, Paving the Way for Existentialism, Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1-2, 1969.

MORENO, J. L., *The Theater of Spontaneity*, Beacon, New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1947.

MORENO, J. L., "Crisis of the Hippocratic Oath," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. IX, 1955.

MORENO, J. L., *Psychodrama*, Vols. 1-3, Beacon, New York: Beacon House, 1946-69.

MORENO, J. L., "Psychodrama and Group Psychodrama," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 2-3, 1946.

MORENO, J. L., *Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama*, 2nd ed., Beacon, New York: Beacon House, 1953.

MORENO, J. L., "A Note on Sociometry and Group Dynamics," *Sociometry*, Vol. XV, No. 3-4, August-November, 1952.

MORENO, J. L., *The International Handbook of Group Psychotherapy*, New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1966.

MORENO, J. L., "How Kurt Lewin's 'Research Center for Group Dynamics' started," *Sociometry*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, February, 1953.

MORENO, J. L., & MORENO, Z. T., "An Objective Analysis of the Group Psychotherapy Movement," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XIII, 1960.

MORENO, ZERKA, "Moreneans, The Heretics of Yesterday the Orthodoxy of Today," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XXII, No. 1-2, 1969.

RENOUVIER, PIERRE, "Evaluation and Survey of Group Psychotherapies," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. VI, 1953.

RENOUVIER, PIERRE, "Group Psychotherapy in the United States," *Sociatry*, Vol. II, No. 1-2, 1948.

ROGERS, CARL, "The Group Comes of Age," *Psychology Today*, December, 1969.

RUITENBEEK, HENDRIK M., *The New Group Therapies*, New York: Avon Books, 1970.

RUITENBEEK, HENDRIK M. (ed.), *Psychoanalysis and Existential Philosophy*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.

SHERIF, MUZAFER, *Social Interaction*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968.

SHERIF, M. & SHERIF, C., *An Outline of Social Psychology*, (Revised edition), New York: Harper & Row, 1956.

SIROKA, R. W. & SIROKA, E. K., "Psychodrama & the Therapeutic Community," in *Confrontation: Encounters in Self and Interpersonal Awareness*, (ed.) Blank, Leonard et al, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971.

SIROKA, R. W., SIROKA, E. K. & SCHLOSS, G. A., *Sensitivity Training & Group Encounter*, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971.

SOROKIN, PITIRIM, A., *Sociological Theories of Today*, New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

WEINER, HANNAH, "J. L. Moreno—Mr. Group Psychotherapy," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XXI, No. 2-3, 1968.

---

[1] Carl Rogers, "The Group Comes of Age," *Psychology Today*, December, 1969.

[2] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy, and Sociodrama*. 2nd ed., Beacon, New York: Beacon House, 1953, pp. lvii-lviii. Also see Hendrik Ruitenbeek, *The New Group Therapies*, New York: Avon Books, pp. 11-20, and Jane Howard, *Please Touch: A Guided Tour of the Human Potential Movement*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1970, p. 114 and Hubert Bonner, *Group Dynamics*, New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959, pp. 3-30.

[3] Pierre Renouvier, "Evaluation and Survey of Group Psychotherapies," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. VI, 1953, and his "Group Psychotherapy in the United States," *Sociatry*, Vol. II, No. 1-2, 1948.

* This is well illustrated in (Cartwright & Zander, 1968, Ch. 1), (Egan, 1970, Ch. 7), (Hare, Borgatta, & Bales, 1968, Part I), (Moreno, 1953, Preludes), (Ruitenbeek, 1970, Introduction), (Howard, 1970, Ch. 11), (Sorokin, 1966, Ch. 3), (Bonner, 1959, Ch. 1), (Siroka, Siroka, & Schloss, 1971, Part One), just to mention a few.

[4] Read Bain, *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, 1943, p. 212.

[5] Pierre Renouvier, "Evaluation and Survey of Group Psychotherapies," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. VI, 1953 and his "Group Psychotherapy in the United States," *Sociatry*, Vol. II, No. 1-2, 1948.

[6] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* . . . p. 64.

[7] Paul Johnson, *Psychology of Religion*, New York: Abingdon Press, 1959, pp. 42-43.

[8] J. L. Moreno, *The Theater of Spontaneity*, Beacon, New York: Beacon House, 1947, p. 68.

[9] R. Siroka, E. Siroka and G. Schloss, *Sensitivity Training and Group Encounter*, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1971, pp. 3-10

* For the classic article on the psychodramatic method see J L. Moreno, "Psychodrama and Group Psychotherapy," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 2-3, 1946, pp. 249-253, reproduced in this issue. To amply demonstrate the philosophic psychodramatic orientation and its historical development, see J. L. Moreno, *The Theater of Spontaneity*, New York: Beacon House, 1947; J. L. Moreno, *Psychodrama*, Vols. 1-3, New York: Beacon House, 1934, and J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* . . . , New York: Beacon House, 1953.

[10] Zerka T. Moreno, "The Heretics of Yesterday are the Orthodoxy of Today," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XXII, No. 1-2, 1969, p. 5.

[11] Jane Howard, "Inhibitions Thrown to the Gentle Winds," *Life Magazine*, Vol. 65, No. 5, July 12, 1968.

[12] "Letters to the Editors," *Life Magazine*, August 2, 1968, p. 15.

[13] R. Siroka, E. Siroka, and G. Schloss, *Sensitivity Training & Group Encounter*, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971, Part One, p. 3.

[14] Kurt Lewin and Ronald Lippitt, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Autocracy and Democracy: A Preliminary Note," *Sociometry*, Vol. I, No. 3-4, 1938, pp. 292-300. Also in P. Hare, E. F. Borgotta and R. F. Bales (eds.), *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Revised edition, 1968, pp. 648-655.

[15] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive.. . . .*, p. cci.

[16] Ronald Lippitt, "Kurt Lewin, 1890-1947, Adventures in the Exploration of Interdependence," *Sociometry*, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 87-97, 1947.

[17] Kurt Lewin and Ronald Lippitt, "An Experimental Approach . . . ," pp. 292-300, also in P. Hare, E. F. Borgatta, R. F. Bales, (eds.), *Small Groups*: . . . , pp. 648-655.

[18] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* . . . , p. ci. Also see "Personal Contacts Among Group Oriented Psychologists and early Group Psychotherapists," in J. L. Moreno, *The International Handbook of Group Psychotherapy*, New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1966, p. 86.

[19] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Sociological Theories of Today*, New York: Harper & Row, 1966, pp. 82-86.

[20] Muzafer Sherif, *Social Interaction*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 374-391. Also see *American Sociological Review*, 1954, Vol. 19 pp. 759-771, The Special Issue on Small Groups. Also see Sherif's article "Social Psychology: Problems and Trends in Interdisciplinary Research" in *Social Interaction*, pp. 69-70, or *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, Vol. 6, edited by S. Koch, New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1963.

* For a detailed discussion on the T-Group experience, from different perspectives, see Spencer Klaw, "Two Weeks in a T-Group," William F. Glueck, "Reflections on a T-Group Experience" and Louis A. Gottschalk, "Psychoanalytic Notes on T-Groups at the Human Relations Laboratory, Bethel, Maine," in *Sensitivity Training and Group Encounter*, eds. R. W. Siroka, E. K. Siroka & G. A. Schloss, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971, pp. 35-79.

[21] Kenneth D. Benne, "History of the T-Group in the Laboratory Setting, in *T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method*, eds. Leland P. Bradford, Jack R. Gibb, and Kenneth D. Benne, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964, pp. 80-135, also, R. W. Siroka, E. K. Siroka and G. A. Schloss, *Sensitivity Training and Group Encounter*, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971, p. 35 and p. 50. And J. L. Moreno, *The International Handbook of Group Psychotherapy*, New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1966, p. 102.

[22] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* . . . , p. ci. See also J. L. Moreno, "A Note on Sociometry and Group Dynamics," *Sociometry*, Vol. XV, No. 3-4, August-November, 1952, pp. 364-366.

[23] William B. Eddy and Bernard Lubin, "Laboratory Training and Encounter Groups," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 8, p. 626, April 1971. Also J. L. Moreno, "The Viennese Origins of the Encounter Movement, Paving the Way for Existentialism, Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XXII, No. 1-2, 1969, p. 10, and Kenneth Benne, "History of the T-Group . . . ," pp. 80-135.

[24] George M. Gazda (ed.), "Groups in Guidance" Editorial, *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 8, April, 1971, p. 592.

[25] Thomas J. Long, "Sources for Short-Term Group Training Experiences," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 8, April, 1971, pp. 645-648.

* For a qualitative psychological and educational description of the Moreno Institute Centers and the National Training Laboratories, (N.T.L.), see J. L. Moreno,

"The Viennese Origins of the Encounter Movement, Paving the Way for Existentialism, Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XXII, No. 1-2, 1969, pp. 12-13.

[26] Louis A. Gottschalk and E. Mansell Pattison, "Psychiatric Perspectives on T-Groups and the Laboratory Movement: An Overview," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 126:6, December, 1969, pp. 823-839.

[27] Kenneth Benne and Bozidar Muntyan, *Human Relations in Curriculum Change*, New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Also see J. L. Moreno, "How Kurt Lewin's 'Research Center for Group Dynamics' started," *Sociometry*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, February, 1953, pp. 101-104.

[28] Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, *New Group Therapies*, New York: Avon Books, 1970, p. 19. Also see J. L. Moreno, "The Viennese Origins . . . ," pp. 10-11 and J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? . . .*, 1953, p. xcix.

[29] Hannah Weiner, "J. L. Moreno—Mr. Group Psychotherapy," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. xxi, No. 2-3, 1968, p. 147.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? . . .*, p. cvii.

[32] Hannah Weiner, "J .L. Moreno— . . . ," p. 144.

* Recently the Board of Professional Affairs of the *American Psychological Association*, in October 1971, recommended the publication of a draft statement entitled "Guidelines for Participation in Growth Groups." This statement was published in the December issue of the *APA Monitor*, and is presently being revised. Also, in September, 1971, a new organization emerged, the *International Association of Applied Social Scientists, Inc.* Their purpose is to educate the public on how to use human relations consultants and to act as an accrediting board by certifying and developing standards of competence for professional practitioners of applied social science. *The Board of Directors is chaired by Kenneth D. Benne.* See November, 1971 issue of the *APA Monitor*, p. 7. Also, *The American Personnel and Guidance Association* devoted their April issue 1971 to the growth of the group movement, and again in December 1971, their journal concentrated on ethical practices, with particular emphasis on the lack of professional guidelines in group work.

[33] G. M. Gazda, J. A. Duncan and P. J. Sisson, "Professional Issues in Group Work," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, April, 1971, Vol. 49, No. 8, p. 638.

* For a *comprehensive survey regarding the ethical and professional issues of the group movement* see J. L. Moreno, "Code of Ethics for Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama," *Psychodrama and Group Psychotherapy Monographs*, No. 31, Beacon, N. Y.: Beacon House, 1962, also see J. L. Moreno, "Common Ground for all Group Psychotherapists; What is a Group Psychotherapist?," *Group Psychotherapy*, 1962, Vol. XV, pp. 263-264, and J. L. Moreno and Z. T. Moreno, "An Objective Analysis of the Group Psychotherapy Movement," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XIII, 1960, pp. 133-237, and P. Hurewitz, "Ethical Considerations in Leading Therapeutic and Quasi-Therapeutic Groups: Encounter and Sensitivity Groups," *Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama*, Vol. XXIII, 1970, pp. 17-20, and J. L. Moreno, "Crisis of the Hippocratic Oath," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. IX, 1955, and Siroka, Siroka, & Schloss, *Sensitivity Training & Group Encounter*, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971, Part Six, "Buyer Beware."

[34] Zerka T. Moreno, "Moreneans, The Heretics of Yesterday, the Orthodoxy of Today," *Group Psychotherapy*, Vol. XXII, No. 1-2, 1969.

* In 1969, Moreno listed the "assets and liabilities" of both the Bethel and Beacon centers. This was another effort "to establish valid standards of teaching and training" and thus aid in preventing a further disintegration of the Group Encounter Movement.

VALUE OF THE ACTION LAB IN POLICE TRAINING*

CHARLES BAHN

John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York

Howard Becker and Anselm Strauss made the cogent point that "in occupations whose central feature is performance of a service for outside clients, one chronic source of tension is the effort of members to control their work life themselves while in contact with outsiders."

Police work does involve "service for outside clients" and its incumbents do exert effort to control their work life. It also involves membership in a tightly-knit work group with its own values, customs, mores and attitudes. Despite extensive contact with the public, a veritable horde of outside clients, the police do not readily allow themselves to be influenced by views arising from outside their ranks.

Big city police are even more resistant than others. Their ranks are larger; their solidarity is that much more unyielding. Among themselves, they recognize differences, acknowledge varied viewpoints, quarrel and even contend. Yet when they turn to the public, they form a solid blue line, an unbroken phalanx—even to the point of presenting a single ideology.

