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Founded by J. L. Moreno, 1947

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Remembering J. L. Moreno

JOHN NOLTE

ALTHOUGH I HAD MET Dr. J. L. Moreno and Zerka a year and a half before, my initial visit to Beacon for 2 weeks of training in 1962 was really the beginning of a 12-year acquaintanceship, friendship, and studentship with Dr. Moreno, and the beginning of what has become a dedication and commitment to philosophy, theories, and methods that he originated. I have not been the same since that first visit—and for that, I am grateful.

Although I remember a great number of things about that first experience at the Moreno Institute, I think that the most impressive was the impact that his respect for his patients made on me.

The institute was a licensed sanitarium in those days, and a middle-aged woman was admitted for treatment on the same day that I arrived for training. The initial steps in her treatment were part of the 2 weeks of training that I was enlisted in. The trainees were the group for her first psychodramas. Her problem was that her former husband, from whom she had been divorced, would not let her go to live with the new husband to whom she had then been married. The fly in the ointment was that both the divorce and the marriage, to a young doctor whom she had not seen for several years, had been carried out by “radio waves.” She was not very happy about being at the Moreno Institute. As a matter of fact, she was vociferously angry and upset, rather unpleasant to be around.

Now I had been educated and trained by very civilized people who would never intentionally be disrespectful to a patient or client, people who certainly taught me that it was important to have respect for one’s patients. However, I had never seen the best of these listen to the delusional productions of a patient with the respect and concern with which Moreno listened to this woman. He made no attempt to challenge her reality as she presented it. He was not in the least skeptical about her story. He was interested in every detail, and when she discovered that he was not going to try to convince her that she was wrong, she warmed and blossomed and produced many details.

Then he promised to help her in every way he could to straighten out the unfortunate state of affairs into which her life had fallen.

In minutes, she was ready to do anything that he asked.

At this point, he introduced her to psychodrama and directed her in some scenes in which she simply enacted events in her daily life.

I had been taught to be polite. Moreno showed me what it meant to respect.

In the early years of my training, Moreno was still active in the training program, even though Zerka pretty well carried the brunt of the training responsibilities. He still came to the theater for some sessions. He directed psychodramas. He conducted didactic sessions. More often than not, the evening session was held in his living room, where he would talk with students about what they were learning and experiencing and use these interactions as a springboard for discussions that included theoretical and methodological issues as well as personal anecdotes.

I thoroughly enjoyed these sessions. I was quite in awe of Moreno and liked listening to the stories he told, even though I did not think that Moreno was above embellishing the facts from time to time. I did not always believe everything that he said about himself. So I have found it fascinating that Rene Marineau (1989) has authenticated so many of his stories and claims and discovered new ones. Of course, I fully believed the one about his having been born aboard a ship on the Black Sea, a "poetic truth," which both Gheorghe Bratescu (1975) and Marineau have identified as such.

Of many weeks that I spent in Beacon, one of the more memorable began on a Friday afternoon, November 22, 1963. As I got off the bus from Cooperstown, New York, news of the Kennedy assassination was just hitting the streets. This event, which altered the daily routine of everyone in the country, had the same effect upon our training group, possibly even more, considering the emotional climate of a training group at the Moreno Institute.

The training schedule did not hold up very well. We spent time watching TV, talking, and abreacting. But shortly after Lee Harvey Oswald, who seemed an unlikely assassin, was apprehended, Dr. Moreno decided that he could be of help, that if he could conduct a psychodrama with Oswald, he might be able to get at the truth. So he proposed that we move the whole workshop to Dallas for that purpose.

He immediately started contacting people he knew who might be able to arrange an invitation to Dallas. Before his efforts bore fruit, Oswald was himself assassinated, and this brought an end to the whole endeavor. To this day, I wonder what kind of experience I may have missed out on.

There is no scientific definition of genius, but there is no question in my mind that Moreno fits the description. I think that what makes one a

genius is an act of perception. A genius is someone who looks and sees where others have looked and not seen. Newton reported that the concept of gravitation had come to him when he had seen apples fall from trees to the ground. What Newton saw was that the ground (the earth) fell up to the apple—a little bit. That is what no one else had seen; seeing that is what made Newton a genius.

I think that Moreno saw things that nobody else had seen. I think that at Mittenfjord, Moreno *saw* black and red lines connecting people, just as Newton *saw* the earth move toward the apple falling from a tree. And as he watched these people trying to create a village from scratch, he began to understand the part that the forces of attraction and rejection played in the developing structure of the community.

He also *saw* spontaneity in the children in the gardens of Vienna and in his *Stegreif* players. It had a tangible, almost visible quality for him. And maybe he saw some other things, too, that he never quite articulated. A common experience for the genius is to regard his discovery as being “given” to him from outside himself. And I think that was true for Moreno.

Although a number of leading figures in psychiatry, sociology, psychology, and education recognized the importance of his discoveries, and William Alanson White, Adolf Meyer, Margaret Mead, Theodore Newcomb, Gordon Allport, Gardner Murphy, and Henry Murray, to mention a small sampling, promoted him and his work, he was not greatly appreciated by most of the rank-and-file of his psychiatric colleagues. He was considered a maverick and a troublemaker, probably beginning with his first attendance at an annual conference of the American Psychiatric Association in 1932, during which he demolished A. A. Brill’s psychoanalytic critique of Abraham Lincoln. He was accused of calling attention to himself in ways that were not considered becoming or appropriate. I suspect that this perception was not altogether gratuitously bestowed upon him. Over the years since I met Dr. Moreno, I have met psychiatrists who tell me tales of Moreno’s disrupting meetings at APA conventions with his outspoken criticisms of speakers or papers.

How accurate these stories are, I do not know. I can, however, easily believe that Moreno may have sometimes indulged himself in attempts to infuse a little spontaneity into the proceedings of a society that tends to function in an unbearably dull and boring manner and that his traditionally minded colleagues did not appreciate his efforts. Instead, they tended to see him as offensively egotistical, grandiose, self-promoting, even megalomaniac.

A recently published book, *Models of Group Therapy* (Shaefer & Galinski, 1989), includes a chapter on psychodrama and Moreno. The authors,

who are generally quite positive about psychodrama, note that Moreno has had an impact on the whole field that has not been fully acknowledged, and they try to account for the fact that psychodrama and Moreno are not better known. They suggest:

Perhaps some explanation for this fact lies in three characteristics of Moreno and his approach. First is a self-acknowledged immodesty; undoubtedly his manner, his rather overbearing style, and his concern about being properly credited for his productions tended to put people off. (p. 101)

The other two reasons listed are (1) his writing style and (2) the fact that his thinking was too far ahead of the times.

In my opinion, a great deal more than egotism and immodesty was involved in Moreno's "self-promotion" and his insistence on recognition for his contributions. I believe that there were two factors that motivated some of the behaviors that may well have been self-defeating.

The first has to do with the fact that his thinking truly was novel. He did see things in unprecedented ways. It is a difficult matter to be that creative. Rollo May (1975) devoted a whole book to the topic of the "courage to create." It does take courage to tell the world that you know things about it that nobody else has known before—and that the world badly needs to know. Moreno had tremendous confidence in himself. But I am convinced that, despite this great belief in his work, he still wanted (and desperately needed) confirmation from others that his ideas were indeed valid and that they made sense.

The other factor has to do with his conviction that he had seen some truths that were of extreme importance to humankind, and that they provided a key to the most pressing problem confronting humankind; namely, how do we avoid the pitfall of self-destruction? He had an answer—a spontaneous-creative social order—but he had trouble getting anybody to listen to him. He was a veritable Cassandra.

I think that he felt a tremendous responsibility. He had been permitted a glance deep into the nature of human society. He had seen a solution to the threat of self-destruction that we seem to find repeatedly confronting us. And he experienced a tremendous frustration in the difficulty that confronted him of generating enough interest to make that solution work. It is no easy thing to bring about a social revolution, a change in the social order, especially when the change Moreno had in mind required the collaboration of everybody!

His first attempts, of course, involved the Stegreiftheater in Vienna, and the Impromptu Theater in this country. It was only when neither seemed likely to achieve its purpose that he "retreated from the Theater of Spontaneity to the Therapeutic Theater" (J. L. Moreno, 1947) and to the devel-

opment of psychodrama, combining the principles of spontaneity drama with his more traditional profession of psychiatry. Of course, it was here that he finally made an impact and achieved some measure of attention.

Despite the fact that he credits his retreat to psychodrama with keeping his work alive, it was not accomplished without some cost. If you wanted to start a worldwide revolution, the traditional mental health professions were not the most likely comrades. Historically, members of these professions can more frequently be accused of establishment bias than of revolutionary radicalism.

What happened, of course, has been documented by Zerka Moreno (1969) in her paper, "Moreneans: Heretics of Yesterday Are the Orthodoxy of Today." As Moreno created methods, concepts, and techniques, all based on a philosophy of a world system and designed to move society toward a spontaneous-creative social order, colleagues appropriated them and put them to use in ways that only perpetuate the status quo of a technological, legalistic, conserve-conscious social order. As Zerka puts it, the ideas and concepts have been separated from the parent philosophy and from the long-term goal—a world order that can bring peace.

Perhaps, looking at things from this perspective, it makes more sense that he was sensitive about issues of priority and attribution and that he lamented that his instruments for social change had been borrowed, often without acknowledgment, and used for other purposes, whereas his theoretical ideas, the mother lode from which the instruments came, "gathered dust on library shelves" (J. L. Moreno, 1953).

There is still danger, it seems to me, that the success of psychodrama as a therapeutic modality can stand in the way of the development of some of its broader uses, in education, for example, and that this dynamic can delay the establishment of a spontaneous-creative social order. We reduce psychodrama when we think of it simply as a method of psychotherapy. It is of a much broader scope than that, and if we include role training, sociodrama, and spontaneity theater, we expand the applications even further.

Perhaps Moreno was overbearing, even immodest. I guess that a man who spends 10 years of his young adulthood taking upon himself the role of God—and then talks about it—either has an overabundance of ego or a pathological lack of it. Moreno certainly did not suffer from the latter, despite the claims of some of his detractors.

It is easy for people to misunderstand Moreno's God-playing, to take it as evidence of overbearing ego. It is not always understood as the very serious endeavor that he embarked upon, one in which he assigned himself what he would later refer to as a "delusion." He said to himself something like: "What if I really am God? What if I have created this world, and I have created myself as a man in this world? This world is obviously not

like I want it and it is incomplete. Now what do I do next? How do I go about making it better?" Thinking of this ilk does not engender in one a feeling of egotism. It gives one, rather, a feeling of overwhelming responsibility and a very serious need to get busy making things better. I think Moreno felt that responsibility for the rest of his life. He encouraged other people to experience it also. And it was from this experience that his ideas of spontaneity-creativity and God arose.

If he was egotistical, he could also be quite humble. From Zerka, I have heard the story of a patient who became psychotic after giving birth to a child. She recovered under his care, but he told her when she left his sanitarium, "I don't think you should have any more children. I am afraid that you could have another psychotic episode if you do." Some time later, she was admitted to his sanitarium. She had had a psychotic break following childbirth. "Well, Doctor," she said to him, "I guess you can say 'I told you so.' " Tears filled his eyes. "My friend," he replied, "I'd give anything to have been wrong."

Another story from Zerka: The Moreno family is doing some last-minute Christmas shopping on the 24th of December. They are in Macy's, Dr. Moreno in his usual black suit and bow tie. A very frantic lady rushes up to him and says, "It's just terrible. It's going to ruin our whole Christmas, and you've got to do something about it. The sofa came and it has a terrible rip in the fabric." It was pretty obvious what had happened and that she had mistaken Moreno for an employee of the store.

"Do you have your sales receipt?" he asked her. She did. He took it. "Wait right here," he told her. "Don't move and I'll be right back."

A few minutes later, he returned with a floorwalker, introduced him to the customer with a flourish, and said, "Here, Madam. This gentleman will take care of everything for you." She may have thought that she had been taken care of by Mr. Macy, himself!

And this story comes from Ann Quinn, nurse and residence manager at the Moreno Institute. During his final illness, Quinnie took care of him. Every day, about noon, she would go down to the house, give him a bath, and do whatever she could to make him comfortable. Just a week or so before his death, she walked in one day and he seemed rather depressed. "Is this any way for the great Dr. Moreno to be acting?" she said in an effort to cheer him up.

"Miss Quinn," he replied in a sad little voice, "I wouldn't recommend myself to anybody today."

Moreno's priorities with respect to psychodrama and sociometry, group psychotherapy, marriage and family therapy, and the influence that he has had upon the present-day practice of psychotherapy, both individual and group, are already well documented and probably challenged by nobody

today. At the same time, there are really only a handful of us who make use of his most potent methods, psychodrama and sociometry.

The questions that almost everybody who experiences the excitement and power of psychodrama asks are: Why haven't psychodrama and the other contributions of J. L. Moreno caught on? Why haven't they received a wider hearing and greater application?

We can point to his personality (Moreno himself did), to the fact that he published his own works, depriving them of the potential for distribution that an established publisher might have been able to give them, his writing style that was admittedly difficult, and to the fact that his work was so far ahead of his time. It was not only ahead of his time; in many ways, it is still ahead of *our* time!

