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CORRECTION

In the Spring 1999 issue of this journal, the authors of The Functions of Groups: A Psychometric Analysis of the Group Resources Inventory (IJAM, 52, 1-14) were not listed correctly on the table of contents. The authors, as shown on the title page of the article, are Donelson R. Forsyth, Timothy R. Elliott, and Josephine A. Welsh.

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Using Theater Improvisation to Assess Interpersonal Functioning

DANIEL J. WIENER

ABSTRACT. Theater improvisation games and exercises, which employ role-playing methods, are structured tasks useful for the assessment, training, and remediation of interpersonal skills. Using case material, the author demonstrates how those tasks reveal distinct deficiencies or imbalances that are manifest in clients' psychosocial functioning and describes 5 theatrical functions necessary for adequate psychosocial functioning as part of a dramaturgic model.

ATTEMPTS TO ASSESS THE ADEQUACY of clients' psychosocial functioning by psychometric testing omit much of the realistic, global, and immediate context of social behavior. According to Moreno (1934), such testing permits only the analysis of "cold material which the subject leaves behind after his excitement in the state of production has passed" (p. 122). Consequently, some researchers and therapists simulate social situations that call for subjects to improvise their responses. In Moreno's (1934) original Spontaneity test and in later situation tests (Starr, 1977; Bronfenbrenner & Newcomb, 1948), clients were instructed to behave naturally in an unforeseen situation that was staged by the experimenter. The Psychodramatic Role Test (Kreitler & Kreitler, 1964) required solitary clients to improvise responses to realistic situations described by off-stage voices, whereas the Projective and Expressive Action Test (Del Torto & Corneytz, 1944) employed scenarios with auxiliaries who improvised within structured guidelines. Similarly, McReynolds and his colleagues (McReynolds & DeVoge, 1977; McReynolds et al., 1981) developed and empirically validated two personality assessment protocols that used structured improvisation—one for individuals and one for couples. In contrast to the protocols used in those assessment approaches, I have developed Rehearsals for Growth (RfG), which is an application of improvisational theater games. The approach structures interpersonal goals,

though not specific situations, and allows auxiliary actors free rein to improvise, offering a less controlled but broader and more impressionistic view of clients' psychosocial functioning.

Characteristics of Improvisation

Improvisation is an activity in which players—clients or other people who intentionally take roles in circumstances acknowledged by all present to be staged—continually adjust to changes in circumstance and character as those are invented in the moment. Most conventional social transactions permit and even encourage a person to encounter a present situation, guided predominantly by expectations derived from known roles, habitual performances, and intended or anticipated outcomes. By contrast, effective improvisation requires that players give up their conception, expectation, and any script about what is supposed to be there and attend to what is happening here and now, both intra- and interpersonally. When stage-improvising, players learn to reduce their reliance on control of the future and experience a risky aliveness—spontaneity—in the present moment. Improvisational enactment, in which players “make it up” as they go along, is therefore far from an artless, random, or haphazard activity. To improvise well, players must be fully attentive and responsive to cues on multiple levels both from their stage partners and from their own impulses, all the while remaining oriented to the time, place, and plot elements already introduced in the scene. Perhaps hardest of all, players need to overcome the deeply ingrained habit of avoiding the influence of others when facing an unknown future. As I have noted (Wiener, 1999, p. 166),

[C]ompetent stage-improvisation with others also shares a number of characteristics with good interpersonal relationship functioning: *attentiveness* to others' words and actions; *flexibility* in both initiating and accepting others' directions and suggestions (giving up over-control); and making others right (*validation* of their reality, thereby supporting them to look good).

Dramaturgy: Linking Improvisation and Life Performance

One might ask: What characterizes inadequate, adequate, or exceptional improvised performance? One way of assessing observed differences in the way people improvise in structured situations is to note what appropriate role functions are present or absent in their performances. Clients' difficulties in improvisation and in life may be evidence that they are doing poorly in one or more of their performance functions.

The term *performance* has the dual connotations of productive action and artistic display. Psychotherapists have linked theatrical and psychological

process (see Wiener, 1994, Ch. 1). Holt (1992, p. 70), for one, views "all behaviour as necessarily theatrical: necessarily, because theatre is *how* we are invested in reality." Similarly, Moreno (1946, p. 15) stated: "Psychodrama defines the drama as an extension of life and action rather than its imitation." Those assertions are consistent with *dramaturgy*, a perspective that arose in the social sciences during the past sixty years to study how meaning is accomplished in human lives. Unlike behaviorist or psychodynamic psychologies, dramaturgy focuses on "connecting action to its sense rather than behavior to its determinants" (Brisset & Edgley, 1990, p. 2). Dramaturgic theorists share the fundamental principle that "... the meaning of people's doings is to be found in the manner in which they express themselves in interaction with similarly expressive others" (Brisset & Edgley, 1990, p. 3).

Dramaturgy is thus a tool for understanding the interpersonal nature of the self and particularly for analyzing the interaction of persons with others. Within dramaturgy, there exists the radical view that considers all social behavior as theatrical performance; persons are always "on stage" and select only a part of their repertoire to display to others (Goffman, 1959). Some drama therapists share that dramaturgic framework, notably Robert Landy (1986), who based his technique on Goffman's analysis of role. Dramaturgic therapists frame assessment more in terms of a client's awkwardly lived life (i.e., a socially inadequate or maladaptive pattern) than in assessing a psychiatric disorder. Therefore, therapists view the majority of problems clients bring to them as the results of the clients' limitations in changing or their failure to choose appropriate performances (Wiener, 1994, pp. 153–154).

In this article, I expand on the approach to psychosocial assessment offered by Holt's (1992) concept that life functioning results from the interplay of both narrative and performance. I have identified five theater-like role functions or capacities, described below, that are needed for competent psychosocial functioning. The five role functions, with their theatrical names, are

1. *Reality-testing* (the Producer), which attends to "what is there" in the physical world and acknowledges "who I am" simultaneously in biological, ideological, familial/cultural, and historical contexts;
2. *Imaginatively creating* (the Author), which empowers one to create, choose, or actively interpret stories, both of what is happening now and of one's life;
3. *Embodying and expressing* (the Performer), which creates, actively interprets, and enacts roles, enabling choice in how to present self to others;
4. *Responsive self-witnessing* (the Spectator), which passively interprets, evaluates, witnesses, and receives the roles performed by self and others; and
5. *Coordinating and balancing* (the Director), which integrates the activities of the previous four functions.

Deficits in these role functions result in performance deficiencies that are revealed by improvisational situation tests, described later.

A Taxonomy of Performance Deficiencies

When a person's Producer is limited, the person has some deficiency in factual grounding, the acknowledgment of the given circumstances of life. The different degrees of factual ungroundedness range from psychotic-level denial (manifested by delusions or a refusal to acknowledge concrete and immediate facts), through "immature defenses" (manifested by a refusal to take responsibility for one's actions [Moffett & Bruto, 1990]), to a post-modern "saturated self" (manifested by a fragmented, shallow, expediency-dominated lifestyle [Gergen, 1991]). The last form of ungroundedness is culturally invisible, found in otherwise well-adjusted people who are unaware of themes that link life events and are likely to underestimate the extent to which others may differ from them in values, priorities, and thought processes.

A complementary deficiency in a person's Author results in the absence of creative imagining, the capacity to create meaning. When confronted with life problems, people lacking this capacity to re-author their lives feel trapped and helpless to improve matters. To them, the limitations of circumstance appear absolute. Their desire to change is restricted to wishing for the restoration of their emotional well-being, devoid of any idea of how to accomplish that. They opt frequently for short-term gratification and relate to others by projecting onto them the roles of either perpetrator of, or savior from, their own distress. The inability of such people to redirect their lives is manifested by a lack of agency; by a tendency to be "factual" in a way that precludes flexibility of viewpoint, attitude, or choice; and by limited ability to grasp purpose in others' actions. I view factual grounding and creative imagining as complementary components of a single dimension, Narrative, which maps the content of what is included in experience.