The ideology is for the most part implicit in what they do, rather than verbalized in their conversations. Police training emphasizes actions, not credos. Those who are drawn to police work recognize that it will make an extensive physical demand, and they are usually people who welcome this demand. Which is to say that police, in general, are concrete rather than abstract in their cognitive style.

Their creative thinking is deductive, rather than inductive. Broad concepts, theoretical and complex are not part of their daily world. Meditation is regarded as a lack of alertness. Boredom is countered with a cup of coffee rather than with inward exploration. This concreteness is then strength. When it is necessary to act, they do so boldly, quickly, without vacillating. When confronted with an occurrence, a person, a sign that is out of the ordinary—they do not suspend judgment while searching memory or thought for the clue that will lead them to consistency. Instead, they snap to intense alertness—suspicious, tense and believing the worst.

A vice detective, having been "flopped" for drinking, went on the wagon and became addicted to intellectualism. One night, walking along with his professor and another detective, he broke in on his companion's tales of his exploits and feats of strength—"Yes, Professor, I was a terror in those days. If I only knew then what I know now about sociology, psychology, about people."

"Would it have made a difference?" the professor asked.

"Not in what I did, I guess" he admitted, "but in what I thought about it all—that's where it would have been different. You know, later."

Even the converts keep the academic faith, but keep it separate from action.

This, then, is a form of resistance to higher education that makes college exposure only the beginning of police education. Where police training is most effective, it takes this concreteness, this use of action as the expression and source of ideas into consideration.

The Metropolitan police of London carry on extensive training during the first two years of incumbency on the force. Little of this training is carried out in conventional classrooms. Mock station houses, a miniature village with streets, pubs, and other buildings, and a mock court are the loci of training. Role playing is the dominant model, and the British began this trend of training before the second World War.

In the United States, much police training is still carried out in a quasi-military style. A canned lecture, prepared by a somewhat qualified (but often unimaginative) trainer, is handed over to a superior police officer who has been assigned to training in the assumption that anyone of appropriate rank can do the job. He stands before the class, and "delivers" the lesson—usually just as written. The results are not dissimilar from those achieved by other forms of canned lecturing, with boredom being one of the noxious outcomes.

During the past decade, in an effort at change, police have entered college and colleges have affiliated with police departments in offering education as a supplement to training. The early results have not always been inspiring.

To the rigidity of the military model classroom, the supplement of the directionless freedom of the improvised encounter has sometimes been added. To the monotonous mouthings of prepackaged maxims has been added the impassioned lectures of socially conscious faculty.

Where military discipline produced withdrawal, anarchic freedom led to confusion and unruliness. The cynicism and torpor that marked the reaction to printed platitudes became hostile disbelief and distrust when the message moved to areas regarded as politically and socially sensitive.

After a period of socialization into the role of college student, the cynicism and torpor spill over to academia. A few, a valuable and precious minority, perservere—searching for information and insights in assigned readings, in wide-ranging lectures. Some drop out—unwilling or unable to continue. Most do continue—their eyes and minds intent on attaining the certificate, the degree, the conclusion. What happens in between the starting of the search and the award of the parchment is borne stolidly.

Action methods present a new approach to this student group that automated learning, programmed instruction, closed circuit television, and computer assisted instruction do not offer. It begins where these students are—in the world of action, in deeds that instruct. Its lessons are felt in the muscles, in the guts, in the backbone. The darting eye, the alert ear, the fingertips learn and teach. Ideas become real, issues become action alternatives.

Yet, action methods in themselves do not comprise a curriculum. The ideas are not sufficiently well developed, the sequence not fully organized. An overlay of organization is required to give clarity and form to what is learned.

The action lab is then a significant approach to police education, but only one such approach. It can be effectively utilized to open up an area of inquiry, by inducing an awareness of covert consideration that is not usually brought to consciousness. The later analysis can therefore be much more meaningful and immediate, since it has the action lab experience as its referrant rather than verbal symbols alone.

The action lab can also be used for transition—bringing insights from the conceptual to the experimental. After the appropriate labels have been rehearsed, the proper sequence of words organized, the action lab may help to concretize the terminology and flesh out the concept.

For police students, in fact for all students, most comfortable with action as a mediator of cognition, the action lab is a highly recommended mode of education.

---

* Presented at the 30th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Group Psychotherapy & Psychodrama, April 7, 1972.

PSYCHODRAMA TECHNIQUES IN TRAINING POLICE IN FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION

HARVEY A. BAROCAS

Baruch College, City University of New York

In recent years domestic fights have become a serious hazard to many metropolitan police departments. Frequently, it is the police who are assigned the responsibility for cross-monitoring the dimensions of family conflict and intervening during a family crisis. The "family disturbance call" currently represents the single most frequent source of injury and death to police officers (by national statistics). Any policeman knows that one of the most dangerous calls he must answer is the family quarrel, when bitter hot emotion erupts into violence, when injury is as close as a knife blade and when the despair of misery focuses suddenly on a blue uniform. However, despite the urgency of rendering family crisis services, relatively little has been done to train and increase the effectiveness of police officers in this critical area.

Based on considerable experience it became evident that training police in family crisis intervention could not be delivered through the traditional classroom didactic approach regardless of the scientific rigor of the course content or the expertise of the behavioral scientist. Police training appeared to represent a considerable challenge to the psychodramatist, and a psychodramatic learning approach proved to be an excellent vehicle for helping to increase patrolmen's self-awareness and sensitivity to family members.

During the past few years, I have been actively involved in designing and implementing experimental police training programs in the sensitive area of "family crisis intervention." Police officers are selected from a group of volunteers via depth interviews, and are provided with a two-week training period on a full-time basis. The training consists of a psychodrama group workshop experience, highlighted by a conflict intervention training laboratory. This psychodrama experience proved to be the most involving and productive of all training procedures used.

The psychodrama approach utilized trained actors and actresses who simulated the personality characteristics of specific family members. The simulated family crises consisted of professional actors portraying skits (developed from actual family fights reported by police officers) with role-played police intervention. After the actors had developed the basic fight, police officers intervened as if it were an actual family disturbance call. Simulated fights encompassed such themes as alcoholism, child abuse, infidelity, incest, unemployment, etc.

All psychodrama skits were video-taped while other policemen in the training program observed and took notes for a subsequent critique and group session.

Each conflict situation was role-played twice to permit different police teams to intervene in the same crisis call, and demonstrate differential approaches and styles. Focused video-tape feedback was subsequently used in small group workshops. This served as a vehicle for confronting patrolmen with an immediate, objective, audio-visual transcript of their approaches to a family crisis call. With video-tape feedback, the patrolman actually sees himself in action immediately after completion of a crisis intervention call. Such feedback and group discussion helped alert many patrolmen to blind spots and patterns of maladjusted behavior by giving them information about themselves as they interacted with disputants during an intervention. The feedback process was doubly enhanced by the actors, who entered the group discussion to express their reactions to the different police interventions.

Considerable resistance and defensiveness to video-tape feedback and personal confrontation was anticipated early in the program. Therefore, the goal of trying to develop alternative intervention strategies and enhance police skills was emphasized repeatedly. Patrolmen were encouraged to offer suggestions or alternative approaches to help improve their interventions.

Group discussions following police action were very intensive, especially when attempts were made to examine the policeman's intervention strategy and note its effect on family members. Significant disruption occurred when a policeman was confronted with some aspect of his intervention (especially conditions which precipitated the use of force or violence) and he refused to consider what others were trying to tell him. During such a stalemate, the video-tape monitor was placed before the patrolman and the sections preceding police use of force were played back. The patrolman was then given an opportunity to react to the feedback and re-evaluate his techniques of intervention as well as the family's reactions to his approach.

Overall, due to the ease with which police officers moved into psychodramatic action, this medium provided some rich and refreshing insights into police behavior during a family quarrel. A rather provocative finding related to the dilemma of role-reversals between police and disputants emerged early in the training programs. The actors were able to assume police roles with ease and enthusiasm, whereas policemen were inhibited and had considerable difficulty in playing the role of family disputants. The apparent threat to the police identity brought about by such role-reversals may have prevented policemen from pursuing the family drama further. The over-reliance on maintaining the rigid police-role may be seen as a defense against identifying with the problems of family disputants. Hence, psychodramatic techniques can be highly useful in helping to sensitize policemen to blind spots, especially when police become the victims in a role-reversal.

This research on training police in family crisis intervention clearly suggests that police services provide a stimulating avenue for further psychodramatic exploration.

THE FINAL EMPTY CHAIR*

TOM SPEROS

San Francisco, California

One element of "classic" psychodrama which separates it from other types of groups, both therapeutic and quasi-therapeutic, is the sharing portion at the end; although occasionally found with some sessions in other methods, the psychodramatist always sees that there is time at the end of a scene for members to react in a non-interpretive, personal way.

Our experience has been, however, that there are some common problems that occur:

1. Group members, especially in new groups, have trouble distinguishing sharing from analyzing, judging or giving advice;
2. If strongly caught up in the scene they may need action as much as the protagonist did;
3. Members' reactions may be inadequately or insufficiently expressed because of reactions toward auxiliary roles. Especially within the limits of the usual session (1½ hours) there may not be time to do scenes involving them, even though they are warmed up.

To help counter these problems our staff occasionally uses what we call "The Final Empty Chair" which facilitates sharing, action and catharsis in the audience members of the group. The chair is "filled" with the absent roles that have been portrayed and serves both as an additional focus point for the sharing session and as in the following example, a catalyst for group exploration.

EXAMPLE

The session had been a "heavy" one. The protagonist, Will, was a boy (age 40) who had always been in conflict with his father—trying, but apparently unable to please him. (The father, for instance, had put pressure on Will to "be a man"; Will had enlisted in the Army and had volunteered for combat in Korea, but when it was time to be shipped off, his father, who lived in the port city, did not show up to see him off.) In the course of the action, while replaying several similar events, Will began to actualize Perl's "Gestalt Prayer" (". . . I am not in this world to meet your expectations . . .") and in the end was able to tell his father that he loved him but would no longer be victimized by him.

At the end of the psychodrama Will sat with an auxiliary at one side of the stage and an empty chair was placed at the other. The audience was asked by the director to come up as a group to Will and let him know what they were experiencing. Hesitantly at first, but very soon with more spontaneity, the members came up to touch, embrace and share with Will. After a couple of minutes the director announced that Will's father was in the empty chair and

invited the group to respond to him. This time there was no hesitancy; the people rushed to the chair and began to yell, accuse, and in general dissipate some of their own unresolved anger. (One person kicked the chair.) The action stopped when we heard a woman say to the chair "I feel sad for you—you seem so alone and unable to love." The result was a sudden role-reversal, with everyone suddenly shocked into an awareness of the probable pain of the father as well as the son—and the group could care about, experience and share with both.

The discussion that followed was a wonderful moving experience for all of us. The warmth, tenderness and TRUE sharing was of a quality that I had never seen. The empty chair had freed all of us to drop our masks and become one-with-each-other.

Conclusion

As psychodramatists we feel that often words are not enough, and that action is necessary to truly experience and resolve pain and conflicts; yet, following many sessions, we ask members of the group, who have been warmed up, worked up, stimulated and provoked, to rely on words alone to express their feelings. Not only is this in conflict with our beliefs of what is helpful, but it too often results in people forcing themselves "back into their heads," to intellectualize, and then to leave the session feeling dissatisfied.

Using the Final Empty Chair allows them to experience more fully, share more completely, and gain the same value from action that the protagonist received.

References

Moreno, J. L., *Psychodrama.* Vol. I, II, III, Beacon N. Y.: Beacon House, 1946-1969.
Moreno, J. L., *The Theatre of Spontaneity.* Beacon, N. Y.: Beacon House, 1947.

* Thanks to my colleagues, Ned Walsh and Ed Staats.

COMPLEMENTARY[1] LEADERSHIP AND SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF GROUP MEMBERS

BERNARD G. ROSENTHAL[2] AND ALTON J. DELONG

Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago

The concept of territoriality has had wide documentation in animal behavior. (3, 6, 11, 12). In this area its essential meaning has been the preemption or, at least, dominance of a given physical area by an animal, and his defense of this area against all intruders. By implication, it has also conveyed the idea of "rivalry" or "struggle" attendant upon the adversary efforts of two or more animals to occupy a desired area or to contest its present occupant's claim to it. Further, the attainment of such a desired area is often related to a social or power position in the society or group of which he is a part.

In human behavior, territoriality has also been studied extensively. Its relevance has been demonstrated in studies of human ecology, interpersonal behavior, and to a more limited and qualified extent in group behavior. (1, 2, 13, 16).

