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HELDREF PUBLICATIONS

The Emergence of Role Playing as a Form of Psychotherapy

DAVID A. KIPPER

HUMAN BEINGS ARE BORN ACTORS. Their ability to act is not only part and parcel of the process of living but also a manifestation of the effort to master the world that surrounds them. All intelligent creatures display their feelings and skills by acting them out. Human beings, however, can plan such behavior in advance and produce it voluntarily. It is precisely this portrayal of concrete behaviors that is subsumed under the concept of role playing. Role playing, therefore, refers to behavior expressed as the result of a conscious decision on the part of the player or at the request of others. To the objective observer this volitional characteristic of role playing behavior endows it with both a dramatic flavor and a sense of artificiality. To the involved participant, on the other hand, it constitute a genuine mode of expression.

Colorful illustrations of role playing behavior are cited in sociological analyses of rituals in various societies, where it has been practiced in order to mark special events having either a personal meaning to one individual or a cultural significance shared by an entire collective. They commemorated current or historical events whether secular or religious, realistic or fantasized. Perhaps the most interesting examples have been provided by anthropologists who studied primitive societies. A careful examination of these descriptions reveals that role playing behavior was associated with rituals that served very important functions. Some of these are illustrated below.

Role playing has been associated with people's attempts to confront the unknown, that is, to address their need to control, or at least to have some degree of participation in, the forces that influence the fate of their existence. In particular, this was evident with regard to unknowns identified as the intangible powers that control man and nature. Thus many rituals involved role

Chapter 1 from *Psychology Through Clinical Role Playing* by David A. Kipper is reprinted with the permission of the author.

playing enactments of religious themes, such as pacifying the punishing god or gods and pleasing the good ones, or other themes, such as catering to the forces that affect the provision of food, the creation of climates, and the prospect of war and peace.

Another function served with the aid of role playing behavior, still in connection with addressing the unknown, is the commemoration of special events in the individual's life cycle. Here, too, role playing was used as a vehicle through which people expressed their hopes for the future as each one of them entered a new phase in his or her life cycle. Thus, a host of rituals involving role playing enactments were created to mark unusual events such as birth, marriage, death, and a variety of other initiation ceremonies.

Role playing behavior was also displayed in connection with rituals devised for the purpose of affirming one's relatedness to a shared value system and to a common heritage. It was not only the need for reasserting one's belonging to a large group, to a society, that provided the impetus for such rituals, but also the need to see oneself in a historical perspective as an agent of sociocultural tradition who carries the past into the present and the present into the future. Rituals concerning the affirmation of one's self-identity were evident on both societal and personal levels. The former involved the reenactment of legendary events in the history of the particular society. The latter involved enactments of family traditions maintained throughout several generations.

Role playing behavior was also evident in rituals associated with the practice of healing. For instance, primitive medicine men employed role playing for a variety of purposes. These included efforts to increase their patients' readiness to receive treatment, helping patients cope with painful treatments, or using role playing as a form of a psychological treatment to create a state of extreme suggestability.

Finally, role playing was used as a mode of communication in interpersonal interactions. Here we no longer speak of role playing in the context of institutionalized rituals but rather as an individualized form of expression. People often resort to concrete reenactments of stories and anecdotes, of ideas or of skills, in lieu of verbal descriptions, presumably because they believe that the demonstrative quality conveys the intended message more clearly. Such a preference has been observed not only in cultures where verbal language is insufficiently developed, but also in modern societies that use highly sophisticated and abstract languages. Whether one deals with a primitive or sophisticated language, one phenomenon seems to be universally true: concrete portrayals serve as a backup contingency to be used in the event that explanations in the abstract fail to accomplish their desired purpose.

It should be emphasized that the presentation of the preceding analysis of rituals and their accompanying role playing behaviors does not exclude the likelihood that such behaviors have been used in additional ways. Nonethe-

less, limiting ourselves to the examination of the above-mentioned five functions, an interesting trend seems to unfold. Role playing has been associated with the alleviation of feelings of helplessness and uncertainty; with reducing the discomfort caused by fears; with instilling hope; with forming a coherent sense of self-identity; with healing; and with efforts to enhance understanding among people. There is little doubt, therefore, that the immense gratification derived from role playing behavior, as observed among primitive people, stems from its ability to satisfy basic psychological needs and from the inherent therapeutic qualities that it possesses.

In light of this conclusion, it is quite amazing that there are those who try to equate role playing behavior with an inferior level of development or with immaturity. Proponents of such a view maintain that the capacity for self-expression through abstract conceptualization is valued more in modern societies than that which is manifested through concrete portrayals. The problem with this view is that it is superficial and oversimplistic. Not only does it completely ignore the multifarious quality of human behavior, but it also fails to enhance our understanding of it. Clearly the value of role playing depends on the context in which it is expressed. In many instances, the psychological benefits accrued through role playing are quite considerable, if not irreplaceable.

Does this mean that role playing behavior continues to serve the same psychological functions it did in the past? Although, in general, the answer to this question is affirmative, it needs to be qualified. We must recognize that over the years some of the old characteristics of role playing behavior have undergone some changes. For one, the external manifestations of such behavior nowadays differ from those evinced by primitive people partly because contemporary codes of conduct advocate a greater degree of restraint and self-control. Also, with the passage of time many of the old background beliefs have changed, resulting in a change of format of many rituals, including their importance. But the most pronounced change can be seen in a shift where expressions in role playing became associated more with personal behavior rather than with institutionalized rituals. Thus, modern men and women no longer resort to role playing behavior in their attempts to control the forces of nature (although some remnants of this continue to exist as evidenced by the fact that pilots, astronauts, firefighters, etc., are still trained by means of role playing and simulated experiences). And there is an increased tendency for modern men and women to rely on logic and the principles of science rather than on role playing behavior in dealing with the unknown.

The belief that communication through role playing is associated with immaturity is also based, in part, on the observation that it tends to be more prevalent among children and less educated adults. On the whole, this observation is accurate. Indeed, there is an inverse relationship between the acquisition of a highly sophisticated language and the prominence of role playing

behavior. The frequency of role playing in one's daily activities decreases as one moves from childhood to adulthood. But what does this mean?

It is important to distinguish between displays of role playing behavior as attempts to compensate for a restricted ability to communicate, and those that concern psychological functions other than interpersonal communication. It is true that with regard to communication, an increased verbal proficiency reduces the need to *depend* on role playing as a prime mode of self-expression. As a result the communicator is free to choose between abstract and concrete modes of relatedness. But a reduced dependency does not imply a complete freedom to choose between these two alternatives. In a curious way there is no escaping some "dependency" on role playing behavior. Seen from a developmental perspective, role playing constitutes a primal (perhaps a primordial) form of self-expression. After all, it is the earliest language a person learns in babyhood, and it first precedes and then accompanies the acquisition of verbal language. It was observed a long time ago that under certain conditions people prefer to revert to earlier modes of behavior. This tendency is particularly noticeable under conditions involving emotional duress and a high degree of arousal. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that role playing exists wherever people exist. It is also not surprising that role playing became a form of behavior that subsequently was utilized to increase the effectiveness of modern psychotherapy.

THE EMERGENCE OF ROLE AND ROLE PLAYING IN MODERN TIMES

The task of establishing the time when the term "role playing" was used first in reference to modern psychotherapy is not an easy one. One way of determining the origin of contemporary role playing is to consult the relevant historical documents. But these are scant and not entirely reliable. Two facts, however, may aid us in this effort. One is the fact that role playing is based on the concept of role, and evolved from the first attempts to formulate a role theory. And second is the fact that the introduction of the concept of role playing in modern behavioral and social sciences is traditionally attributed to the work of J. L. Moreno.

In a chapter entitled "The Nature and History of Role Theory," Biddle and Thomas (1966) traced the history of the development of role theory. They listed the names of about two dozen writers whose work appeared during the period 1890 to 1930. These were called the *precursors* of role theory, because their contribution was mainly to the role perspective prior to the emergence of a "discriminable role language and of specialized inquiry into problems of role" (p. 4). The beginning of modern role theory is attributed to the works of George Herbert Mead (1934), Jacob Levy Moreno (1934), and Ralph Lin-

ton (1936) some 50 years ago. Mead employed the concept of role taking, along with such related ideas as the generalized other, the self, the I and me, and audience in examining the problems of interaction, the self, and socialization. Moreno discussed the term "role" and pointed out that the genesis of roles goes through two stages: role perception and role enactment. With regard to the latter he introduced the concept of role playing. Linton proposed a distinction between two concepts: status (a socially assigned position) and role. This distinction implied that (a) positions and attending roles are elements of societies, and (b) the behavior of an individual can be construed as role performance, that role is the link between individual behavior and social structure. In the following decades, these ideas were further developed and investigated by other scientists, mostly sociologists and social psychologists.

Historically, however, the notion of role did not evolve from sociology nor from psychology. Its origin is quite different. The following excerpt from Moreno (1960) describes the development of the concept of role throughout the ages.

> "Role," originally a French word which penetrated into English, is derived from the Latin *rotula* (the little wheel, or round log, the diminutive of rota-wheel). In antiquity it was used, originally, only to designate a round (wooden) role on which sheets of parchment were fastened so as to smoothly roll ("wheel") them around it since otherwise the sheets would break or crumble. From this came the word for an assemblage of such leaves into a scroll or book-like composite. This was used, subsequently, to mean any official volume of papers pertaining to law courts, as in France, or to government, as for instance in England: rolls of Parliament—the minutes or proceedings. Whereas in Greece and also in ancient Rome the parts in the theater were written on the above mentioned "rolls" and read by the prompters to the actors (who tried to memorize their parts), the fixation of the word appears to have been lost in more illiterate periods of the early and middle centuries of the Dark Ages, for their public presentation of church plays by laymen. Only towards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the emergence of the modern stage, the parts of the theatrical characters are read from "roles," paper fascicles. Whence each scenic "part" becomes a role. (p. 80)

Thus the word "role" was a part of English and various European languages for many years. When, then, did it start to be used in the behavioral and social sciences as a technical concept? The first sign of this is believed to have been evident in the early 1920s. Two sources—one by Simmel (1920), published in Germany, and one by Park and Burgess (1921), published in the United States—refer to role in a manner reminiscent of its modern connotations. But it was not until the decade of the 1930s in America that the term was employed technically in writing on role problems.