Another complementary pair of capacities—Performer and Spectator—is needed for adequate psychosocial functioning. The capacity to activate one's Performer is key to an individual's attempts to create and manage impressions of self on others. A limitation of Performer capacity results in people being reduced to social passivity. They are observing their lives rather than experiencing their power to live them directly and are reacting rather than acting. This passivity is manifest when one takes an over-distanced position, often in an emotionally blunted manner, resulting in diminished personal effectiveness in joining with and influencing others.

Also needed for socially competent performance is the Spectator capacity, the complement to the Performer. That capacity is a conscious witnessing that

provides vital feedback to the Performer. Indeed, a role exists and is cocreated only through the reciprocal interplay between Performer and Spectator functions. Those functions can be located in separate persons or within the same person.

An absence of conscious witnessing leaves people unable to perform responsively, evaluate accurately, or choose wisely. Such an absence is manifested by one's taking a narcissistic position (frequently in a highly emotional manner), by egocentrism (an awareness of others only in their role of Spectator to one's own self), by one's feeling misunderstood and wronged by others, by one's incapacity to laugh at self, and by one's inability to shift intentionally to greater detachment or to heightened involvement. These last two capacities, active fulfilling and aware witnessing, are complementary components of a separate dimension, Performance, which maps the process, the "how" of expression toward self and others.

A Dramaturgic Model

To explain the interplay between the dimensions of Narrative and Performance and the operations of the role functions of Producer, Author, Performer and Spectator, I posit a Director, a metarole function that is not part of either dimension and is the core chooser and mover of personality. The Director has functions similar to Schwartz' (1995) Self; it is self-conscious and orchestrates the four role functions by selectively directing awareness and activating energy toward or away from them.

In this Dramaturgic Model, people create and express meaning through a process like this: From the context of given conditions provided by the Producer, the Director becomes aware of role possibilities. The Director activates the Author to devise and select which roles to express. The Performer shapes how the roles are realized, guiding the enactment by internal and external feedback from the Spectator. The resultant performance becomes a factual element, attended to by the Producer, that may activate further expressions from self and others. The process, however, can begin by the Director's activating, either first or concurrently, any of the other positions and then activating the rest in any sequence. Dramaturgic meaning is thus conveyed as a product of activity on both the Narrative and the Performance dimensions. That is in contrast to those Narrative therapy approaches (e.g., Zimmerman & Dickerson, 1993) that attend only to the interplay between authoring and producing and overlook entirely the contribution of the Performance dimension to life and therapy. Healthy interpersonal functioning requires the full and balanced use of Performer-Spectator functions and those of Producer-Author. The Dramaturgic Model is summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Summary of Dramaturgic Model

Dimension	Function	Theatrical Name	Role Function	Capacity	Psychosocial deficiency resulting from role function limitation or restriction
<i>Narrative</i> (content of experience)	Inclusion, interpretation of content	Producer	Factual Grounding	Acknowledgment of factual reality and identity in context	1. At psychotic level: denial of concrete and immediate facts 2. At neurotic level: immature defenses; nonresponsibility 3. At "self-saturated" level: rootlessness, fragmentation of identity, meaninglessness
		Author	Imaginative Creating	Create, choose, and actively interpret stories	Lack of imagination to see beyond present viewpoint; difficulty shifting both attitudes and intensity of involvement.
		Performer	Active Fulfilling	Actively enact and interpret roles	Passivity; reactive stance; inability to join with or influence others.
<i>Performance</i> (processing of experience)	Expression, witnessing of performance	Spectator	Aware Witnessing	Evaluation of performances of self and others	Insensitive or inappropriate performance; narcissism, egocentrism; inability to laugh at oneself.

Case Examples of Improvisational Assessment

As noted previously, improvisation serves as an effective tool for the assessment of the Director's abilities to select, activate, and coordinate the four role functions appropriately in response to a continuously fluid context. The RfG games and exercises, described below, are brief, structured role-playing tasks that elicit improvisational performances. Reliable assessment of performative deficiencies by RfG exercises and games requires repeated observations of such improvised enactments, particularly to determine whether coaching removes the deficiency. Within the limited range of client functioning I have observed in private practice, I have not found that observable limitations in client performances correspond well with conventional mental disorder classifications, such as those found in *DSM-IV*. At times, clients with varied diagnoses can manifest any particular psychosocial deficiency. However, peoples' performative limitations in their improvised enactments regularly do correspond with life evidence of their restricted use of one or more of the Author, Performer, or Spectator functions. A possible reason why restriction in the Producer function does not result in improvisational performance deficiencies is offered in the Discussion section.

A Brief Sketch of Four Clients

To demonstrate the connections between clients' life problems, their performative deficiencies when improvising, and the restrictions in their use of one of the three role functions of the Dramaturgic Model, I describe four clients selected from my practice. In many other cases, clients are only partially limited or show restrictions on more than one dimension. These four were chosen because their lives manifested fairly clear-cut restrictions in the use of one of the four positions. They also had worked with me in group therapy, couples therapy, or family therapy, enacting RfG games and exercises, including those described in the next section.

Don—A 34-yr-old Purchasing Manager

Don had been married for 4 years to Lisa; they had a 2-year-old son. At Lisa's insistence, they had been coming to couples therapy because she found Don's insensitivity to her values worrisome and anticipated that that would gradually drive them apart. Don cared mainly about sports, making money, and keeping up the condition of their house. Don later came alone to improvisational group therapy for several months, not because he saw himself as needing it but because he enjoyed the conversation and enactments. The enactments activated a playful side of Don, which was appreciated by most of the group's members. He described himself as practical, logical, and happy—

qualities he saw as largely lacking in Lisa. For Don, reality was synonymous with his own, unexamined viewpoint; he did not argue with Lisa when she wanted to spend money on cut flowers, just negotiated for how much she could spend on “things they didn’t need.” The only son of parents of Eastern European ancestry, Don characterized himself simply as an American and showed no interest in his historical, familial, or personal past. He barely tolerated Lisa’s large, Southern family, and he was only occasionally around during their visits. Each year Don’s work as a purchasing manager for a large, multinational corporation necessitated two or three business trips abroad, which he hated. His lifestyle and functioning are characteristic of people who are “self-saturated” Producer-limited.

Debby—A 29-yr-old Manicurist

Debby lived at her parents’ home in the neighborhood where she had been reared and where she was surrounded by family and friends. Her life was highly structured by work, family, local social events, and church. Debby came into therapy with Alex, her boyfriend of the past 18 months, because of his skittishness regarding a commitment to marriage. After seeing them conjointly for eight sessions, I recommended group therapy for Debby, which became part of her routine. She showed little initiative to change her life, which appeared mapped out in a way that she could not conceive of questioning. The aspect of life that perturbed her was Alex’s failure to propose marriage; yet she seemed incapable of thinking what would happen to her if he never did. Emotionally, she mostly presented a placid mask, showing little variation in intensity of expressed emotion. Group members felt that she was lacking in empathy when their issues came up; she appeared incapable of grasping how they could think, choose, or value differently from her. Her lifestyle and functioning are characteristic of Author-limited people.

Dave—A 48-yr-old Foreign Language Teacher

Dave entered group therapy after losing his third job at a public high school. He was again in graduate school, this time for a second master’s degree in a foreign language. Although polite and well-mannered, other group members soon remarked that he appeared absent-minded, frequently responding to questions and situations without grasping what was expected of him and appearing out of touch with his own and others’ feelings. He appeared to have difficulty staying present, easily getting lost in tangential, obsessive ideas and withdrawing under stress. Dave’s social life was limited to weekly visits to a chess club. Since the death of his mother two years earlier, he had had little contact with his family, having had only brief telephone contact with his younger sister. He stated that he would like to live with a woman but took

no initiative to socialize. In the past, he had had two superficial relationships that lasted only a few months. Dave's lifestyle and functioning are characteristic of Performer-limited people.