And yet, I think that the real answer to why there are only about 300 certified psychodramatists/sociometrists in the world is that these methods are scary and, in some respects, even potentially dangerous. This notion was brought home to me rather pointedly at this conference by the presentation of Dr. Robert Blake (1989), who discussed the use of sociometric methods by law enforcement agencies in attempts to combat drug distribution networks (see p. 148). Dr. Blake pointed to the ethical question of using sociometric methods to destroy an organization. Although few would quibble about the attack on drug-dealing rings, the situation implies that someone with a significant amount of sociometric information about an organization, a business, for example, could use it for destructive as well as for productive, creative purposes.

Psychodrama, too, scares people—sometimes the participants and sometimes the administrative people of the agency in which it is being used. Obviously, a majority of the therapists in this country are quite willing to do without its unique potency in the field of psychotherapy, and I reluctantly propose that fear is one of the reasons.

Nor has Morenean theory advanced significantly beyond the point at which Moreno left it. As a matter of fact, applications of Morenean methods have been so sparse that there has not been the kind of interplay between theory and technology that is probably necessary for the development and advancement of both.

With a few notable exceptions, most applications of Morenean methods and theory are in one field, mental health, and almost nobody identifies actively with Moreno's original goal of bringing about a spontaneous-creative social order.

Why is that so? Was his idea of a spontaneous-creative social order just one man's crotchet? Do we no longer need it? Or have we already got it?

I think that if J. L. Moreno could be here in more than spirit, he would be extremely excited about the current major outbreak of spontaneity in

the world. I refer to *glasnost* and *perestroika*, of course. And I think he would say something like, "If only Gorbachev had a sociometrist!" I don't have any doubt that he would have long ago been on the phone, trying to call the Kremlin to offer both his advice and help.

I think that he would agree, however, that the spontaneous-creative social order is still a long way off.

In closing, I want to share with you another week that I spent at the Moreno Institute. It was in May 1974, exactly 15 years ago. I was between quarters at the university where I was a faculty member. Moreno was on his deathbed.

When Miss Quinn saw me coming into the student quarters, she said, "I'm so glad you are here. I need help with Doctor when I bathe him." She explained that he always shifted way down in his bed, and she had to have help to get him moved up where he belonged. She would ask one of the students in residence to help her, but, she said, she knew that Dr. Moreno did not like to be seen in his current condition by someone whom he didn't know. It would be better now that I could help.

And so, every day, just after lunch, Quinnie would call, and I would go down to the house to help her. The first time I went into his bedroom, Quinnie said, "Look who's here, Doctor." Moreno opened his eyes and when he saw me made an old familiar gesture. Lying flat on his back, his arms reached straight out to me. And he smiled.

And then, on Wednesday of that week, Quinnie called me as usual. Zerka was taking some sun on the patio. She had been with him all morning. We spoke briefly. The end was near, she told me. I went in. Moreno was not very responsive, and, as we were moving him up in his bed, Quinnie stopped and said, "Get Zerka." I did. Moments later, he was dead.

"Psychodrama is modeled after life," Moreno liked to say. He also said, "There is no death in psychodrama."

And that is one way in which life and psychodrama are different. Life comes to an end, at least for us as individuals, and that end is death.

Maybe Moreno was not recommending himself to anybody that day toward the end, when Quinnie talked with him.

But I recommend him.

I recommend him to everybody.

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The Sociometric Vision

PETER MENDELSON

I WOULD LIKE TO CONSIDER SOCIOMETRY in a variety of contexts. Let us begin by considering the use of sociometry in the workplace, which has been something of a neglected area in recent years. This discussion will lead me to an exploration of the current role of the sociometrist and the current status of the sociometric movement in light of our current practice. Ultimately, such discourse will evoke the question of the sociometric vision: What is it, and how do we realize this vision from where we are today?

At this time, when the most common milieu for group psychotherapy is the synthetic group, it may seem a bit unusual to think of therapy as taking place within a naturalistic group, and more particularly, within the ongoing process of an individual's everyday life as it unfolds within the matrix of the great number and variety of groups of which he or she is naturally a member. However, therapy in such natural groups is the very essence of what J. L. Moreno called *in situ* therapy; therapy where the individual is, *in the midst of ongoing life*—in the home, the school, the club, the factory—all the many places where life is actually lived. Actually, such *in situ* therapy is both philosophically and historically central to Moreno's establishment of sociometry as an *action* science with global concerns. Indeed, if "the truly therapeutic procedure cannot have less an objective than the whole of mankind," then therapy must be brought into everyday life, not confined to synthetic groups.

A Note on Sociometry

Some background may be helpful. Sociometry, in its widest sense, can be thought of as being composed of a number of interpenetrating dimensions. It can be thought of as a philosophy of life and as a philosophy for living, as a theory of man alone, and as a theory of men in groups (or a theory of society), as a methodology for exploring man and society and their interrelationships, and also as a therapeutic praxis that attempts to help man reach a higher level of personal humanity and interpersonal synergy. This praxis is all the more embracing if it reaches out to meet

man where he is, not confining itself to the limited reaches of the therapist's office or the confines of the synthetic group. Indeed, a tradition of utilizing sociometry in the midst of life itself is at the very heart of Moreno's original conception of sociometry.

Sociometry in the Workplace

In this view, the use of sociometry in the workplace is simply an extension of the principle that sociometry, in all its dimensions, can and should be used where life itself is actually lived. Life in the workplace is not (or at least, one hopes it is not) a discrete dimension of man's everyday life experience. On the contrary, it is central to that experience. In fact, by virtue of this centrality, the workplace is an altogether appropriate setting for the practicing sociometrist to engage in his craft. It is the replacement of the synthetic group by the natural group, a return to focus on life where it is actually lived. Here, indeed, therapy might take place in the midst of life itself. Toward this end, the consulting industrial sociometrist may come, in many respects, to operate as a sort of human relations specialist in residence. To this task, he brings a unique perspective theoretically, philosophically, and pragmatically; moreover, he has in his repertoire a set of intervention techniques that can be used in the ongoing situation. We are familiar with many of these techniques through the creative efforts of the many extraordinarily talented sociometrists in our midst, individuals such as Bob Blake, Joe Hart, Ann Hale, and Tom Treadwell.

The Role of the Sociotherapist in Situ

Now the role of the sociometrist in the workplace is—at least, at first—that of an analyst. Yet, he is not merely the analyst of the invisible social structure; he is also the analyst of an invisible sociometric structure, the pattern of positive and negative interpersonal feelings that lies beneath the surface. At the very heart of the matter, he is an analyst of the degree of discordance between the formal social structure and the sociometric structure and of the resultant tension that derives from such discordance.

In as much as this role is central to the whole business of doing sociometry in the natural setting, perhaps this mode of analysis should be explicated a bit more fully. The essence of the matter is the premise that there exists not one, but two social structures: First, a formal primary social structure that comprises official roles and patterns of behavior and association; second, an invisible but equally real infrastructure, a *sociometric* structure, which consists of patterns of interpersonal attraction and re-

pulsion—in short, the socioemotional structure of the group.

Moreno theorized that the greater the degree of discordance between the official social structure and the sociometric structure, the greater the degree of invidious social conflict and tension. To conceptualize this, particularly in terms of its application to the workplace, the following hypothesis emerges: Social conflict and tension increase in relation to the degree to which an imposed pattern of relations violates the naturally occurring socioemotional structure of the organization. In fact, this hypothesis has been proved many times by sociometrists, both in the field and in the laboratory.

Accordingly, it is the first job of the consulting sociometrist to articulate the formal social structure of the workplace and to make visible its invisible sociometric structure. Toward this end, the sociometrist has a set of methods, the tools of his trade. The first of these tools, the one most successfully used for decades, is sociometric cartography.

Sociometric cartography consists of making maps, or sociograms, that depict the socioemotional patterns of relationships that exist within a group. These patterns exist regardless of whether the group is a family, a community, or a cohort of workers, although different units have different levels of complexity. It is a mistake to think of these patterns as being fixed. In fact, they are in constant flux as strains develop between both the sociometric structure and the formal structure and within the sociometric structure itself. Thus, this tool for analysis is quite appropriately a guide for action as well.

From Analysis to Action

Sociometric structures unfold in the course of ongoing events. As events unfold, the sociometrist must quickly be able to shift roles, for he is not merely an analyst, he is also an actor. A sociometrist in the workplace is not there to chronicle events as some type of detached sociohistorian. No, he is there to intervene, to act, to transform the pathological relationship into a synergistic one. A sociometrist endeavors not simply to record the situation, but to change it.

It is of paramount importance to recognize that the industrial sociometrist is more than a detached observer or an academically pedigreed consultant who is removed from the ongoing situation. In fact, it is at the moment when the sociometrist turns from detached analysis to become a participating actor that he moves from the role of disinterested analyst to that of the full-fledged sociotherapist.

What, then, is a proper role for a consulting sociometrist? In my view, he is, first and foremost, a sociotherapist. He works in situ, in the nat-

ural setting, in the workplace, in the midst of life as life unfolds. Yet he works not only as an analyst but also as an activist. He is the activist of the group itself. Specifically, the sociometrist must guard against being—or being perceived as—the agent of the formal social structure (concretely known as management). His stance is a neutral one with a commitment to the reduction of discordance between formal social structures and the sociometric structures that lie buried beneath the surface.

Methods and Techniques

Naturally, questions must arise as to what methods and techniques the sociotherapist uses in attempting to resolve problems that manifest themselves in the workplace. To a large extent, however, the sociotherapist does not use methods here that are different from those in other situations, although certainly methods are inevitably tailored to suit an individual setting. Nonetheless, I think there are several “constants.”

1. In applying the principles of sociometry to any setting, the sociometrist enacts the roles of analyst *and* actor, theorist *and* therapist, but does not himself dictate the goals of action. Rather, he is a facilitator who enables the group to achieve its own goals more effectively.

2. Action is based upon the sociometric analysis of the group and individuals in the group. This frame of reference is, in effect, a constant.

3. The sociotherapist uses *all* the methods available to him that are appropriate to the situation; for example, psychodrama, sociodrama, role training, action sociometry, and so on.

4. The group can and should be used as cotherapist. The sociometrist is not a therapist in isolation—rather he is a coactor who, through enacting a directorial role, endeavors to arouse others to be agents of therapeusis.

5. Goals are determined by the group through group processes. This may be straightforward, and it may entail conflict—but either way, goals derive from the group in toto, not from the sociometrist.

6. The sociometrist proceeds on the basis of action hypotheses that are subject to empirical testing in the situation. This, too, is a constant.

At the same time, in applying the principles of sociometry to the work setting, the sociotherapist must recognize that group members (for example, factory workers) often present themselves in a multiplicity of roles, such as wife, mother, computer operator, friend, all at once. This is intrinsic to the in situ setting. In the work setting, however, a group member's primary role will often be perceived to be that of “worker” in isolation from the full role cluster. Yet these other latent roles must often be elicited, or properly warmed up to, before any meaningful action can

take place. This is because the sources of conflict typically lie *between* these latent roles and various individuals or *within* the individual's full role repertoire itself.

The sociotherapist recognizes that the group can and must provide a crucial foundation of support for the individual. Consequently, group processes and individual behavior are seen as being intrinsically related. We must remember that the sociometrist, regardless of setting, attempts to narrow the discordance between formal social structure and the sociometric structure by bringing the formal social structure into congruence with the underlying socioemotional structure of the group or community, *not* vice versa.

The Emergent Role

It should be clear that what is being discussed is not the so-called use of sociometry *by* industry, meaning the use of sociograms and socioanalysis in the service of management to boost the goals of production and profit. Rather, a very different concept is being suggested. According to Moreno's view, the sociometrist can effectively act as both analyst *and* actor. Thus, it is possible to work toward a revolution of cooperation in which it is not presupposed that what is good for the worker is bad for management.

I have been suggesting, therefore, that we enact the role of sociotherapist. Yet this role most surely is not established; indeed, in a very real sense, ours is an emergent role, one that we are creating as we go along. To be sure, we are guided by some general principles and have established a substantial body of knowledge, but we are constantly discovering new principles and enlarging upon our basic knowledge as well. And yet I wonder if we dare to go forward.

In order to answer that concern, I believe that we must take a hard look at ourselves, that we must understand where we have come from, and that we must discuss and explore where we are going. To do this adequately, it is necessary for us to explore, albeit briefly, the so-called institutionalization of the sociometric framework.

We must remember that sociometry is not just a science (or even a theory or philosophy), but, in a historical sense, it is a social movement as well. In this view, we cannot help but recall Moreno's dictum that "a truly therapeutic procedure can have no less an objective than the transformation of mankind." It is interesting how close in spirit this is to Marx's belief that "the point is not just to understand the world—the point is to change it." In both cases, the emphasis is not on the scientist or philosopher as observer, but rather on the scientist as *actor*. This represents a fundamental and dramatic shift from the positivistic or empirico-analytic tradition. In a

broad sense, it reconceptualizes the role of the man of knowledge.

We must also bear in mind that all social movements develop along a fairly predictable pattern that can be analyzed separately from the objective of the movement. If we take as our premise that sociometry can be conceptualized as a movement that has as its object the radical transformation of mankind, it becomes readily apparent how much our movement has in common with utopian social movements dating back to antiquity. Certainly, the methodology proposed for transformation is uniquely modern (that is, the redesign according to scientific principles), but the objective is as old as the first utopian schemes.