> It was not until after World War II, however, that extensive use of role-related terms appeared in the title of empirical studies. Evidence for this may be found

> by examining the major index categories of *Psychological Abstracts.* Although this journal first appeared in 1927, it was not until 1944 that "role playing" appeared as a major index category; "role" itself did not appear as such a category until 1945. (Biddle & Thomas, 1966, p. 7)

The notion of role playing as a therapeutic mode of intervention is also an invention of the twentieth century. Like role, it probably emerged as a technical concept about 50 years ago. There is some evidence, however, that the idea of acting out roles has been entertained before. One of the earliest accounts pertaining to the use of role playing in psychotherapy is cited in Zilboorg and Henry (1941). These authors mentioned that in the early 1800s Reil recognized the therapeutic significance of having mental patients "act out" their interpersonal difficulties (see Goldfried & Davison, 1976). Moreno (1964a) described the use of spontaneous role playing with children in the gardens of Vienna at the turn of the century. Nonetheless, such ideas and initial experimentations with enactment procedures were not translated into a clearly defined psychotherapeutic format until the decade of the 1930s. One of the few examples of the use of role playing prior to World War II that was not directly connected with the development of psychodrama is described by Shaw, Corsini, Blake, and Mouton (1980) as follows:

> In 1933 the German army, limited to 100,000 men by the terms of the Versailles Treaty, began to develop a corps of officers. For the selection of military personnel, Simoneit . . . , a German psychologist, devised a number of action procedures very similar to current role playing by which officers could estimate the qualities of army recruits. (p. 7)

The greatest penetration of role playing procedures into applied psychology began in the early 1940s. It has been reported, for instance, that after the fall of Dunkirk, the British Army incorporated procedures that might be considered as role playing applications in its officer-selection program. Role playing procedures were also used by the U.S. office of Strategic Services Assessment Staff in the selection of people for secret wartime work. But it was not until after World War II that role playing became widely known as a genuine form of psychological intervention. At that time the early formulation of psychodramatic principles and techniques was disseminated. Furthermore, it was also the period during which the early experimentations with role playing techniques, both in psychotherapy and in industrial training, took place.

As of the mid-1950s, the application of role playing in the United States proceeded in two directions. One was in the area of psychotherapy, which also includes the self-growth groups. Here one finds the use of role playing in treatment modalities that Nichols and Efran (1985) referred to as "modern cathartic therapies." These include, of course, the classic example of role-playing-based therapy (i.e., Moreno's method of sociometry and psychodra-

ma) and the establishment of the psychodramatic movement. They also include the development of gestalt therapy and subsequently the emergence of the many varieties of sensitivity training (e.g., Perls, 1969; Schutz, 1967; Siroka, Siroka, & Schloss, 1971) and of the encounter groups (Goldberg, 1970). Other therapeutic methods that may be classified in this category are: Synanon (see Yablonsky, 1976), primal therapy (Janov, 1970), reality therapy (Glasser, 1965), and, to some extent, transactional analysis (Berne, 1961), to mention a few.

The inclusion of role playing in psychotherapy was also evident in behaviorally oriented treatments, namely those approaches that disclaimed the importance of catharsis in therapy. Here one finds Kelly's fixed-role therapy (Kelly, 1955) and behavior rehearsal (Wolpe, 1958, 1969). In fact, psychodrama may be positioned between the modern cathartic therapies and the behavior therapies, because although it emphasized the importance of catharsis, it also stressed the need for retraining. The same position seems to characterize a number of contemporary family therapy approaches.

A second area in which role playing became a prominent mode of intervention was training in group dynamics. This area became differentiated from the one mentioned above because its declared aim was self-improvement and self-development rather than psychotherapy. It was primarily designed to train people in various skills related to issues such as leadership, the management of small and large groups, dealing with conflicts in groups, cooperation, the formation of accurate perceptions of one's own self and of others, to mention a few. These skills were taught with an extensive use of role playing techniques or exercises by nonclinicians, and for their educational value. Typically, the learning gleaned from such training experiences was meant to improve the behavior of leaders in the military, in business, in educational institutions, in youth organizations, in community centers, in religious organizations, and so forth. The two classic examples of developments in this direction were the establishment of the T-group workshops, and the creation of assessment centers for evaluating vocational and leadership potentials.

Today, the application of role playing is widespread, indeed. It may be found in almost every kind of professional service that falls within the boundaries of the work of psychologists. Yet there is no doubt that the area where it is used to its utmost capability, and where it has the greatest contribution, is psychotherapy.

ROLE PLAYING AS A THERAPEUTIC MODALITY: THREE APPROACHES

There are three therapeutic approaches that have contributed to the emergence of role playing as a recognized form of psychotherapy. These are, first

and foremost, psychodrama, which was originated and developed by J. L. Moreno. The remaining two are fixed-role therapy, developed by George A. Kelly, and behavior rehearsal, traditionally associated with Joseph Wolpe and Arnold Lazarus. Before we proceed to present each of these approaches it should be emphasized that the descriptions will be kept brief and condensed. Since the prime consideration of the present chapter is the historical development of role playing, extensive discussions of the three approaches will lead us astray from its main focus. A more detailed exposition of each approach may be found in the references cited throughout the text.

Psychodrama

Moreno gave the date of April 1, 1921, as the beginning of psychodrama, although it took several years before it was formulated as a therapeutic method. Therefore, of the three approaches to be described in this section, psychodrama is not only the method that makes the most extensive use of role playing, but it is also the oldest approach.

Moreno disseminated his ideas regarding group psychotherapy and psychodrama in many articles and books. The main body of his theoretical contributions, however, appears in a book entitled *Psychodrama, Vol. I* (J. L. Moreno, 1964a), which was first published in 1946. Fascinated by the significance of the creative act, Moreno became interested in the idea of the Godhead, but in the sense of God the supreme creator. He believed that people's ability to create is a fundamental quality, and it is this godlike quality within people that produces and makes them responsible for their own creativity. In other words, people share a co-creative power with the Godhead. In search for the determinants that facilitate the creative act, Moreno arrived at the concepts of "spontaneity" and the "moment." These concepts were used to formulate his theory of spontaneity-creativity, the foundation of the psychodramatic method (see also Moreno, 1964b).

Spontaneity. Spontaneity is a fundamental concept in Moreno's theory. But its meaning in the context of psychodrama is not synonymous with that associated with the colloquial usage of the word. In ordinary language, spontaneity implies an instinctive act of the body or of the mind which is not due to consciousness—an uninhibited act produced without external incitement. This definition suggests that spontaneity is characterized by a lack of control. This is not so, according to Moreno's notion. In its psychodramatic sense, spontaneity is capable of moving in prescribed directions. Having such a quality, one must conclude that spontaneity contains an element of control. Although the complexity of spontaneity as a theoretical concept has been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Kipper, 1967), nonetheless, it might be fitting to summarize here some of its discernible characteristics.

First, spontaneity manifests itself in the form of *energy.* Since it is not a concrete substance, it also cannot be seen by the naked eye unless expressed through a carrier. Second, and most important, it is an energy that cannot be stored or accumulated. It is consumed instantly, on the spur of the moment, in an all-or-none fashion. Thus, spontaneity emerges to be spent and must be spent to make place for new emergencies. This *unconservable* aspect of spontaneity is a crucial element in Moreno's existential philosophy. The focus on the immediate present, on the moment, stems from the belief that the here and now is the most important, and psychologically the most meaningful, time unit. A third feature of spontaneity is that it can be *trained* by means of numerous psychodramatic techniques. To Moreno, there is positive correlation between spontaneity and mental health. In principle, the more spontaneous a person, the healthier—psychologically—he or she is. Conversely, the less "directed spontaneity" expressed, the sicker—emotionally—is the person. Using this terminology, the essence of psychotherapy may be described as "spontaneity training."

How then, we may wonder, do people become endowed with spontaneity in the first place? At the moment, the answer to this question is far from being clear. Moreno proposed that spontaneity exists *sui generis*, and that it is neither strictly a hereditary factor nor an environmental factor but an independent area influenced yet not determined by these two. Simply put, spontaneity is a human quality whose exact origin is not known.

Interestingly, spontaneity was also characterized as an *observable phenomenon.* At first glance, this fourth characteristic of spontaneity appears to be irreconcilable with an earlier one, which classified it as a form of energy. Can energy be directly observed? A closer examination, however, shows that these two attributes are not necessarily in conflict. A phenomenon may be observed even if it is not strictly a concrete event. There is an entirely different category of experiences that may be defined as intangible concreteness, that is, intangible yet real. Love and hate are other good examples of intangible concreteness, that is, a phenomenon that becomes noticeable through the mediation of other expressions of concrete behavior.

Although Moreno considered spontaneity as a general factor, he also suggested that it might be characterized by four independent forms of expression. The first is the *dramatic form.* Here spontaneity gives newness and vivacity to feelings, actions, and verbal utterances, which are *repetitions* of what the individual has experienced a thousand times before. The second is the form of *creative spontaneity.* This kind of spontaneity creates *new* organisms, *new* forms of art, and *new* patterns of environment. The third form is *original spontaneity.* This form does not contain any contributions significant enough to be regarded as creativity. Instead, it is unique *expansion* or *variation* of that which already exists.

Finally, the fourth form is the *adequacy of the response.* Spontaneous responses must be *well-timed,* and neither too much nor too little in *intensity.*

In fact, the appropriateness of a response and its novelty became the two key components of the formal definition of spontaneity. Accordingly, spontaneity is an adequate response to a new situation or a new response to an old situation.

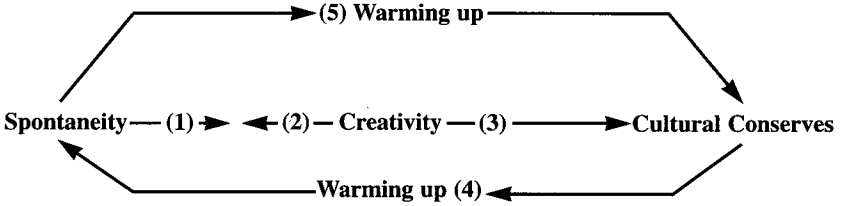
The creative act. The idea behind this concept is that a distinction has to be made between the creative act proper and some of its final products. Creative acts represent the vehicle through which spontaneity expresses itself in the process of living. One of the salient characteristics of the creative act, therefore, is its relation to *spontaneity,* to the continuous expenditure of energy, and to its observable quality. Another aspect of the creative act is that it contains an element of surprise. It is *unexpected* because the creative act tends to surface suddenly and unpredictably. In addition, it also possesses a quality that has been described as *unreality.* This aspect stems from the observation that the inspirations that produce the creative act are not bound by realistic considerations or constraints, and that it emerges in order to change the reality within which it rises. This notion was echoed by Moreno, who wrote, "Something prior to and beyond the given reality is operating in a creative act" (J. L. Moreno, 1964a, p. 35).

Cultural conserves. Cultural conserves are the products of the creative act. Specifically, they consist of all those cultural products retained in lasting forms. Examples of these are books, paintings, musical compositions, or even well-established behavioral patterns. Thus, any outcome of a creative act that can be packaged so that it is accessible to people other than the original creator to be used repeatedly is considered a cultural conserve. If one were to devise a scale for rating the intrinsic value of creative activity, spontaneous creativity will establish itself in the highest, most valued end, whereas cultural conserves, which represent the containment of spontaneity, will be rated somewhere on the lower end. It should be emphasized that this scale pertains to creativity in its pure, idealistic form. In practicality, many cultural conserves (e.g., certain philosophical, literary, and artistic products) have attained such a degree of perfection that they are highly revered.