Doris—A 39-yr-old Divorcée

Doris, a recent divorcée, had two daughters, ages 13 and 10. After six individual sessions, she entered group therapy "in order to learn how to pick a better mate next time." Doris had caught her husband in an extramarital affair and had vengefully sought to punish him financially through the divorce proceedings. She also confided inappropriately to her daughters about their father's faults and actively pressured them to side with her partly to hurt him and partly to gain their loyalty and sympathy for herself. In group, Doris was perceived as entertaining but self-centered and stubborn. She was involved in numerous confrontations with other members that she often instigated with her offensive, judgmental remarks. In her social life, she dated actively but not seriously; she was afraid of getting hurt by becoming too involved. Doris also had difficulty keeping women as friends because she occasionally stood them up or canceled plans at the last minute if something better developed—usually a date with a man. When that happened, she was not contrite so her friends dropped her. When she, however, was on the receiving end of even relatively minor snubs, she was deeply hurt. Doris's lifestyle and functioning are characteristic of Spectator-limited people.

Descriptions of Three RfG Enactments

Since 1996, RfG enactments have been divided into exercises, which are activities used with clients in their conventional social roles to help them acquire skills or discover how a relationship functions in some particular aspect, and games, which are lengthier enactments that involve taking up dramatic roles while playing a scene that tells a story. Although I still use other adaptations of the improvisational theater games I developed (Wiener, 1994), I increasingly rely on eight enactment forms for individual and relationship assessment. By using fewer enactment forms for assessment, I have standardized the comparison of improvised responses across clients without sacrificing the essential improvisational character of the RfG method. Three of the enactment forms involve dyadic enactment—Tug-of-War (Wiener, 1996), Puppets (Wiener, 1999), and Master/Servant (Wiener, 1991).

General Preparation

In all improvisation enactments offered in group, couples, or family therapy, clients are invited to participate voluntarily, after they have received an

adequate description of what will follow so that they can give informed consent. Clients are told whether the enactment involves physical movement, and, if so, are asked to take responsibility for their own movement in light of any physical limitation they might have and to inform their partner(s) of any limitations. All clients wear casual clothing; women are encouraged to wear slacks and remove shoes with heels. Clients are instructed to mime the existence and use of any props and are reminded that the characters they create and portray are free to say and do anything. Clients act out only the bodily contact that had been previously specified and mutually agreed to. The players receive some instruction in the fundamental rule of improvisation, namely, to "accept all offers." An *offer* is any behavior that can be noticed. Thus, to accept an offer is to treat a behavior as factually true within the scene. For a more complete discussion of the pragmatics of staging RfG enactments, see chapter 9 of Wiener (1994).

For the purposes of this article, the three clients described—Debbie, Dave, and Doris—were paired with a different partner for each enactment. Where a relationship outside of therapy existed between the client and partner, that was noted. I emphasized that no enactment can be judged in its entirety as good or deficient and that the contribution of the clients' partners cannot be fully separated from that of the clients. Nevertheless, because the partners of the three clients generally improvised well with other players, it seems plausible to conclude that deficiencies across enactments in which the clients were players point to the clients' being mainly responsible for those deficiencies.

Enactment 1—Tug-of-War, First Phase of the Exercise

Instructions. Two players face one another and are about 6 ft apart, with some room behind each. I tell them that there is an imaginary rope on the ground between them and that on a signal from me, they are to pick up the rope and begin a tug-of-war. The partners are to maintain eye contact and to play without using words (sound is okay). I announce that a winner is to be determined within thirty and signal the partners to begin. At the end of thirty seconds (frequently, no winner emerges), I stop the action and ask each partner to discuss how he or she experienced the contest, to describe personal impulses, and tell what each noticed about the partner's actions during the contest. The partners were assessed for the following qualities: paying attention to one's partner, accepting (body) offers, cocreating a workable reality, making the partner look good, and giving up one's anxiety about controlling of the outcome.

An Example of Good Improvisation. At my signal, Greg and Gay slowly picked up the imaginary rope, maintaining eye contact. As they positioned

their bodies to pull, there was a two-second period during which their tension was equal. Then Greg began slowly to pull, hand over hand; as he did so, Gay's arms moved away from her body toward him, and her balance shifted forward. Finally, Greg gave a sharp yank and Gay stumbled toward him, laughing. Both seemed pleased with the outcome.

Three Examples of Deficient Improvisation.

1. Debby (Author restricted): When Debby and her boyfriend Alex were invited to try that exercise in couples therapy, she objected on the grounds that "he's so much bigger than me," overlooking the fact that the imaginary rope nullified any physical advantage. After I explained that, they began the contest. Alex started to move his arms toward Debby, signaling that she was pulling him. Debbie, looking baffled, symmetrically followed suit, attempting to yield to Alex. That at once destroyed the illusion of a tug-of-war. Afterward, Debby stated that she thought it good manners to reciprocate Alex's offer to have her win. "And what else could I have done?" she asked.

2. Dave (Performer restricted): At my signal, Carol began miming pulling with great effort while Dave remained in position, neither pulling nor being pulled. Next, Carol gave a number of short pulls while Dave held on, not looking at her as he leaned slightly backward. Carol dropped the rope, angry. Dave appeared uncomfortable; he began to justify his reluctance to get involved in the exercise.

3. Doris (Spectator restricted): As I gave the signal to begin, Diane started to pull on the rope. Doris voiced her objection, saying that she had not been ready and that Diane should have waited. Starting again, both pulled hand over hand, resulting in a "taffy" rope and no real winner, because neither had yielded to the other's pulling. Afterward, Doris stated that she had really won, overlooking Diane's symmetrical behavior.

Commentary. The main purpose of the exercise is for the partners to cocreate the stage reality of a physical struggle, which is accomplished by their closely attending to one another. The stage reality does not allow a "rubber" rope, meaning one that could be seen as stretching or going slack. Players need to treat the rope as a reality of their interaction; one's hauling in rope implies the other's being pulled toward the center. The secondary purposes are to explore each partner's commitment to winning or losing and getting a decisive result and to have the partners to learn how the relative intensity of those desires is signaled and responded to in the exercise. As with all enactments, it is also important to learn whether clients enjoyed the enactment or how they judged themselves or their partners for the outcome. Another feature to observe is whether the emotional climate of their relationship shifted following the enactment.

Enactment 2—The Puppets Game

Instructions. One player is seated in an armless chair while the other stands behind the chair. The seated player plays the puppet, who is permitted to speak but not to move his body. The standing player is the puppeteer, who is allowed to move his own body and to manipulate the head and limbs of the puppet. Their task is for them together to play the character of an expert who is giving an impromptu lecture on an absurd topic chosen for them to an audience, which is an essential element for this performance, even if the therapist is the only one available. An absurd topic keeps the players from being distracted by the need to contribute meaningful content and enables them to concentrate on creating an expressive performance of the expert role. Before beginning the task, the players are coached briefly in how the puppeteer is to move the puppet and how the puppet is to accept the movements given by the puppeteer. After the enactment and its verbal processing, the game may be repeated with roles reversed or with different partners. The players were assessed for the following qualities: paying attention to one's partner, making and accepting (body) offers, cocreating a workable reality (story), making one's partner look good, and giving up anxiety-based overcontrolling of the outcome.

An Example of Good Improvisation. George as the puppet and Gladys as the puppeteer lectured on "Job Placement Services for Mice." Gladys began by placing George's open hands over his ears. George, in a worried tone, began: "Are they gone? I can only take so much squeaking!" Gladys had him mop his brow, and George said: "We've placed fourteen mice in high-paying positions this week alone! They're in great demand for factory work, work hard and are eager to get ahead—but are they pushy!" At that point, Gladys held George's hands straight out in front of him, palms forward. The game went on in that way, with both players responsive to the other's offers, cocreating an entertaining performance of an overwhelmed job counselor telling his troubles to the audience.

Three Examples of Deficient Improvisations.