In the course of history, some utopian movements go somewhere and others are flashes in the proverbial pan. The early impetus depends, in some measure, on the existence of a charismatic leader and an identified "moral" problem. Generally, when sociologists look at the common form of social movements (as distinct from their substance), it is apparent that social movements progress as follows: Typically, there is first a moral crusader who steps forward to try to ameliorate a social problem (in our case, we may see this as the disparity between formal social structures and man's socioemotional needs). Subsequently, an ideology that explains the structural sources of discontent develops, along with an alternative view of reality and a plan of action (this is where the development and elaboration of sociometric theory fit). In the next phase of a social movement, participants mobilize resources necessary to sustain a formal organization. They reinforce charismatic leadership with managers and administrators; they make alliances with other groups, they resist co-optation, and they avoid conflict within their own ranks and thus maintain the commitment of members over the long haul. If this is successfully accomplished, it leads to a fourth and final stage called institutionalization, the process wherein the movement's beliefs are accepted and its goals embodied in stable organizations.

Now let me connect this to the sociometric movement more specifically.

To begin, one would be hard pressed to describe Moreno as anything other than a charismatic leader. Those who knew him will need no convincing, and those who did not might consider the statement: "There is no controversy about my ideas. They are universally accepted. I am the controversy." There is no question that Moreno was controversial, and, from the point of view of giving impetus to a movement, perhaps this was helpful. Few would deny that Moreno's fundamental ideas were disseminated and absorbed into the very way we think about social relations today. And yet, if we remember how social movements develop, before too long a developmental crisis ensues. If the movement is to survive and grow, several things must then happen: An effective formal organization must be devel-

oped, one that reinforces charismatic leadership but is not dependent upon it; intergroup alliances must be made, dissent minimized, co-optation resisted, membership commitment sustained. In a general sense, to accomplish this, a certain degree of bureaucratization needs to emerge. For a social movement to endure, these are all necessary.

I would like to make several observations. First, Moreno's sociometric theory was conceived during a historical moment when the political climate and the scientific *Weltanschauung* were ripe for the expression and articulation of the scientifically grounded study of human relations. This development paralleled the development of empiricism in academic sociology and was equally consistent with the search for empirical groundings in psychology, especially as a countervailing force to the more speculative and untestable psychoanalytic formulation. Moreover, the emergence of scientific social planning gave implicit legitimacy to an ameliorative, proactive approach as long as it could be said to be scientifically grounded. Indeed, the utopian impulse was not dead; rather, it became clear that to maintain its honor it needed to be wed to the ever more powerful scientism in the social sciences. The moral problem of human freedom (remember the roots of spontaneity, *sua sponte*) were now seen to be amenable to a scientific solution.

So the movement was born. The time was right, the intellectual vision articulated, the leader charismatic. In its next crucial phase of development, a social movement progresses toward institutionalization. Let us look at this phase with respect to the sociometric movement.

We all certainly recall that, during the earliest phases of the sociometric movement, sociometry was used as a tool for both analysis and change in a variety of institutions and organizations. While the early sociometric findings were presented in a technically elaborate way, such findings were both implicitly and explicitly linked to plans for intervention and remediation. The extensive data on the Hudson girls' cottages presented in *Who Shall Survive?* are illustrative of this. It is important to remember that Moreno argued compellingly that the purpose of these methods was not merely to bring to light the previously obscure socioemotional infrastructure of the group but rather to increase the correspondence between the socioemotional infrastructure and the formal social structure. Sociometry was action-oriented toward intervention and change.

If we are to understand what happened to the sociometric movement, we must consider several points. First, I believe that the sociometric movement was "done in" by the very scientific paradigm that initially provided the culture for its development. If it is true that sociometry held a certain appeal to the academic community because of its empirical grounding in the observable and the measurable, it is equally true as the empirico-

analytic or positivist paradigm achieved hegemony in the American social sciences. It became increasingly apparent that the action-oriented interventionism of sociometry was dissonant with the emergent paradigm. In fact, as the social sciences stretched even further to identify themselves with the physical sciences (hoping thereby to achieve some stature or legitimacy in the scientific community), it became increasingly necessary to purge sociometry specifically, and social science generally, of the interventionist impulse. This tension resulted in what I have elsewhere described as the bifurcation of sociometry—the stripping away of its technology from the philosophy and theory in which that technology was originally grounded.

Further, we need to recall that a social movement—and I am thinking specifically of sociometry here—must, if it is to endure, accomplish a host of tasks. It must reinforce charismatic leadership with managers and administrators; it must make intergroup alliances while avoiding co-optation; and it must avoid intragroup conflict while maintaining the commitment of those who identify themselves with the movement. How has sociometry fared with respect to these? I suppose that, at best, one would see sociometry's success rate as mixed. I think that the bifurcation of sociometry is illustrative of co-optation, co-optation of the scientist as activist by the currently dominant community of scientists as observers. But there is even more to this matter than that. I think that if we are to get the full picture, we must look at our own professional society, ostensibly the organizational embodiment of the sociometric movement. If it is true that the academic community has absorbed the technology of sociometry while ignoring its theory and philosophy, it is also true that many practitioners have lost sight of the broad theoretical and philosophical concerns of sociometry as they immerse themselves in psychodrama as a psychotherapeutic modality. How many researchers, theorists, philosophers are there among us today? Some, to be sure, but I think too few. We have contributed to our own myopia.

Have we been successful in making intergroup alliances? To a limited degree, perhaps we have, albeit with agonizing debate. Is it possible to forge such alliances without being consumed by groups larger than ourselves? In light of the history of our movement, I believe we would do well to exercise caution. To maintain the philosophic and theoretical integrity of our movement while forging alliances with others will not be an easy task. Yet, if we as a movement are to survive, this would appear to be a necessity. Have we been successful at avoiding intragroup conflict while maintaining the commitment of those who identify themselves with our movement? No. One would be hard pressed to see this as one of our strong points. Perhaps, in a movement that esteems individual creativity and spontaneity, this goal is unrealistic. If we cannot avoid conflict, however,

surely we can do better at resolving it. Our movement today is notably fragmented. In America alone, we have the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama (ASGPP), the Board of Examiners, and the Federation. Of course, that ignores the tremendous diversity that prevails on the international scene. We are indeed quite splintered, and we certainly have not maintained the commitment of our membership nearly well enough.

The contemporary situation is characterized by several competing strains, strains that have their roots in the history and development of our movement. One such strain is embodied in the current professionalization of practice concurrent with the obfuscation of purpose. To put the matter simply, I believe that we are investing enormous time, energy, and resources in developing a more professional organization and image and a more professional practice, while losing sight of the purposes that are the substance and soul of sociometry. It is not that the two are necessarily incompatible, but it is far too easy to let the veneer of professionalism hide the fact that we are in danger of losing our direction.

This is related on some levels to the general neglect of social action that characterizes our contemporary practice, and it finds expression in our frequent failure to ameliorate the dissonance between the socioemotional structure of a group and the formal social structure. As we have become increasingly immersed in the technology of psychotherapy and psychodrama, we have too often lost sight of the fact that all of our praxis is not the simple production of catharsis but rather the transformation of the formal social structure. The purpose, after all (at least in Moreno's view), was to change the world. We need to go outside our synthetic groups, which was the point of my earlier discussion of sociometry in the workplace. I believe that it goes even beyond that.

For example, let us take our role with respect to the current human tragedy precipitated by the AIDS crisis. Too often and for too long, the role of the health care provider has been to wait for the afflicted to come to one's office, the safe sanctuary where treatment could be professionally and antiseptically provided. But it is all too apparent that that role is no longer adequate. One cannot possibly wait in one's office to treat the suffering while ignoring the social reality that exists in the community outside. It is not enough to lead groups for the ill while the ostensibly healthy perpetuate the social conditions (prejudice, homophobia, and the disposability of certain categories of people) that contribute to the spread of the disease. Do we not, in fact, participate in a collective sociodrama of neglect when we give up our proactive, ameliorative role? I am convinced that this cannot, must not, be the price of our professionalism. If we give up our philosophy, we have, in fact, lost our movement and rendered ourselves no

more than a collective of technologically sophisticated, and quite marginal, group therapists.

This leads me then to the broader question, which I think we must ponder. Where are we going and how do we get there? As we celebrate the centennial of Moreno's birth, what baggage do we want to carry with us into the future? That, ultimately, is a question not just of history but of vision.

The Rediscovery of Sociometry

ROBERT R. BLAKE and ANNE ADAMS MCCANSE

IT IS RARE for a systematic discipline to fade from view after having demonstrated its value as a field of scientific inquiry while simultaneously showing its practical utility in terms of providing guidelines for improving processes of living. Yet such is the case with sociometry. In the past 2 decades, it appears to have fallen from favor despite its increasing and great prominence throughout the forties, fifties, and sixties. We can provide something of a measure of how lost to management and human resource professionals sociometry has become.

We randomly selected 80 management books on human resource utilization in business and industry, all published since 1980, and examined how the authors dealt with sociometry for assessing interactions among corporate members apart from chain of command. Ninety percent had no single reference to sociometry, to Moreno, or to stars or isolates. Not a single one summarized a primary source of research pertinent for understanding the dynamics underlying choice and rejection. Of the remaining 8, 1 mentioned "isolate"; 2 mentioned "star network" and had accompanying diagrams; and 2 provided a brief discussion on sociometry. Only 3 mentioned Moreno's name in connection with sociometric work.

Sociometry is no longer used as a category for grouping interrelated articles in *Psychological Abstracts*, and only a few references find their way into *Sociological Abstracts*.

In an examination of the literature available from the University of Texas library in terms of articles and books published in the last 10 years, we ascertained the following. Although the depth and focus of concentration is essentially absent in the adult world of business and industry, there has been a continuous stream of activity using sociometry with pre-school and grammar school children, up through the teen years and also including the mentally retarded and handicapped. We believe these areas to be in reasonable shape. The void is in sociometry's use to explain the dynamics of industrial relations.

An invaluable collection of original writings on sociometry is available in *The Sociometry Reader* (Moreno et al., 1960), and the most comprehensive update available that reviews sociometric applications in industry is by Hart (1979). It constitutes an excellent substantive review that is of intrinsic value to anyone interested in this field. By and large, the literature he quotes provides a review of industrial applications since *Who Shall Survive?* (Moreno, 1934). No mention of the computer as a tool for sociometric applications was included in that update.

The comments that follow should be evaluated with the understanding that neither of the authors is an expert who has concentrated on sociometry as a lifelong focus. Dr. Blake, however, knew Moreno in a quite personal way and also did considerable research and published frequently in the fifties and sixties on sociometric matters.

Blake met Moreno at the Tavistock Clinic in London in the forties and observed the respect and admiration he enjoyed, which was significantly more than in the United States at that time. Two years later, when on an extended project in the New York area, Blake spent many Friday nights at the Psychodrama Theater. Here is the typical sequence of a Friday evening. The psychodrama would get underway, with Moreno responsible for the warm-up. Then, after the enactment got started, Blake and Moreno would retire to Moreno's rumpled office, there to spend 2 or 3, or sometimes more, hours engaged in the deepest deliberations as to the scientific and professional trends and implications of the developments for that day and beyond. Penetrating, fascinating, exciting, and after a few moments, these discussions were quite fair-minded.

These were momentous occasions and Blake loved them. They influenced his professional life in significant ways, as they did the lives of many others. Remembering them provides a perspective for comparing the then with the now.

The one observable trend in the industrial field has been to push back the boundaries of what can be approached by sociometric techniques. At one extreme, we find dream sociometry and the study of intrasociology. At another extreme is the entrapment of the fellow peddling drugs on the local street corner and criminal surveillance for influence connection considered more generally. The range is diverse.

The key factor to this expansion lies in modern technology using the computer, which can be expected to lead to a wide use of sociometry for applied purposes.

Sociometry is again on the upswing, and much promise can be attached to the great contribution—scientific, human, and operational—that can be anticipated from this rebirth in the years ahead. Let us summarize some of these important contributions for the organization of tomorrow.

What Is Sociometry?

J. L. Moreno discovered and created sociometry, publishing some of the first sociograms in 1934. These proved to be significant because they told people what was going on in a social setting that either was previously not known or, if known, was unrecognized. Early industrial applications soon began to appear. For example, one involved plotting the emotional (both positive and negative) sociometric networks among coworkers. These led to experiments in which the respect that employees had for one another was studied. In the experimental group, employees chose work partners. When evaluated on performance criteria of job satisfaction, turnover, labor cost, and materials cost, this group proved to be superior in every way to the control group. These early experiments were critical in showing that greater productivity was attached to assignments based on colleague selection (Van Zelst, 1952).

At the most basic level, sociometry deals with human social choices and judgments, with a sociogram usually detailing the emotional network within some setting such as the workplace, the classroom, the hospital staff, or the club. With the rediscovery of sociometry, methodologies for analyzing any kind of data that characterize patterns within a given interacting system, not limited to human social choice data, have been developed. One of these is Netmap®, designed by John J. Galloway.

Formerly, data gathering for research such as the above was extremely tedious and time consuming from an analysis point of view. The energy expended in achieving the results often caused people to turn away. As we approach the end of this century, however, we are equipped with an amazing new tool, previously unavailable—the computer. It's a whole new ball game for sociometry.

The enormous potential through the utilization of the computer in conjunction with sophisticated software packages promises to be unbelievably rich. It permits data to be analyzed, evaluated, summarized, and interpreted in ways that were never before possible. The computer, with a massive database program, provides a visual display of the fine inner workings of an organization, not in terms of a rigidly structured organization chart, but rather in terms of the "actual" organization. It shows what truly motivates, or fails to motivate, people to work together in a productive way. Such visualization is certainly one of the richest sources of comprehension.