Because cultural conserves have been largely responsible for the continuous development of the civilized world, they need to be constantly revitalized and re-created in order to replace the old, outworn ones. It might be concluded that the advantages of cultural conserves are (a) the fact that they can be relied upon for guidance and direction in coping with uncertainty or with threatening situations, and (b) the fact that they constitute a vehicle of perpetuity by facilitating the continuity of our cultural heritage.

The warming up. An additional concept relevant to the present discussion is the warming-up process. Moreno did not provide an elaborated theory of motivation. He simply made a general observation that people possess a drive, which he described as "act hunger," that is, an innate desire to act. This desire is nourished by a continuous force labeled as the warming up, a process that prepares people and makes them ready to embark upon spontaneous-creative behavior.

To summarize: Moreno's theory is based on four concepts: spontaneity, creativity, cultural conserves, and the warming up. The way these form the theory may be described as follows:



The arrows and their corresponding numbers refer to the relationships among the concepts. Looking at the middle line, left to right, the arrow marked (1) indicates that spontaneity arouses creativity. The arrow marked (2) indicates that creativity is receptive to spontaneity, that the two enjoy a reciprocal relation. The arrow marked (3) indicates that the interaction between spontaneity and creativity results in cultural conserves. Cultural conserves tend to accumulate indefinitely and remain in "storage." Some of them may subsequently be replaced by others and some revitalized or used again and again. This is facilitated by the warming-up process. Looking at the bottom line, the arrow marked (4) indicates that cultural conserves activate the warming up which, in turn, activates spontaneity. Once reactivated, spontaneity may operate in two directions: (a) begin a new cycle leading to the creation of a new set of cultural conserves. This is depicted by the sequence of arrows (1), (2), and (3) in the middle line; or (b) reapply the already existing cultural conserves. This operation is also activated through the warming up and is portrayed, in the top line, by the arrow marked (5).

According to the psychodramatic view, the purpose of the therapy is expressed in terms of enhancing the client's spontaneity as it is expressed through the creative act. Because the latter is displayed in the here and now, on the spot, it is obvious why it focuses on people's actual behavior. The creative act must be dealt with at the moment of its emergence. By its very nature, it inevitably involves the display of concrete behavior.

But why does this have to be conducted in the context of scenes depicting real or perceived life situations? The answer to this question lies in Moreno's notion concerning the relation of the creative act to its *locus nascendi.* The expression means the place of birth, the context of origin. The idea is that the true meaning of things unfolds only when they appear in their original contest: "Every thing, form or idea has a place, a locus, which is the most adequate and appropriate for it, in which it has the most ideal, the most perfect expression of its meaning" (J. L. Moreno, 1964a, pp. 25–26). With the removal of a creative expression from the environment it originally sprang from to a new place or media, one "thing" changes into another "thing." "Thus," wrote Moreno, "the 'David' of Michelangelo in its locus nascendi is the true 'David' of Michelangelo. Placed in a museum it is no longer truly itself; it is lending itself to the composition of another 'thing,' the museum" (1964a, p. 25). Similarly, in therapy, talking about behavior in the abstract or even acting out of locus implies a certain loss of the true meaning of what is being dealt with. Ideally, the creative act needs to be observed in its *locus nascendi*, in vivo. Barring that possibility, an approximate simulation of that locus, in the therapist's office, is the next best approach.

Moreno thought of behavior in terms of role. Roles, he maintained, do not emerge from the self but rather the self emerges from roles. He classified roles into three categories: (a) psychosomatic roles, as the sleeper, the eater, the walker, etc.; (b) psychodramatic roles, as *a* mother, *a* teacher, *a* daughter, etc.; and (c) social roles, as *the* mother, *the* teacher, *the* daughter, etc. The acting of behavior in its original context became role playing.

To conclude this brief discussion we need to add a few words regarding the curative process as seen from the psychodramatic point of view. The healing process is said to be attained through *catharsis* and through *training.* The spontaneity-creativity theory places a great emphasis on catharsis. Catharsis generally refers to the relief of tension. This phenomenon is better described in its modern definition: ". . . catharsis is to be understood as a label for completing (some or all of) a previously restrained or interrupted sequence of self-expression. . . . that which would have occurred as a natural reaction to some experience had that expression not been thwarted" (Nichols and Efran, 1985, p. 55). Moreno identified two kinds of therapeutic catharsis. These, he claimed, are important kinds and they can only be attained through psychodrama and role playing. The first is *action catharsis*, that which occurs by becoming the producer-actor, that is, an active participant in the portrayed drama. The second is *catharsis of integration*, which is predicated on identifying with the positions and problems of others. The concept of catharsis of integration is quite intriguing because of the suggestion that it cannot be attained by merely expressing one's own self. By definition it is a dyadic process which could, of course, involve more people. It requires that the roles

and positions of at least two people—the client and a significant other—be taken into account.

The second curative element emphasized in psychodrama is role training. This "healing" process varies, in some respects, from that ordinarily subsumed under the conventional notion of training in the context of psychotherapy. In psychodramatic nomenclature training refers to two goals. One is spontaneity training, and the other, expanding one's existing role repertoire (sometimes also unlearning certain roles) through role playing. It is the latter goal that resembles the process currently known as skill training.

Fixed-Role Therapy

The second approach to be described in the present chapter is fixed-role therapy. This form of role playing was devised by George A. Kelly and described in his book, *The Psychology of Personal Constructs* (1955). It represents a clinical application of his theory of personality. Although in creating his therapeutic method Kelly was inspired by the writings of Korzybky and Moreno, fixed-role therapy itself is much simpler than psychodrama.

Increasingly, many of Kelly's ideas remind us of those that have been expounded, years later, in modern behavior modification. In that respect, fixed-role therapy may be viewed as the precursor of behavior rehearsal. Looking at fixed-role therapy from a historical perspective, it appears that it contributed to the emergence of role playing as a therapeutic modality in several ways. First, it demonstrated that the use of role playing in therapy may be rationalized on the basis of utilitarian considerations as seen by means of direct observations of real-life behavior. Second, it introduced the notion that role playing is therapeutically meritorious, even when initiated and controlled by the therapist rather than predicated on the client's spontaneity. Third, it highlighted the advantages of the "as if" aspect of role playing. It demonstrated the therapeutic power of behaving under an assumed identity rather than being one's own true self. Finally, it was instrumental in promoting role playing as a form of psychotherapy. Since Kelly was not associated with the psychodramatic movement, his interest in role playing gave it a wider exposure among those who were not particularly attracted to Moreno's ideas. In practice, however, fixed-role therapy did not develop into a major form of therapy. In fact, even during the mid- and late-1950s, when fixed-role therapy became publicly known, it did not enjoy a widespread popularity.

Like Moreno, Kelly's ideas about psychotherapy were developed as a reaction to psychoanalysis. He was not impressed with the utilitarian value of psychoanalysis, which, according to him, "had never quite seemed to be the answer to psychological problems obviously arising in a social, economic, or educational setting" (Kelly, 1955, p. 361). His starting point was quite differ-

ent. The observations that led to the formulation of fixed-role therapy may be summarized as follows:

- *Dramatic experiences have lasting effects.* Kelly observed that actors are influenced by practicing theatrical roles that involve new behavior. Sometimes such practice changes their own behavior, often resulting in long-lasting effects. In that respect, learning new mannerisms late in life does not become more of an artificiality than learning them relatively early.
- *Dramatic roles may become avenues for self-expression.* It appears that certain people are able to express themselves in certain parts of a play with a spontaneity and vehemence that could not be explained simply on the basis of their understanding of the playwright's intent. It is as if they have discovered a verbal vehicle ordinarily not available to them for expressing ideas. This new rehearsed behavior seems to result in a general increase in fluency, both verbal and behavioral.
- *Progress may be achieved through explorations of enactment techniques.* Sometimes a therapeutic progress is attained—a deadlock is broken—by experimenting with enactment techniques. The use of "as if" situations is a good example of this principle.
- *The importance of establishing a social function.* Behavior becomes more meaningful and, therefore, a lasting one when it is perceived as serving a useful function: ". . . there does appear to be a stabilizing effect that accrues from seeing oneself in a functional relationship to one's surroundings, whether those surroundings be things or people" (Kelly, 1955, p. 365).
- *Labeling facilitates corresponding behavior.* There is a tendency for people to adjust their behavior according to the ways they think of, name, or label their predicament. Sometimes people develop real symptoms because they have read about them or have managed to ascribe a label to them. The same phenomenon is observed with regard to changing one's own name (or renaming a given characteristic). Changing one's own name is not only a way of escaping the social expectations in which one has become enmeshed, but also a way of stabilizing the change one has set for oneself.
- *People seek to change their roles.* People are constantly seeking new ways for readjustment. In that process they tend to seize upon "artificial" roles and assume new labels for them. The search for new roles has important implications for devising therapeutic strategies to help people change.

On the basis of these observations and his general theory of personal constructs, Kelly developed his fixed-role therapy. It is considered a role playing approach because the client is given a role, or a set of roles, according to which he or she must behave (role play) in real life for a specified period. There are three major steps in fixed-role therapy.

1. Writing the fixed-role sketch. Composing the fixed-role sketch is an essential component of the therapeutic endeavor. It is also the most difficult and complex part of it. The client is diagnosed and then asked to prepare a self-characterization of himself or herself. This is done with cards, bearing various descriptions of skills and attributes, which the client sorts along the Q-sort technique, or with the aid of other instruments (e.g., the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank). Having such a description, a panel of therapists prepare the fixed-role sketch. It is a detailed, written personality profile which describes the behavior of a person whose characteristics are *sharply in contrast*, but in the therapeutically desired direction, to those that characterize the client. Most important, however, that sketch is written and presented as if it characterizes a *different* (i.e., an imaginary) *person with a new name*, whose identity the client is asked to assume for the duration of the treatment. This "as if" component is crucial to the therapeutic procedure. Kelly emphasizes the importance of having a panel of therapists involved in writing the sketch because the task is too difficult for one person. The following excerpts are taken from a fixed-role sketch prepared for a client named Ronald Barrett. The sketch describes the personality of an imaginary person named Kenneth Norton, and includes a new set of behaviors to be adopted by the client under this new identity. The example is borrowed from Kelly's book (1955).

> Kenneth Norton is the kind of a man who, after a few minutes of conversation, somehow makes you feel that he must have known you intimately for a long time. This comes about not by any particular questions that he asks, but by the understanding way in which he listens. It is as if he had a knack of seeing the world through your eyes. The things which you have come to see as being important, he, too, soon seems to sense as similarly important. Thus he catches not only your words, but the punctuations of feeling with which they are formed and the little accents of meaning with which they are chosen. . . . Girls he finds attractive for many reasons, not the least of which is the exciting opportunity they provide for his understanding the feminine point of view. Unlike some men, he does not "throw the ladies a line" but, so skillful a listener, soon he has them throwing him one—and he is thoroughly enjoying it. With his own parents and in his own home he is somewhat more expressive of his own ideas and feelings. Thus his parents are given an opportunity to share and supplement his new enthusiasms and accomplishments. (pp. 374–375)

The remaining two steps are conducted concurrently.