1. Debby (Author restricted): During a group therapy session with the lecture topic "Making Art from Leftover Food," Debby was the puppet. Derrick, as puppeteer, cocked her head to one side. Debby seemed at a loss about how to begin, so I prompted her to make up something on the topic. In a hesitant tone, Debby said: "When you have food in the refrigerator that has already been cooked, that's leftovers. (Derrick moved her arms in front of her and set her hands clapping together.) I think it's artistic to make leftovers tasty." (Derrick now centered Debby's head and made it nod slowly.) "Gravy can make

cold meat delicious,” continued Debby in a serious tone. Debby continued an emotionally flat, repetitious discourse on how different leftover foods could be made more palatable, not making use of Derrick’s offers. I intervened, reminding them that their character was a lively, entertaining lecturer. From that point on, Debby became more animated, though still not fully accepting of physical offers from Derrick. Afterward she acknowledged her awareness of the uninspired impression made by her character before my coaching but stated she “didn’t see what I could have done about it.” Debby also knew she was not fully accepting Derrick’s offers, yet she felt the game was “just too weird.” It was evident that she had tuned out any body awareness during the enactment.

2. Dave (Performer restricted): The lecture topic given was “How to Dance While Knitting.” As puppeteer, Dave held Cindy’s wrists and waved her arms from side to side overhead. Cindy began lecturing on how one could hold yarn while dancing. Dave continued to hold her wrists and make small circles with them. While Cindy tried to adjust the content of her lecture to the movements Dave gave her body, Dave mechanically continued to hold her wrists, changing the movement slightly about every 5 sec. Afterward, Cindy complained, with justification, that he had given her nothing on which to build the scene, nor had he heeded what she was saying. Dave replied that he was trying to create a dance with her arms as his contribution to the scene.

3. Doris (Spectator restricted): The lecture topic was “The Sex Life of the Amoeba.” Doris was the puppet; Doug placed her initially with her index finger extended up, out in front of her face. Doris began well: “One thing you must remember about amoebas is that they are NOT asexual; you were lied to in high school biology!” However, that was the last time during the scene that she incorporated Doug’s movements of her body. Although she let him move her, she continued to give a witty lecture, oblivious to his further efforts. When reviewing the exercise, Doris saw Doug’s movements as a challenging distraction, rather than as a helpful contribution to her own performance. The notion that his movement could have opened up her imagination was totally foreign to her, because she viewed the task not as a mutual enterprise but as “her lecture.”

Commentary. The main purpose of the game is for players to cocreate an active and aligned partnership in developing both the lecture and the character of the lecturer. Because each partner controls only one aspect of the character, they must coordinate their efforts, each making constructive offers that are consistent with what has been established thus far and accepting the offers of the partner by modifying what they contribute next. When that occurs, there is a heightened spirit of partnership; players enjoy improvising with one another and performing for the audience.

Enactment 3—Scenarios From the Master/Servant Game

Instructions. Players are given the roles of Master or Mistress and Servant. Although contemporary workplace scenarios between bosses and subordinates fit the form, it is preferable to distance the scene from such realism. Hence, I typically suggest a foreign setting in a bygone era, such as dramatizations featuring 18th- or 19th-century nobility interacting with servants. In the basic scenario, the Master summons the Servant and gives orders. The Master's job is to play a person of high status, and the Servant is to support or elevate the Master's status. After a brief enactment, the players are debriefed about to their feelings about the two characters. The therapist then makes suggestions, and the scene is replayed. The entire process is then repeated with the players exchanging roles. The players are evaluated for the following qualities: paying attention to one's partner, making and accepting (body) offers, adjusting one's behavior to indicate the appropriate status, cocreating a workable reality, making one's partner look good, and giving up anxiety-based overcontrolling of the outcome.

Commentary. Status here does not refer to social standing or occupational prestige but to behavior that signals one's importance in relation to others. In this game, when the Servant plays high status to the Master's low, it is a plausible, though comic, scene. The main purpose of the game is for the players to create a scene in which each is attuned to the other's nuanced adjustment of status, so that each character meets the other's expectations. Achieving that requires that both understand status transactions and pay close attention to the partner.

An Example of Good Improvisation. When Gail as Mistress impatiently rang the hand-bell, Gene as Servant entered apologetically, drawing a reprimand from her. Gene shrank a little into himself and, with eyes lowered, abjectly apologized. After he had gone on a while, Gail interrupted him, ordering him to bring the car around. Gene hesitated, then asked which car she wanted, the Rolls Royce or the Jaguar. "The Rolls, of course," Gail snapped. "We always take the Rolls when calling on the Vicar." "But madam," Gene humbly replied, "I seem to remember you telling me last Sunday that we'd be taking the Jag next week." Gail started; her tone becoming uncertain, even frightened. "Oh dear, dear, that's so. I do seem to be more forgetful nowadays, Samuel." Gene drew himself up, helped Gail to her feet, and handed her a cane. "Oh, no, madam, with all of your responsibilities, it's a wonder you can attend to so many details," he said in a benevolently paternal tone. Gail, walking off stage stiffly with the aid of the cane, replied softly, "You're being very kind to an old lady, Samuel," ending the scene.

Three Examples of Deficient Improvisation.

1. Debby (Author restricted): Debby began the scene as Mistress by asking Daphne, a group member Debby deferred to, to help her select her clothes for the day. It was immediately apparent to everyone else that Debby did not take a high status position because she came across as asking a favor, not giving an order. What ensued was a conversation between friends instead of a Master/Servant scene. I coached Debby to begin again, stressing her entitlement to being served. This time Debby sounded reproachful but still not in charge. Because she had previously witnessed a number of other group members enact the same scene and had played a low-status Servant adequately before, I concluded that her performative failure was not because of unfamiliarity with the concept but rather because of her inability to enact a status position that was the opposite of her accustomed role with Daphne in real life.

2. Dave (Performer restricted): Dave was assigned the role of Master. Seated and alone on stage at the beginning of the scene, he began a soliloquy about how difficult it was to get good help and had to be prompted to summon Calvin. When Calvin entered, Dave asked him for a breakfast tray and began to explain why his request was reasonable, forgetting that his stage role as Master justified his giving orders. Prompted once more to order breakfast, he did so in an impersonal tone; when Calvin mimed bringing in the tray, Dave began a monologue, addressed to no one in particular, on the importance of starting the day with a hearty breakfast. Afterward, Dave was baffled when he received feedback that he ignored Calvin and explained that his character was thoughtfully instructing the Servant about his Master's habits.

3. Doris (Spectator restricted): Doris entered the scene briskly as Daryl called loudly for her to bring him his afternoon snack. She whirled about on stage, putting down the tray, arranging the table while she talked incessantly about what she was doing. Daryl commented that she had forgotten his napkin. Instead of accepting the offer, Doris pointed to a spot in thin air, saying that the napkin was there, blocking his offer and thereby making her partner wrong. Daryl, adjusting quickly, stated that that was not his napkin, the one he was used to having. With an almost insubordinate air, Doris plucked the napkin and headed offstage with it. Afterward, Doris was defensive about her block, arguing that it was a valid contribution to the scene. She was not receptive to acknowledging that her character had lowered the status of the Master by flatly contradicting him, and she resisted the notion that it was appropriate for the Master to lower her status in the role of Servant. Table 2 contains summaries of the performance deficiencies of each of the clients presented above.

Discussion

It is aesthetically satisfying to have role function restrictions assessed reliably by deficiencies in improvisational performance, but that was not the case

TABLE 2
Client Descriptions and Performance Deficiencies

Client	General Characteristics	Role-function limitation	<i>Tug-of-War</i> performance deficiencies	<i>Puppets</i> performance deficiencies	<i>Master/Servant</i> performance deficiencies
Don	Self-satisfied; uncaring of values of others; unaware of differences in others' thought processes; disinterested in roots of own identity	Producer	None	None	None
Debby	Conventional-minded, unadventurous; limited initiative or curiosity; emotionally placid, limited empathy	Author	Didn't use imagination to create the illusion of the rope; applied real social and physical limitations to fantasy	Blocked offers; didn't find character in scene until coached; showed a lack of initiative; uncomfortable with novelty of game's premise	Unable to separate self from character; her real life status overrode status of her role

Dave	Out of touch with feelings of self and others; difficulty staying present; withdrawing under stress; socially ineffectual	Performer	Didn't attend to, or accept offers from partner, justified his reluctance to get involved in the scene	Made inadequate physical offers; didn't accept partner's offers; attempted to play scene only according to own ideas	Didn't take character fully; unobservant. Didn't acknowledge partner's character; missed the point of interaction between players; preoccupied with own ideas
Doris	Egocentric; insensitive to others' feelings; judgmental, while over-sensitive herself; competitive with others	Spectator	Mistook competitive premise of the exercise as a personal challenge; unwillingness to accept partner's offer	Failed to work with partner; saw the game as starring herself; understood partner's contribution merely as a distraction	Blocked partner's offer; made partner look bad; competitively tried to "steal the scene"; inappropriately protective of her character's status

with those assessments. As I noted previously, there was no characteristic improvising deficit correlated with restriction of the Producer function, at least not at the "saturated self" level. The most likely reason for that is that RfG games, being inventions of the moment, independent from players' actual identities, do not draw on a player's rootedness or relatedness in real life. Indeed, it might even be a slight advantage in improvising to be unencumbered by awareness of one's specific real-life identity.