Software for Sociometric Applications

Netmap is a software package licensed to some of the world's top management firms. During the past 10 years, we have twice visited John Gallo-

way, creator of this sociometric methodology, to learn about applications of the system. Galloway's firm is Netmap International Pty. Ltd., 99 Walker Street, North Sydney, N.S.W. 2060, Australia, and there are branch offices in San Francisco, New York, London, and Montreal.

The Netmap system is not only a revolutionary approach, it is also the most advanced computerized database program to provide instantaneous results for storing, analyzing, and displaying color-graphic sociometric patterns and connections. Many of the examples we cite are drawn from Netmap's work with organizations in both the public and private domain and are presented with permission. COMPSOC, with its home base in West Chester University, Pennsylvania, is another sociometric endeavor. Thomas Treadwell (1987) is at the center of that network, which is about to publish its own software package. There are one or two others, but those have non-adult, non-business, and non-industrial emphases.

The Standardization of Sociograms

The availability of the computer and the opportunity to create comparisons across vast amounts of sociometric data compel an examination of how best to present data with some degree of standardization. Standardization permits meaningful comparisons across different studies; for this reason, considerable importance has been attached to developing standardization at an early point. Northway (1940) made important early contributions in this direction, as did Criswell (1946), Moreno and Jennings (1938), and others. But the most advanced standardization is that of Netmap.

The Netmap technique serves as a model of application. As a preliminary step congruent with standard sociometric approaches, questionnaires are usually administered to a selected population of an organization with instructions to rank on a scale of 1 to 5 the frequency, importance, and content of interactions. This serves to establish "links" between organization members. A fairly high degree of objectivity can be maintained because divergent data, where rankings between two parties are not mutual, can easily be disallowed by the operator.

Networks are an inherent part of any functioning organization. In most cases, they receive formal structural and rational definition through the organization chart. This formal chart is then relied upon as the baseline for comparing other sociometric displays with it. However, it is also universal for informal network systems to arise, either to compensate for an area missed within the more formal system or, alternatively, as the result of poor working relationships within the rationally structured organization. In the former case, these unofficial networks may prove benefi-

cial; in the latter, they are clearly symptomatic of organizational inefficiency because they represent ways to work around the system rather than to resolve the underlying problems that prevent the system from working well.

Sociometry offers a methodology for seeing these informal networks and evaluating this impact on the organization's overall performance. Change steps can then be formulated to bring the system into alignment with a corporation's strategic objectives.

A number of perspectives can be applied in developing sociometric data, either through questionnaires or other data-gathering means, that indicate direct preferential choice and rejection. They include, but are not limited to, such items as judgments about the actual situation as it prevails today and how it compares with planned activity. We ask such questions as What if we did this? or What is the ideal situation? or What would be rejected as unacceptable?

Netmap has developed a copyrighted display system that is circular in format, allowing a clear view of sociometric relationships. The data are displayed in large circles, similar to pie charts, and cut up into unconnected wedges, each of a different color and representing a particular unit or department. Each wedge, in turn, comprises a number of "slices," designating the head of that department, shown as the first slice with his or her immediate subordinates ranked in descending order as subsequent slices in each wedge, i.e., department.

Links can be shown between all the departmental wedges as well as between the members of each department. The latter relationships are displayed in small satellite circles outside the main larger circle.

Linkages between people are shown by lines. A small gap appears at either or both ends of the line analogous to an arrowhead. This can be used to signify flow of information or influences or who initiates the contact. Those with many linkages are identified as key points of influence in the organization, referred to as "bleeders" because of the great number of ink-fused lines of color emanating from them, while those points with few or no links are the isolates or rejected members.

This particular program can coordinate up to 50 different variables ranging from age and educational background to rank, salary, gender, and so on. Netmap's conventions for computer display will no doubt become more prominent in the years ahead.

Modern-Day Sociometric Applications in Industry

Though mostly unpublished, applications in today's business and industrial world are accelerating at a rapid pace. To test the possibilities,

we offer but a few of the current examples from industry with which we are personally familiar.

First, it might be worthwhile to state briefly what we mean by a sociometric application. The term as it was used originally by Moreno meant perceptual estimates of sociometric connections. In this context, some of the examples offered may appear marginal. The issue, however, is not so much whether sociometry is depicted solely in its classical form as it is that the methodology be drawn from sociometry and be "sociometric-like," developing perhaps into allied, unrelated disciplines. Yet the latter could be anticipated to result in a mutual enrichment of sociometry and industry. The richness of technique for studying how things happen is not always directly visible to those doing the work. From a study of general systems theory (von Bertalanffy, 1968), it is apparent that it is sometimes difficult for people to "see" systems all at once. The sociometric method of representation permits this to happen, i.e., people are enabled to grasp the whole system in one glance.

Implementing Sociometry for Understanding the Macroeconomic Environment

Starting with a broad application of sociometry, we can examine a study using sociometric theory to explain socioeconomic level in modern Western society. The "big picture" implication is that sociometric status and socioeconomic level are interconnected, probably in a cause-and-effect relationship ($x + y$). Think of "being chosen" as sociometric (emotional) income; then think of "dollars earned" as socioeconomic (financial) income. The connection is this: Sociometric income and socioeconomic income are directly correlated, and to a high degree. Highly chosen people are on the top of the economic heap; the unchosen are on the bottom. Is this cause and effect? Yes is the author's conclusion.

Being chosen means a person exists in a network of supportive relations. He or she "belongs," has a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. Those who are unchosen are isolated, unconnected, passed over, rejected, "out of it." The former have the connections to make it in life; the latter do not.

So what is the solution? Throwing money at poverty? This has been tried many times and in many ways, but poverty persists. Or perhaps increasing minimum wage? Except as a stopgap measure, this has proved equally unsuccessful.

So what is the answer? We believe that emotional education for belonging, designed to raise individual sociometric income, is the key for unlocking this gigantic social tragedy. A program such as Headstart,

which deals with children beginning at an early age, is one example of application. There are a thousand other potential points for intervention, too. But they will be effective only if based on a sound diagnosis of the problem and of the cause and effects of the relationships that account for its existence (Hart, 1970, 1971).

On a somewhat smaller scale, generalization is also particularly pertinent for corporations. By learning to understand how the development of feelings of corporate identification are keyed to releasing innovation and creativity of corporate members, it may be possible to stimulate contribution beyond the expected. If sociometric wealth is increased for isolated individuals, then greater productivity may follow, with benefits reaped by both individuals and organizations as a parallel growth in corporate wealth ensues.

Planning for Succession

Sociometric methodology has been used as a means for planning for succession by determining stars and isolates in order to identify who wields the influence in an organization. In one company described by Galloway in 1989, the CEO had been a strong, domineering, hands-on fellow. In anticipation of his retirement later that year, he began to think in terms of a likely successor. A younger manager with an MBA background but without sociometric-measured respect had been groomed for the top slot and was expected to step into this role. In order to test the soundness of this decision, a sociometric mapping of the organization was undertaken. The results clearly indicated that the younger manager approached situations with a quite different managerial style than that of the presiding CEO. For the younger manager to move into the top slot would have sent definite shock waves throughout the organization, in terms of power and authority relationships. It was further ascertained that a number of better candidates, not previously seen but enjoying a wider basis of respect, were available for promotion. Galloway noted that, as a result of the study, the decision was reformulated, and an alternative selection for succession to the top executive position was made.

Team Building

Sociometry provides a quick and useful background source for assessing the status or acceptability of team members in their reactions to each other and their relationship to the team as a social system. Appreciation of the dynamic issue of how the team actually functions is fundamental in designing steps to improve team operations. Sociometry can provide a

foundation for a team-building expert or consultant to gather and offer these data to the team for self-examination in selecting members for special assignments and projects.

In the future, human resource departments may include sociometric divisions to lead activities such as those illustrated here. That division might form task forces and project teams based on sociometric analysis. Each could provide a far sounder rationale for group composition than traditional reliance on selection by superiors. Similarly, work partners might be chosen on the basis of selected criteria. For example, in the Saturn project, General Motors proposes to build a car from start to finish, thus creating a sense of emotional ownership in the ultimate product. The approach rests on the selection of teams based on those individuals who are most likely to work together in a productive manner; a kind of interview sociometry; working together. This is a radical departure from the past assembly-line approach to automobile manufacture. The new work team is designed to have only self-selected members. Sociometric techniques are readily applicable as a means of composing high performance teams.

Strategic Organization Change

Planning change is most soundly undertaken when it is known how well organization-opinion leaders can be expected to support a new direction and the corporate character likely to result from the expected changes. All this becomes directly quantifiable through sociometry.

Galloway offered the following illustration to show how a sociometric approach can be used to evaluate the impact and current status of a major reorganization effort. This project took place in the manufacturing division of a large telecommunications firm. The primary thrust involved shifting from a technologically driven company to one that was more market oriented. The company's conventional change approach had been structural, i.e., create a marketing department and beef up the sales organization to solve the problem. The result? Nothing happened. The marketing thrust remained nonexistent, and sales were not increasing.

Sociometric methodology was employed to answer the question: Is the company still more engineering oriented or has it become more market centered? Organization networks were studied to reveal the organization's true microstructure by examining task-related interactions among the top 101 executives drawn from a staff of 2,500. The results were startling.

Essentially, what had been done was the hiring of a lot of sales and marketing people. . . . There were 100 of them for each ten engineers—that looked very impressive on an organizational chart. But the way the company actual-

ly worked hadn't changed at all. It was still engineering-driven. (Madlin, 1987, p. 60)

It was apparent that the technical/engineering department still played the primary functional role and that the expected shift to sales/marketing had not taken place. Part of the reason for this was that, as in the past organization, members continued to rely upon and go to the engineering people for the accomplishment of task-related objectives. This included the CEO, whose primary advisors continued to be drawn from the engineering group. Not only was there little or no communication between marketing and engineering, but marketing was also isolated from other departments. The sociometric analysis revealed that few or no ties existed between marketing and finance, indicating that pricing, for example, was taking place in a vacuum. Furthermore, little communication of any sort, Galloway noted, was occurring between sales and marketing or between either of these and the production people.

Formal organization structure failed to resemble what was actually transpiring in terms of interdepartmental interaction. The results permitted this CEO to comprehend the underlying dynamics and to rectify the problem. What before had defied explanation now led to a change of strategy, based on a sophisticated degree of knowledge about how the patterns of interaction needed to change to bring about the desired reorientation.

Customer Service

Customers are seen as the key to success in business today, and customer satisfaction has become a vital element in corporate survival. Unfortunately, many companies, although perhaps serving a customer well in the initial go-round of sales, are unable to create customer loyalty by providing after-sales service. This may be due to poor management, a faulty reading of customer expectations, or an organization infrastructure ill equipped to deal with demands placed upon it by its customer base.

Sociometric data can be used to establish the empirical links between the customer and organization members, thereby showing how efficiently customers are being serviced—how often, by whom, in what manner, and with what reaction. Once this has been clearly defined, it is possible to take another look at how resources are being deployed.

In one example, 142 insurance personnel and agents engaged in a sociometric study to examine the support system being provided by the company to its agents. Only 12% of the company personnel supported the agents who brought in over 65% of the business. The results showed extensive overservicing to a segment of agents of low annual worth in terms of company yield, whereas minimum attention was being provided for

the high producers. As a result, specific agents were targeted for immediate customer service to ensure contact with those customers of highest priority to the company. Overall contact was improved through the institution of a program promoting face-to-face contact, replacing the inadequate telephone network. The company reported to Galloway that the result was a significant improvement in sales.

Communications

The study of communications provides endless examples of how sociometry has been extended into a range of sociometric-like uses. Patterns of communication characterize relations between directly interacting individuals, but such analysis may be extended to study areas of communication, which include contact across networks, banking systems, and other specialized traffic areas, as well as the printed word. Although these patterns do not fit into the traditional meaning of sociometry, based on human social choice or judgment à la Moreno, they still provide valuable insights for conducting ongoing business as well as for designing organization change.

A study was undertaken in an international shipping and forwarding agency in which all systems of communication for one specific region of the organization were placed under sociometric scrutiny. Sociometry proved to be the only vehicle to gain a database of information capable of providing a clear understanding of how the organization actually operated in the area of communications.

Initial interviews indicated a general level of dissatisfaction with the current communication structure. The study illuminated the fact that communication was not as widespread as initially envisioned, nor as would be desirable. A number of breakdowns in the communication system were made evident. With this knowledge in hand, the management put steps into place that resulted in significant cost savings to the company and an improved level of satisfaction of its members.

Intelligence Operations

All of these examples portray industrial applications, but consider what can be done when using sociometry to plot the activities that take place within the criminal community, e.g., drug and crime networks. The applications here are endless. Sociometry proves to be an invaluable tool in the area of intelligence as the vast amount of information and knowledge available continues to expand.