2. Interviewing and preparing the rehearsal sequence. Once the client has understood and accepted the sketch, he or she visits the therapist every other day for a period of two weeks. In these visits the two discuss the client's role behavior (see the next step). They also discuss, and sometimes role play in the office, real-life situations as a preemptive measure (i.e., anticipating possible difficulties) or in order to demonstrate the appropriate role play behavior. The interviews cover the enactment of the role(s) in five areas: work, casual rela-

tionships with companions of the same sex, relationships involving the spouse or members of the opposite sex, parents, and general life orientation.

3. Enacting the sketch in real life. During the period of the treatment, usually two weeks, the client behaves according to the sketch and as if he or she were someone else. This must be carried out regardless of the obvious difficulties involved in operating publicly under an assumed identity. In principle, therefore, the therapeutic practice takes place *outside* the therapist's office, in vivo. Through that time, the client is under close supervision, as described in step 2, above.

Behavior Rehearsal

Behavior rehearsal is the last of the three approaches to be described in connection with our historical survey. This form of therapeutic intervention has been, initially, associated with Wolpe and Lazarus and was described in their writings (e.g., Wolpe, 1958, 1969; Wolpe & Lazarus, 1966; Lazarus, 1966). Essentially, behavior rehearsal represents the use of role playing in behavior therapy and behavior modification through the application of learning principles for treatment purposes. The formulation of behavior rehearsal was the latest significant push in the emergence of role playing as a therapeutic modality. Due to the widespread popularity of modern behavior therapy, its use of role playing became widely popular as well. It should be pointed out, however, that within the framework of behavior therapy, role playing (or behavior rehearsal) was considered as *one* of its many *techniques.* It was not regarded as *a separate mode of therapy*, the way it was conceived by both Moreno and Kelly.

Before this technique became known as behavioral rehearsal, it was referred to by other names. During the late 1950s and the early 1960s it was called behaviorodrama, behavioristic psychodrama, or simply role playing. These terms apparently caused some discomfort as they suggested an association with Moreno's method. Given the difference between the theories underlying behavior therapy and psychodrama, a new name, one that conveyed a greater affinity to the principles of behaviorism, had to be found. Some (e.g., Kanfer & Phillips, 1969) proposed the term "replication therapy," but nowadays the application of role playing in behavior therapy is commonly known as behavior rehearsal.

In the beginning, Wolpe considered the technique as one that is based on patient-mediated cues in the context of his theory of reciprocal inhibition. His understanding of the use of behavior rehearsal is described in the following excerpt:

> The therapist takes the role of a person towards whom the patient has a neurotic anxiety reaction and instructs him to express his ordinarily inhibited feelings

> toward that person. Particular attention is given to the emotion infused into the words. The voice must be firm, and suitably modulated. The patient is made to repeat each statement again and again, being constantly corrected until the utterance is in every way satisfactory. The aim of the rehearsal is, of course, to make it possible for him to express himself with his real "adversary" so that the anxiety the latter evokes may be reciprocally inhibited, and the motor assertive habit established. (Wolpe, 1969, p. 68)

Subsequently, however, behavior rehearsal was seen in a wider perspective. This broader view is described, for example, by Kanfer and Phillips (1969) as follows:

> . . . this technique attempts to simulate or replicate significant parts of the patient's extratherapy environment for observation and manipulation in the therapist's presence. It provides the patient with an opportunity to evaluate his problematic behaviors and to try out new responses without fear of traumatic consequences. Contrived role playing by the therapist and others and the use of verbal instructions and other props foster the replication. In its broadest form . . . [it] . . . may involve construction of an entire therapeutic community, modeled not after a particular patient's particular environment but after the general social setting of the community. (p. 458)

In their systematic description of behavior rehearsal, Goldfried and Davison (1976) rely on the concept of role in order to explain the theoretical basis for the use of this technique. They refer to role theory, as expounded by Sarbin and Allen (1968), where role is generally understood as those socially defined behaviors associated with given positions (e.g., husband, wife, son, daughter). Problems tend to arise when there is a discrepancy between role behaviors available to a person and the expectations held by others in the immediate environment. Such discordance may be attributed to a change in role status, a shift in role definitions due to cultural changes or to an inappropriate social learning history.

The main characteristics of the procedure by which an actor learns his or her theatrical role were described by Sarbin and Allen as follows. The actor receives information which he must learn in the form of a script, and he must practice in order to perfect his part. Another feature of the dramaturgical model of role learning is the presence of a coach. The coach, using Sarbin and Allen's own words, "can guide and advise the novice, . . . detects mistakes, . . . suggests regime of training, and in a variety of other ways aids the actor in mastering his role" (p. 548). The function of the coach is "to provide social reinforcement to the learner. Praise and criticism provide incentives for the learner, and at the same time furnish feedback which can be used to improve performance" (p. 548). The coach offers an evaluation and critique of the performance, and may serve "as a model," that is, "enacts the role for the novice, explicitly instructing him to imitate" (p. 548). According to Goldfried and

Davison (1976) the similarity between this description and behavior rehearsal procedures is striking. In fact, by replacing the words "client" for "actor" and "therapist" for "coach" we have an excellent overview of the way in which behavior rehearsal is used in clinical practice.

Briefly, the behavior rehearsal treatment is said to be divided into four general stages.

1. Preparing the client. The client has to recognize the need for learning a new behavior pattern, accept that behavior rehearsal is an appropriate way to develop this new social role, and overcome an initial uneasiness regarding the idea of role playing in the therapist's office.

2. Selecting the target situation. The client is asked to describe the specific situation in which the behavioral deficits manifest themselves. The therapist draws a hierarchy of items comprising components of the new learning goal. These are ranked by the client according to the complexity of the behavioral skills required. Sometimes, in order to arrive at a beneficial treatment, a significant other in the client's life (e.g., a spouse, a relative, a friend) may be consulted to offer his or her perspective regarding the focus of the hierarchy.

3. The behavior rehearsal procedure. Behavior rehearsal may be construed as a gradual shaping process not only because of the use of a hierarchy, but also because complex social interactions entail a number of skills. During the enactment of each item in the hierarchy, attention is paid [to] verbal behavior (e.g., the tone of voice, the pace of speech), as well as nonverbal behavior (e.g., gestures, eye contact, general posture). The role playing proper uses modeling and direct coaching techniques, and sometimes also role reversals.

4. Practicing the new roles in real-life situations. The client has to understand that transferring the learning attained in the therapist's office into real-life situations is part and parcel of the therapeutic procedure. The in-vivo application must be accompanied by written self-observations, which are then discussed in subsequent sessions. There are various techniques for the use of these home assignments.

Behavior rehearsal is employed in learning specific as well as more general social skills. It is used in cognitive therapy for changing dysfunctional thinking and for attitude change. Many self-control procedures are taught via behavior rehearsal. It is used in assertive training and for preparing individuals for certain novel situations where it may be impossible or inadvisable to acquire "on-the-job" experience.

THE NEED FOR A GENERAL ROLE PLAYING MODEL

The preceding survey has illustrated how, and perhaps also why, role playing developed to become a modern therapeutic procedure. Given its current sta-

tus it appears that, as far as conceptual models are concerned, those who apply role playing in clinical practice are faced with two alternatives. One is to think of the application of role playing in the context of a theoretical orientation. In that regard, the choice is between one of the two presently most dominant orientations. Therapists can adhere to either the model that constitutes the basis of psychodrama, or that which is associated with behavior therapy. The other alternative is to use role playing purely on the basis of its utilitarian value.

Narrowing the choice to these two alternatives raises several issues that highlight the void created by the absence of a generally accepted role playing model. Let us begin with the first alternative. It is widely acknowledged that the principles underlying psychodrama and behavior rehearsal are, to say the least, very different. The question is, are the differences irreconcilable? Goldfried and Davison (1976) echoed the conventional view that certain points of similarity between these two approaches notwithstanding, the disparity is still too great. The psychodramatic model stems from the notion that therapeutic outcomes are attained by uncovering the individual's blocked affect and through tracing current problems back to their historical origin. The behavior rehearsal model, however, is based on the notion that psychotherapy must focus on helping the individual learn new ways of responding to specific situations.

To be more specific, the disparity between these two approaches may become clearer in the light of our previous discussion of Moreno's theory. A point was made there that, according to Moreno, the two most important curative processes in psychotherapy are catharsis and training. In emphasizing the importance of catharsis, psychodrama has put itself in a sharp conflict with behavior therapy, which refutes the therapeutic significance attached to catharsis. The similarity, then, appears to be attributed to the mutual agreement with regard to the value of training. But even here, a close examination of the two approaches, beyond the general principle, reveals a considerable difference. Behavior rehearsal is more systematic, controlled, and governed by learning principles. As a result, it constitutes a "micro-approach" to role playing. Psychodrama, on the other hand, is governed by the principles of spontaneity, the facilitation of self-expression through action explorations, and the process of self-discovery. Therefore, it may be described as a "macro-approach" to role playing. No wonder that to psychodramatists, behavior rehearsal represents a reductionistic approach, that is, a limited form of psychodrama. Behavior therapists, on the other hand, consider psychodrama to be an unsystematic and an inexpedient training procedure.

It is fitting here to cite Wachtel's comment on his attempt to bring the psychodynamic and the behavioristic views close together. Ironically, this comment was made in connection with a discussion of the issue of resistance in psychotherapy. In deploring *therapist's resistance* to open themselves to views that differ from their own, he wrote,

> Part of the difficulty in getting therapists to look beyond their own paradigms lies in the strong identifications held by therapists with a particular tradition and its own particular language and philosophy. . . . Add to that the centrality of their own personal therapy in the training of many therapists and you have a formula for almost unshakable commitment not only to a particular approach but to a particular way of talking about what one does. (Wachtel, 1982, p. xviii)

But having to choose between one of these two different approaches not only makes the first alternative undeservedly restrictive; for many therapists it is also unappealing. After all, a large number, if not the majority, of clinicians subscribe to therapeutic approaches other than psychodrama or behavior therapy. Recognizing the effectiveness of role playing, however, they apply this form of therapy without a model.

This void callsF for the formulation of a different kind of a general paradigm for the use of role playing. In contrast with previous attempts, which offered separate theory-bound models, the new proposed venture must be governed by a rule that might be labeled "a conceptual neutrality." This rule rests on two interrelated propositions. One is the recognition that it is possible to formulate a set of principles that do not interfere with existing theoretical views. Second is the acceptance of a legitimate coexistence of several, even opposing, theoretical approaches to psychotherapy. The last proposition highlights the difference between a "conceptual neutrality" and a "synthesis." The former accepts, even welcomes, the existence of intellectual conflicts. The latter, on the other hand, represents an integrative effort and intentionally strives to eliminate areas of theoretical frictions and to reconcile between opposing views. Using a literary analogy, a model based on "conceptual neutrality" serves as the *text* for which various theoretical approaches provide the *commentaries.* The next two chapters will describe an attempt to provide such a model for the application of role playing.