Furthermore, unawareness and nonacceptance of the givens of our lives often promote shallow, self-serving character development, producing people who are unwilling to fulfill ethical obligations or to participate for the social good. Factual grounding does not require resignation to or complete identification with the givens of life, only full acknowledgment of their existence and influence. Although psychosocial deficits are among the life problems that can be assessed by improvisational performance, I must emphasize that psychological health requires more than being performatively skilled. It demands, for one thing, a genuine regard for the rights and feelings of others.

Moreover, therapists can be limited by their own restricted functions. For example, Salvador Minuchin's opinion of certain narrative therapists is that they are

... restricted to operating only in a collaborative, symmetrical posture. Gone is the latitude to play, to give opinions, to be the complex, multifaceted person in the therapy room that you are outside it. All that remains is a distant, respectful questioner. (Simon, 1996, p. 52)

That description corresponds closely with the Performer-restricted position. The clear implication is that therapists themselves, wishing to be optimally effective, need to deploy a full and balanced range of role functions.

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Sociometric Selection and the Employment Interview: An Empirical Examination

GARY A. ADAMS

ABSTRACT. In this article, the author reports his empirical test of Adams, Elacqua, and Colarelli's (1994) assertion that the unstructured employment interview is a means of sociometric selection. On the basis of 80 unstructured interviews provided by 13 participants, the author concluded that measures of sociometric fit, job fit, and work world fit were correlated with hiring recommendations. Additionally, he examined the three types of fit comparatively through a regression analysis and concluded that sociometric and job fit were significantly related to hiring recommendations, whereas work world fit was not. The findings support the idea that the interview is used to assess both sociometric fit and job fit.

THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF RESEARCH STUDIES that examined the unstructured employment interview suggest that it is a poor predictor of job performance (e.g., see reviews by Arvey & Campion, 1982; Harris, 1989; Ulrich & Trumbo, 1965). The interview, however, is one of the most commonly used employee selection procedures (Bureau of National Affairs, 1988). Furthermore, interview results are often weighted heavily by those making hiring decisions (Friedman & Williams, 1982). In their 1994 review, Adams, Elacqua, and Colarelli noted that discrepancy and suggested that one explanation for it was that the interview serves functions for organizations that are not clearly addressed in the literature. More specifically, they argued that the unstructured employment interview remains in use because it allows organizations to engage in sociometric selection that they defined as "the selection of individuals into a group based on group members' affective responses toward the applicants" (p. 100). In this article, I report an empirical test of this assertion. In the section that immediately follows, I describe the function of the employment interview as a means to assess applicant fit

and then delineate from the perspective of person–environment fit the various types of fit that may be assessed in the interview. Next, I introduce the notion of sociometric fit and state the hypotheses regarding it and the other forms of fit. Finally, I describe and discuss the results of an empirical study testing the hypotheses.

The interview is a multifaceted assessment device (Schuler & Funke, 1989). It can be used to assess a number of applicant characteristics relative to a wide array of organizational characteristics. Some of the applicant characteristics may include knowledge, skills, and abilities as well as attitudes, values, and goals. Organizational characteristics may include specific job demands (e.g., communication skills for sales jobs) as well as more global organizational characteristics (e.g., organizational culture). Much of the research critical of the employment interview has been conducted, using the traditional selection paradigm. That is, the interview was examined as a selection technique that is used to assess an applicant's knowledge, skills, and abilities relative to the demands of a specific job within a specific organization (Adkins, Russell, & Werbel, 1994). Research conducted from that perspective focuses exclusively on the interview's validity as a predictor of one type of fit, namely, person–job fit. That conceptualization of fit, however, is narrow and limited, given the latitude afforded by the interview and the demands of employing organizations.

Researchers in the area of industrial and organizational psychology have begun to examine the interview's validity relative to the broader concept of person–environment fit (e.g., Bretz, Rynes, & Gerhart, 1993; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). The underlying premise of that research is that positive outcomes result when individuals fit their work environments. As noted by Bretz and Judge (1994), research in that area has linked person–environment fit to such outcomes as job satisfaction, organizational commitment, intention to quit (Mount & Muchinsky, 1978; Vancouver & Schmitt, 1991), and job performance (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1990).

Although there is no consensus regarding the definition of person–environment fit within the context of the employment interview (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990), researchers have identified several of its main components. For instance, Kristof (1996) has suggested that one of the components of person–environment fit is person–job fit, or the match between an individual's KSAs and the demands of a particular task environment or job (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1990; Edwards, 1991). A second component identified in the literature is person–organization fit, which is the fit between an individual's personal characteristics (e.g., personality, values, goals) and the social environment (e.g., culture, values, goals) of the organization (Chatman, 1989; O'Reilly, Chatman & Caldwell, 1991; Schein, 1991). A third component is applicant–interviewer fit, which is the match between the applicant and the

interviewer (Raza & Carpenter, 1987). A fourth component of person-environment fit in the context of selection is person-work world fit. This conception of fit, sometimes referred to as general employability, is more broad and not specifically related to a particular job or organization (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). It is focused on the match between an applicant's characteristics and those that are desired of all potential employees (e.g., work ethic).

Of the four types of fit, two are clearly related to the type of sociometric selection described by Adams, Elacqua, and Colarelli (1994). The two types—person-organization fit and applicant-interviewer fit—both focus on social relationships and are therefore most likely to influence the interviewer's affective response to the applicant. Taken together, these two components of person-environment fit reflect what can be referred to as sociometric fit. *Person-organization* fit clearly encompasses the social and cultural aspects of group functioning described by Moreno (1956) and applicant-interviewer fit encompasses the *tele* or interpersonal attraction between individuals described by Moreno (1953).

Some evidence exists that the various conceptualizations of fit described above are assessed during the employment interview (Raza & Carpenter, 1987; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). In one of the few studies that examined how interviewers actually arrive at assessments of fit, the content analysis of interviewer comments seemed to support the notion that person-job, sociometric, and person-work world fit are assessed in the interview (Bretz, Rynes, & Gerhart, 1993). Although that study made an important contribution by identifying the content domain related to interviewer assessments of fit, it did not examine the relationship between the person-environment fit constructs and hiring decisions.

With much of the theoretical groundwork laid and the content domain identified by previous research, I obtained for this study interviewer assessments of person-job, sociometric, and person-work world fit and tested three hypotheses regarding their relationship to hiring decisions. The first hypothesis was that interviewer perceptions of person-job fit are positively related to hiring decisions. The second hypothesis was that interviewer perceptions of sociometric fit are positively related to hiring decisions. The third hypothesis was that interviewer perceptions of person-work world fit are positively related to hiring decisions.

Method

Participants

The participants in this study were 13 members of three organizations who, in the course of their duties, were responsible for interviewing and making

hiring decisions to fill job vacancies within their organization. The 13 interviewers provided data on 80 separate interviews, and that is the number of interviews that serves as the basis for this study. Participation was voluntary, and participants could withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty.

Measures

Interviewers completed an applicant rating form that contained items regarding person–job fit, sociometric fit, person–work world fit, and hiring recommendations at the conclusion of each interview they conducted during a 30-day time period. The items used to measure each of the variables were based on the results of Bretz, Rynes, and Gehart's (1993) content analysis of interviewer descriptions of fit and on past research on the employment interview (e.g., Adkins, Russell, & Werbel, 1994). Additionally, to overcome the unreliability associated with single item measures used in much past research, each of the variables was measured with multiple items. The items were arranged in the following order: (1) person–job fit, (2) sociometric fit, (3) person–work world fit, and (4) hiring decisions. All items were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*) unless otherwise noted.