In the latter area, Steinzor (17) has shown that group members seated in a circular arrangement more frequently address each other from opposite seatings when the group meetings are few and of relatively brief duration. Hearn (10) supplemented this finding with evidence that in leaderless groups communication is directed to opposite seated members but in leader-dominated groups it tends to be more often directed to side-by-side seating partners. Hare and Bales (9) found that certain seats in three-sided rectangular arrangements were high "talking" positions and were also those to which a high number of comments were addressed. Churchill (7) has found differences between seat selections of males and females and also that socio-emotional leaders take side-of-table positions while task leaders take end positions. Sommer has found that leaders predominantly occupy seats at the ends of tables in preference to other positions. In other studies Winick and Holt (20) and Wilner (19) have found a relation between seating positions on the one hand and certain personality characteristics and the general "mood" of the group on the other. In a study somewhat more pertinent to the one to be reported here, Esser, Chamberlain, Chapple, and Kline (8) showed a relationship between mobility in territoriality and aggressive behavior.

None of the studies reported till now, however, have dealt with a natural

[1] Due to fortuitous circumstance, a version of this paper departing from the original in some particulars appeared in the HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIOMETRY, Vol. VI, 1971. The paper published here is the original as submitted.

[2] The senior author is responsible for the present form of this report and the nature of its interpretation presented here.

group which meets over an extended period of time, i.e., several months, and which functions for purposes other than experimental study or therapy. Further, no such long durable group has been intensively studied developmentally over such a period with respect to the relations between leadership, seating position and territorial stability as well as the power structure, mood, and collective behavior of the group as a whole. The report to be presented here is one of a series of studies which have been directed to these issues.

HYPOTHESES

Transposing the territoriality concept to a small natural face-to-face group of extended duration involved the construction of a series of premises relating the seating position (territory) of the group members to their power, influence, and behavior. Components of such premises were of the following order: a member's power in the group will be related to his preemption of the most prominent territory (seating position) in order to affirm his power and extend his influence. Corollary to this premise is the assumption that there will be a relation between such preemption of "desirable" or prominent seating positions and certain personality traits necessary to procure such positions. Also that there would be some relationship between territoriality and power or status in the group, and that shifts in territoriality (position) would be related to shifts in power or influence in the group.

From this chain of premises the following hypothesis was derived to be tested in this study: in a small natural group the preemption of prominent seating position (territoriality) will bear a positive relationship to the leadership position of the group's members. The specific deductions from this hypothesis as they applied to a group of extended duration with an established traditional leader who would later abdicate his position were: 1) there will be a tendency for the group member who occupies the most prominent territory (apart from that of the abdicated traditional leader) to also have the highest leadership power in the group, and 2) that as territoriality (or seating position) departs from this prominence there will be a decreasing influence over the group. In short, the second deduction holds that there is a direct relationship between physical proximity to an opposition (student) leader and leadership position in the group.

Seating position therefore represented the territorial variable of this study. By assumption, it signified the geographic area which the member selected for himself or, in effect, had selected for him by the prior occupation of seats by the other members. It was postulated that in this group the most influential, desirable, or prominent territory would be the one at the end of a rectangular table since this position, in the context of our contemporary culture, would ensure greater verbal influence. It would be the most strategically placed seat for influencing others as well as the one to which most communication would be directed, would represent greater visibility and visual influence (its occupant would be more easily seen and have greater capacity to look at more people simulta-

neously), and would embody a more commanding position and physical desirability from the viewpoint of accessibility, freedom of movement (getting up and leaving), and amount of available physical space. In addition, it was postulated that the end position would be most influential since it was at the precise opposite end of the position occupied by the professor—a position which represented traditional and early authority in the group. Thus, symbolically and actually, to obtain high influence and prominence in the group an analogous or equal territoriality to that held by the abdicated or putative leader (professor) should be attained.

Further, it was assumed that the territory opposite to the traditional leader also represented a challenge to his prominence and authority as well as symbolized feelings that are always latent or implicit in a group, i.e., ambivalence, resentment, and revolt against leadership. This challenge and assertion of the group's authority (or of some individuals in it) against the traditional leader cannot effectively be taken unless the opposition leader (and symbol) of this rebellion or ambivalence, i.e., the person who aspires to challenge and replace the abdicated leader, has as prominent a position and as great a visibility from which to mount his challenge, exert his influence, and obtain equivalent power in the group as the abdicated leader had. All this, of course, has elements reminiscent of the rivalry for power or preeminence implicit in certain nuclear father-son relationships. For these reasons, the opposite end of the table was viewed as having the highest influential territoriality (other than that of the abdicated leader) and as the most desirable one from the viewpoint of power and influence in the group. Further, it was hypothesized that as the opposition leader, in time, ostensibly assumed predominant influence in the group, a member's influence position would be decreasingly effective with his greater linear distance from the former's seating position. Thus, as the group evolved, the more influential or powerful group positions or territories would be toward the "opposition leader" end and the lesser influential ones toward the abdicated leader's end.

METHOD

To examine these issues, it was thought best to employ conditions that would approach as closely as practically possible those of a natural group where struggle for territoriality (or position) had authentic meaning. To do this it was necessary to have a group that met over a relatively long period of time and in which influence or power would have genuine significance and utility to the participants. If such influence or power options were trivial, artificial, or imposed, the real meaning of the territorial concept and its corrolary could not be assessed. Thus, the influence that might be wielded by the group should be of a viable, meaningful, and personally significant kind to its members. To satisfy this condition, a course in Group Dynamics was elected as the locus for this study. The early weeks of the course were devoted to a few sessions of lecture presentations and then to a rather extended period (about 4 weeks) of class discussion of ideas,

research papers and methodology in the group dynamics field. Though the professor assumed the role of the authority figure in these discussions, there was much involvement of the student members in this extended group discussion section of the course. They criticized work that was considered, evaluated each other's proposals for research, and examined various ideas in the group dynamics field. The professor, however, led and oriented these discussions. Thus the temper and atmosphere of the class group at this point in its evolution may have demonstrated what effects a traditional leader's power and influence might have and so, perhaps, established for some a desire and aspiration for such conditions. This may be particularly true since the professor as authority figure used his position to point out the defects in all the students' proposed research designs and, though they actively participated in the discussion, were aware of their lesser influence, status, and power in respect to him. These conditions also may have exaggerated their own desires for influence, status, or power that exists among many members in such a group.

In the sixth week of the class the professor announced he was withdrawing as leader of the group and though he would be present for the remainder of the term, would refuse to participate or exert influence on the deliberations of the student group. At this time all the proposed research designs of the students had been exhaustively discussed; they were now under obligation to independently execute them in the remainder of the course and, save for a detailed report at the very end of the semester, no other formal work evaluation was required. Also, just previous to the time the professor withdrew he had assigned Bion's "Experiences in Groups" (5) to be read by the students but the sequence, time of reading of each of Bion's papers, and the sessions in which they were to be discussed were also left to the group. Thus, the group had carte blanche to proceed as they wished in all future discussions lasting through the remainder of the course, viz. about 9 weeks. The only vestige of authority the professor retained was his regular seat at the head of the table.

The group, exclusive of the professor, numbered 13 graduate and undergraduate students. They met in a small pleasant room overlooking a garden patio and were free to sit wherever they wished at a rectangular table, at one end of which was placed one seat at which the professor regularly sat. Five chairs were placed on either side of the length of the table, equally spaced, and at the opposite end was another chair. Two other chairs were placed in the corner of the room which could be moved to the end of the table opposite that from which the professor sat. Thus the bottom end of the table could accommodate three chairs and two of these might be placed at the corners of the table, pushed in and abutting the long side of the table or placed in other variable positions along this bottom end.

Leadership was assessed by a series of ranking or rating scales given twice during the "abdicated leader" phase of the group's duration: once at the 11th and another at the 23rd group meeting after the professor's withdrawal. These scales consisted of questions such as "Rank members of the group in terms of

demonstrated leadership"; "Whose suggestions would you be most likely to follow"; "Rate the leadership ability of each person"; "Rate the quality of the contributions made by each person"; "In group discussion (name of person) seemed to be: aggressive—non-aggressive"; and the like. All ratings were made on a 7-point scale. For each pertinent question that was used in testing the

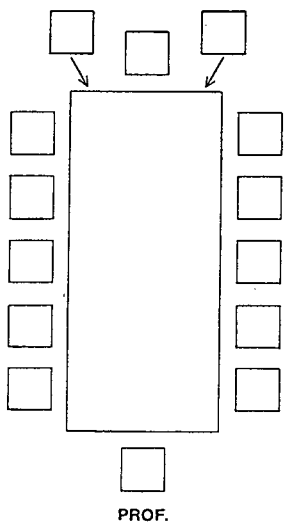


Fig. 1. Diagram of usual seating arrangements at rectangular table

hypotheses of this study, ratings or rankings were computed and analyzed in association with territorial data.

To obtain data on the territorial variable of the study, a careful record was kept of the seating positions of each group member in the interval extending from two weeks prior to the professor's "withdrawal" to the final group meeting. Territorial claims for each member of the group were determined by the following procedures: a) the highest frequency of times a member occupied a given chair was the single most important factor in determining seating allocation; b) when two members occupied a given position the same number of times but, in addition, there was some movement from one side of the table to the other in the case of either or both members, preference to such a contested position was given to the member who more often than the other occupied a seat on one side of the table, though its exact location may have varied from time to time; c) the lack of variability of movement in *other* seating positions was also an influential factor. When two persons had occupied the same position with equal frequency, preference in its assignment was given to the one who showed more restricted range of movement around the contested position or less variability of movement in general. Fortunately, only three of the thirteen group members required the

application of more than two criteria with the largest number, namely eight, requiring only the first criterion.

The territorial rank of each seating position was determined as follows: rank 1 was assigned to the seat at the end of the table directly opposite to that of the professor; rank 2.5 to both seats flanking this opposite seating position; rank 4.5 to the next succeeding seats facing each other across the table; and so on to the end of the table where rank 12.5 was given to the seats across from each other and located to the immediate right and left of the professor.

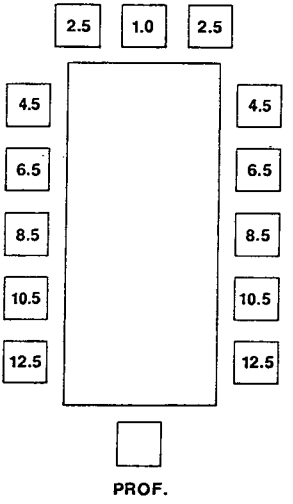


Fig. 2. Territorial ranks of seating positions by the linear method

Results

The first hypothesis to be tested was the relation between leadership and seating position in the group. The presumption here was that a linear relationship between seating position and leadership ranking would hold, i.e., the more distant the member would be from the end of the table at which the professor sat, the higher would be his leadership ranking. (In such rankings, the group was asked *not* to include the professor insofar as he had, in effect, withdrawn from the group.) The correlation (rho) between linear rankings of seats (mean ranking value method) and the responses of group members on the question "Rank all members on demonstrated leadership ability" was .03 ($p > .05$). This meant that linear distance from the professor or the opposition leader was not related to demonstrated leadership in the group as judged by the group's members.

This lack of relationship was unexpected since the contemporary cultural pattern is manifestly in the direction hypothesized and also in view of the fact that several studies (15) have presented evidence confirming this pattern. To explain this discrepancy, a careful reexamination of the data was carried out. This brought to light the presence of a spatial and psychological division of the group into two sub-groups. This observation was then tested by computing the group's geographical arrangement (excluding the professor) on a counter-clockwise rather than a linear basis, i.e., seating assignment no. 1 (that of the opposition leader) was given to the chair at the upper right hand corner of the table, opposite from where the professor sat. Seating assignment no. 2 was given to the chair immediately flanking no. 1 on its right, no. 3 was assigned to the

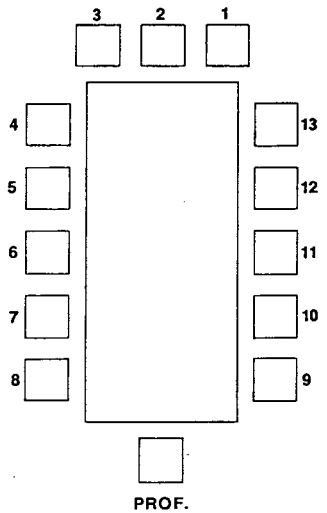


Fig. 3. Territorial ranks of seating positions by the counterclockwise method

next succeeding chair to the right of no. 2, and so on around the table in a counterclockwise direction until all seats had been serially assigned in this fashion. The specific numbered seating assignments are illustrated in Figure 3.

The correlation between such a seating assignment and the ranking of leadership was .75 ($p<.01$). The seating arrangement upon which these correlations were based, in effect, divided the group diagonally into two sections, one consisting of members seated along the side of the rectangular table which was to the right of the professor (and to the left of the student leader) and the other section seated along the side of the table which was to the left of the professor (and to the right of the student leader). In short, there was a tendency for members with higher ranked leadership ability to sit on the right side of the table (in reference to the opposition or student leader) and the left side (in reference to

the professor), and for those with lower ranked leadership ability to sit on the opposition (student) leader's left side which was the same as the professor's right.