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Using Sociometry to Predict Team Performance in the Work Place

RANDALL H. LUCIUS
KARL W. KUHNERT

ABSTRACT. Teams are becoming an increasingly popular way to improve performance and quality in the work place. Little research, however, has addressed the question of how to predict high performance from individuals who are placed on teams. Sociometry can provide an alternative to previous methods by measuring preferred pairings among team members across a number of tasks or settings. The choices given and received among members within a social network can reveal the degree of mutual preference for working together, and is referred to as the group's density. In this study, the survey method was used to measure 29 squads at a military college for their density as well as for the level of satisfaction and perceived cohesion among team members. Sociometric strong or dense teams were found to perform better across a combination of several different criterion measures. Implications for future research and applied uses in organizations are discussed.

RECENT TRENDS IN ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICE, such as the increasing use of quality circles, autonomous work groups, project teams, and management task forces, suggest that groups are becoming more pervasive in organizations (Hackman, 1987) and are recognized as a vital means of staying competitive and productive in the United States (Reich, 1987). Reduced bureaucracy, increased employee involvement, and high quality are all potential benefits gained from the use of teams in organizations, the most important of which is quality. Quality must be stressed in every facet of corporate life and can best be achieved through effective composition and execution of work by teams.

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The success of work teams in Japan, coupled with the desire to reduce bureaucratic waste, has caused a resurgence of interest in the use of work teams in America. If work is to be done by teams, then it follows that the quality of the product or service the team provides depends on the quality of the team itself (Chance, 1989). Although cognitive ability is important for almost any job, other issues may also be important when individuals work in groups—for example, good interpersonal skills. More research is needed to determine what factors create high performance and group-member satisfaction in a team context. In fact, research on work teams continues to demand considerable attention (Bettenhausen, 1991) and has for some time been considered relatively dormant (Gladstein, 1984). As Driskell, Salas, and Hogan (1987) have noted:

> The military promotes effective task performance primarily through personnel selection and training. Selection is based largely on tests of ability and aptitude. Little is known, however, regarding the nontechnical factors that determine team performance above and beyond individual technical competency.

This statement is true of private organizations as well. Few substantive findings have emerged as useful guides for creating and maintaining effective work teams. Existing generalizations are neither strong nor stable enough to serve as guides for managerial practice; and when statistically reliable results have been found, they are weak or dependent on a particular task and situational context (Hackman, 1987).

Personality has been proposed as a useful composition tool and predictor of team performance. Psychological tests have been used by some employers in an effort to find people with a "team personality" (Chance, 1989). The basic idea behind the personality test approach is to match people with either similar personalities, so that members will be compatible and able to work together efficiently, or different personalities, to produce a heterogeneous group that will generate different ideas or approaches that reflect the different personalities of the group.

Personality is undoubtedly important in a team's composition, performance, and overall effectiveness; however, questions have been raised concerning the study of personality and the use of personality tests as tools for predicting or identifying effective work teams. Sorenson (1973) has noted that research on personality has produced an extensive but not highly cumulative research tradition. Kahan, Webb, Shavelson, and Stolzenberg (1985) stated that it does not appear promising at the present time to use personality measures in determining group composition. Some research has shown that heterogeneous personalities tend to perform better on particular tasks, particularly problem-solving tasks, but the evidence is not completely consistent (Guzzo & Shea, 1992). Although personality is inherently believed to be important, research in this area continues to be equivocal.

Furthermore, whether or not personality is an appropriate avenue for team diagnosis is questionable. Personality tests are *individual* measures, whereas a team is an aggregate of individuals. Personality tests may not be the best measures of whether team members will work well with each other. A more appropriate method of analysis may be one that measures the individual in relation to the group instead of just the individual, as teams are a group-related phenomenon.

An alternative measurement tool that may provide more insight and predictive usefulness regarding team performance is sociometry, which is a technique for mapping the relationships of attraction and rejection among members of a group. Using sociometry, one can determine the degree to which individuals are accepted in a group, for discovering the relationships that exist among these individuals, and for disclosing the structure of the group itself (Ary, Jacobs, & Razavieh, 1990; Northway, 1967). Moreno (1934) devised this approach to examine patterns of interaction and the general organization of groups.

Knowledge about a group attained through the use of sociometry can be considerable, revealing informal leaders, isolates, or outcasts, and informal social networks and subgroups that can also be viewed as potential teams. What is invaluable about sociometry is that it provides an actual picture of the social interaction among group members, which may, through further research, facilitate understanding of *why* members interact as they do.

A typical sociometric test would ask a member of a particular group to make choices, among other group members, based on some criterion, such as with whom he or she preferred to work. A large share of choices is usually garnered by a few individual members, and smaller patterns of interaction among subsets of people emerge. These groups or subsets can then be measured to determine how strong or *dense* (Knoke & Kuklinski, 1982) they are, based on the number of choices garnered *by* individuals in the group *from* individuals in the group.

The density score reflects the degree of mutual preference among individuals for working together, socializing, or whatever criterion is used to make choices. Density is simply a rate of choices received to the total number of choices possible within a particular group. A typical sociogram, which shows the subjects as circles and their choices made and received as arrows, looks like Figure 1.

In Figure 1, we see a five-person group and their choices given and received by members of the group toward other members of the same group. Other choices that may have been given and received outside the immediate group are not shown in this example. However, larger groups of 50 or more are often studied in an exploratory manner to discover what kinds of subgroupings emerge. In these cases, all of the choices within the larger network are shown in order to disclose the smaller subgroups that exist within the larger network.

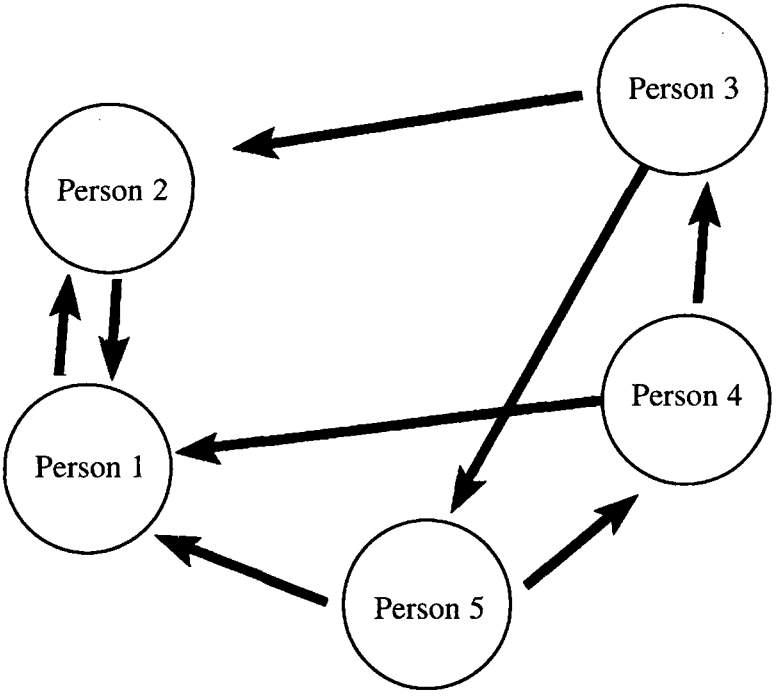

FIGURE 1. A sociogram of a five-person group.

The implicit theory of many researchers using sociometry is that team members who have a high degree of mutual preference for working together will perform better on a variety of tasks. Past studies using this method have had mixed results. French (1951) studied the choice structure of companies of naval recruits and found that the frequency of sick-bay attendance was negatively related to sociometric choice by peers but leadership ratings were positively related to sociometric scores.

Van Zelst (1952) found that carpenters and bricklayers who were paired sociometrically were considerably more productive than were pairs who were assembled arbitrarily. Goodacre (1951) found that combat squads that were more cohesive, as measured by a sociometric test, had higher scores on a field performance test consisting of various tactical situations. Roby (1968), however, found that the sociometric scores of members were unrelated to ratings of the effectiveness of aircrews, and Tziner and Vardi (1982) found that neither cohesiveness, measured via sociometry, nor command style, taken sepa-

rately, affected the performance effectiveness of tank crews, but only by their interaction.

The problems with past research using sociometry are twofold—theoretical and methodological. The first problem is that some researchers, including those previously cited, have often assumed that sociometry is a measure of group cohesiveness and satisfaction without validating sociometry with other self-report measures. At this time it is not clear whether sociometry measures or predicts group cohesion or satisfaction or whether a team will perform well.

A second problem is that few, if any, studies have reported statistical methods more intricate than a simple correlation or an analysis of variance (ANOVA). Advanced techniques such as multivariate analysis were not as widespread or understood when a large portion of research using sociometry was done in the 1950s and 1960s. Also, advanced tools such as computer programs like COMPSOC (Computerized Sociometry; Treadwell & Leach, 1987) and network analysis (Knoke & Kuklinski, 1982) were not available until recently. Thus early sociometric research could be done only by hand, which may in itself explain the decline in popularity of this method. Our current research is an attempt to bridge some of these gaps. Our hypotheses for this study were the following:

1. Teams that are more dense in terms of sociometric choice will be more cohesive as a team.
2. Sociometrically dense teams will be more satisfied than less-dense teams in terms of members' association with the team.
3. Sociometrically dense teams will be more effective than less-dense teams in terms of job performance.

Method

Participants

Participants were 129 cadets attending a military college in the southeastern United States. All were between the ages of 18 and 21 (121 men, 8 women) and were mostly freshmen along with some sophomores who had been together approximately 1 to 2 years. For this experiment, the cadets were arranged in 29 squads.

Materials

A sociometric questionnaire was administered to all of the cadets who participated in this study. Each participant was asked to pick his or her top choices for whom to be associated with in four different scenarios, indicated with a fill-in-the-blank-type format. Each team member was instructed to nominate

precisely as many individuals as currently existed in the present group, to control for potentially confounding effects of different base rates.

To test Hypotheses 1 and 2, we needed cohesion and satisfaction measures. One measure useful for such purposes is the Team Diagnostic Survey (Campbell & Hallam, 1991). Respondents are asked to indicate how much they agree with each of 93 statements. The items are clustered into homogeneous subscales, each designed to measure an aspect of the team that research indicates may be related to a team's ability to perform well. The survey taps into a large number of dimensions that are team related, ranging from the clarity of the team mission to whether the team is meeting its objectives. Although an overall difference in strength between the more- and less-dense squads is expected, based on past research, sociometrically dense teams are expected to show particularly higher scores on the items that measure team unity, team satisfaction, and performance.

The Unity subscale contains six items designed to measure whether members like each other and feel comfortable around one another as a group. The Satisfaction subscale contains four items that assesses whether members, overall, are satisfied or happy to be part of the team. The Performance subscale contains six items that measure whether members feel the team is meeting its objectives and is keeping its constituents happy.