Person–job fit was assessed by three items. The first item asked, "To what extent has this applicant had work experience related to the job for which he or she is being interviewed?" The second item asked, "To what extent has this applicant completed course work related to the job for which he or she is being interviewed?" The third item asked, "To what extent does this applicant have the knowledge, skills, and abilities necessary to perform the job for which he or she is being interviewed?"

Sociometric fit was assessed by six items. The first item asked, "Given what you know about this applicant and the characteristics of your organization, how well do you think this applicant will 'fit in' to your organization?" (Adkins, Russell, & Werbel, 1994). Because there is some debate about the dimensions along which individuals and organizations may be matched (Kristof, 1996), three additional items were used. These items were intentionally worded to provide the interviewers with options regarding the dimensions of sociometric fit they view as important (e.g., attitudes and values). The three items were: "To what extent does this applicant's attitudes match the attitudes of other members of your organization?" "To what extent do you think this applicant will 'get along' with the other people in your organization?" and "To what extent does this applicant's values appear to match the values of your organization?" In keeping with past findings about assessments of likability in employment interviews (Orphen, 1984; Raza & Carpenter, 1987) and Moreno's (1953) description of tele, two additional items were included: "To what extent do you personally like this applicant?" and "To what extent would you personally like to work with this applicant?"

Person-work world fit was assessed by three items. The first item, adapted from Rynes and Gerhart (1990), asked, "Overall, how employable do you think this applicant will be in the general job market?" The second item asked, "How well do you think this applicant will perform in some organization other than your own?" The third item asked, "How suitable would this applicant be as an employee for some other organization?"

Hiring decision was assessed by using three items. The first item asked, "Overall, how likely is it that you will recommend that this applicant be hired by your organization?" The second item asked, "How likely do you think it is that this applicant will be a successful employee for your organization?" The third item asked, "How well do you think this employee will perform as a member of your organization?"

Results

Means, standard deviations, correlations, and internal consistency reliability estimates were calculated (see Table 1). As can be seen in the table, each of the measures displayed an acceptable level of internal consistency, and the means and standard deviations are plausible. To provide an initial test of the hypotheses, the correlations between each of the fit variables and hiring decision were examined. In support of the first hypothesis, the correlation between person-job fit and hiring decision was .74 ($p < .01$). In support of the second hypothesis, the correlation between sociometric fit and hiring decision was .84 ($p < .01$). In support of the third hypothesis, the correlation between person-work world fit and hiring decision was .79 ($p < .01$).

For a more informative test of the three hypotheses, hiring decision was

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Internal Consistency
Reliability¹ Estimates for Study Variables

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Person-job fit	4.99	1.29	.88			
2. Sociometric fit	5.40	1.14	.66**	.96		
3. Person-work world fit	5.53	1.18	.71**	.85**	.98	
4. Hiring decision	5.12	1.58	.74**	.84**	.79**	.96

¹Elements in the main diagonal are internal consistency reliability estimates (coefficient alpha).

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

regressed on the three fit variables. That analysis allowed the relationships between the fit variables and the hiring decision to be examined comparatively. That is, by examining the joint relationships of all three fit variables on hiring decision simultaneously, the regression analysis allowed the relative relationship of each type of fit to hiring decisions to be estimated. The analysis indicated that taken together, the three fit variables accounted for 75% of the variance in hiring decision, $F(3, 75) = 78.51, p < .01$. The individual regression coefficients for person–job fit, $\beta = .29; t(77) = 3.53, p < .01$, and sociometric fit $\beta = .51; t(77) = 4.75, p < .01$, were significant at the .01 level. However the regression coefficient for person–work world fit was not significant, $\beta = .15; t(77) = 1.31, ns$.

To explore the relative relationships among the fit variables and hiring decisions further, I calculated a series of three additional stepwise regression procedures with hiring decisions serving as the criterion. In the first regression, person–work world fit was entered on the first step, and person–job fit and sociometric fit were entered on the second. The analyses indicated that person–work world fit accounted for 63% of the variance in hiring decisions individually on the first step, $R^2 = .63, p < .01$, but was not a significant predictor when person–job and sociometric fit were entered at the second step, $\beta = .15; t(77) = 1.31, ns$. In the second regression, person–job fit was entered on the first step, and person–work world fit and sociometric fit were entered on the second. The analysis indicated that person–job fit accounted for 54% of the variance in hiring decisions individually on the first step, $R^2 = .54, p < .01$, and remained a significant predictor at the second step, $\beta = .29; t(77) = 3.53, p < .01$. In the third regression, sociometric fit was entered on the first step, and person–job and person–work world fit were entered on the second. The analysis indicated that sociometric fit accounted for 69% of the variance in hiring decisions individually on the first step, $R^2 = .69, p < .01$, and remained a significant predictor at the second step, $\beta = .51; t(77) = 4.75, p < .01$.

Discussion

My study was an empirical test of Adams, Elacqua, and Colarelli's (1994) assertion that the interview serves the function of allowing organizations to engage in sociometric selection. To that end, the study identified three types of fit that can be assessed in an interview (person–job, sociometric, and person–work world fit) and hypothesized that each would be related to hiring decisions. I then tested the hypotheses, using a sample of interviews. In support of the three hypotheses, the results of a correlation analysis indicated that each of the three types of fit was related to hiring decisions in the expected (positive) direction. After a series of regression analyses to examine the relationships of the three types of fit comparatively, I concluded that the results

indicated that each was individually related to hiring decisions. I also concluded that, when taken together, person–job fit and sociometric fit were related to hiring decisions but person–work world fit was not. The results support the idea that the interview does serve a sociometric function for organizations but that it is also functions as a traditional selection method used to match applicant qualifications to job demands.

Because the regression analysis allows for some comparison across the three types of fit, its results are particularly interesting. The finding that, when considered simultaneously, person–job and sociometric fit are both related to hiring decisions but that person–work world fit is not suggests that the interviewers were able to look beyond characteristics generally desired of all applicants (person–work world fit) and base their decisions on the match they perceived between the applicant and the needs (both task and sociometric) of their specific organization. That finding provides additional support for the idea that interviewers attempt to make firm, specific assessments of applicants during the interview (e.g., Raza & Carpenter, 1987; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990).

Taken together, the finding that interviewers attempt to assess sociometric fit in the interview and the fact that structured interviews are typically more reliable (Campion, Pursell, & Brown, 1988) and valid (McDaniel, Whetzel, Schmidt & Maurer, 1994) than unstructured interviews suggests that organizations may be able to improve their current interviewing practices by developing structured interviews that focus on sociometric fit. Those could be developed following Treadwell, Kumar, Stein, and Prosnick's (1998) suggestions for the construction of sociometry questions. Such structured interviews may be more reliable and valid indicators of sociometric fit than unstructured interviews. In attempting to validate interviews designed to measure sociometric fit, interviewers need to specify carefully the criteria the organization is trying to predict. Because the predictor is sociometric fit, it seems logical that the criteria be related to the sociometric functioning of the organization.

As is the case with any study, the present study is not without limitations. One limitation is the fact that the criterion variable was not a true hiring decision but rather something more akin to a hiring intention. Although there is little reason to suspect that those who received higher scores on the hiring decision variable would not be more likely to be hired, an objective hiring decision would have been a better measure. Unfortunately, none of the participating organizations was willing to provide such data.

It should also be noted that the focus of the present study was on interviewer impressions rather than on interviewer accuracy. That is, although the study found support for the idea that interviewers' perceptions of fit are related to their hiring decisions, it did not assess the accuracy of those perceptions relative to some external standard. That would seem an important area for future research. Furthermore, perhaps more than most other selection meth-

ods, the interview relies on interpersonal communication. Because of that, the communication skill of the interviewee takes on a prominent role. It seems likely that those applicants who possess better communication skills are more likely to convey the information needed by interviewers to arrive at assessments of fit. Similarly, the ability of the interviewer to elicit and perceive relevant information from the applicant seems to be important. Therefore, two other areas for future research are the investigation of the applicant's ability to communicate information about fit and the interviewer's ability to process that information (i.e., what is the relationship between an applicant's communication ability and sociometric fit?).