This led to the inference that at the time the questionnaire was administered (6th session after the traditional leader had abdicated) there were, in effect, two sub-groups: one allied with the opposition (student) leader and sitting on his right and another allied with the traditional, abdicated leader and sitting on the latter's right.

To further test the idea that there were two sub-groups, each more or less independently allied with a different leader, the responses of all group members to all the rating scales administered at the 11th session were analyzed as they applied to the separate membership of each of the postulated sub-groups. The resulting scores were then divided into "above median" and "below median" categories for each sub-group. In short, all the ratings made of each member by all the other members were put into a 2 x 2 matrix whose cells were the above and below median ratings of each of the two postulated sub-groups. Using the technique of conditional probability, it was found that sub-group I (the opposition or student leader's adherents) gave its own sub-group membership 196 ratings above the median and only 85 ratings below it. In contrast, however, it gave sub-group II (the professor's allies) only 82 ratings above the median but gave them 146 ratings below it. In effect, this meant that there was a 70% chance that members of sub-group I would rate members of their own sub-group above the median and a 64% chance that they would rate members of sub-group II below the median. This held for all 8 rating scales.

TABLE 1.

"ABOVE" AND "BELOW" MEDIAN SCORES OF SUBGROUP AND TOTAL GROUP RESPONSES TO ALL RATING SCALES

A. SUBGROUP I RATINGS OF ITSELF AND OF SUBGROUP II

RATINGS	SUBGROUP I	SUBGROUP II
Above median	196	82
Below median	85	142

B. SUBGROUP II RATINGS OF ITSELF AND OF SUBGROUP I

RATINGS	SUBGROUP I	SUBGROUP II
Above median	129	55
Below median	90	75

C. COMBINED RATINGS BY TOTAL GROUP OF SUBGROUPS I AND II

RATINGS	SUBGROUP I	SUBGROUP II
Above median	325	157
Below median	175	221

The responses of sub-group II (allied with the professor) substantially agreed with those of sub-group I. Thus, it rated the members of sub-group I 129 times *above* and 90 times *below* the median while it rated members of its own sub-group only 55 times above the median in contrast to the 75 times it rated them below it. (According to conditional probability, this means that there is a 58% chance that members of sub-group II would make these ratings in the

directions indicated.) What these ratings mean, then, is that both sub-groups rate sub-group I higher than sub-group II on all the rating scales, though this is more pronounced in the case of sub-group I than it is in sub-group II. What is surprising is that sub-group II concurs, if not so emphatically, in sub-group's I judgment that the latter is superior to itself in respect to the traits rated.

Thus, we have the finding that after the professor withdraws from the group, two sub-groups are, in effect, formed—each sitting directly opposite from the other at the rectangular table—with one sub-group allied with the opposition leader (student) and the other with the traditional leader (professor); and that both these sub-groups rate members of the one allied with the opposition leader as being superior on various traits to members allied with the traditional leader. Not only do these findings implicitly support the presumption that two sub-groups exist but indicate that both groups, implicitly or explicitly, are aware of and, indeed, have rather clearly differentiated evaluations of each other.

Supporting these contentions and findings are the results of the ratings by all group members of the separate sub-groups. The total group rated sub-group I 325 times *above* the median on the 8 rating scales and only 175 times *below* the median on these scales. This constitutes a conditional probability of .65 which in effect means that there is a 65% chance that members of sub-group I would be rated above the median by members of the total group on any rating scale. Sub-group II, by contrast, was given 157 ratings *above* and 221 ratings *below* the median by the total group which, in effect, means that there is a 58% chance that members of sub-group II would be rated below the median by any member (overall) of the entire group on any rating scale.

This, in general, confirms the contention that the group as a whole both recognized that there were two constituent sub-groups and, in addition, assessed them differently in respect to trait ratings, having a somewhat greater disposition to give more favorable ratings to sub-group I (allied with the opposition leader) than to sub-group II (allied with the abdicated leader).

To further check these findings, a sign test was performed to determine whether sub-group I was consistently judged higher on the rating scales than sub-group II. To carry this out, the total ratings that each group member had made of each sub-group was determined. The mean of each such total sub-group rating by each group member was then computed and the sign test applied. The test confirmed that the difference in overall ratings between the sub-groups for all rating scales was higher for sub-group I than for sub-group II and was significant at the .006 level of confidence.

Further confirming both the direction and magnitude of the rating differences between sub-groups I and II for all group members was the results of the Wilcoxen matched-pairs test applied to the rating scale data. The difference was found, again, to be in favor of sub-group I and at the .01 level of confidence.

To explain these findings it must be first understood that no similar sub-group division was evident until the professor withdrew, i.e., all correlations between

counterclockwise seating position and leadership rankings were non-significant.

How, then, did the professor's withdrawal precipitate overt sub-group divisions which previously had not existed? To understand this, the content and dynamics of the group process and the different prospective methods of proceeding that were open to the group must be considered. The group was given two options at the time of the professor's withdrawal: 1) proceeding in the reasoned, deliberate discussion of published scientific papers concerning group dynamics that had characterized the course under the professor's leadership, or 2) of proceeding in an "experiential" manner, i.e, learning about group dynamics by experiencing the emotions and processes that are an essential part of the natural group rather than through their examination in a formal seminar atmosphere. The latter alternative had also been put forth as a possible procedure by the professor who had reinforced it somewhat by assigning the reading of various sections of Bion's "Experiences in Groups" (5) while pointing out that the group might proceed in the fashion described by Bion if it so elected. Hence, two options were available to the group at the time the professor withdrew: the model that he had established of a reasoned, detailed analysis of papers in the group dynamics field or that of proceeding in an "emotional" way and experiencing the vicissitudes of group process as it authentically occurred. Though the latter had also clearly been put forth as one alternative for the group to follow, the model of the professor's past behavior as well as the previous experience of the group had been stronger on the side of the rational approach.

The two sub-groups mirrored these options. The one which formed on the professor's right favored the procedure he had sustained before his withdrawal; the group forming on his left and whose leader sat at the opposite end of the table from him advocated an "experiental" process of group operation. The evidence for these contrasting positions comes from records kept of the content of the member's comments during the meeting. Thus the group's territorial subdivision reflected two different orientations and desired modes of procedure as well as physically representing a power struggle over these contending approaches. The fact, too, that the leader of the sub-group opposed to the rational, traditional way of procedure sat directly opposite from the professor reveals the geographic and physical aspects of the power struggle in that the opposition leader (as ascertained through group rating and ranking scales) occupied a seat physically and geographically comparable to that of the traditional leader though directly opposite him.

Thus the effort to contend equally on issues of procedure was transferred to the spatial area where an analogous physical struggle was revealed in the adversary efforts for equality of visibility, territoriality, symbolic position of influence, and in the sought-for prominence of the opposition leader in relation to the traditional one. Such efforts, as in the contentious discussion content of the factional power struggle or in the adversary geographical arrangement of sub-groups, was also manifested in the equivalent physical positions of direct

confrontation and of equal spatial influence taken by the opposition leader in reference to the traditional one. All of this distilled the conflict between the two contending positions, expressed the confrontation of a power struggle in clear physical and fundamental terms—indeed in the elemental terms of the primitive language of overt physical relationships and action—and, in effect, by forcing a manifest physical face-down (of comparable geographical, visual, and territorial power) physically expressed the challenge of the adversary position as it was physically embodied in the form of the adversary sub-group and its putative leader.

Beyond this, how explain the fact that sub-group II rated itself lower on various personality and group characteristics than it rated sub-group I, a difference in judgment concurred in by the latter? Since sub-group II was a proponent of the rational, deliberate approach, an approach which had been substantially put into question by the professor's relinquishment of its advocacy through his abdication of the leadership position, it is understandable that sub-group II may have felt that the position it supported, and also itself as a sub-group entity, had been depreciated if not undermined. Since, too, the professor had given some credibility to the "emotional" approach by his assignment of Bion and by leaving the option of the group's future procedure fully to its own decision, it is entirely possible that these factors taken together with the professor's failure to explicitly condemn the "emotional" approach supported by sub-group I may have contributed to sub-group II's judgment that there was more merit in the adversary group than its own, a conviction supported by the fact that the former had not been abandoned by its leader as the latter had. For all these reasons, they may have felt an inadequacy and inferiority about their own status and orientation which was reflected in the lower ratings they assigned to their own sub-group as compared with those they gave to sub-group I. Committed to the rational approach and to the traditional leader who had been its chief representative, the latter's withdrawal from that advocacy represented a defeat for them which was reflected in their diminished self-ratings as it was in the superior ones they gave sub-group I.

Sub-group I, on the other hand, committed to the emotional mode of procedure and desirous of rejecting the rational, thoughful approach, could only judge the professor's abdication as its victory, particularly since he had not explicitly censured them in advocating such an approach. Taken together with the fact that when the group, as a whole, made various efforts to actually engage in the experiential approach and was similarly not deterred by the professor, it was to be expected that sub-group I would react with an increased sense of superiority and confidence. The higher ratings they gave themselves in contrast to the much lower ones they gave sub-group II reflected these attitudes. Toward sub-group II they reacted with depreciation and disparagement for holding to a position which their own sub-group had rejected and which now, by virtue of the professor's abdication, could be seen as having been symbolically defeated.

This also was the position which prevented them from taking over the group in the only way they were capable of, i.e., by an "emotional" approach deficient in the rational deliberations which had dominated the group's proceedings in the previous weeks and which they had also rejected as one through which, in part, their subordinate status was maintained as well as symbolized. When the professor, in effect, implicitly condoned this rejection through his own abdication they felt that their own emotional orientation had won high priority in the group's future proceedings. To them, therefore, sub-group II's continuing commitment to a rational approach represented the force which would hinder them from gaining victory in the power struggle over which orientation was to prevail in the group. Conversely, the emotional approach—the only one they were proficient in—was a procedure by which they could legitimize and justify, within the compass of plausible group goals and methods, taking over the group on their own particular grounds. Thus they gave sub-group II much lower ratings than they gave themselves.

A further and more refined test of the relation between leadership and seating position was made within each of the sub-groups. (Linear seating within each sub-group was ascertained by assigning serially numbered positions starting from the professor's right side in the case of sub-group II and from the right of the opposition leader for sub-group I, and continuing along the length of the table, on the right of each of these leaders, to its end. Thus the most immediately adjacent right hand seat to each of these originating positions was assigned number 1, the next adjacent right hand seat was given number 2, and so on till each member of the respective sub-groups had been given a seating number). For sub-group 1, the correlation (rho) between leadership ranking and linear seating position was .429 ($p > .05$). However, for sub-group II, the correlation between linear position and leadership ranking was 1.0 ($p < .01$).

To explain this exceptional relationship requires the presumption that sub-group II, allied as it was with the established leader, reflected more naturally the territorial group structure involved with traditional leadership in this culture as well as the traditional influence hierarchy that is associated with it. The clear cut linear relationship reflects the hierarchic organization of established authority (represented by the professor) and the principle of levels of leadership or chain of influence associated with it. Since the sub-group was dependent on the established leader, it is not surprising that a hierarchic chain of influence emerged which was reflected physically in a perfect correlated territoriality. Those highest in leadership ranking in such a traditional group with a traditional leader would sit closest to him and those with decreasing lower ranking would sit progressively farther away from him. There is thus revealed the physical analogue of the psychological power structure of the sub-group, i.e., its hierarchical chain of influence or command. That this should be revealed so clearly with a traditional group and a traditional leader is closely related to cultural norms of strong leadership, hierarchic chain of command, and linear organiza-

tional patterns. It should be noted, too, that in this sub-group there is a perfect correspondence between leadership ranking and seating proximity to the leader on the right, the traditional position for a leader's allies or assistants. Hence the expression, "my good right arm," which reflects the significance of closeness to the right side as a manifestation of support and aid for one's principal. It is also to be noted that in many types of formal organization the next closest in power or influence to the head of the organization sits most immediately on his right with those further removed from power and influence sitting correspondingly farther away.

By contrast, the statistically non-significant rho between linear seating position and leadership ratings within sub-group I reflects a non-hierarchical, non-traditional leader oriented approach which is, in many respects, the opposite of that of sub-group II. Further, the very nature of the "experiential" orientation that sub-group I supported implies a more flexible structure and "influence" system than would be compatible with the traditional chain of authority of sub-group II. In addition, the very fact that sub-group I was in opposition to sub-group II may indicate not only that it was opposed to the nature of traditional, hierarchical authority chains but that in its opposition, both in respect to ideology and contention for power, it had to establish structures and influence "chains" which were quite different from those of sub-group I. This was in order to more clearly embody an "opposition" position to justify its claim for power by the nature of its own distinctive procedures and ideology and, finally, to give its own sub-group members a greater sense of free, non-hierarchic, and equally distributed flexibility of influence. For all these reasons, the relationship between sub-group II's linear seating position and leadership ratings was not at all symmetrically ordered or arranged in a set pattern but rather, as the statistically non-significant rho indicates, was variable and, in effect, "open." In any case, it possessed these features to much more marked degree than did sub-group II and consequently it did not have the high correspondence between seating position and leadership status that distinguished the latter.