To test Hypothesis 3, we needed measures of effectiveness that the college considered indicative for assessing the performance of their squads. One measure used is from a series of military field exercises known as Squad Progress. Squad Progress involves over 80 different elements for which the squad is held responsible. A majority of the elements measure drill-related tasks, such as presenting arms, marching, and standing at attention, but personal appearance and weapons appearance are rated as well. All items are rated on a 1- to 3-point scale ranging from *poor* to *outstanding*. The squad receives one overall score based on a sum of the items. Each member of the squad is held accountable for his or her squad progress score.

Flag duty, another task that squads perform, involves the proper ceremonial procedures of raising, lowering, and folding the American flag. Though this sounds like a simple procedure, there are 25 subtasks that the squad must complete. The different elements of flag duty include preparing the cannon that signals the lowering of the flag, presenting arms, and correctly "folding the colors." Each element is rated either satisfactory or unsatisfactory, and all the members receive the same score for which they are held responsible.

All squads were also measured by the performance dimension of the Campbell-Hallam survey previously described. Only criteria that were designed to capture variance at the group level were studied for this analysis, as teams were the focal unit of the study. Although the unit of measurement for these

self-report measures is at the individual level, the focal unit and unit of analysis that these measures were designed for is the group level.

Design and Procedure

The participants were administered a questionnaire booklet containing the Campbell-Hallam (1991) Team Diagnostic Survey and a sociometric questionnaire during one of their regularly scheduled military science classes. They were requested to answer as openly and honestly as possible, and they were assured complete confidentiality of their results.

Once the data were gathered, they were analyzed first by the Computerized Sociometry (COMPSOC) program (Treadwell & Leach, 1987). COMPSOC is a relatively easy-to-use program that saves a considerable amount of time and effort over previous methods done by hand. The program does this by providing a number of useful profiles, including an analysis of choices made and received by each person, a list of people in rank order by the number of choices received, and an analysis of the group structure.

Although sociometry provides a useful diagram of the interactions among team members, a metric was needed so that comparisons between teams could be made. Sociometric density was measured using a formula based on network analysis (Knoke & Kuklinski, 1982). This is a ratio of the number of choices given within the group to the total number of choices possible within the group. For example, Figure 1 shows that there were eight choices received by the members in the group. That is, when each person was asked whom he/she would prefer to work with, out of any choice possible regardless of current group assignments, 8 out of a possible 20 ($N^2 - N$) choices were received by members in the current team arrangement for this particular group. This yielded a density ratio of .4 out of a possible 1.0. Thus the higher the density, the more choices received by members within the group.

The calculation of the team's density is the crux of the entire study. The density score is what gives an indication of each group member's preferences for one another and actually attaches a numeric value representing just how strong those preferences are. Density, then, is an appropriate metric when one desires to have a direct measure of who endorses whom, which could be valuable when trying to decipher individuals who may bond and subsequently perform well as a team. This is why a measure of density was chosen for this study; it offers a more direct estimate of how the team members feel about each other and their compatibility within the group than past research using measures such as personality inventories.

Once the squad densities were determined, these scores were compared with scores on the Team Diagnostic Survey as well as performance criterion measures used at the college. Correlation/regression designs were used to test

each of the hypotheses. The first two hypotheses, that dense teams would be more cohesive and more satisfied, were tested with simple Pearson product–moment correlations between density and scores on each of the two subscales, Unity and Satisfaction, as measured by the Team Diagnostic Survey.

The last hypothesis, that denser teams would be more effective in terms of job performance than less-dense teams, was tested using multivariate multiple regression (Pedhazur, 1982), with the performance measures previously mentioned used as criterion variables and the density score as the predictor variable.

A .10 level of significance was adopted to increase the study's poor powa result of the small sample size. Though the .05 level is more the norm in psychological research, there is no magic behind this value. For purposes here, a more lenient alpha of .10 still provides enough protection from Type I error without masking what may be a promising line of future research (Stevens, 1986).

Results

The first hypothesis, that high-density teams would be more cohesive, was not supported, correlating weakly ($r = .14$, $p > .10$) with scores from the Unity subscale. This result is problematic, however, because the Unity subscale had an internal consistency of only .59 with the sample used here. One of the items was omitted to improve the internal consistency to .79, but the overall effect was still insignificant ($r = .17$, $p > .10$). Density scores ranged from .1 to .87.

The second hypothesis, that high-density teams would be more satisfied, was supported as measured by the Satisfaction subscale, $r = .31$, $p < .10$. This scale had an internal consistency of .80 with the college sample.

The third hypothesis, that denser teams would be more effective in terms of job performance, was supported by the multivariate regression, Wilks's lambda = .689, $F(3, 17) = 2.560$, $p = .089$. Because of missing data, only 21 teams were accepted for the analysis.

Table 1 contains some of the more common statistics found in a regression

TABLE 1
Regression Statistics for Each Criterion Variable Predicted by Overall Sociometric Density

Variable	Multiple R^2	β	F	p
Performance subscale	.07	.26	1.35	.26
Squad progress	.13	.36	2.90	.10
Flag duty	.04	.19	.71	.41

analysis. A look at the beta column, which is equivalent to multiple R because we used unique sum-of-squares, shows that all of the variables were positively related to overall squad density. The betas may also be used as an attempt to assess the relative importance of the variables (Pedhazur, 1982) and suggest that squad progress scores contributed the most to group separation, followed by performance scores on the self-report subscale and flag duty scores, respectively.

Discussion

Conclusions regarding our first hypothesis, whether or not sociometry is a measure of cohesiveness, can be neither confirmed nor disconfirmed because of the poor internal consistency estimate of the team Unity scale with this study's sample. Because these items were not highly intercorrelated, the scale cannot be considered very homogeneous. The revised scale still did not produce a significant effect, leaving one to question either the validity of the scale with the sample used here or the assumed relationship by past authors of cohesion and sociometric density.

Beeber and Schmitt (1986) believe that cohesion is still a concept in search of a definition, and Murdack (1989) laments the legacy of confusion surrounding cohesion. Keyton and Springston (1990) warn that perceived similarity may not always align with perceptions of cohesion. Whether or not people make sociometric choices based on perceived similarity or for whatever reason is another study altogether, but it is reasonable to conclude that cohesion may not necessarily parallel sociometric choice.

Satisfaction, seen here as members' satisfaction or happiness to be a part of the squad, was found to be related to the sociometric density of the team. This is congruent with past results and makes intuitive sense. Members who are satisfied with their squad would be expected to pick more of their own current members if given the choice. One method for improving or maintaining a high satisfaction level among team members might be to let individuals have input into the makeup of their own teams, at the same time respecting those who should be involved in terms of job function. This could help to create a more contented team and perhaps a more effective work force for organizations.

These results are particularly relevant to companies using organizational structures like Total Quality Management (TQM), in which the focus is more on teams than on individual effort (Walton, 1986). Satisfaction, however, does not necessarily mean better results in terms of performance (Landy, 1989). Whether or not sociometrically dense teams are more effective in terms of higher performance could provide indirect evidence for this, however, which is what the final hypothesis test attempted to answer.

The last hypothesis was an attempt to establish a "bottom-line" result for

industry. That is, can sociometry predict performance effectiveness in teams? Our results tend to support that conclusion and provide evidence that sociometry may prove to be a useful diagnostic tool for identifying how well a team may function on team-related tasks.

Although sociometry provided information on which teams would perform better in this study, it does not reveal much as to *why* some teams are more dense than others and subsequently perform better. This would be a profitable line of future research. Sociometry may provide a useful starting point for other forms of research investigating the causal agents of team effectiveness. Once the researcher knows that a team is more or less dense and can actually see with a sociometric diagram the pattern of interrelations in a group, he or she can then test other hypotheses.

For example, a team could achieve a high density score in part because the members all reciprocate choices with one particular member. If this is the case, then a deeper analysis, oriented around leadership theory, may be required. If the frequently chosen member of the group is also the formally appointed leader of the group, then an investigation into whether or not that person actually possesses some particular trait or is attributed certain qualities by the other members may be fruitful. If the frequency of choices a person receives differs according to a particular situation (e.g., who would you prefer to work with in a long-term project? short-term?), then perhaps further research in situational leadership theory is required.

Another case could be that certain patterns of sociometric choice moderate the effect of other variables or interventions; an example could be team-building exercises, which have received mixed reviews in terms of improving performance (Bettenhausen, 1991; Guzzo & Shea, 1992). Exercises that promote greater appreciation of other members' personality styles, for instance, may be effective only if there is a low frequency of reciprocal choices between members. Thus, sociometric pattern could act as a moderator of the effect that another variable, in this case, training, may have on the team's performance. Whatever variables the researcher is interested in, a sociometric diagram may provide a useful starting point for investigating causal agents of team effectiveness.

Future research using this method could support other uses for sociometry, such as personnel selection. Cognitive tests have generally proved to be the single most useful technique for staffing, but ability tests do not measure any relevant dimensions of the ability to work well with others. When an organization accomplishes its work by using teams, selection procedures may benefit from measuring the potential one has for working with others in a team, because this is now a relevant part of the performance domain. Who better to assess this potential than the members of the team(s) on which the applicant may be working?

Clearly, sociometry is more applicable as an internal-selection technique

with already existing employees, because a degree of familiarity is necessary for members to make choices among one another. Only intact teams were used in this research. Although this study could be viewed as a concurrent effort to confirm the effectiveness of sociometry as a predictor of an individual's success on a team, choosing individuals from outside the organization with no previous contact from team members is both awkward and dangerous without other types of information more common to traditional selection models (e.g., cognitive ability tests). Nevertheless, sociometry is still a useful diagnostic for both currently intact teams and for organizations with existing employees who wish to convert to a team-based structure.

Conclusions

Teams are becoming more and more popular as organizations continually strive to improve quality and compete globally. In this research we attempted to provide evidence of a new tool for diagnosing those teams and predicting a priori which ones would be more effective. Sociometry can be a valuable tool for organizations as their structures continually embrace the team concept of work.

This research has successfully shown that sociometrically dense teams are both more satisfied with their intrateam relations and more productive. Our results also showed that sociometric choice and cohesion may not necessarily be the same. Whether or not all of these findings are generalizable to other organizations remains to be seen, given the methodological idiosyncrasies encountered in this study. The nature of team research makes adequate sample sizes hard to obtain, necessitating adjustments such as more lenient alpha levels to improve power. Nevertheless, the most important finding of this study is that sociometrically dense teams are better performers on group- or team-related tasks. This finding alone is relevant to organizations embracing the team concept and should be seriously considered when work is structured for conditions that promote a team environment.

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RANDALL H. LUCIUS and KARL W. KUHNERT are members of the Department of Psychology at the University of Georgia.