In addition to being an area in need of future research, the issue of accuracy also carries with it some practical implications. For instance, because the data presented here indicate that interviewers may base hiring recommendations on their perceptions of sociometric fit, it may be worthwhile for organizations to train interviewers to be better able to collect and interpret that type of information. Similarly, applicants might benefit from training that enables them to communicate their values and preferences in the interview to facilitate assessments of sociometric fit. Applicants may also benefit from training on how to gather data about the sociometric functioning of the organization that will allow them to make better choices about the jobs they apply for and accept.

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Been There, Done That: Role Repertoire as a Predictor of Interpersonal Behavior in a Given Situation

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ABSTRACT. The behaviors derived from roles selected from an individual's repertoire, as measured by sociometric choices for given tasks or by preferred "personality" traits, and the expected effect on an actor of each of the salient situational variables can be used to predict interpersonal behavior in a given situation. The result can be estimated in terms of three dimensions of a conceptual social space: Upward-Downward (dominance vs submission), Positive-Negative (friendly vs unfriendly), and Forward-Backward (accepting vs opposing the task orientation of established authority). The roles in the repertoire, the situational variables, and the resultant expected behavior can be located on a field diagram.

FOR MORENO (1962b), THE INSPIRATION for modern role theory came from drama and the theater. As a director of a spontaneity theater (Moreno, 1973), he observed that his actors were able to play three kinds of roles: psychosomatic (eater, sleeper); psychodramatic (ghost, fairy); and social (parent, doctor). An individual's "self" (personality) is derived from the repertoire of roles that the individual can play (Moreno, 1962a). Although most of the literature on group roles describes either formal or informal social roles (Hare, 1994), Moxnes (1999) has stressed the importance of understanding the psychodramatic roles, which he includes on his list of 14 "deep roles" (the others refer to psychoanalytic concepts, family roles, and roles in drama).

Depending on specialization, role can consist almost entirely of a single category of behavior or of a combination of several categories of form or content. An example of a single category is Charlie Chaplin's role on an assem-

bly line in the movie *Modern Times* vs the Volvo approach for team assembly, in which each member of the team performs a variety of functions in assembling cars (Katz & Kahn, 1978, pp. 727–737). Benne and Sheats's (1948) classic list of roles in discussion groups is another example. Some roles represent a single category of task behavior that can be classified by their level of creativity, such as "information seeker" or "opinion giver"; some roles are represented by their form, such as "aggressor" (Upward and Negative) or "playboy" (Upward and Backward); and some roles are represented by their content in terms of four basic functions (Parsons, 1961), such as "harmonizer"—integrative function or "standard setter"—goal attainment function (Hare, 1993, p. 70). In his four factors, Couch (1960) defined roles by each end of a factor, such as serious versus expressive (Hare, 1968).

Bales (1999, p. 86) described an individual's values as representing a set of roles to be enacted in an ideal social drama that the individual wishes to support. In his questionnaire, Bales listed 26 combinations of values that constitute observable roles in groups. An individual's role repertoire may include as few or as many of the roles that the individual is willing to play in a given situation. On the Bales 26-item questionnaire, the items that the individual marked *often* (in contrast to *sometimes* or *rarely*) can be taken as an indication of the roles that the person is willing to play in a given situation to help the task move forward in the direction of the person's ideals. The items that are endorsed as *rarely* can be taken as a list of the roles that the person wishes to avoid. This same distinction between roles that are endorsed and those that are to be avoided or prevented can be derived from any list of roles, such as that of Benne and Sheats, by asking a respondent to rate the roles in a similar way, from often to rarely.

From his 1962 list of three types of roles, Moreno omitted the role he was playing himself, that of director. In another article, he gave details of the varieties of physical positions that a director, of a psychodrama in this instance, can assume, according to the appropriate relationship to the protagonist and the other actors in the drama. For an interview, the director sits near a protagonist, to the front of center of the stage. As an observer, the director stands on the audience level of the theater at the right of the stage. As a spectator, the director sits in the front row, somewhat removed from active participation in the action on the stage (Moreno & Dunkin, 1941).

In his 1962 list, Moreno did not include the other dramaturgical roles that are necessary to stage a social drama. He did, however, describe in some detail the roles played by the persons on stage (protagonist and auxiliary egos) and the audience (Moreno, 1953, pp. 82–84). The drama may be anything from a brief "encounter" at the "moment"—the sort that Moreno found especially interesting (Moreno, 1923)—through a group discussion or work session, to an elaborate event to mark the transition of an individual or group to a new

level of responsibility in life or to mark the resolution of a conflict between some segments of a society (Turner, 1974).

The list should also include not only the people visible on stage (the protagonist, antagonist, auxiliaries, or chorus) but also those who are back stage during the performance who may have been quite visible during rehearsals—the directors for the acting, singing, and dancing; the stage crew; the orchestra (now in the pit); and the people off stage, who are responsible for the overall production, such as the playwright, producer, business manager, fund raisers, publicity persons, and those who manage the front of house, print the playbills, and cater for the audience (Hare & Blumberg, 1988, pp.6–8).

Sociometry

Sociometry, as introduced by Moreno (1934), was always more than simply a way of recording interpersonal choices. Choices were to be made according to a criterion, such as whom do you choose to work with or to live with. Each criterion specified a situation in which the individual was to play a role, as co-worker or housemate, while other people played roles as counterparts. Rejections represented relationships (sets of roles) that an individual wished to avoid. Thus, when a person was asked to choose or reject others, the result was an evaluation of the types of role relationships that were favored and those that were not favored. Two people could agree on the content of a role but disagree on its evaluation (Peabody & Goldberg, 1989). The individual in a given situation tried to meet the expectations of roles that were favored, while avoiding the expectations of roles that were not favored.

In his use of sociometry for the social reconstruction of relationships among the girls at the Hudson Training School, Moreno introduced a variety of situational tests to discover the role repertoire of each girl before she was placed in a living or work situation (Moreno, 1953, pp. 347–349). In the spontaneity test, a girl was directed to “Throw yourself into a state of emotion towards X. The precipitating emotion may be either anger, fear, sympathy, or dominance. Develop any situation you like to produce with her” (Moreno, 1953, p. 347). The girl’s partner in the enactment was asked to react as she would in actual life. Moreno’s choice of emotions suggests that he intuitively understood the three-dimensional perceptual and interaction space represented by the first three dimensions of the Big 5 (McCrae & John, 1992). The first dimension of the Big 5, extraversion, is predominately Upward vs Downward (or active vs passive); the second dimension, agreeableness, is Positive vs Negative (or friendly vs unfriendly); and the third dimension, conscientiousness, is Forward vs Backward (or conforming vs nonconforming). The emotions of anger (Upward, Negative), fear (Downward, Backward), sympathy (Positive, Forward), and dominance (Upward) cover some of the key areas in the space.

The fourth dimension of the Big 5 is "neuroticism" that can be seen as representing variance in role repertoire, that is, rigid versus flexible. A person who is neurotic tends to be rigid in the Downward, Negative, Backward part of the three-dimensional space but could be rigid to the extent of always being friendly or always being serious or always joking. Because those types of rigidity do not usually pose problems for a group, however, they have not been singled out on psychological tests. In the spontaneity test, Moreno recorded that some of the girls did not play all the roles (emotions) called for but once warmed up, would revert to their true feeling, represented by only one of the emotions. That report indicated Moreno was also interested in variance.

The fifth dimension of the Big 5, "openness," can be seen as a measure of intelligence and creativity, in that those who are "open" to new ideas can be creative. Here also, Moreno noted that the intelligence quotient of a girl might well be a determining factor for the types of girls she chose to relate to or the type of work for which she was suited.