Additional support for the distinction between sub-groups I and II comes from responses to the question, "Whose suggestions would you be most likely to follow?" which was given at the 11th session following the professor's "withdrawal." The results show that of the 15 persons sub-group I named in response to this question, 14 were members of this sub-group and only 1 was a member of sub-group II whereas of the 5 persons sub-group II named to this category, only 2 were members of its own sub-group while 3 were members of sub-group I. Thus, both in respect to number of persons chosen whose suggestions would be followed (15 for sub-group I versus 5 for sub-group II) and the choice of one's own sub-group as the source from which these persons are selected (sub-group I chose 92.5% of these members from its own sub-group as compared with the 40% that sub-group II did), there is further evidence for differentiating sub-groups I and II. In this last instance, the results seem to show that sub-group I

is much more trusting and favorable in its general attitude toward its own sub-group whereas sub-group II is less trusting or confident in the group as a whole and further, appears to direct the larger part of what diminished confidence it does have to sub-group I rather than to its own sub-group members.

The explanation of this finding is consistent with the one previously advanced, i.e., sub-group II, feeling inadequate and inferior due to the professor's withdrawal of advocacy of its position and its consequent diminished status, has little confidence in its own constituency and less confidence in the group as a whole than does sub-group I whose position has gained power and prominence. The latter, with its own position now distinctly upgraded, is vastly more trustful and confident in its own sub-group than it is in the opposition faction. Again, this may be interpreted as evidence of sub-group victory in the on-going power struggle and as an index of the pride deriving from it.

To determine whether the previously ascertained relationships between leadership rankings and seating position held for the entire duration of the group, rho's were computed between these variables for blocks of each of approximately five meetings from the 1st through the 23rd session. Both linear and counterclockwise methods of determining seating position were used. The "block" procedure was followed to eliminate any random variations or other artifacts of seating position that might be involved in a particular single meeting and which would tend to obscure any general pattern of territoriality whose character could be evidenced only over a series of meetings. These units constituted small enough consecutive clusters of sessions to sensitively reveal the continuity of seating geography for the duration of the group. Since the questionnaires were administered at the 11th and 23rd session respectively, it was also thought useful to further subdivide each of these major sectors of group meetings into two equally smaller sections to further detail as closely as possible the connection between geographical clustering and sub-group formation.

Thus, from the 1st to the 23rd session, the average seating positions of the group members, when divided into separate blocks of either five or six consecutive meetings, were correlated with pertinent questionnaire responses dealing with group leadership. The results are shown in Table II for both linear and counterclockwise seating assignments. Correlations for the two consecutive blocks of meetings falling within the 1st to the 11th sessions are based on the

TABLE 2.

CORRELATIONS (RHO) BETWEEN LINEAR AND COUNTERCLOCKWISE SEATING POSITIONS AND LEADERSHIP RANKING FOR SUCCESSIVE BLOCKS OF MEETINGS FROM BEGINNING OF THE GROUP

BLOCK OF MEETINGS	LINEAR SEATING METHOD	COUNTERCLOCKWISE SEATING METHOD
1-5	.48 ($p<.05$)	.32 ($p>.05$)
6-11	.12 ($p>.05$)	.69 ($p<.02$)
12-17	.10 ($p>.05$)	.65 ($p<.02$)
18-23	.53 ($p<.05$)	.40 ($p>.05$)

questionnaire given at the 11th session while the two succeeding blocks of meetings falling between the 12th and 23rd sessions were correlated with questionnaires administered at the 23rd session.

As reported previously, during the first 11 sessions the correlation between linear seating assignments and leadership rating was .03 ($p>.05$) as compared with a rho of .75 ($p<.01$) between counterclockwise seating assignment and leadership rating. It will be recalled that this finding suggested the presence of two territorial and factional sub-groups, evidence for which was subsequently presented. When employing, however, the smaller subdivisions of this large block of meetings, the correlation between linear seating assignment and leadership during the first five sessions was .48 ($p<.05$) but dropped to .12 ($p>.05$) for the succeeding block of sessions extending from the 6th to the 11th meetings. At the same time, the correlation between counterclockwise seating assignment and leadership ratings was .32 ($p>.05$) for the first five meetings and .69 ($p<.02$) for the next subdivision which included the 6th through the 11th sessions. Hence, a relatively substantial linear seating correlation for the first five sessions is associated with a low counterclockwise seating correlation whereas quite the contrary holds for the next block of meetings. What this may mean is that though there was some degree of linear relationship between seating position and leadership status during the early meetings when the professor actively maintained the traditional leadership role (1-6 sessions), this linear association disappeared from the time he withdrew from this role till a much later point in the group's duration. Thus, with the professor's withdrawal, a significant change occurred in the spatial-psychological relationships of the group: closeness to the opposition leader, whether on his right or left side, was no longer roughly associated in a linear way with one's status in the group but was replaced, as previously reported, with a pattern of diagonal division of the group into two sub-groups, each with an ostensibly different leader. The highest status members now sat at the far end of the table either opposite the position of the professor or on his far left. Thus the evidence is suggestive that the professor's withdrawal activates, at overt levels, a reconstituting of the territorial and psychological relationships within the group.

That this geographical sub-group division continues for a time is evident in the low linear seating correlation of .10 ($p>.05$) and the counterclockwise seating rho of .65 ($p<.05$) for the 12th through the 17th block of meetings. However, from the 18th through the 23rd meetings, the linear seating rho increases to .53 ($p<.05$) while, by the counterclockwise assignment method, the rho drops to .40 ($p>.05$). Thus a relationship between linear seating and leadership ranking is reestablished in the very last sector of the group's existence. Once more a change has occurred in the relations between seating geography and leadership which completes the sequence of territoriality and leadership transitions in the history of the group. To summarize, this sequence initially consists of a seating arrangement with no evident sub-group divisions, then a

counterclockwise arrangement of two sub-groups facing each other across the table with their respective leaders at diametrically opposite locations and finally, once again, a linear pattern of leadership and seating oriented to the opposition leader.

Discussion

If this is a reasonably accurate description of the changes in structure and seating position during the course of this group, it can be inferred that when a "single" leadership situation occurs, there will be a roughly linear connection between seating proximity to the leader (whether he be a traditional one or, as in the case of the present group, an opposition leader contending for power vis-a-vis the traditional leader in a situation where the group was free to determine its own future proceedings and direction) and rated leadership in the group. When, however, as the group continues to meet and conflict develops between group factions or approaches, and when, further, as the struggle for power as to which will prevail becomes increasingly sharpened, there will be a related geographic split of the group as manifested by the physical position of these adversary sub-groups confronting each other across the long sides of the table while their respective leaders oppose each other from dominating areas at the head and foot of the table. However, as the group continues in its course of meetings, this conflict is resolved with apparent victory of the position of the opposition group. Congruent with this circumstance, the territorial arrangement changes once more, becoming unitary and roughly linear as the physical proximity between leader and group member, irrespective of which side of the table the latter sits on, once again becomes significantly associated with his rated leadership position in the group. Thus, seating position on the left or right side of the leader (traditional or "opposition") no longer is of consequence either when the factional dispute or struggle for power is resolved or, as at the early stages of the group, when the prevailing conditions are those of a leader in a traditional group situation. In both these cases when the "single" leader situation seems to hold, whatever its origins and dynamics, only linear geographic distance of members from the leader, whether on the left or right side, is of importance. Thus, in territorial arrangement and leadership ranking, the group roughly establishes the same patterns when it appears to be in unity, when its most divisive struggles for power are either dormant or resolved, and when one orientation and leader has prevailed.

The sequence of these changes may be attributed to different dynamic processes operating in the course of the group's development. Thus, the initial relationship between leadership rating and seating position may be due to the aspirations for prominence of certain group members and their competitive orientation with the professor for what may have vaguely appeared to be an accessible or, at least, an indeterminately open leadership position. Such effort for prominence and visibility, directed not only to the attention of the traditional leader but also to the group as a whole, was manifested physically by the pre-

emption of seats at one of the two most visible and prominent regions of the table by the highest leadership-rated members of the group. Such a choice, it is suggested, also served to facilitate a more direct confrontation with the traditional leader as well as giving these members greater physical presence and power in submitting their views to the total group. Hence, their occupation of seats at a most salient and visible area of the table may have simultaneously expressed their desire for recognition from the traditional leader as being the most eminent members of the group as well as their wish to vigorously interact with him. But also, because of the alternative prospective approaches facing the group as to how to conduct the remainder of its meetings, the informal seminar style of the course, and the clear provision that the group itself would have to decide its own future direction, the preemption of the prominent seats may have suggested the possibility, even at such an early period in the group's autonomous stage of development, that these more visible members were potential candidates for the indeterminately available position of leadership, both in the eyes of the traditional leader and in those of the group.

Just as the explanation does not exclude the possibility that those members seated at the opposite end of the table from the professor were impelled by the desire to interact with and obtain recognition from him, neither does it exclude the possibility of a simultaneous rivalry with him for what may have appeared as a possibly available leadership role (the one not impossibly being abdicated by the professor) or, at least, a projection of this possibility as conceived by these prominent members. Indeed, both explanations are complementary to each other. More generally, such a postulated process may embody aspects of a fundamental conflict or ambivalence between leaders and various members found in numerous groups in this culture and, more speculatively, may have components similar to those found in certain nuclear competitive-affectionate relationships between fathers and sons.

When the traditional leader unequivocally withdraws, however, the competing group factions ally themselves with each of their respective leaders on the principle that supporters line up to the right of their leader. Such support is also indicated by the high correlation between counterclockwise seating position and leadership status which permits a direct confrontation of these adversary subgroups across the table on the model of two opposing phalanxes of warriors facing each other. Thus, the seating positions on the professor's right are occupied by his followers who directly face the opposition adherents who, in turn, also occupy seating positions to the right of their own leader. By virtue of his withdrawal, however, the traditional leader no longer viably confronts the opposition leader and a competition of champions (leaders), representing and symbolizing the conflicting approaches of the adversary subgroups, cannot take place. In view of this withdrawal, the only possible resolution of the conflict between the opposing orientations lies in the struggle of the adversary subgroups facing each other across the table. Since the traditional leader refused to participate in this struggle, his adherents cannot have an anchoring or pivoting

point for their confrontation with the opposing sub-group. Therefore, it is suggested, they undertake the defense of their position by themselves, exclude their now abdicated leader as an anchoring point, and line up, as a phalanx, on his right, where their uninterrupted mass and unity could be most effectively felt in the struggle with their adversaries. By being on the professor's right they may also have gained a certain measure of strength as part of the symbolic "strong right arm" of their former and possibly still wished-for traditional leader. (As previously explained, this principle is expressed in various organizations, offices of power, and military commands by the positioning of the leader's next-in-command or most trusted lieutenant to his immediate right in ceremonials and in seating arrangements related to executive functions and demonstrations of power or rank). This realignment may also be the essential factor that forces a similar realignment of the opposition group on the pattern of a continuous deployment to the right of their own student leader but across the table from their antagonists.

Consequently this adversary confrontation is a battle for the determination of the future direction of the group. It is, in brief, a struggle for power between two factions arrayed against each other as if in battle formation. By his abdication, however, the former leader (professor) has withdrawn from the role of fulcrum or rallying point for his former "forces" in the imminent struggle against the opposition sub-group. Now this previous deployment and its corresponding network of communication and influence becomes impossible and so induces the rearrangement of the professor's followers on the model of the "strong right arm." This, in turn, whether simultaneous or provoked by the psychological and geographic realignment of the latter sub-group, leads to an analogous realignment of the opposition faction on the same principle.

When the conflict is resolved with the victory of the approach advocated by the opposition sub-group, another geographic rearrangement takes place in the form of a linear pattern. The group can now wipe out its battle lines of phalanx-like confrontation and proceed to a linear-chain influence arrangement whereby those who sit close to the leader, whether on his right or left, also enjoy higher influence-status in the group than those who sit farther away from him. Thus, the group has passed from a conflict or confrontation seating geography to a more or less unitary or single purpose deployment where coherence of operation and chain of influence, both physically and symbolically manifested in the reestablished linear pattern, become the devices to accomplish the now resolved and apparently predominant purpose of the group membership. Such a newly settled linear chain of influence, involving one leader, may now effectively implement the group's present non-schismatic and presumably peaceful operational processes.

REFERENCES

1. ALTMAN, I. "Territorial behavior in humans: An analysis of the concept." Paper presented at *Conference on Exploration of Spatial-Behavioral Relationships as*

Related to Older People, Institute of Gerontology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 1968.