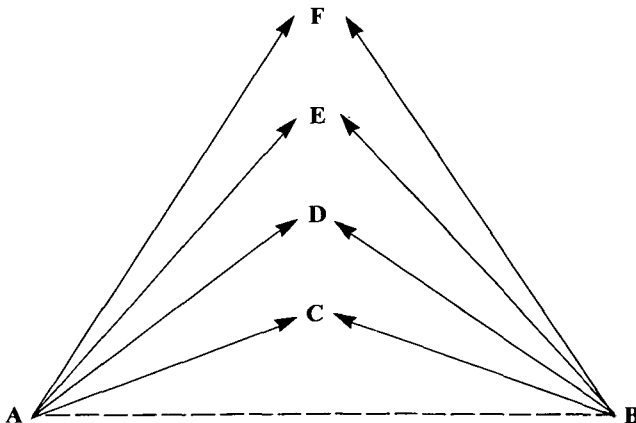
The sources of evidence are provided through wire taps, license plates

seen by frequency at each site location, interviews, interrogations, and informants. These permit investigators of illicit activity to locate the agents of influence, to establish who the middlemen are, and to identify probable contacts between people who communicate with one another only indirectly. This permits police to take legal actions to counteract the illicit activities. The application of sociometric methodology to intelligence networks has been emerging rapidly on the international scene, according to Galloway.

Whereas most applications of sociometry are indicative of an effort to build up and strengthen an organization, this application to international law enforcement is intended to control, weaken, or destroy an organization. The same procedure can be used to study any system of interdependencies, whether to understand a criminal organization, an organization formed in the interest of national security and defense, or a business.

In Figure 1, an analysis of communication of a criminal organization, no direct contact exists between A and B. However, A is in contact with C, D, E, and F, as is B. It takes no Sherlock Holmes to divine that something probably is going on between A and B. Indeed, they may be the kingpins, and C, D, E, and F the carriers, couriers, middlemen, or legmen. The inferred linkage between A and B becomes the likely target for surveillance. If the kingpins can be taken out of the picture, the foundation crumbles. Observers are not necessarily looking for strong ties that are immediately apparent because these may not be the desirable target points for destroying the criminal organization. This illustration is based on a conversation with John Galloway.

FIGURE 1. Sociometric Connections Between Two Individuals



Our focus in this example is on a criminal network, but the same connections are true for military, national, and commercial intelligence networks. A central ingredient of any intelligence organization lies in useful information about what people are doing. This is a case in which computerized application of sociometry truly becomes an example of how to see patterns and make logic and order out of data that are otherwise of limited use because they are so indigestible in raw form. The data can be manipulated in an infinite variety of ways to provide insight into the patterns and networks of the organization under study. Key aspects also include the speed and validity with which the information can be delivered to the user.

A magnitude of data is available, but the problem is making sense of it. This is where sociometric methodology comes into play, deriving mainly from general systems theory of von Bertalanffy (1968). Sociometric methodology takes mountains of raw data from a very complex organization and systematizes the interdependencies between units of that organization in an organized way. If order can be added to this by defining the networks, it then allows the system to be described in more holistic terms rather than just focusing on individuals.

Opinion Surveys and Polls

Gallup and Roper have dominated the field of opinion polling for many years with the concept of extrapolating from a statistical sample to project the trends of thought characteristic of the population from which the sample is drawn. Hundreds of interviews are needed to represent a large community, and even then, the probability of predicting the outcome leaves much to be desired.

By comparison, sociometry can be relied upon to identify opinion leaders, who themselves can be regarded as representative of the majority point of view. They can be drawn together to serve as focus groups from whom much can be learned regarding thinking characterizing the broader community and to test reactions likely for several probable courses of action. These individuals can be reconsulted to provide access over and over again for fast and accurate operational data for a number of areas (Hart, 1988).

Such information acquisition can be equally important in terms of sales and marketing, goal setting, project development and assessment, public relations, and a number of other decision-making areas. In *Network Technology*, Hart (1988) has used such in-depth interviewing to identify and select individuals who function as stars within their sociometric groups. By virtue of their interactions with others, they are "in

the know'' about the attitudes, opinions, and concerns of others and therefore have the ability to characterize the prevailing attitudes in the population they represent.

Increasing Organization Efficiency

Sociometric analysis of the human infrastructure establishes a sound basis for decision making in terms of how to organize a company's activities—manufacturing, warehousing, and distribution—to serve its potential customers.

The following study of the operational system of a major chemical firm serves as an illustration. The objectives of the study were to determine areas of expansion and consolidation and to pinpoint areas that might better be serviced by external agents.

Data were gathered according to the following criteria: routing from factory to warehouse to client; product volume in terms of weight or number of units; time period from start to finish; related costs; nature of the product, and any special considerations.

Evaluation of this distribution network revealed a violation of the principle of economies of scale: many small deliveries were being shipped to distant locations and small loads were traveling the same path, but at different times throughout the day. As a result, steps were taken to consolidate certain deliveries into larger ones, to cut down on the number of long-distance deliveries, and to contract out less-traveled routes to external agents. Galloway pointed out that significant cost savings showed in the bottom line, along with an increase in customer satisfaction.

Galloway described a second example in which sociometric techniques were employed at the Pentagon to assess the top 200 staff positions in order to analyze work practices. A primary objective was to ascertain how the system had been designed to work (according to the formal organization chart) compared with how it actually worked in practice. The study was conducted on the basis of who communicated with whom on a day-to-day basis. As a result of this evaluation of office management, a number of recommendations for increasing efficiency while maintaining civilian control were made, and a number of these changes were implemented within the Pentagon.

Organization Diagnosis

This application considers the broader organization in terms of change along an evolutionary scale of change. It may be useful to describe the underlying theory before presenting complementary sociometric implications for testing the theory.

This theory depicts the principal stages through which corporations pass over time as they seek to achieve profitable growth. The three recognizable stages usually commence with an entrepreneurial beginning. Successful transition beyond this state leads to emergence into a mechanistic era. As the organization continues to develop, it may undergo transformation into the dynamic stage. The latter represents the highest level of evolution, that which produces the greatest capacity for problem solving, productivity, and profit, along with the greatest satisfaction and the fewest adverse side effects. These three stages, and the transitions and transformations in between, do not constitute an inevitable and arbitrary sequence. They do, however, constitute the stages through which most great companies have evolved. GM, IBM, Sony, P&G, Merck, Digital Equipment, and Exxon are only among the more visible. Furthermore, it has been shown that a company can be launched in dynamic terms and maintain its integrity in that mode (Blake et al., in press).

The exercise of leadership is all-critical in determining whether any corporation starting with an entrepreneurial base can make the transitions from this early stage of development into the higher stages of corporate evolution. This is where sociometry comes in.

By using sociometry to get a reading of the operation of the organization in actual practice and comparing this with operations based on the formal organization chart, it becomes possible to determine the corporate stage of evolution. One dominating figure who makes all decisions, large and small, characterizes the entrepreneurial firm. Sociometric data clearly reveal connections from the CEO to every organizational unit, regardless of level. By comparison, adherence to the formal chart is likely to be indicative of a mechanistic organization with greatly increased contact within the informal organization, which serves no "obvious" function. One of the dominant features of a bureaucracy is reliance on the grapevine to supplement the formal communication channels, probably because communication within formal channels is likely to be nominal and impoverished. The grapevine keeps people abreast of who is doing what to whom; forthcoming but unannounced events, liaisons, and so on exist because of at least two considerations. Communications within the line system are inadequate for keeping people informed about their legitimate interests. Equally important, underemployed people tend to search for current events that not only interest them but also keep them occupied.

In the dynamic organization there is a high degree of interaction among organization members that is functional in character and not necessarily along the lines of the formal hierarchical structure. The latter is likely to be reinforced by a high degree of mutuality in choices and a minimum number of isolates and rejects.

The importance of such information is that, until it is known, steps cannot easily be taken to move the corporation forward along its evolutionary course. Problems are more likely to be misdiagnosed, with band-aid solutions applied to specific organizational areas instead of comprehending the big-picture view of organizational culture. Sociometry therefore provides an excellent tool for organization diagnosis.

Dream Sociometry

At an opposite extreme of standard sociometry is "intrasociology," which offers an indirect means for assessing a person's subjective choices and rejections among work associates. As its name implies, it relies on analyzing key aspects of personality that manifest themselves in dreams. A number of specific dimensions, including behavioral, emotional, and attitudinal, become available sociometric data that show a direct correlation with industrial applications.

For example, based on the premise that interpersonal conflicts are fundamentally extensions of intrapersonal dilemmas, this intrasociology can be used to identify situations of potential conflict arising within members before the conflicts grow to the proportions at which they are projected onto others and acted out, with the corporation providing the battleground. This method of anticipatory conflict resolution can aid individuals in examining options and identifying courses of action for improved working relationships with organization members with whom they interact with some degree of frequency.

Another illustration of dream sociometry lies in sales, the idea being that one must sincerely believe in a product or service to convey a true sense of commitment to the ultimate user. Through incubation and processing of sociometric feedback, it becomes possible to reveal underlying attitudes toward a product and obstacles to full commitment in terms of supporting it and, therefore, to identify ways to overcome or reduce psychodynamic barriers to supporting it. This is a relatively new field that is only now undergoing development (Dillard & Krippner, 1988).

Advantages and Limitations of Sociometry in Business and Industry

The advantages of using sociometry with the new analysis, summarization, and display technology made possible by the computer include the following:

1. The situation being analyzed can be graphically displayed in ways that clearly bring meaning to the data as opposed to evaluating the situation by searching a hand-drawn sociogram for connections and poring over tables of numbers.
2. Real time data analysis is made possible, with real time being a matter of hours or, at most, a few days, compared with the weeks and weeks needed for tedious manual compilation.
3. The face validity is immediately apparent, i.e., this is what people actually said, or what they actually do; it is not hypothetical. Most computer programs compensate for skewed data by throwing them out.
4. Unrecognized links in the chains of influence can be recognized, i.e., middlemen who are in direct contact with primaries but who are only indirectly connected to each other can be identified.
5. Key figures become apparent, e.g., a star or an isolate can have vastly different influences on the success of an operation.
6. The data available in the files of industry and government are often unintelligible because there is no logical basis for integrating them into a unified story form that permits conclusions to be reached. Sociometric technique provides this basis for giving order and permitting one to see how the system really works, enabling the user to visualize how systematic change might also operate.

The limitations are few. One lies in the reluctance of people to answer questions that might be seen as too personal, private, or unfair. Unfortunately, these generalizations frequently appear when data about feelings are the basis of collection. Nevertheless, such data may be the most valuable from the standpoint of making basic decisions about people.

A second limitation is also evident but in many ways is subject to reduction. What is desired in human organizations of today is openness and candor rather than "closedness," which may be encouraged by indirect sociometric reporting. This distinction is one of whether the data are treated in a rational way or in dynamic terms. Sociometry uses an indirect means of data gathering as contrasted with open, direct, confrontational, candid, face-to-face data production. This limitation may be overcome by getting people together to analyze the data and to discuss why they reveal what they do. In this way, the norm of roundabout reporting and statistical derivation can be overcome and replaced with one that is significantly more honest and direct.

Available statistical formulae for summarizing sociometric data have not changed much beyond the situation of many years ago. This represents another limitation. With the computer at hand, however, it should now be possible to summarize vast amounts of data and to present these

summaries, not only in sociograms, but in terms of statistical coefficients. These would significantly enrich insights into what is actually going on among people in operating situations, and such insights might set the stage for the planning and introduction of change.

A fourth limitation is that, to some degree, sociometric data are unreliable because of the changeable nature of human feelings. Although feelings tend to be relatively constant at the extremes where strong choice or rejection is felt, it is more likely that fluctuation in terms of choice or rejection will be experienced when these feelings lie closer to the neutral zone (Mouton, Blake, & Fruchter, 1955).

Summary

This overview offers a few suggestions about current uses primarily in the area of industrial application. It also suggests some future applications of sociometry. The computer and associated software technology may provide the needed breakthrough, making it possible to eliminate the unacceptable labor-intensive burden involved in hand analysis. The future is bright for the contribution that can be made by this rediscovered scientific discipline, which had its origins in the work of Jacob L. Moreno.

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Conceptual Clarity in Psychodrama Training

GIOVANNI BORIA

THE RELATIVE LACK OF THEORETICAL SUPPORT for the psychodramatic approach is known to those who practice it as well as to those who follow other theoretical psychotherapeutic methods. This deficiency has happened even though the psychodramatic method is only 15 to 20 years younger than Freudian psychoanalysis.

Psychodrama and Theoretical Elaboration

Moreno had an original counterposition in regard to Freud. In fact, Moreno, even if he was not a "son" of Freud or not attached to him in some other way, belongs to the generation of rebels against the "great prophet." His *Weltanschauung* presents some affinity with Jung's theory, rather than with Freud's psychodynamic theory.

Insiders know that Moreno elaborated his own psychodynamic theory in a nonorganic way, and that the subsequent contribution of a certain number of disciples helped to give the psychodramatic approach some foundation and some necessary reference points. Beyond that, it is necessary to recognize that the theoretical structure of the method is, even today, not more than a framework or a skeleton of a body still to be built. To recognize the reasons for this theoretical insufficiency, in my opinion, would not be a purely intellectual or historiographic exercise. Rather, it would allow us to point out the differences and specificity of the psychodramatic method in regard to psychoanalysis. That would reveal to us the way in which such specificity—although it influences the theoretical insufficiency—is also the most precious lever to personality development in psychodramatic method.