Date of submission:
October 30, 1995

Address:
Randall H. Lucius
University of Georgia
Department of Psychology
Athens, GA 30602–3013

A Venezuelan Psycho-Opera: A Group and Individual Technique of Operatic Psychodrama

CORA L. DIAZ DE CHUMACEIRO

ABSTRACT. The author presents Venezuelan psycho-opera's four forms of decreasing structure that foster an increasing capacity for spontaneity in participants. Drawing on a synthesis of Moreno's organic and instrumental forms of psychomusic, the author devised a technique that focuses on the exploration of the singing voice and the concomitant affects. The participants are accompanied by recorded collages of excerpts from orchestral music and follow a loose plot based on opera libretti or general and personal themes.

IN 1931, MORENO DEVELOPED an impromptu orchestra in New York and wrote about spontaneity in music improvisation; later, he expanded on these experimental ideas to include them in the process of psychotherapy in his technique entitled "Psycho-Music" (Moreno, 1946). Decades later, this latter work was translated into Spanish, as a separate publication (1948/1977).

By focusing on Moreno's overlooked contribution with music, I developed and tested in South America a technique originally entitled *Psico-Opera*, as a complementary tool for spontaneity training (Díaz de Chumaceiro, 1985). (Unaware that this term had been previously used in English by Wasserman and Klein in 1974, I renamed my more recent technique. These two complementary methods are contrasted in a final section.)

The new psycho-opera basically integrates Stanislavski's training for singer-actors and psychoanalytic assumptions with a synthesis of the two forms of Moreno's psychomusic: organic and instrumental. Gibberish (meaningless language) was used by Stanislavski (1936) to train actors and singer-actors (Stanislavski & Rumyantsev, 1975). Although Moreno (1946/1994) emphasized that "the theatre for Spontaneity has *no relation* to the so-called Stanislavski method" (italics added, p. 38), they do have in common the use

of gibberish, which Moreno renamed as "Joe language" in his organic form of psychomusic:

> The dialogue is replaced by singing exclamations accompanied by gestures and movements. The semantic content of these exclamations may be a nonsensical exclamation of vowels and consonants (Joe language), the exclamation of nonsensical words (ho—my—hey—he—de), a word or phrase of a spoken language (oh yes—hello—come on—victory—la liberté). These are reiterated with a rising and falling singing voice in rhythmic sequence. (p. 279)

The objectives of both therapists in using gibberish, however, were radically different. "Improvisation in [Stanislavski's] method is supplementary to the aim of playing a great Romeo or a great King Lear. The element of spontaneity here is to serve the cultural conserve, to revitalize it" (Moreno, 1994/1946, p. 38). By contrast, Moreno eliminated the direct induction to think about a related incident in the past, and his goal was the elimination, rather than the preservation and perfection, of the interpretation of the cultural conserve. Interestingly, Lippe (1992) recently proposed in this journal the application of Stanislavski's Affective method with its focus on the past for drama therapy in general, omitting, however, Moreno's viewpoint.

In Stanislavski's method for singer–actors (Stanislavski & Rumyantsev, 1975), singers are instructed to recall personal experiences that evoke emotions similar to those in the aria to be perfected and to sing about them, vocalizing and using gibberish so that, free from the actual lyrics and music, they can concentrate on emotional expression and perfect their performance. Instead, in this psycho-opera, the client frees both voice and emotions by freely singing whatever comes to mind and disregarding vocal perfection while using only vocalizations and gibberish to communicate. I have called that technique *psychosinging.*

I offer basic singing instruction before introducing participants to this different mode of expression because some, for whatever reasons in the past, distrust their singing voice and avoid using it, particularly in public. I suggest that it is easier to sing with a musical accompaniment than to sing *a cappella* as in Moreno's organic form. Music, in addition to setting a tonality, gives nonprofessional singers a sense of protection—the illusion that they will stand out less or that others may not even hear them if they hum or sing softly enough. Thus, participants are accompanied by prerecorded tapes of collages of orchestral excerpts to offer them a safe holding environment in their attempts to free the constricted singing voice—particularly for those not oriented toward the music world in general and singing in particular. Using these tapes also solves the problem of the unavailability of musicians to produce live improvised music in the instrumental form.

When vocal inhibitions surface, the flow of communication may be arrest-

ed. Thus, some inhibited patients may profit more by working from greater structure to greater degrees of freedom, rather than initially being exposed to the total freedom of Moreno's organic form. My psycho-opera technique, with different degrees of freedom, has four forms of participation:

1. *Structured:*	Prescribed:	Roles	Opera	Music
2. *Semi-Structured:*	Prescribed:	—	Theme	Music
3. *Semi-Free:*	Prescribed:	—	—	Music
4. *Free:*	Full Improvisation:	—	—	—

The types of participation include the group as a whole (e.g., structured form with opera libretti), individual within a group (e.g., soliloquy, aside) individual with auxiliary egos (duos, trios, quartets, etc.), and soloist. As in a psychodrama, the sessions focus on problem resolution by means of participation in a social theme with individuality and spontaneity. The session's structure is warm up, action, sharing, and working through.

A Structured-Form Session

On one occasion, when *Rigoletto* was the opera selected, nine group members participated in a session. To warm up their singing voices, all engaged in vocal exercises as an introduction to vocalizing and singing in gibberish. The exercises included humming up and down the scale; the use of the vowels with an "m" (ma, me, mi, mo, mu) while sustaining a note on an ascending scale; and carrying a tone through the first, third, fifth, and octave of ascending/descending chords within the voice range of the participants. Then I introduced more freedom with a nontraditional experimentation to produce all kinds of emotional responses with the singing voice and suggested that the participants practice at home in front of a mirror (see Díaz de Chumaceiro, 1995a).

Participants sat in a circle while the director gave one slow reading of a brief synopsis of this three-act opera. This reading served as a "verbal transference" stimulus toward improvisation and replaced the director's invention of a plot, as suggested in Moreno's instrumental form. Participants were then free, regardless of gender, to select among themselves the prescribed roles of Rigoletto, a court jester; his daughter; her nurse; the duke; an assassin; and his sister. The core theme was revenge. The group used props—scarves, medallions, hats, a knife, and so on—to aid in the identification of roles. Then, the director stated the basic rules: "All communications must be sung in gibberish and vocalizations; semantic language is forbidden, except as practiced today. Members are requested not to abandon their roles until the music ends—approximately 30 min—unless it is absolutely necessary to leave the stage. If and when ready, return to the stage and continue. When all are silent, the music will begin. The action starts whenever participants feel ready." The

volume of the 30-min collage tape of orchestral classical music was set at such a level that to hear themselves and each other, the participants could not sing softly.

Some of the participants, having heard the synopsis of this opera only once, had soon forgotten the storyline as the action began to develop. To be able to continue, they had to invent action, becoming role-creative while projecting their personal dramas on stage in interaction with each other, singing in a way never experienced previously. The participants could not cling to traditional musical-cultural clichés; thus, spontaneity and creativity had an opportunity to surface. the libretto and the music influenced the individuals as well as the whole group (McFarland, 1984; Roederer, 1979).

After the performance ended, the participants sat down in silence to write their immediate impressions and feelings, including all imagery, on a sheet of paper (15 min approximately). The subsequent analysis of the self-reports confirmed that even in a structured situation, personal projections emerged that were related to unresolved problems. As a home work assignment, the director asked the participants to expand on their impressions.

An animated sharing and discussion period followed, and from this the director learned that none of the members had seen *Rigoletto* or heard the music excerpts on the tape used (Díaz de Chumaceiro & Yáber, 1995). The participants' initial questions centered on the opera's plot and on the music used in the tape. Then, focusing on the opera, the group developed a psychological profile of the different roles. The mechanisms of defense that impeded conscious realization of motivations in everyday life were then evident to the group. Each member commented on reasons that came to mind for his or her unconscious selection of roles, the plot invented when the original story was forgotten, and how the data were linked to his or her conflicts.

The working-through process proceeded as in traditional psychodrama (Valarino, 1975, 1981). At a moment of epiphany, one of the participants confessed something that previously had always been negated. The experience of the operatic role had been so intense that this person could no longer continue to deny what had been evident in his actions and expressions when singing on stage. Later, all participants had a private opportunity to see the video playback (Alger & Hogan, 1971), which added to their insight and consolidated interventions produced during this session. Those who had had no previous inclination to sing were now eager for new experiences with other operas. This cultural experience loosened more defenses than the directors had expected. The participants were now interested in seeing a staging of *Rigoletto* (or a video) and in hearing its famous arias.

The structured form is a mixture of a type of spontaneity training and a type of drama therapy because individuals are induced to play others' roles rather than their own. Technically, it is not purely psychodramatic. This role dis-

tancing, although partly improvisational, may or may not lead to a person's ownership of the role dynamics during the reflection and the writing period. That depends on whether, during the singing process, the participant's defenses have become looser or more rigid and on the psychodramatist's skills during the working-through period.

A Semistructured Session

In the semistructured form, only a general theme and the music are prescribed. The participants freely develop their roles as they do in psychodrama proper. For one session, the director selected as a theme "The Enchanted Garden" and recorded excerpts of French impressionistic orchestral music, whose ambiguity favors psychological projection, for a one-act operatic psychodrama. Eight members participated in the session.

After a warm-up of the singing voice, the director gave the following instructions: "You are in an enchanted garden. Each one selects his or her space on stage to represent a soliloquy, in gibberish, set to the music you will hear. The music lasts approximately 20 minutes" (Díaz de Chumaceiro, 1985, pp. 56–57). Once the group was silent, the director started the tape. Each member began to sing whatever came to mind in the prescribed modality. The members were free to interact or not to interact with others in the group. This was in contrast to the previous structured session in which group participation was the norm. Predictably, some wandered off alone, while others searched for a partner with whom to sing their "arias."

One protagonist mentally searched for a shade tree on the grass so that he might sit there under a cloudy sky; another found a little dog as a companion in a European garden. These individuals expressed difficulty in singing in gibberish, which they then linked to interpersonal communication problems. Others appeared to be afraid of being alone and searched to involve someone in a duet. Those who imagined being in their garden accompanied by animals and objects rather than people had avoided human intimacy. Indeed, one participant's imagery of white marble statues that become alive only at night, in a cold and shadowy garden, provided rich projective material that included elements of virginity and frigidity, passionate desire, fear, memories of infancy, and an esthetic communication in a different language. For some members of the group, it had been a long time since they had had the opportunity to enjoy themselves and focus inwardly, because they lived too much for others. Some wanted to be alone with their thoughts but did not know how to tell other members not to bother them, just as they could not say "no" in their everyday lives. Others resisted being in a garden. For example, by creatively transposing themselves elsewhere to a white, sandy beach, they demonstrated individuality and spontaneity in an inner search, as if in a light trance, in spite of

being amid others. These individuals were ready for an operatic socio-psychodrama with another degree of freedom.

It became clear to group members that just thinking about ideas resulting from the theme and music induction hardly produced the same effects as singing in gibberish, letting the voice and body freely express whatever surfaced unintentionally with the protection of a lack of a common language. This is singing that is "imitating the babbling, gestures, movements and laughter of early infancy, when the child does not understand others' verbal communications yet the emotional contents are interpreted acoustically" (Díaz de Chumaceiro, 1985, p. 26).