2. ALTMAN, I. AND HAYTHORN, W. W. "The ecology of isolated groups." *Behavioral Science*, 1967, *12*, 169-182.
3. ARDREY, R. *The Territorial Imperative*. New York: Atheneum, 1966.
4. BASS, BERNARD M. AND KLUBECK, S. "Effects of seating arrangements in leaderless group discussions. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1952, *47*, 724-727.
5. BION, W. R. *Experiences in Groups*. New York: Basic Books, 1959.
6. CARPENTER, C. R. "Territoriality: a review of concepts and problems." In Anne Roe and G. G. Simpson (Eds.) *Behaviour and Evolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
7. CHURCHILL, L. C. "Aggression in a small group setting." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1961.
8. ESSER, A., et al. "Territoriality of patients on a research ward." *Recent Advances in Biological Psychology*. New York: Plenum Press, 1965.
9. HARE, A. P. AND BALES, R. F. *Seating position in small group interaction. Sociometry*, 1963, *26*, 480-486.
10. HEARN, G. "Leadership and the spatial factor in small groups." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1957, 269-272.
11. HEDIGER, H. P. "The evolution of territorial behavior." In S. L. Washburn (Ed.) *Social life of early man*. New York: Wennergren Foundation, 1961.
12. HOWARD, D. *Territory and bird life*. London: Collins Publication Company, 1948.
13. SOMMER, R. "The ecology of privacy." *The Library Quarterly*, *36*, 1966, 234-248.
14. SOMMER, R. "Further studies in small group ecology." *Sociometry*, *28*, 1965, 337-348.
15. SOMMER, R. "Leadership and group geography." *Sociometry*, *24*, 1961, 99-110.
16. SOMMER, R. "Man's proximate environment." *Journal of Social Issues*, *22*, 1966, 59-70.
17. SOMMER, R. "Small group ecology." *Psychological Bulletin*, *67*, 1967, 145-152.
18. STEINZOR, BERNARD. "The spatial factor in face-to-face discussion groups. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *45*, 1950, 522-555.
19. WILMER, HARRY A. "Graphic ways of representing some aspects of a therapeutic community." *Symposium of Preventative and Social Psychiatry*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957.
20. WINICK, C. AND HOLT, H. "Seating position as non-verbal communication in group analysis." *Psychiatry*, *24*, 1961, 171-182.

ROLE-PLAYING WITH REHABILITATION CLIENTS

SAM FRIEDMAN

California Department of Rehabilitation, San Francisco

After using role-playing and psychodrama with urban, disadvantaged youth,[1] the author, as rehabilitation counselor, has used similar processes with rehabilitation clients who are also suspicious of bureaucracy, are not committed to regular or long attendance, have histories of self-defeating behavior and see no reason for changing past roles. Without the aid of co-directors, experienced doubles, staging areas, pre-planning, it would seem reasonable with those who deal with this population to expect "expression, feedback and information, instruction and practice."[2]

Yet within these limitations the use of mini-psychodramas are very effective as Newman and Hall have indicated in their work with college students.[3] The author has found that depressed adults who have had a successful repertory of role-behavior need only a few sessions of short dramas to regain their self-esteem and become employed. With only chairs and a table the vision of Moreno "proceeded to propel the spectator, too, out of his seat, demanding him to turn into an actor, here, now, just as had the others before him . . . the audience as actors and inter-actors could now complete the final round; that of therapeutic actors."[4]

The examples of role-playing dramatic interaction are fairly typical but the added effect of "losers" in life encountering an honest, concerned "winner" clearly indicates how quickly personal and vocational realities can be developed.

MEMBERS OF THE MEETING

M, young, black mother, on welfare, having some training and job skills but with wide-spread feelings of inadequacy as a mother, wife, daughter and worker. In past sessions she had made small but continuous gains in understanding and self-confidence.

T, white father on welfare, feeling depressed and inadequate and blessed and cursed with a superior intellect that proved how imperfect he was. In eight sessions he had moved from complete intellectual detachment to some involvement and was beginning to try new, more effective roles as huband, father and teacher. He formed an immediate dislike for the retired baker who reminded him of adults in his childhood days.

A, young, immature black girl with shifting dependencies in the ghetto and with intense emotional needs. She used role-playing to act out some of her feelings.

C, middle-aged black mother on welfare with a sense of failure as a woman

in dealing with men and with past employment. She was aware of her past role of a soft-hearted weakling who had the urge to cry, run away and quit. With the confidence of trying new roles in four meetings, she was able to accept her feelings of weakness, confront persons challenging her and deal with situations in a training program.

S, counselor, had the members take turns in reacting with the baker and attempted to respond to the situations as they unfolded.

F, young, black, in a mother-son lock relationship who wanted to maintain relationships with the counselor without attendance.

Z had to retire from his bakery for medical reasons, but he had a zest for life and a keen awareness of people. He was eager to help, able to be himself and enjoyed encounters with people. These personality factors may be ideal for future persons who could be used as catalysts to activate meaningful experiences in group counseling sessions.

Sequence of Meeting

After an introduction, S asks Z to go back five years in time and to interview applicants for employment in his bakery. M applies for clerical position but seems to falter. Counselor "freezes" interview and asks for impressions of Z and M. Z likes her smile but is not impressed with her job history. M feels her old lack of self-confidence. Group gives M support and encourages her to mention positive aspects of her employment history.

M repeats interview with Z, with A as M's positive, confident self, talking and encouraging her. M mentions problem of baby-sitting and T interjects employer discrimination against mothers. Z discusses employer's viewpoint of having employees who can be depended upon for regular attendance. M tries interview again and group members share in impressions of interview. Z says he would hire her.

T, as a bookkeeper trainee, reluctantly tries interview with Z. Problem of mentioning salary or any pay offered by employer is discussed. Z mentions that T is not bringing out his assets. Group discusses interview. T says when he first started applying for employment, he received positive responses to his resumes, but found he did not want a job.

F enters room, sits down, sees two young females, starts to breathe heavily, a tic starts on one side of his neck and then the other; he asks not to be involved in the group.

Z interviews C for bakery sales position. Group discusses interview. Z says he is impressed with her smile and confidence, but would not hire her if she is not willing to work Sundays.

Z interviews A for bakery sales job. A provides smile, exaggerated sales experience, and willingness to work all hours. Group, including F, respond to her positive image.

In a role-reversal, Z is asked to go back thirty years in time and be an applicant for a sales position with M, T, F, C, and A as department store managers.

They enjoy the position of authority and check into his willingness to work, adapt, accept a minimum salary.

Z tries a role as a book salesman with group as customers. In evaluation, they criticize him for being too agreeable and running around. He asks for further suggestions for his improvement. Job difficulties discussed.

Group discusses monotonous jobs. Z mentions that attitude makes a job monotonous. C discusses her "soft-heart"—that she could not fire anyone.

C is asked to go forward in time and imagine herself as an owner of a beauty shop, dealing with M as an insolent operator. C reprimands her but does not fire her. Discussion of C's strict control as a parent and softness as an owner. A shows how she would handle the situation if she were in the position of the owner. C now handles the situation with firmness and fires M. Comments on M's open assertiveness in a militant, hostile role.

Comparison is made between C's authoritarian, parent approach and A's discussion of problem adult-to-adult. Z mentions his experience with employee problems. Z mentions not allowing anger to spoil the whole day, but still deal with the problem later.

A mentions knocking down a fellow trainee, white and pregnant, who called A a "bitch" and a "nigger." M role-plays white trainee. Discussion of racial prejudice. Discussion of ways of dealing with problems. C mentions her first reaction to criticism in training, as crying in the bathroom, but with participation in group counseling, feeling confident enough to handle problems successfully. A states she would not damage her career now by reacting the same way.

Group, including F, evaluates experiences of the meeting.

References

1. Friedman, S. "Role-playing in a Youth Employment Office," *Group Psychotherapy*, XXIII, 1970, 21-26.
2. Sturm, I. E. "Note on Psychodrama in a Helping Relationship," *Group Psychotherapy*, XXII, (3-4), 1969, 191.
3. Newman, G. and Hall, R. "Acting Out: An Indication for Psychodrama," *Group Psychotherapy*, XXIV, (3-4), 1971, 87.
4. Moreno, Z. T. "Beyond Aristotle, Breuer and Freud: Moreno's Contribution to the Concept of Catharsis," *Group Psychotherapy*, XXIV, (1-2), 1971, 43.

GROUP THERAPY

PETER A. OLSSON

Lafayette, California

Come witness a human mystery.
An enigma of human compassion.
Persons taking courageous chances.
A brief encounter,
mingled anger, fear, and treasuring.
Hoped for hour of sharing, yet resisted
like tender petals of some forgotten flower.
Years, memories, and painful shadows of the past
rise up, like shooting stars
to blaze for a moment in welcomed scrutiny.
Perhaps captured by ego to be conquered,
with sharing, maybe made a private part of self.
Maybe forgotten now.
In desperate anticipation
of another week alone.

PSYCHODRAMATIC WAYS OF COPING WITH POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS SITUATIONS IN PSYCHOTIC AND NON-PSYCHOTIC POPULATIONS*

DONELL MILLER

Johnston College, University of Redlands

How would you feel if one of your colleagues, as protagonist on a psychodrama stage, were to reveal a recent psychotic episode, complete with hallucinations, distortions and delusions? This is what happened at a Beacon seminar some years ago, while I was still a director-in-training. Such "irregular" behavior occurs regularly enough, I have since discovered, that my mentioning the incident today would hardly constitute a breach of confidence or even be a source of embarrassment to the person involved, were he (or she) here now. Indeed, far from feeling dismay for a friend's indiscretion in telling "too much," I was proud of his trusting us and gratified to know one more psychotherapist capable of appreciating the length, breadth and depth of his patients' troubles. The very next session featured a nurse's re-living on stage a recurrent nightmare. The similarity of both form and content to a psychotic experience struck me forcibly, ample evidence for a "psychopathology of everyday life." And that was not all; as I looked within myself I found another parallel in a favorite daydream. Try as I might, I could not dismiss the impression, so there I was on stage the next day, playing out my whole science fiction scenario. With a boyhood background in religious revivals, I was no stranger to public confessions and I had, after all, been protagonist on that same stage many times before blurting out quite a few hitherto undisclosed, unflattering secrets, but oddly enough, my chronic daydream fantasy proved the most difficult to own, as if I were another nude Adam caught with apple core in hand! Fortunately, there is no audience anywhere so gentle, sympathetic and understanding as a veteran psychodrama group. Their acceptance of the erstwhile unacceptable me made me acceptable to myself once again. Gladly I rejoined the human race, as thousands of protagonists have before me.

SHARED COMMON GROUND

What is more, the whole incident confirmed a growing conviction, now a cornerstone for this paper, that the psychotic patient shares considerable common ground with everyone else. A patronizing attitude is a luxury the psychodramatist of psychotics can ill afford, for the patient's differentness stems from his existential position, not from any essential variation in his human nature. The psychotic's hallucinations, for example, differ from normal perceptions only in the negative sense that we can find no stimulus calling them forth, a deficiency

overlooked by the patient, seized as he is by the immediacy of the experience. If and when he finds out that others have not heard the voices, such information counts for relatively little in his estimation, so little of himself is invested in the "outside" human world anyway his own experience is the more compelling reality. If the patient can be led to shift more and more of his investment to the social relationships present, his existential position varies accordingly. In any case, psychodrama method, most of the time supports and challenges patient and normal protagonist in precisely the same way. Thus the skilled psychodramatist, confronted for the first time with patients diagnosed psychotic, is likely to find himself on familiar territory. When the unexpected comes he will find himself expending energy in his effort to understand the individual protagonist, rather than cast around for some specialized technique, tailor-made for a patient population.

Of course there is "psychodramatic shock therapy"[1] which may, at first glance, seem to be just such a specialized technique, but even so heroic a treatment as this is hardly without parallel in everyday psychodramatic practice. The patient's reluctance to return deliberately on stage to the psychotic abyss from which he has just now emerged has its counterpart in the neurotic's hesitation in confronting the phobic object as psychodramatically reconstructed. And the treatment rationale is quite similar, for neither can successfully master his fears through simple avoidance. Both are in the position of the small child who gains control of himself and his feelings as he returns again and again to the staircase he has fallen down. Doing consciously and deliberately what was formerly thrust upon him quite apart from his wishes or expectations regains for him his lost control of the situation, evaporates his fears and expands his universe. Another comparable situation is the frequently heard psychodramatic assignment to the protagonist that he deal with the "worst that can happen." The therapeutic value of the experience depends upon the director's skill in concretizing the subject's imagination, that the almost unbearable pain may be fully felt, but now rendered bearable through sufficient support from director, doubles and the cohesive group as a whole.