This is not the place for deep reflection on this subject. I just want to point out some evident differences between the two approaches that might explain the different way in which the two theories developed. The quality of a "concluded chapter" of each psychodramatic session is a characteristic that is in neat contrast to a psychoanalytic session (which

is, by definition, a fragment out of a long speech). The fact that at the end of the psychodrama session the patient is in a state of emotional integration perhaps prevents the mobilization of secondary processes. The fact that the therapist in a psychoanalytic session must keep himself in a condition of anonymity might be an important reason for the mobilization of the secondary processes in the analyst, inducing him or her more easily to a theoretical elaboration (elaboration that long ago gave to psychoanalysis a fantastic epistemological and methodological knowledge). The psychodramatic session, on the other hand, requires full participation of the director, who plays an active (directive) role, making it less necessary for him (energetically speaking) to undertake an intellectual elaboration.

Today, however, even the psychodrama needs a deeper epistemological reflection, a better organization of the theoretical material, and a more precise elaboration of the method. In fact, this is more than necessary if we want to establish a solid foundation for the didactic work.

Psychodrama Training

The Theoretical and the Experiential Parts

In psychodrama, the didactic has to consider two different levels: experiential and theoretical. On the experiential level, the first essential condition to ensure is free emotional interaction; on the theoretical level, conceptual clarity is required.

Primary processes and secondary processes in the normal psychic activity act in a continuous dialectic of the conscious and unconscious, modifying each other in a reciprocal process. The times, however, of these processes are quite distinct, and each one has a length of time intrinsically regulated by the tension that is underneath. During the training, in a similar way, the emotional processes end up interacting dialectically with the intellectual and reflexive processes, but they take place at different times, each one with its own assimilation economy and interior integration. It is an essential condition to respect these times in the didactic of psychodrama in order to achieve the harmony of the emotional and rational components. The biggest difficulties in the learning process until now have been to give name and rational form to the free game of projections and emotions and to recognize, in an objective way, the conduct of the director/therapist in order to transmit his role in a correct way in different situations.

The training of a psychodramatist at the Moreno Institute in Beacon focused on the "processing," the discussion following the session about

the way in which the session was directed. During the processing, the director, the protagonist, the auxiliary egos, and the members of the audience, each one according to his or her role, all offered testimony to the direction, abstaining themselves from any critique and expressing themselves in a constructive way, making suggestions. This procedure, obviously, does not need any particular underlying didactic scheme. Theorization is minimal, and the experiential feedback is favored. The director is the chief reference and the only didact. Finally, the processing takes place in a very short time after the psychodramatic session to prevent a dimming of the memory of the session without the possibility of adequate sedimentation of the emotional experience.

Not many psychodrama schools nowadays have tried to articulate the training process, in a more dependable and controlled way, but many of them feel the need to do it.

Two Techniques

The introduction of videotaping was a real turning point in psychodrama training, allowing for objectivity and reflection about the behavior of the director during the sessions. We can say that this is one of the cases in which technical development addressed problems it was not meant to solve.

Videotaping allows us to respect the time of assimilation and integration of the emotional experience of the participants in the training/therapy group; to mobilize the secondary processes of the participants through different sensorial stimulation (mainly, vision and hearing, but also through feedback in group interaction during the showing); and to provide "technological objectivation" that promotes a substantial emotional distance.

Another fundamental development during these years of attempting to give an organic structure to professional training was the recognition that the psychodramatic method is a group therapy method. As such, it needs a group life. This can only happen if the group stays closed for an adequate period of time. The training group, in its experiential part, has to be a therapy group, relatively closed, that meets with enough frequency for a sufficient time. As we know, every group therapy is based on the interaction of the group members, which is permeated by projective needs and reality demands.

Beyond that, psychodrama is an action method and a directive method. It is an action method because it stimulates the life of the group through different forms of interaction—sensory, motor, play, projection, on a somatic as well as on a psychological level. It is a directive method because the director activates and guides the life of the group, ensures the return to reality,

guarantees that the game rules are respected, protects the group from devastating conflicts and paralyzing anxiety, becomes the “medium” of tele, and stimulates the group members to new roles and creative answers.

The group in the psychodramatic method, therefore, remains the main point of reference in the therapy. At the same time, it is the place and the medium for the transformation of the individual. This is true for that part of the psychodrama session that concerns the group life as well as for the part that concerns the work with the protagonist. In fact, it is the presence of the group that translates the magical experience of personal transformation, lived as semireality, into a possible reality.

These two characteristics of psychodrama therapy—a method of action and a directive method—also condition the characteristics of psychodrama training. In fact, the experiential part of the training requires participation as a therapy group member and, on the other side, as a director, working through in the group the conflicts inherent in this role. The learning through direct deep experience constitutes a structuring condition for the psychodramatic method, perhaps even more than in other psychotherapy methods. Without that, any theoretical training would be sterile.

For itself, subsequent theoretical elaboration (to which videotaping has given ideal modes and times) will be free of two major risks that occurred in the past: on one extreme, the risk of conceptual superficiality, of theoretical fragility and, overall, of the nontransmissibility of the director’s role; on the other extreme, the risk of blocking and deforming the emotional processes by imposing a rational structure on them in a violent way.

The Structure of the Training

Throughout my years of experience, I have expanded on a well-defined, although nondefinite, psychodrama training structure with sufficient basic criteria. These criteria concern the characteristic of the training/therapy group and the definition of the times and methods of experiential and theoretical work. The general organization of the training lasts 4 years and combines four levels of courses that are not separate but interact as much as possible.

The Training/Therapy Group. The candidate has to send in a written application and an autobiography that clarifies personal and professional reasons for the request. This induces the candidate to think about the path that he is about to follow, its length, and his commitment. An interview follows in which it is important to make sure that the candidate plans to attend the courses regularly. Certain characteristics are given preference in the selection of the candidates: (1) personal work (psychoanalysis or other form of

psychotherapy), (2) past attendance in a psychodrama group for certain period of time, (3) motivation to enter training as a personal investment, not merely to develop professional skills.

The training/therapy group should have no more than 12 members and should stay together for at least 1 year. The following year, a reconstitution of the groups is possible. Each group should have a fixed central nucleus to which new elements from previous groups should be added. Those people who arrived at the 4th year of training should build a new group with people from the 1st and some from the 2nd and 3rd years, according to possibilities and needs. The addition of new people to a group that has had a sufficiently long past common experience promotes the better knowledge of the group dynamics, stimulates new roles and richer interactions, and allows the experience of separation, change, and restructure.

I insist on the need to have small groups and to ensure regular participation of the members and their emotional commitment. This is essential to maintain the group as a therapeutic medium, to allow a significant experimentation of the sociometric aspects as well as the work with the protagonist, and to ensure a harmonic combination of practical learning as well as theoretical elaboration.

Time and Method of Training. The training lasts 4 years and includes a total of 200 hours of courses each year. About half of this time is dedicated to the practical part of the training; the other half is reserved for the analysis of videotaped experiences and the deepening of theoretical knowledge.

Each session lasts 4½ hours and is divided into an experiential and a theoretical part. The sessions are held 1 afternoon during the week and 1 full weekend per month. The interval between the sessions should not be longer than 2 weeks because the training group is also a therapy group. The choice of the afternoon session, followed by a long weekend 2 weeks later, allows the participants to experience the usual session of a therapy group as well as the intensity that characterizes an extended experience. One afternoon of these weekends is set aside to confront various aspects of the psychodramatic approach, with the help of teachers from outside. These include the theoretical and epistemological foundations of the Morenean psychodrama; meaning and use of sociometry; possibilities of the sociodrama; emotional and cognitive development of the person, according to the psychodynamic theory of Moreno; as well as theory of change and psychodramatic method.

At the end of each year, the student has to present a written paper on a given theme and take an oral exam on this subject as well as on themes presented by the staff during the year.

The Content of the Training. The experiential part of the training occurs along the usual line of a therapy group: according to the classical Morenean

subdivision, each session will have an initial phase of group work that will evolve according to the dynamics in the group or the special needs of the individuals, leading either to a sociometric experience or to work with the protagonist. The difference from a therapy group is that each member has to have access to all the possible roles, starting with the role of group member and progressing to audience member, the role of auxiliary ego, the alter ego, the leader of group work, and to the role of director of psychodrama.

The access to the role as a director is given gradually: during the 1st year, a few experiences leading group work; during the 2nd year, a consistent number of such experiences; during the 3rd year, experiences in directing brief psychodramas (about 1 hour), alternating with sociometric work; finally, during the 4th year, full responsibility for a certain number of sessions (2½ hours).

The enormous advantage of videotaping consists in the possibility of separating the experiential from the analytical, reflexive part of the training. The practical session of the training/therapy group can be held without didactic controls and brakes, allowing the emotional experience and the interactive group dynamics to develop fully. The discrete eye of the camera registers this material for the second part of the training, and these experiences can be reviewed with enough distance because there is time for emotional assimilation and integration. It allows constructive reflection about the direction, its positive and inadequate aspects.

Analysis of the videotaped sessions follows the traditional principle of the Morenean method that dismisses direct criticism and invites evaluations in constructive, personal terms. The problem of the subjectivity of the critical judgment, potentially hurtful, is largely overcome by the use of video. It allows viewers to concentrate on the efficacy of direction and reflect on the different ways and possibilities of directing. It focuses attention on the most frequent errors and cunning difficulties of directing, on the projective traps inherent in certain situations that mislead the director, and on the fine thread that signals the position of the director between reality and semireality and plus reality.

The telecamera has to show the whole psychodramatic space constantly in order to allow the sociometric aspect of the work in view to come into evidence, be it group- or person-centered.

Another possibility of the use of videotaping is the assemblage of different sequences of psychodramatic work. This allows us to visualize a specific phase of the psychodrama session or a particular technique of direction. In the first case, one can put into evidence different modalities of group warm ups, group work, sociometric experiences, and of taking charge of the protagonist, induction and management of catharsis, final integration, and sharing. In this use of videotaping, sequences of psychodramatic work can

also be put together to focus on different techniques of directing, such as concretizing, mirroring, doubling, the use of balcony or auxiliary chair, or certain specific forms of directing, including management of dreams, of vignettes, or of an encounter.

A last observation has to be made about the more traditional theoretical content of training. It should comprehend the systematic exposition of Morenean theory and method, its principals and its aim, and also include the Morenean approach into a more general psychological and sociological theory of personal development.

In our experience, the establishment of training groups that include people who belong to different levels of courses presents some difficulties in organizing the theoretical part. In fact, it means giving up the homogeneous presentation of theoretical contents, graded into set schemes, that in the traditional didactic work consists in the passage from general notions to more complex concepts. In our training organization, we create some "unities of study" arranged according to the subdivision of the material into fundamental themes. This allows the rotation of different study units in order to avoid repetitions for the members of the same level of the course. The advantages of groups that are heterogeneous exceed the relative complexity of this training structure. These advantages can be observed in the vivacity of these groups as therapy group, as well as in the opportunities for the participants to experience gradually different roles of direction within dynamic conditions.

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Psychodrama's Response to AIDS

LOIS M. SPRAGUE

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS SUMMARIES of two different workshops at the May 1989 meeting of the psychodrama association. One was coordinated by Irwin Stahl and led by Peter Pitzele, director of Psychodrama Services at Four Winds Hospital; Raymond Jacobs, AIDS project administrator, Young Adult Institute, and an early program developer of the Gay Men's Health Crisis Network; and Lo Sprague, cofounder, Guibord and Sprague Associates. The other was led by Lo Sprague with Zerka Moreno and Raymond Jacobs. Both workshops were dedicated to Neil M. Passariello, Irwin Stahl, and all others in and out of the psychodrama community who are living with AIDS.

Rene Marineau, in his discussion of Moreno's life story, aptly pointed out that there is always a profound difference between one's knowledge of historical or scientific facts and one's psychological experience of those facts. With AIDS, the scientific fact is: We are dealing with a deadly disease that is easily preventable. Yet it continues to spread throughout every nation of the world because the psychological experiences are so overwhelming that they encourage repression and denial. We are in a crisis of unparalleled proportion that urgently requires a way to break through this dysfunctional psychological rigidity. Psychodrama, sociometry, and group psychotherapy provide some of the best tools for reinstalling spontaneity into rigid perceptions. If Moreno were alive today, there is little doubt that he would be in the middle of the AIDS crisis—directing, challenging, confronting, creating new ways to cope.

The Reality of AIDS

The facts about acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) are relatively simple:

AIDS is a global disease. According to the World Health Organization, an estimated 5 to 10 million people worldwide (1½ to 2 million of them in the United States) are currently infected with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), the causative agent. Many of them have no symptoms and do not know that they are infected and capable of transmitting the disease.

AIDS is acquired. One can contract the disease only through intimate contact with bodily fluids that are infected with HIV. These include blood and blood products (from open wounds and menstrual blood as well as transfusions), contaminated semen, sexual fluids, and weeping sores. Although the virus is most often transmitted during high-risk sexual behavior with HIV+ individuals or through use of contaminated needles by intravenous drug users, it is also increasingly spread to the unborn children of infected mothers during pregnancy.

AIDS is preventable. The disease is preventable only if one is willing to take the steps required to prevent it. Those steps include avoiding such high-risk behaviors as IV drug use/abuse with unsterilized needles, anal intercourse with an infected person, intimate sexual behavior with an infected person without a properly used condom with nonoxyl-9 (a viricide) in the tip.

AIDS is treatable. Although not curable at this time, the disease responds to many treatments. These treatments attack the opportunistic infections that are the real dangers to the HIV+ person, hinder the replication of the virus itself, and make living with AIDS much more bearable.