A Semifree Session

In the semifree form, only the music is prescribed, and in reaction to it, the participants develop their roles. Because of singing in gibberish rather than in a common language, the theme can become clear only when roles are named and later explained. For example, a protagonist volunteered to sing with a prerecorded piece, in this case, Delius's "In a Summer Garden." The protagonist was not informed of the title of the music so that this superimposed fact would not distort the experience of the music itself.

In the first 3 min of singing accompanied by this music, the protagonist evoked the following imagery: a gentle waterfall that drops on a rock, around which a butterfly is fluttering. The waterfall was associated with daily overwhelming stresses in the present; the rock with obstacles in reaching set goals; and the short life of the butterfly with fear of death. The protagonist then connected these images to the loss of two brothers during the past year. The rock, in turn, was linked to the stubborn parents the protagonist had to oppose to be able to gain some freedom and independence of action in life. The gentle waterfall mirrored the strength and impulsiveness of present plans, in spite of the apparent paradox presented. The working-through process addressed the participant's unresolved mourning (Díaz de Chumaceiro, 1985, p. 42).

The results of this experiment and of other experiments with brief pieces of traditional orchestral music used by therapaists unable to take the time to make a tape of excerpts suggest that as long as the music used is unknown to the participants, the effect may approximate Moreno's original intent. Nevertheless, therapists need to take into account the fact that a complete piece of traditional music follows a prescribed pattern, beginning in one key, modulating to others, and ending in the same tonality as it began. With creative excerpts, the mixture of different pieces of music from different composers, in different tonalities, with different rhythms and instruments, will inevitably jolt participants in several directions during the singing/acting experience. I feel this is an indication that the combination of excerpts, closer to improvised

live music, may be more powerful in mobilizing repressed conflicts than a complete traditional recording that lures the participant in only one direction.

The Free Form

In the free form, participants choose all the elements: themes, roles, and desired music (from a selection of available excerpted-music tapes or from a tape they produced. They could also sing *a cappella,* as participants do according to Moreno's organic form and Stanislavski's Method. One participant brought his own tape and began to sing and act quite freely. However, his behavior suddenly changed: Clearly, he had been transported elsewhere. When this music ended, he reported, with tears in his eyes, that, unwittingly, he had included one of his grandfather's favorite pieces. When he heard that music, which spontaneously changed his role, he began to sing to his grandfather who had died without saying good-by to him. This serendipitous event facilitated the emergence and working through of his unresolved mourning that was affecting his current relationships with older men in the workplace (see Díaz de Chumaceiro, 1995b).

Discussion

Opera libretti, with their marriage to music and timeless plots and their power of attraction for audiences of all ages, seemed ideal for the structured form of this technique. Usually set in foreign countries and in the past, opera libretti offer an interesting selection of plots reflecting normal and pathological desires, conflicts, and solutions similar to those that different patient populations bring to treatment. Given that professional singer–actors unconsciously discharge repressed emotions through roleplaying, I maintain that the same principle is applicable to psychodramatic singers. In professional singing, the selection of roles is limited by gender and voice range; by contrast, in a psycho-opera, the selection of roles is free from such reality constraints. Furthermore, an advantage of selecting an opera libretto unknown to the group (indirect projection) versus the director inventing the plot (direct projection) is that the traditional art work can also be an educational tool that expands the participants' cultural interests in their lives beyond their treatment.

Recorded music had been used previously in psychodrama (Starr, 1977). In the psycho-opera technique, however, instead of the original music of the opera selected for dramatization or a complete piece of some other traditional music, excerpts by different composers are selected as a compromise solution to the absence of live music.

In the preparation of an orchestral collage, the imagination, skills, and cre-

ativity of the person who prepares it come into play. After reading the opera synopsis and with the basic action of the opera in mind, the therapist selects suitable excerpts of different durations by different composers and makes a tape to cover the allotted time period. The basic dynamics of a three/four-act opera can be compressed into 30–40 min for a group session of 90–120 min. The process is akin to providing film music. In short, the objective is to select excerpts of music, preferably unknown to the participants, that somehow support the basic action of the plot—with changes in tonality, rhythms, instruments, and tone colors. In introductory sessions, for instance, one short excerpt, such as a waltz or a percussion section, may serve as a leitmotif to suggest transitions to different scenes and acts. With more-advanced groups, this indirect prodding is no longer necessary or advisable. Although classical music from any historical period can be used, vocal music must be excluded.

For therapists who do not play an instrument, these tapes offer several advantages: the inclusion of music in psychodrama; the option of using the tapes with different groups; the possibility of lending the tapes to other leaders and thus opening up many avenues for research; the opportunity for leaders to sing and learn privately.

Other Applications

A person's participation in an operatic experience may lead to that person's attending a performance of an opera or other works by the composer, studying music history, or singing for pleasure. An individual's incentive, at any age, to explore new areas promotes his or her latent creativity. In individual therapy, the therapist can use a modified approach. This technique also has been useful to singers presenting difficulties in interpreting particular roles. In such cases, psychoanalytically oriented music therapy and psychodrama overlap.

The structured form is applicable for dramatization at different levels of education, beginning in junior high school. Joan Sutherland's *Who's Afraid of Opera* videotapes serve as an excellent introduction for young children who do not know the foreign languages in which operas are sung.

The Venezuelan Psycho-Opera and the Canadian Psycho-Opera

Venezuelan psycho-opera differs from the Canadian psycho-opera in that the former is generally used with smaller groups, focuses on problem solving, and uses opera libretti or general and personal themes. The participants work in duos and trios, with graded forms of freedom and taped orchestral accompaniment. The latter is a practical solution in the absence of live musicians. To some extent both techniques can be integrated with more classical psychodramatic forms. The new technique has also been integrated with video proce-

dures, cognitive–behavior methods, and psychoanalytically oriented discussion. Both authors independently arrived at an appreciation of the usefulness of different forms of singing in psychodrama, applicable to other therapies. The techniques, derivatives of Moreno's work, have served the different purposes for which they were created and developed and have helped different patient populations in their search for meaning and happiness in life.

Conclusions

I recommend that therapists first experience the different forms of operatic psychodrama with colleagues or friends before trying it with students or patients. Reik (1948/1983) stressed that there is a "great difference between a knowledge that we acquire by learning, hearing, or reading, and what we learn from experience. Only this second kind of experience cannot be taken from us because it is blended with our experience. The two kinds of knowing are psychologically different even when they have the same content" (p. 89). Moreno (1994/1946) had hoped that "just as drama in the form of psychodrama, also music in the form of psychomusic can become an *active* function for every man in his daily life" (italics in original, p. 278). The Venezuelan psychoopera is another way of incorporating music into psychodrama. By focusing on expanding the potential range and emotional expression of their singing voices, while being accompanied by orchestral excerpts as they interpret opera libretti or more personal themes, participants became better acquainted with their internal musical instrument and increase their self-knowledge. This technique can be an additional tool for psychodramatists and open avenues for research and practice in different clinical and educational settings and with different patient and student populations.

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CORA L. DIAZ de CHUMACEIRO is a clinical psychologist and singer, an international affiliate of the APA, a member of the ASGPP, and a member of the Editorial Board of *The Arts in Psychotherapy.*

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Address:
Cora L. Díaz de Chumaceiro
Apartado 88575
Módulo Cumbres de Curumo
Caracas 1081, Venezuela

Book Review

Creative Problem Solving Through Role Playing. E. Paul Torrance, Mary Murdock, and David C. Fletcher. Capetown, South Africa: Benedic Books. 288 pages, paperback. Available from Georgia Studies of Creative Behavior, 183 Cherokee Ave., Athens, GA 30606–4305. Cost: $16 + $2 postage.

The authors of this book address those who might want to apply psychodramatic methods in business, education, and personal and community development. They have been active for many years in the field of creativity studies, a tradition that has paralleled the use of psychodrama in psychotherapy—closer to sociodrama and Moreno's hope that his methods might be used in the service of "sociatry," the healing and development of society in general. Because Torrance, Murdock, and Fletcher have operated outside the field of psychodrama, yet have remained sympathetic with its ideals, their approach offers some interesting viewpoints that complement the writings from within psychodrama's "mainstream."

Professor Torrance, the primary and senior author, is an internationally recognized authority in the field of creativity, especially regarding the development of creative abilities in adults as well as children. He was significantly influenced by Moreno in the late 1940s, knew a number of the early pioneers, and indeed could be ranked among them, although his work diverged from the field's socioeconomic overemphasis on "therapy."

The authors discuss how creative problem solving in a more general way can be facilitated by role playing. After they describe the process, they emphasize the need for warming-up—a major problem in using role playing in schools or business. Their rationale, using certain concepts derived from educational psychology, would help practitioners making presentations to nontherapists. They also address the role of conflict functions as a theme in sociodramatic procedures.

With a consideration in chapter 4 of involved drama and creativity as subtle permutations of altered states of consciousness, they approach the psychology of spontaneity and creativity in a new way. It resonated with some similar ideas I have had about the function of excitement as a basic affect—an extension of "interest" in Sylvan Tomkin's theory of emotion. Their view

that spontaneity in the dramatic process (i.e., role playing) partakes of some elements and types of "altered states of consciousness" is most intriguing. The senior author, Torrance, has done a good deal of work illustrating the way creativity involves a heightening of right-hemispheric modes of thinking in the resolution of problems that otherwise tend to defy logic.

The three authors address in some detail the psychodramatic techniques of soliloquy, the double, using the audience, multiple double, the mirror, role reversal, magic shop, and future projection. Techniques such as "the magic net" resonate with a resurgence of the use of materials as props for warming-up. (I imagine "Dancing colors" might be especially useful in this regard.)

Then the authors offer guidelines for directors, including some specific points and some ethical points. Shifting to applications, they consider the use of creative problem solving and role playing in career education and professional training. I was especially pleased at this because vocational counseling is an important and frequently neglected part of a holistic approach to therapy.

They use role playing to foster creative writing skills. They suggest developing the capacity for negotiation by using role reversal and other approaches in the service of conflict exploration and resolution.

Because the authors envision the use of role playing in the classroom to develop greater skills for problem solving, communication, and self-awareness, this book could be used by teachers as the primary text in upper high school or undergraduate college courses. Also, the book offers a number of techniques that make it useful for teachers of children in elementary and middle schools.

Creative Problem Solving Through Role Playing, although useful, has minor problems: It lacks an index. Its bibliography is largely outdated and lacks any mention of most of the more recent books in psychodrama. The publisher was somewhat careless and mentions books that are out of date. Nonetheless, the book is a useful complement to the psychodrama library and would be helpful to those who apply the methods in arenas beyond the medical model.

ADAM BLATNER
Austin, Texas

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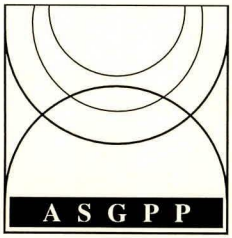

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