Pertinence of Group Processes

This brings me to another major conviction, the context of any event is of decisive importance to an adequate coping with that event. This is one of the great strengths of psychodrama. In the examples above, psychosis, phobia, and the "worst that can happen" are placed within the context of a warm, firm social support with success taken for granted, rather than in a cold, isolated, distant nowhere, with failure a foregone conclusion. Moreover, what other therapy can incorporate within a single form of reference the living and the dead, the real and the unreal, the natural, social and fantasy worlds of past, present and future, rendering any or all here and now, making vital contact with the whole protagonist, his behavior and feelings, not simply words and ideas alone and unconnected?

On another level, it is crucial that the psychodramatist see psychodrama as *group* psychotherapy—with a capital "G." And group psychotherapy must not be confused in practice with individual therapy done in a group setting. For a director to "go it alone" with the protagonist would be like Bruno Walter conducting *Die Walkure* without benefit of tenor, orchestra and chorus. Furthermore, the director who forgets his group is like a barber of the old tonsorial parlor days assaulting the inner recesses of his patient's throat without the benefit of anesthetic. More often than not, when the disillusioned amateur claims that psychodrama won't work for him, the defect turns out to be his failure in appreciating the potential power of the group as *the* therapeutic instrument in group therapy.

Nor does it end there. If we have learned anything at all from group dynamics, we must recognize that even a psychodrama suffers enormously from an unfriendly, passive or perfunctory hospital setting. The psychodramatist's analysis of processes *outside* the group may prove as fundamental to the success of his work as his grasp of group processes *within* the group. We cannot afford to ignore the illusions of professionals schooled in psychoanalytic thinking, bent on seeing all action as acting out, and all acting out as resistance, necessarily inimical to treatment, and productive of disruptive, uncontrolled behavior. Here the critic has overgeneralized, for even if his assumption may apply to the analytic situation, it does not follow that it applies equally well to another treatment modality where the rules are quite different. The truth of the matter is that psychodrama teaches restraint and control quite as well and as often as release. Spontaneity and impulsivity are poles apart; the psychodramatist is no more an advocate of the latter than his critic. Likewise we overlook at our peril the Puritan, anti-play conscience of lower-level nursing personnel, with their ready recourse to domineering parental roles in the name of "confrontation" and "reality therapy." Psychotic patients, consciously living in the shadow of the unconscious, prove to be remarkably aware—certainly more than most staff, which programs really count with those most able to determine their immediate fate.

Other hospital personnel often suspect and, it must be admitted, not entirely without justification, that they are represented rather unfavorably in the patients' scripts. In handling this problem one may emphasize the importance of the "group oath"[2] and confidentiality, so that half truths do not leak out to feed the insecure imagination. But this only works in cohesive groups, and groups so "open" a patient may be pulled out to run an errand, mop the floor or visit the dentist—to say nothing of being suddenly sent on leave, or shifted to another part of the hospital, cannot be considered cohesive. In such an event the more effective route is to include as group members a few ward personnel, who in turn are required to commit themselves to regular attendance and participation. Predictably their loyalties quickly become tied to the group, and thus they prove of invaluable aid in creating within the hospital that sort of atmosphere which allows psychodramatic therapy to flourish.

Even when a particular setting forbids ideal conditions, it would be a mistake for the psychodramatist to identify with or be especially protective of authority figures within the hospital. There is abundant therapeutic value in the patient's coming to feel that finally he is being heard. He is no longer "low man on the totem pole" but now has a powerful figure or two in his own corner. Here he may safely reveal himself; here he can be understood without being destroyed. Now he can let go of some of the "smoke screen" he has been hiding behind. It is not necessary to agree with the patient's perceptions or opinions, only to acknowledge that they matter, for he has presented them with sincerity and conviction. Indeed, such is the appropriate stance with regard to his hallucinations and delusions as well. The fact that the psychodramatist refrains from "holding up other people's reality" to the patient, and actually shows sincere interest in the patient's own reality encourages the patient's trust, resulting in his sharing more and more of his private world with the group. What a boon for him to discover that he is not as alone as he had thought, that others experience terrors something like his, and seek to protect themselves in similar ways, while his frantic efforts to keep from "drowning" are appreciated even by those reputed to be sane!

Broad As Life

But context spreads out even farther than these, for psychodrama is as broad as life itself. Surely you've heard a psychodramatist say of someone not in his psychodrama group, "Let him have his psychodrama." Here the therapist has come to see each person everywhere in pursuit of his own catharsis. The psychotic is no exception, for the painstaking construction of his lonely personal world may be seen as an abortive attempt at creativity. Recogniton of this fact led to the invention of the "Auxilliary World Technique,"[3] whereby several auxilliary egos agree to help the patient in structuring his off-stage world according to the requirements of his heretofore private world. One can see why psychodramatists are such a pain to bureaucrats and other conformists.

Lest you think such a procedure strange and unnatural, permit me to emphasize that you and I are similarly engaged in living out our own psychodramas at this very moment, enlisting in our service any "auxilliary egos" we think we need. As practiced and expert role players ourselves, we manage our interpersonal relations in such a way that, while I call on you to be auxilliary in my psychodrama, I offer you myself as auxilliary ego in your psychodrama. Inasmuch as patients lack this high degree of interpersonal skill, we offer them our assistance in completing psychodrama in life, when we have been unsuccessful in getting it on stage. The patient's psychodrama may be too limited for our taste, but unless we help in realize his psychodrama in some form, he will never feel sufficiently free to dare aspire to a more comprehensive, fulfilling and realistic psychodrama.

On the other hand, the world has had more than a taste of those frightening figures, whose grandiose plans find ready acceptance from an inferiority-laden,

frustrated public. Thus young Adolf Hitler, smarting from the deafness of the city fathers to his proposals for Vienna's reconstruction, abandoned a possible career as city-planner, for the sake of a determined scheme to re-make, not merely Vienna, but the whole map of Europe—and from there, the world! How different our history would have been, if the city fathers had employed a psychodrama consultant, capable of restructuring Hitler's early dream in accord with the auxilliary world technique. The inconvenience would have been a small price to pay, that the world should be spared so much grief! Psychodramatists have been lacking such opportunities to date, but there have been instances, in the microcosm of the mental hospital, where patients who disdained the psychodrama stage were encouraged to find fulfillment in an environment structured according to their "delusions." A classic case is described in Volume II of *Psychodrama* under the heading, "The Psychodrama of Adolf Hitler." What a stark contrast this provides to the "reality therapies" so widely pursued today!

Psychodramatic Babies and Psychoses

A rather common feminine form of the quest for a psychodrama is the "psychodramatic baby,"[4] the fantasy baby a woman may carry deep inside her. Even the virginal spinster is not immune from the possible impact of such unfinished business, as she externalizes her longing in the lavish care of pets, in much the same way that her little nieces mother their dolls. Likewise many a man carries a psychodramatic baby, which he can partially express in an original paper at a scientific meeting. The more usual experience, however, may be found in the mother of several children, who nonetheless fall far short of her high hopes. How she suffers! Again and again she carps, "Why aren't you?" or "Why don't you?" Thus the real baby is sacrificed for the sake of the dream, in much the same way that romantic adolescents of every age eventually distance the lover at hand for the lover in the head. The psychodramatic answer, of course, is to play the midwife, "let her have her psychodramatic baby." Thus the psychodramatist helps the protagonist picture her child at significant life stages, such as walking at nine months (this is a precocious baby, of course!), talking at fourteen months, entering kindergarten . . . etc. Reverse roles frequently; let her be the child. Freedom from the fantasy comes through affirmation by the group, never through denial. When delivery has been accomplished, the director listens for the cue, or if necessary himself supplies it, that the mother return to the image of her real children on stage, now perhaps for the first time able to accept them as they are.** Subsequent psychodramas may look into the motivational basis for the mother's exorbitant need which is likely to be found in her own sense of having failed in life. Thus she turns to her own offspring for compensation. When they seem to be headed toward failure themselves (as she has narrowly defined it), her frustration pressed her to redouble her efforts. She may have even resorted to violence, if such were part of her own socialization process. Careful role training in parenting can reduce the possibility of another

battered child and in the next generation, another battering parent. Thanks to the psychodrama, mother may live to see in her children a happier immortality for herself.

> At the verified complaint of the father, twenty-five year old Sarah had been imprisoned for beating her children unmercifully. In psychodrama it became clear she was a perfectionist with unrealistic high standards for herself. Thus she considered herself a failure in many "minor" areas, but was determined that she would not fail as a mother. "Someday her children would thank her." Only gradually did she come to see her rage at herself for not "measuring up" and her own mother's disappointment in her for not realizing mother's aspirations also.

In more pathological settings, however, the psychodramatic baby may be far from an ideal. A pregnant woman, wary of what life has given her already, actually may anticipate disaster. She may abort the baby, even make an attempt on her own life, rather than deliver another monster like herself, or the introjected mother-figure within her. If a real baby is born, she may unconsciously undertake its murder, a little bit at a time. This is delicate and difficult psychodramatic work, but the stakes are high. The chief task is helping her to carve out a new and healthier identity for herself. No more must the overwhelming burden of "normal" expectations be held over her head. More modest, realizable, and finely graduated responsibilites may be provided through several role-training sessions, while the group offers her love and approval at her successes, solace for her failures. At a time when she appears stronger, there may be a psychodrama session in which the psychodramatic monster within the mother miscarries, or is magically exorcised, or meets with an "unfortunate accident." One must beware, however, of provoking more guilt, or fostering any role training suggesting active violence toward the helpless infant, lest we inadvertently promote the very thing we are trying to prevent.

The Schizoid Posture

To understand the direct analogy between the psychodramatic baby and the psychotic experience itself, it may be useful to review some of J. L. Moreno's concepts.[6] Every human being is his own social and cultural atom. The social atom consists in the tele range of an individual, that is, the smallest constellation of psychological relations . . . "of one individual to those other individuals to whom he is attracted or repelled, and their relation to him." The cultural atom is the various roles by which these relationships are articulated. As a person comes to develop a picture of himself, he may consider this much more significant than any picture others may have of him. With the former self he pushes the latter farther and farther out; the peculiar "feeling relationship" that develops between the ego and its extrojection may be called "auto-tele."

The schizophrenic patient's social atom shows much more confusion in its telic relationships than a normal person's. The significant figures' way of relating to

him contained so many mixed, double-binding messages, he found it hard to identify with them, so he did the only thing he could do, back off from them. The identity fragments he retained were themselves of such vague and mixed character they provided a poor basis for role taking. While the normal person is extending the range and precision of his role taking ability, the preschizophrenic falls farther and farther behind and becomes progressively less able to cope with real people. Psychiatrists, on back to Bleuler, have been impressed with the schizophrenic patient's inappropriateness or blunting of emotional response as a key problem, possibly referrable to a hereditary defect. In my view, however, the schizophrenic patient, like a master poker-player, has overlearned the apparent security value of keeping his feelings to himself. The task becomes easier as he learns to care less. He gradually relinquishes his claim on real people in favor of the more readily controllable, wish-fulfilling world within. Thus the patient seeks to develop the fragments within him into some definite and personally meaningful form, constructing a less threatening social and cultural atom for himself. With so little of himself invested in social relationships, the patient's already defective role reversing ability suffers further damage. He blunders into provoking others into fulfilling his fearful expectations, and thus he is impelled to put more and more distance between himself and them, even to the point of withdrawing his ego from its extrojected form in his own body, thereby enabling him to deny his own outer, bodily actions as actually his. Now, just because of the split from body actions and its concommittant live-in feelings, the patient's attempted psychodrama remains in embryo. As Laing has pointed out,[7] without a body acknowledgeable as his, the patient becomes a no-body (nobody), an identity yet unborn. Indeed, Anton Boisen,[8] upon recovery from his own catatonic experience, defined the goal of his psychotic episode in terms of religious conversion, a being "born again." Therefore the psychodramatist of schizophrenics again assumes the midwife role, and facilitates the delivery of the inner psychotic world on the psychodrama stage. A word of caution: the patient's growing love of his therapist may become a threat to the patient's existence as he knows it and lead to a homicidal attempt to remove the threat of engulfment, or a suicidal attempt to prevent the homicidal impulse. The therapist's ability to accept this, should it emerge on the psychodrama stage, will go a long way toward forestalling any real danger, for his strength will seem less dangerous to the patient now and provide a positive platform upon which the patient may begin to build a new identity. The psychodramatist may have occasion to recapitulate three important stages in the development of the infant[9] consisting in "identity, recognition of the self, and recognition of the other." The techniques especially suited for each stage are the double, the mirror, and the reverse roles, respectively.