An AIDS diagnosis is not an automatic death sentence. At present, HIV+ persons can carry on without debilitating symptoms for an average of about 8 years. That number of years of quality life will continue to increase as scientific knowledge advances. The expenses and complications of continued care will also continue to grow as life expectancy increases.

AIDS carries a social stigma. Persons with AIDS continue to be the targets of discrimination and harassment. Those who have AIDS or are HIV+ regularly risk losing jobs, health insurance, custody of their children, and access to opportunities that the rest of us can safely take for granted.

AIDS affects everyone. In the United States today, an estimated 1½ million carry the AIDS virus. Of those, over 100,000 already had full-blown AIDS by June 1989. For every infected person, there is a social atom—mothers, fathers, siblings, children, lovers, colleagues, friends, doctors, accountants, cabbies, school pals, bus drivers, shopkeepers, fellow grocery shoppers, ministers, etc. In addition, all the people who are afraid they might have the virus but do not know it—the “worried well”—have their social atoms. Then there are all those angry people who are fearful for themselves and their children and their loved ones. They want barriers and quarantines and protection from the contaminants. There are others who say, “This doesn’t affect me,” who pay higher insurance premiums, who expect their kids to be “good” and nonsexual. There are burned-out nurses whose families say, “Don’t endanger us by treating them!” There are bankers who see loans going unpaid as people lose jobs. There are some preachers who say, “They deserve it anyway. Perverts and junkies. Serves

them right.” There are cashiers who are afraid to take money and beauticians who are afraid to cut nails. Whether consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, whether we like it or not, whether we admit it or not, we are *all* living with AIDS.

Dealing with the Facts

AIDS angers and frightens us. It enrages and terrifies us. It triggers the old “fight or flight” reflex. We become overwhelmed and tend toward polarization, self-righteousness, and denial. We are aware of the basic facts about AIDS. How we deal with those facts depends upon how we feel about our own issues with AIDS. Do we deal with our fear through ignorance and denial, or do we arm ourselves with accurate information that gives us successful tools for coping? Do we create a sense of our safety by seeing the person with AIDS as a social isolate who is nothing like us, or do we have the courage to reverse roles with the person who is HIV+ or has AIDS? These are choices for the psychodramatist as well as for the patient. Raymond Jacobs and Lo Sprague urge us all to become “AIDS experts,” which means that we get clear, current facts with which to face the fears and fantasies that cripple at a level deeper than the virus. (A current bibliography is included at the close of this article.)

The Role of the Psychotherapeutic Community

Zerka Moreno, one of the strongest voices in the psychodrama community, urges us to get involved and to bring our skills and creativity to bear against the traumas of AIDS. We are needed on every level where AIDS makes an impact. As psychodramatists, sociometrists, and group psychotherapists, we have very powerful tools for coping with the psychological realities of AIDS. Role reversal and doubling give us ways, when appropriate, to reintegrate the social isolate. The healing circle described by John Moser and Anne Hale can give us a map for the need for times of isolation and being the social rejectee and rejector. It provides a place for healthy depression and necessary denial. It also helps us understand the cyclic nature of the continuing journey between the roles of isolate and star. Such an understanding helps health care workers, including therapists, discern when clients are experiencing healthy or dangerous denial and when they may need to grieve or rest.

Role rehearsal, as well as role reversal, helps us to understand and expand the role of anyone dealing with AIDS and thus to serve them better. As Zerka Moreno explained, social atoms and psychodramas that include the disease itself expand our understanding and spontaneity. For hospital

staffs, pencil-and-paper sociometry may be private enough to be helpful in their professional settings.

Role training can help sexually active individuals rehearse safe-sex negotiations. At the workshop, Lo Sprague spoke to this issue, noting that women, particularly minority women, are under a great deal of pressure not to use safe sex. Thus, they need specific training and a great deal of group support to negotiate safe sex and to follow through with the negotiation. Raymond Jacobs spoke of the need for the disabled and for disturbed teens to get coaching and training in the proper use of condoms. A workshop participant spoke of a half-dozen AIDS cases in her small town in the Midwest and of the school's reluctance to teach sex education and safe sex. At the same time, recent studies indicate that one in three heterosexual college students in the Midwest has engaged in anal intercourse. Clearly, we need to banish this closed-mindedness about the disease.

Peter Pitzele vividly demonstrated the use of psychodrama in dealing with a different kind of closed-mindedness. In his supervision of therapists, he found them caught in a moral conflict sometimes found in therapy. The group was discussing a hypothetical HIV+ individual who came for therapy but continued to act out by being irresponsibly sexually active in ways that endangered his or her unsuspecting partners. These therapists repeatedly got "stuck" in countertransference until they reversed roles with the clients. The same thing happened with hypothetical clients who rigidly and self-righteously condemned persons with AIDS. The therapists tended to pull away from these clients, but discovered that role reversal ended this polarization and reopened the therapeutic process.

Psychodramatic and sociometric skills can help us develop better ways to cope with AIDS. Our own social atom as a professional community has to include AIDS from now on. AIDS is currently experienced most often as a psychological reality that is dehumanizing and soul-deadening. At the core of psychodrama is the profound belief in spontaneity and creativity. If we have the courage to look into the heart of the AIDS problem, we will need the spiritual qualities of compassion and transformation that J. L. Moreno spoke of in his most famous work, whose title has particularly poignant meaning for those dealing with AIDS—*Who Shall Survive?*

On the 100th anniversary of Moreno's birth, we find ourselves left with great gifts from a true genius. How we use them to deal with problems and a virus unknown 100 years ago is up to us.

NOTE: For further information, please refer to the following annotated reading list, and for free AIDS information packets, write to Dr. Lo Sprague, Guibord and Sprague Associates, 4525 Wilshire Blvd., Suite #204, Los Angeles, CA 90010.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- AIDS/HIV experimental treatment directory*. New York and Los Angeles: American Foundation for AIDS Research (AmFar). Published every 90 days.
- AIDS information resources directory. (1989). New York and Los Angeles: AmFar. The most comprehensive compilation of AIDS information available.
- Baleson, M. C., & Goldsby, R. (1988). *Thinking AIDS: The social response to the biological threat*. New York: Addison-Wesley. A beautifully written philosophical and sociological perspective about how cultures change in coping with a crisis that affects their niche.
- Helquist, M. (Ed). (1987). *Working with AIDS: A resource guide for mental health professionals*. Issued in cooperation with University of California-San Francisco AIDS Health Project, P.O. Box 0884, San Francisco, CA 94143-0884. An excellent clinical resource that covers treatment issues, key concerns, sample cases, and counseling plans. Highly recommended for therapists.
- James, J. (Ed). *AIDS treatment news*. Available from the editor, P.O. Box 411256, San Francisco, CA 94141. Published biweekly at low cost to HIV+ people. Non-traditional issues and support information, technical.
- Moffatt, B. C. (Ed). (1987). *AIDS: A self-care manual*. APLA, Santa Monica, CA: IBS Press. A good, simple, helpful manual for anyone HIV+ or with someone who is.
- Pierce, C., & VanDeVeer, D. (1987). *AIDS, ethics and public policy*. Irvine, CA: Century House. A fascinating view of how public policy around sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) has been developed and enacted in this country.
- Shilts, R. (1987). *And the band played on: Politics, people and the AIDS epidemic*. New York: St. Martin's Press. A wonderfully written history and context of the unfolding epidemic by a perceptive journalist. Explains many of the current confusions about the disease and how they evolved.

Psychodrama, Role Theory, and the Concept of the Social Atom

ZERKA T. MORENO

J. L. MORENO FIRST BEGAN his formal interest in psychology by observing and joining in children's play in the gardens of Vienna, Austria, in the first decade of this century. At the time he was a student of philosophy; he had not yet entered medical school. He was impressed by the great amount of spontaneity in children and became aware that human beings become less spontaneous as they age. He asked himself, why does this occur? What happens to us? The same process struck him when he started to direct the children in staged, rehearsed plays. At the first portrayal, whatever spontaneity was available to the children was mobilized. But the more the children repeated the performance, the less inventive, creative, and spontaneous they became. They began to conserve their energy, to repeat their best lines, movements, and facial expressions because these produced the greatest effect upon the audience. What resulted was a mechanical performance, lacking in reality. Clearly, this was the same phenomenon evident in aging and in certain types of emotional disturbances, where one finds repetition without relation to the current situation, a freezing of affect and of memory.

How could this process be reversed or slowed? Looking at the world at large—and it is notable that most of Moreno's theories and concepts were based on observations from life and were not limited to the clinical setting—Moreno conceptualized that what is of essence in human existence are the twin principles of spontaneity and creativity. The end products of these he called *cultural conserves*. They were attempts to freeze creativity and spontaneity of a past moment into a concrete product. He noted that conserved products are all around us, in music, in literature, art, religion, culture, technology, and even biology. The principle of energy conservation, the freezing of a past moment of creativity resulted in ubiquitous conserves.

Wanting to break these frozen patterns and try to redirect energy back to the source of creativity, Moreno asked himself, what is spontaneity?

How does creativity emerge? He decided that spontaneity and creativity were inherent in the human organism, endogenous, but the conservation of energy can block them and turn them pathological under certain conditions. What are these conditions and how can lost spontaneity and creativity be revitalized? How does this loss affect our relations with one another? How does learning via play differ from learning via the intellect? This last question has since been elucidated by the studies of the left brain and the right brain, but this information was not yet at hand in Moreno's time.

In his magnum opus *Who Shall Survive?* (1934, 1953) he dealt with creativity and spontaneity as *the* problem of the universe.

The universe is infinite creativity. But what is spontaneity? Is it a kind of energy? If it is energy it is *unconservable*, if the meaning of spontaneity should be kept consistent. We must, therefore, differentiate between two varieties of energy, conservable and unconservable energy. There is an energy which is conservable in the form of *cultural conserves*, which can be saved up, which can be spent at will in selected parts and used at different points in time; it is like a robot at the disposal of its owner. There is another form of energy which emerges and which is spent in a moment, which must emerge to be spent and which must be spent to make place for emergence, like the life of some animals which are born and die in the love-act.

It is a truism to say that the universe cannot exist without physical and mental energy which can be preserved. But it is more important to realize that without the other kind of energy, the unconservable one—or spontaneity—the creativity of the universe could not start and could not run; it would come to a standstill.

There is apparently little spontaneity in the universe, or at least, if there is any abundance of it only a small particle is available to man, hardly enough to keep him surviving. In the past he has done everything to discourage its development. He could not rely upon the instability and insecurity of the moment, with an organism which was not ready to deal with it adequately; he encouraged the development of devices as intelligence, memory, social and cultural conserves, which would give him the needed support with the result that he gradually became the slave of his own crutches. If there is a neurological localization of the spontaneity-creativity process it is the least developed function of man's nervous system. The difficulty is that one cannot store spontaneity, one either is spontaneous at a given moment or one is not. If spontaneity is such an important factor for man's world, why is it so little developed? The answer is: man *fears* spontaneity, just like his ancestor in the jungle feared fire; he feared fire until he learned how to make it. Man will fear spontaneity until he will learn how to train it. (p. 47)

Clearly, one reason spontaneity is feared is because it is confused with irrationality and unpredictability. But anxiety and spontaneity are inverse functions of one another—the more anxious we are, the less spontaneous we become, and vice versa.

There seems to be a paradox in the notion of training spontaneity. If it is trained, can it still be called spontaneity? Perhaps a better designation would be the re-evocation and retraining of spontaneity.

For Moreno spontaneity was "a new response to an old situation or an adequate response to a new situation" (1953, p. 336), with creativity adding the element of inventiveness. Moreno stress[es] newness.

The question remains, by what route can we train spontaneity? When Moreno noted the children's repetition in a role, he instructed them to throw away the written script, to improvise within the rationale of the role and the interaction, to remember feelings, not the lines, and to practice newness. By cutting off the old route, he forced the actors to find within and between themselves new ways of sustaining their roles.

During the early 1920s Moreno began to apply his method to adult actors. Out of that experiment, the Theatre of Spontaneity as an art form was born. Moreno put his actors into a variety of situations, taking them by surprise and having them respond to one another. It was a freeing of their ability to act and interact on the spur of the moment—being accused of infidelity by a spouse, being fired from a job, being insulted or misjudged by a friend, and so forth.

He attempted to tap into the unconservable energy, spontaneity, from within the wellspring of the actor and to use it in the developing interaction, to see if some resolution could be found, either between the actors or within the actors themselves. The bonding which took place between them and which helped them to be more creative due to their co-creation he called *tele*. Tele goes beyond empathy and transference and may be thought of as two-way empathy. It is feeling into and appreciation of the reality of the other, mutually experienced and reciprocally involving. Tele is responsible for mutuality between persons, over and beyond their projections, and is responsible for interpersonal and group cohesion.

In a New York State training school for delinquent girls, a study was undertaken in which the residents were asked to indicate whom they wanted as dining room partners at tables seating four persons. The seating arrangement was carried out according to these choices. Mutual choices far outpaced what had been projected on the basis of chance. The factor responsible for these mutualities was revealed to be tele. Moreno decided that tele is the cement which binds people together in a reciprocally satisfying relationship.

Tele is found in several categories: mutual positive, mutual negative, positive versus negative, and neutral. The sense for tele develops with age. In general, it is weakly developed in children and grows with social awareness.