When Henri first came to psychodrama, it was apparent that his struggle related to his identity, for he introduced himself to us as Christ. When someone in the group suggested that Henri "walk on water" or do some other

miracle, I sprang to the patient's defense, reminding them how Satan had tempted Jesus long ago in the wilderness with similar challenges. I said that I normally accept a person to be who he says he is and take as my task discovering *just what it means to be the person one is.* "As you get to know me better, you discover what it means to be 'Don Miller'; likewise with Henri, let us get to know him better, that we may understand what he means when he says he is Christ." Accordingly, we traced the significant persons, places and experiences in Henri's life. We learned that he had felt persecuted, "crucified" like Christ, though his intent, his conscious motives, were pure as Christ's. When someone proceeded to make the obvious interpretation out-loud, I cut them off in mid-sentence with "Thus you see why it is that we must respect Henri. He is a good person, who has suffered much. Are there others here who also have suffered much? Let us share." And after having shared, I encouraged the persons present to show, nonverbally, how they felt toward Henri now. Some shook hands, others hugged him, tears streamed down his face. The next week at psychodrama it was apparent that Henri's thinking had developed more in the direction of our consensual reality. He explained that there were many Christs, of which he was one, although there was just one Jesus in history. And lated I found an opportunity to commend him for having such high ideals and mentioned how the apostle Paul also took Jesus as his model. "When one has no father, or has lost his father, what better model could one pattern himself after?" Thus we witnessed the gradual transformation of a "pathological identity" into a healthy identity through the acceptance of health in the midst of pathology.

The Depressed Patient

Typically the depressed patient's social atom is in a shrunken state insofar as living people are concerned. Each new loss has become progressively more traumatic for he seems to have lost the capacity to make replacements and it is as if the dead were calling him to join them. Indeed, his social atom may contain more death than life. The genuine relationships which remain must be capitalized upon to the fullest extent. If the patient has a good relationship with the therapist or someone in the group, so much the better. Any guilt-provokers there may be in the group will need to be controlled by frank interpretation if more subtle efforts fail. But this is not the time to interpret or otherwise undermine the patient's shaky defenses. On the contrary, now is the time for the group to be as supportive as the group can be. A comforting arm, spontaneously offered, can be an enormous help. The longed-for comfort from inaccessible persons outside the group can be brought into the group through auxilliary egos the patient may choose to play the roles. The director must remember that depression is often the outer expression of anger called forth by the persons upon whom he has been overdependent which the patient turns in on himself. It is wise to assist the patient in directing the anger toward its appropriate object while

protecting him from the accumulation of any guilt feelings for such expression. This is one time the vigilant director will guard against ordering the patient to reverse roles. It may encourage the patient to look to suicide as a way of destroying the ambivalently loved and hated person within him. Indeed, the director will bend his effort toward subtly undermining the identification. A useful tactic is "focusing on the differences." Here the director asks the protagonist to choose two auxilliaries, one to represent himself and the other to represent the "negative identity."[10] Place the two back-to-back center stage. Require the protagonist mention as many essential differences as he can and with each difference named the auxilliaries are to take one step away from each other. (Of course, if the protagonist "slips up" and lists a similarity rather than a difference, that is "penalized" by the auxilliaries' retracing a step.) Whether the protagonist produces many differences or few his reaction normally includes a discovery, which can readily be capitalized on by the director. When the protagonist has seen *many* differences, the director comments "You're not very much alike, after all!" When the protagonist cannot produce differences, the director comments on the protagonist's strong need to see sameness and the very high price he's paying to maintain that perception. What makes him willing to "buy" such a "bad bargain?" The alert director does not permit a verbal rationalization, however, but challenges the protagonist to show us what *sameness* allows him to say and do . . . etc.

This is a variation of a simple technique I devised for the purpose of calling a person's attention to transference phenomena. In its original form I have the protagonist select two auxilliary egos, one to represent the significant figure from the patient's past, and the other, that present figure who is the object of much stronger feeling than his behavior would seem to call for. With an auxilliary at one end of the room and the other auxilliary at the opposite extreme, the patient stands in the middle with the assignment of listing as many similarities and differences as he can between the two such important persons in his life. With each similarity, the auxilliaries step forward; with each difference, they step back. Of course, the exercise serves to establish the emotional identity between the two and forcibly brings it to the patient's awareness. But this is exactly what we do *not* want to achieve with the depressed patient. Therefore the "distancing technique" is substituted for the above "identification technique."

Finally, if the suicidal threat is brought out into the open, deal with the actions which lead toward the deed on stage, but "leap frog" over the doing of the actual deed itself, lest you role-train the patient in behavior you don't want. Then move into an elaborate future projection of the anticipated consequences of the deed for the significant people in the patient's life. Here one can get a very clear picture which of these is most troublesome to the patient. The future projection should be extended into the remote future, so that the finality and futility of the act be prominently displayed. One more comment: remember that the depressed patient has an exaggerated sense of responsibility, which must be

reduced to manageable proportions, and also that he lacks a sense of mastery over his own actions, for which expansion of his role-taking ability may be actively promoted on the psychodrama stage.

A 38 year old man was admitted to a state hospital after a suicidal attempt following his wife's infidelity and desertion. The preliminary psychodramatic work involved re-creating the episode on stage up to the point where the patient decided to take his own life. Then the director cut the scene, and set up instead that fantasy creation the patient expected would follow from the discovery of his death. As the sad news spread, it was easy to distinguish which relationships carried the heavier load of ambivalence. Those whose caring showed a potential positive resource were persons who regretted not knowing how desperate the patient had been and wished he had unloaded to them. On the other hand, the ambivalent focus could be clearly seen in those significant figures who under-reacted or over-reacted to the news. The latter instance included the faithless wife, who was so stricken with guilt that she took a whole bottle of sleeping pills and joined her husband in death. Just as soon as it became clear what the wife supposedly intended to do, the director cut the scene to minimize identification with the ambivalent object and to avoid the suicidal role-training itself.

Then the director returned to the present to explore the wife's actual reaction to the patient's suicidal attempt, but the patient had no direct knowledge of the impact of his behavior on her. The patient speculated that she was probably relieved he hadn't succeeded in killing himself but was also thankful the patient was conveniently out of the way. The director asked whether the patient had ever known anyone else like that. He said that his mother had done the very same thing to his father when the patient was only six years old. And, indeed, father had committed suicide under similar circumstances. Thus the father-figure was also an ambivalent object; for, after all, he deserted his son through death at his own hand!

Accordingly, through psychodramatic "surplus reality" we brought father temporarily back to life. The auxilliary taking the role berated the patient for trying to kill himself. The patient raged back at him, "Then why did you do it?" A double encouraged the patient to continue expressing his resentment, but the patient hesitated, guilt feelings flooding him now.

Therefore the director suggested splitting the father-figure, with the auxilliary already chosen as the father-who-deserted-him, but with another auxilliary as the father-who-loved-him. This allowed the patient to embrace the one part of the dead father and receive father's love and approbation without the complications of anger, hurt and loss the other part of father signified.

Then the two fathers joined arms and told the patient that the son must carry on and do what father cannot do, make a new life for himself. "The grandchildren need a father now, more than ever. Give to them as I would

give to you, had I the chance to do it all over again." Then following the "distancing technique" alluded to above, with the original father auxilliary turned one way and a new auxilliary, representing the patient, turned the other way. Thus the patient was finally able to let his father go.

It remained to deal with the female figures in later sessions, especially that mother-wife identity, which led to a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy provoking the wife's acting out. In any case the same sort of ambivalence needed to be rendered explicit and resolved, to clear the way for an open future.

SUMMARY

This paper has been an attempt to arrive at some practical suggestions for the psychodramatist whose previous experience has been limited to normal, student and outpatient populations. I have taken the position that all such populations, including the psychotic, occupy a substantially overlapping continuum, whereby experience with one kind of group can be expected to have considerable carry-over to another kind of group. The importance of context and the pertinence of group processes have been stressed. The psychodramatic baby phenomenon was generalized to apply to both normal and psychotic life adjustments. A rationale for understanding the schizophrenic and depressed patients has been provided, along with specific recommendations and *caveats* for psychodramatic treatment. New techniques for maximizing or minimizing identification were described. Dangerous situations, such as child beating, homicide, and suicide received attention, each in their appropriate context.

REFERENCES

1. MORENO, J. L., Psychodramatic Shock Therapy, in *Sociometry*, Vol. 2 (January 1939) No. 1, pp. 1-30.
2. MORENO, J. L., *Code of Ethics of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama*, Beacon House, 1962.
3. MORENO, J. L., Psychodramatic Treatment of Psychoses, in *Sociometry*, Vol. 3 (April 1940) No. 21, pp. 115-132.
4. MORENO, Z. T., Sociogenesis of Individuals and Groups, in Moreno, J. L., *The International Handbook of Group Psychotherapy*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1966, pp. 231-42.
5. MORENO, Z. T., *Ibid.*, p. 239.
6. MORENO, J. L., *The Sociometry Reader*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960.
7. LAING, R. D., *The Divided Self*, Penguin, 1958.
8. BOISEN, A. T., *The Explorations of the Inner World*, New York: Willett, Clark and Co., 1937.
9. MORENO, J. L. AND F. B. MORENO, Spontaneity Theory of Child Development, *Sociometry*, 1944, 7, pp. 89-128.
10. ERIKSON, ERIK, *Childhood and Society*, New York: Norton, 1950.
11. MORENO, J. L., A Case of Paranoia Treated Through Psychodrama, *Sociometry*, 1944, 7, pp. 312-327.
12. MORENO, J. L., Mental Catharsis and the Psychodrama, *Sociometry*, 1940, 3, 209ff.

* Prepared for the California State Psychological Association Convention, Los Angeles, California, January 28, 1972.

** As Zerka Moreno has said, "Therapy lies in helping the mother to bring the perception of the psychodramatic baby and that of the real baby closer together, first by permitting the psychodramatic baby to live in the retraining situation. Once it has been born and is outside her, finished like a real child, she can begin the separation from it; we can not let go of those precious things with which we have not yet finished. Therapy consists for all our patients, in whatever category, in learning to complete unfinished business and then settling down to the tasks at hand which require their attention, here and now. Once she has been able to deliver herself of the fantasy baby, she will be readier to become available as the mother to her live baby."[5]

BOOK REVIEW

Love Songs to Life by ZERKA T. MORENO, Beacon House, Beacon, N. Y., 1972, 115 pages. DeLuxe, limited, numbered edition $7.50; paperback $5.00.

In her *Love Songs to Life* Zerka Moreno charts a new direction—a poetry of human relations. Zerka, the wife of J. L. Moreno, founder of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama, has been a practicing Psychodramatist for 30 years. Her poetry flows from the spirit of human emotions she has explored in her work and love—people. In her poetry she delineates some basic questions about life:

Living is hard,
dying is simple.
But how to die?
How to live?

There is enormous strength in the simplicity of Zerka's poetry. Thousands of pages have been written in the social sciences about identity and empathy. Here, in several stark lines Zerka beautifully describes the psychodramatic essence of "role-reversal":

If you and me
each other can be
will it not rob each
of individuality?

Oh, no,
we decree,
to the contrary.

If I can be me
sufficiently,
I can enter into
your identity.

Then, if you can be
yourself equally,
you can learn
to be me
eventually.

Zerka's poetry raises one's level of consciousness. She probes to the center of many significant ideas of people in motion—in love & life. This volume is a major beginning and contribution to a new genre of poetry.

Lewis Yablonsky
Hayward, California

MORENO INSTITUTE INC.

DIRECTORS

CERTIFIED SINCE JUNE, 1971

MURIEL SHARON TILLIM, B.S.
New York, N. Y.

ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS

CLARE DANIELSSON, B.A., M.A.T.
Tivoli, N. Y.

RHONA C. GERBER, B.A.
Philadelphia, Pa.

ANATH GARBER, B.A.
New York, N. Y.

G. DOUGLAS WARNER, PH.D.
Hagerstown, Md.

ASSISTANT DIRECTORS

JOHN D. BRINDELL, B.A.
Washington, D. C.

CAROLYN B. WALKER, B.S.
Denver, Colo.

JOHN M. NOLTE, PH.D.
Springfield, Ill.

AUXILIARY EGOS

KATE M. ECK
Springfield, Ill.

SHARON LEMAN, R.N., B.S.
Denver, Colo.

JOSE GELLER, M.D.
Caracas, Venezuela

WALTER R. OELMANN
Hagerstown, Md.

ANN ELISABETH HALE, B.A., M.L.S.
Springfield, Ill.

ANSCAR G. SULLIVAN, B.A.
California, Pa.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Moreno Institute Post-Graduate Directors' Special Seminar

An intensive three-day workshop specifically organized to meet the needs of post-graduate certified directors for interchange and cross-fertilization. Directors are requested to send in their recommendations for scheduling of program as well as their offer for program participation. Dates: July 1 through 3, 1972.

Moreno Institute 1972 Training Periods, Training Director: Zerka T. Moreno

December 24 through Jan. 13, 1972
Jan. 21 through Feb. 3
Feb. 11 through 24
March 10 through 30
April 14 through 27
May 12 through June 1
June 9 through 22
July 4 through 24
August 4 through 24
Sept. 1 through 21
Oct. 6 through 26
Nov. 3 through 23
Dec. 8 through 28


UNICORN PUBLICATION PRINTERS
GILBERTSVILLE, NEW YORK 13776