Emergence of the Therapeutic Drama, or Psychodrama

While exploring the implications of his findings with his actors in the Theatre of Spontaneity, Moreno began to apply his ideas to interpersonal disturbances. He required his patients to show him, in action, how they had reached their current impasse, turning them into actors instead of reporters. He conceived of three intrapersonal phenomena: the director who tells the actor what to do, the actor who carries out the directions in action, and the observer who records, makes mental notes, and either encourages or discourages the action, interpreting what has occurred *ex post facto*. These could all be at odds with one another and thus disturb the smoothness of performance. In addition, each of these could be in discord with the others facing him, further diminishing spontaneity and increasing anxiety.

Moreno wanted to have the problem displayed in action for a number of reasons. There was often a discrepancy between the verbal representation and the actual action, and he wanted to reduce this. To a greater or lesser degree, patients display, as all humans do, incomplete perceptions of self and others, as well as perceptions which are lacking, weak, distorted, or pathological, and especially one-sided and subjective. Where perceptions are clear and mutually confirmed, positive tele is at work. The enactment was for Moreno not merely a better diagnostic tool, but a more lifelike model, yet larger than life. Later he often called it "a laboratory for learning how to live." It incorporated not only action and interaction, therefore including the body which was left out of the verbal approach, but also speech, mime, music, dance, and the dimensions of past, present, future, and space.

He did not trust the verbal method to be the royal road to the psyche. There is no universal language; each is culture-bound. He observed that there are, in fact, language-resistant portions to the human psyche which can preclude or impede speech as when emotions are deep or in turmoil. And, he asked, if speech were the central and all-absorbing sponge of the psyche, why do we have the various forms of art? These communicate to us in ways which cannot be replicated in speech. Indeed, the verbal method requires a secondary process of interpretation, in itself a product of the therapist's own philosophical orientation. In the dramatic form, the patient was learning to interpret himself as well as the others with whom he was engaged.

Perhaps even more basic as a reason is that both ontogenetically and phylogenetically language is a fairly late development in man. However, we are in interaction from the moment of birth, and much learning goes on in the first few years in action without language. Moreno saw man as

an improvising actor on the stage of life. He concluded that he needed to tap a more primary level than speech, that of action. Children and psychotics frequently devise their own language, incomprehensible to auditors, unless carefully studied, and even then it may elude interpretation.

Dramatic depiction allows for the uncovering of concurrent fantasies; and a number of techniques were devised to enable the actors to concretize them.

What other basis could there be for the need for psychodrama? It was noted that developmentally every human infant goes through a stage in the first few months after birth, in which it is not yet aware that there are other beings, outside of itself, around. It experiences itself as the totality of the universe, everyone and everything are extensions of its own being. Hangovers from this period may manifest themselves in children's play. It is called *normal megalomania*; the child uses it whenever it feels the need and this use may well be therapeutic in itself. This phenomenon is also related to Moreno's view of man as more than a biological being, reflecting his cosmic aspect.

The child emerges gradually out of this state of all-identity into a state of differentiated identity, wherein other individuals and objects separate and become distinct from the self. This later stage leads to a complete breach, making the child aware that there are several kinds of experience, subjective and objective. This final breach, which is a universal phenomenon—the realization of the world within and the world without—is usually brought about by some traumatic experience, some deprivation. From this time onward every human being lives in these two spheres, subjective reality and objective reality, the world of fantasy and the so-called real world. If the essential nurture needs of the child are met, the child will learn about the two realms and, aided by spontaneity, will integrate and balance them. To the extent there is profound, continued deprivation or inadequate spontaneity, these two realms cannot mesh adequately. Then the child will withdraw into the subjective sphere which is once again the entire universe, all-powerful. The pathological seedlings planted there may eventually manifest themselves in various forms of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and socio-emotional disturbances. We all fall somewhere along this continuum; and as long as we are able to maintain our homeostasis or sociostasis, we can remain functioning.

Moreno's attention was engaged particularly by the psychotic experience as one of the most advanced forms of this split and it challenged him to treat psychotics through psychodrama. He conceived this method to be the bridge between the two spheres. Treatment should result in greater flexibility and creative adaptability.

Through the dramatic format of a play we are able to enter into the subjective, albeit psychotic, reality of the patient-protagonist by using supportive actors known as auxiliary egos, who concretize with and for the patient all those personae, real and fantasized, who are needed to complete and enlarge the internal drama. The protagonist is seen as a creator whose self-creation has gone awry, his creativity has erred, and he is stuck in his creation. It may be pathological creativity, but it is creativity nevertheless. It is the therapist's task to turn it eventually into healthy creativity. To this end, helpers are needed, midwives, to bring the incomplete creation to birth. Then the patient can complete the work, develop distance from it and eventually release it. The midwives are the director, auxiliary egos and supportive staff. They are also the guides who bring the protagonist back into objective reality.

In the 1930s, psychotic patients were considered largely untreatable since they were unable to establish transference. In constructing a therapeutic approach, Moreno thought it more productive for the psychiatrist first to warm up to the patient, to establish the relationship by internally role reversing with the patient, and then with empathy and creativity to feel himself into the reality of the patient's subjective world and assess his needs. As there were multiple personae, real as well as hallucinatory or delusional, in the patient's world, the therapist needed helpers. Thus a team of co-workers emerged for the first time in psychotherapy. Up until that time it was deemed best for only one therapist to be actively involved in psychotherapy. It may be argued that active group psychotherapy was born here.

The auxiliary egos had to learn to put their own organisms at the service of the patient, his drama, and his world. For the patient this also represented the first step to resocialization. One remarkable aspect is the ease with which the patient is often able to accept the therapeutic helpers as representatives of the personae in his subjective system and is able to engage with them in interaction. The auxiliary egos had to develop spontaneity which helped them move fast along the axis leading from objectivity to subjectivity and back again.

The development of treatment teams was much like what had occurred in surgery. But it was a revolution in psychotherapy—previously only the therapist was supposed to have meaningful access to the mind of the patient. Moreno knew he could not influence a delusion or hallucination directly, but he hypothesized that such influence could be introduced through the relationship first established on the psychotic level. His auxiliary egos became the go-betweens; these he could direct. As the protagonist began to leave his subjective world, the auxiliary helpers were there to support and guide him into the larger world, on the basis of the trust

established earlier. This pioneering effort took place in a small mental hospital in Beacon, New York, in the later half of the 1930s.

In addition to using psychodrama as a comprehensive tool for treating psychotic and neurotic patients, before discharge their families were brought into therapy with them, to assist in achieving and maintaining more balanced interrelationships.

In 1937 Moreno started other innovations, using himself as a go-between in marital conflicts, as well as having both husband and wife in treatment together at the same time.

In psychodrama, repetition of a scene or interaction need not be deadly. Because it is impossible to reproduce life exactly, an element of newness is already introduced; it is living it again, but with a difference. The cultural conserve, on the other hand, such as the legitimate drama, does not allow for genuine deviation. But, [as] states Moreno, the cultural conserve is not an inescapable trap. Its stultifying effects can be corrected.

Clearly Moreno's concern was not only with the treatment of mental disorders but also with a new model of education, from kindergarten on up. Moreno often spoke of psychodrama as a homeopathic remedy and as a "small injection of insanity under conditions of control." It is the control which is of importance, the madness being contained within it, with the learning taking place in a nonthreatening and protective setting. Family therapists similarly induce crises in order to treat the family in therapy.

The Concept of the Social Atom

The position that emotional disturbance is largely a product of human interaction that is not restricted to intrapsychic phenomena led to the examination of the individual plus his relevant others, as well as of the relationships they shared. In the treatment of husband and wife, designated as the intimate social atom, the focus of treatment was upon three entities: the two individuals *and* their relationship. As with the psychotic patient, Moreno found it difficult to influence the psyche directly and thought it might be more effective to approach it through the relationship.

He applied this frame of reference to the study of a residential school for delinquent girls in upstate New York. His findings, published in 1934 in *Who Shall Survive?*, were the first sociometric investigation of an entire community. The sociometrist is not merely an observer-participant and interviewer; rather he elicits the active cooperation and collaboration of the group members. The group members become, in effect, co-researchers in the project. Out of this research came a large number of sociograms, or charts depicting the living, learning, and working space of the group members in interaction in these settings. From this study the concepts of the

social atom and *social networks* emerged, among others. The structures around and between individuals, which tied them together, Moreno termed the *social atom* and their role relationships he termed the *cultural atom*, which complements the *social atom* on the role level. The *social atom* and the *cultural atom* are two formations within a more comprehensive one called the *social network*.

Of particular concern to psychotherapists are six relationships. . . . The dyad, or pair, is the smallest unit of social interaction. The family consists first of this pair. The dyad and its treatment, as pointed out earlier, encompasses three entities. These structures become far more complex in their interrelationships when entire families are involved (triangles, squares, pentagons, etc.), all considered with their substructures and bonds.

In psychodrama, after dealing with the dyadic organization, the *social atom* is studied not only from the perspective of the two central protagonists, for instance a couple, but also from the perspective of the children, in-laws from both sides, and siblings.

In psychodrama, process is more important than content, even though the content is reconstructed—"How did this happen to you, show me" is the focus rather than "What happened to you, tell me." Patients frequently repress or forget what happened, both in and outside of therapy, but they rarely forget how they experienced it and how this experience affected them. Thus, we tap into the process and, remarkably, the contents begin to emerge again, within the flow of the process. Protagonists may fall temporarily out of a scene by stating, "Oh, I had forgotten, this and that occurred here," thereby amplifying and intensifying the re-enactment. Because it is a flowing, life-connected process, learning can be carried from therapy into life itself. It affects the protagonist on the level of action, fantasy, and reality. We start with the magic "as if," but after a while the "if" falls away leaving only "as."

Psychodrama is a synthesizing process, putting together many elements, sometimes in disorderly manner; but, out of this disorder, some order eventually arises.

Moreno ventured a prediction in *Who Shall Survive?* He wrote:

When the nineteenth century came to an end and the final accounting was made, what emerged as its greatest contribution to the mental and social sciences was the idea of the unconscious and its cathexes. When the twentieth century will close its doors that which I believe will come out as the greatest achievement is the idea of spontaneity-creativity and the significant, indelible link between them. It may be said that the efforts of the two centuries complement one another. If the nineteenth century looked for the "lowest" common denominator of mankind, the unconscious, the twentieth century discovered, or rediscovered, its "highest" common denominator—spontaneity-creativity. (1953, p. 48)

REFERENCE

Moreno, J. L. (1953/1934). *Who shall survive?* (2nd ed.) Beacon, NY: Beacon House

These excerpts from Z. T. Moreno's chapter in *The Evolution of Psychotherapy*, edited by Jeffrey K. Zeig (1987), are reprinted with permission from Brunner/Mazel.

Writers Who Influenced Moreno

The following writers have been influential, positively or negatively, in shaping my own formulations:

Bergson-Peirce. Bergson's and Charles Sanders Peirce's discussion of spontaneity was a step forward, but it was abstract and metaphysical; they failed to reach the level of concretization. In the form of spontaneity training which I introduced, the practice of spontaneity was indispensable for the refinement of its theory.

Buber. My relationship to Buber involved the concept of the encounter and the consequences of its concretization in the process of I and Thou (see Martin Buber, *Ich und Du* [I and Thou], Insel Verlag, 1924) first elaborated by me in 1914 and later in my Dialogues in the *Daimon Magazine*, 1918–1919. Paul Johnson has pointed out these facts in his insightful *Psychology of Religion* in a section called "Buber and Moreno." However, I had no direct contact with Buber until 1918 when he became a Contributing Editor to the *Daimon Magazine*, the leading existentialist and expressionist magazine of that period. Buber has rendered a great service by promoting the concept of the encounter and I and Thou. But he did not become a chassid. Chassidism is meaningful only if you become a chassid, act like a chassid, and live like a chassid, even if you do not know anything about Baal Shem or Buber.

Freud. Freud considered himself an atheist in his book *The Future of an Illusion* (1927). He defined religion, as the title indicates, as an illusion, as an evasion from the reality principle. He describes it as a vague "oceanic feeling." In contrast, my work is of a religious nature from early youth on.

New Waves of Christianity, Kierkegaard. A more substantial figure, although he did not live in the twentieth century but in the middle of the

nineteenth, was Søren Kierkegaard. His influence had made itself felt particularly between 1900 and 1920 in the Germanic countries. His emphasis was upon concretization, but his concretization was limited to a single individual, to himself. He was not able to establish a genuine transaction. He had the "I," he did not have the "Thou" when his engagement to his bride was broken off and the marriage never consummated.

The relationship between I and Thou in the form of the encounter is the burning issue in our time. The central concept of existentialism is reduced to abstract philosophic meaning largely through the writings of Husserl and Sartre. In our time the concept of the encounter has been enlarged to include the emotional, social, and cultural emphases and has attained a popular vogue, especially in the U.S.A. where it is spreading. Encounter has reached the sociometric level, the sociology of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is no longer a matter for philosophers, priests, physicians, scientists, but a matter of the people.

Moreno, J. L. (1972). "The Religion of God-Father." In Paul E. Johnson (Ed.), *Healer of the Mind*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

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Contributors to This Issue

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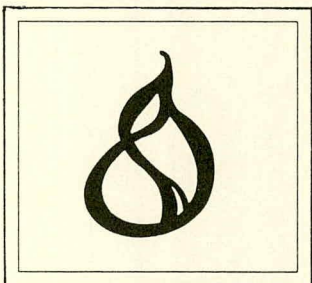
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