When all these features are combined on a field diagram, the level of creativity required can be noted by a number, from one to five, on the circle that places an image of a role on a field diagram. The five levels of creativity, adapted from Taylor (1975), that can contribute to art and science, group discussion, or negotiation are expressive, technical, inventive, innovative, and emergentive (Hare, 1993, pp. 78–79).

Current summaries of sociometric techniques and methods of processing sociometric data refer to the social atom as a relationship of an individual with significant others. Some studies are only concerned with the extent to which relationships are close or distant but not with the content of the relationships (Treadwell, Stein, & Leach, 1989). In other studies, the roles that the individual and the others play in the relationship are seen as based on support, in which the principal forms of support are status, information, love, pleasure, and service (Englehardt, Feldkamp, & Sader, 1989). A similar list of types of ego support, self-affirmation, and stimulation is reported for friendships of younger and older women (Barbour, 1996). Thus, for the friendships that form the social atom, there is some indication of the reciprocal roles played in terms of social exchange.

For most significant role relationships that are indicated by positive choices, however, analysis of the content of roles remains for the future. When gathering sociometric data for a psychodrama group, it has been noted that the "questions should serve an immediate group goal, such as for group warm-up or identifying roles (mother, father, brother, lover). . . ." Yet, the role relationships are not used in the analysis of the data (Treadwell, Kumar, Stein, & Prosnick, 1998). For research with children, "network analysis has the potential for allowing the tentative identification of the social role filled by the child within the group. Some children may serve in the role of a social organizer

around whom the groups form, and others serve as links with separate cliques. Different types of rejected children may also be identified in terms of the different types of roles they play within the group" (Johnson, Ironsmith, & Poteat, 1994, p. 44). As of 1994, there was no report of the results of this type of research. The extent to which teams of cadets at a military college were "sociometrically dense" provided information about team performance, but the authors concluded that sociometry "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" (Lucius & Kuhnert, 1996, p. 129).

Given the dearth of research on role relationships in the current sociometric literature, it is difficult to find an example to illustrate how an individual's role repertoire can be used to predict interaction in a given situation. One study with preschool boys and girls provides the sort of data that might be used as a basis for further analysis. The authors were interested in the extent to which social popularity was based on facial attractiveness and social skills (Adams & Roopnarine, 1994). They used a standard method of regression analysis. Depending on which variable was entered first into the regression, facial attractiveness was given more or less weight than social competence. Another way to look at the data would be in terms of the three dimensions of the social perceptual space. The social competence score was a composite of ratings on visual attention and on receiving and dispensing positive acts. Thus a person with a high score was probably in the Upward, Positive, Forward octant of the three-dimensional space. A facial attractiveness rating, ranging from unattractive to attractive, was made of a photograph of each child with a smiling face. Probably that represented a rating on the Positive–Negative (friendly–unfriendly) dimension. In combining scores, the physical attractiveness score, which is a judgment at the biological level of the individual, could be given less weight than the social attractiveness score, a rating at the social system level. If ratings for each child were combined in this way, then we could expect a higher correlation of the final location of the image of the child on a field diagram with peer popularity than the simple correlations analysis that gives each variable equal weight. Because the data for this study are only summarized in the published report, this type of analysis could only be carried out by the authors if their data were still available.

The Helper Role

Fortunately a considerable amount of research has been reported on the helper role so that it is possible to illustrate the probable influence of situational variables as well as social roles on an individual's tendency to choose to play the role of helper for someone who appears to be in need of help. The basic idea is to include a representation of the situational variables and social

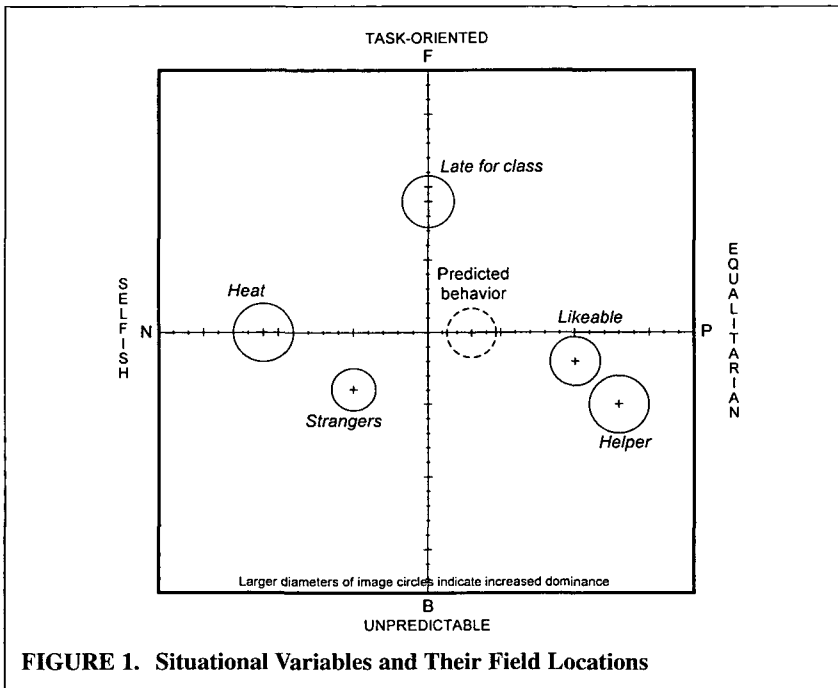


FIGURE 1. Situational Variables and Their Field Locations

roles that influence the helper role in a figure similar to the field diagram constructed by Bales (see example in Figure 1). In his 1970 volume, Bales used three field diagrams, each representing the location of images on a two-dimensional plane. One diagram was for Upward–Downward versus Positive–Negative, another for Upward–Downward versus Forward–Backward, and the third for Positive–Negative versus Forward–Backward. By 1979, Bales had discovered that for groups in the United States, the principal polarization of a group into subgroups was along the dimensions Forward–Backward and Positive–Negative (Bales & Cohen, 1979). These dimensions are now used as the y and x axes of the field diagram, with indications of Upward versus Downward being represented by the size of the circle surrounding the point that gives the location of an image on the other two axes. The more Upward (dominant) the image, the larger the circle. The main use of the field diagram has been to plot the locations of images that group members have of each other (traits, behavior, or values), or images of ideal concepts (an effective leader or member), as well as other concepts, such as the organizational culture.

To provide a more inclusive representation of the variables in the situation that affect an individual who may perform a helper role, images would be

needed for each individual in the situation. For, as Bales noted in his Master's thesis, "In any given situation, each actor will define his own situation a little differently, partly because of his particular position in the concrete situation and partly because of the different apperceptive mass of meanings and values which he brings from previous situations" (Bales, 1941, p. 93). Thus, if there is more than one potential helper in a situation, each might define the situation differently and respond differently. The responses of the others need to be taken into account by the individual who is the focus of the research. However, most of the research on helping behavior is concerned only with the response of a single individual.

Suppose that an image of each of several aspects of the situation is plotted on a field diagram, with some indication of the variance on each of the three dimensions that illustrate how much of the conceptual space is covered by the image. The resulting diagram then summarizes the features in the situation that influence the behavior and problem-solving ability of a person or group. The different factors can be weighted in terms of the "cybernetic hierarchy," in which the parts of a system with the most information (the top of the hierarchy) control those with the most energy (the bottom of the hierarchy). From top to bottom, the order starts with the culture level, followed by social system (including organization, group, and role), personality (traits), and the biological system (states). The environment is at the bottom of the hierarchy because it acts primarily on the biological system of an individual. Facilities and resources are also at the bottom of the hierarchy. An example of the method of weighting variables is given in Table 1 and described in the following paragraphs.

The task content of the helper role, in terms of functional theory, AGIL (Hare, 1992, pp. 91–95), and levels of creativity required (Hare, 1992, p. 39), can eventually be added. The three basic dimensions of interpersonal behavior describe only the form of interpersonal behavior and not the form or content of individual or group problem-solving activity.

Coding the Situational Variables

The SYMLOG Consulting Group has published a checklist of 26 traits to use in coding interpersonal behavior for SYMLOG analysis in the Interpersonal Effectiveness Profile booklet by Bales, Cowen, and Koenigs (1986). Before the name of each trait on the list (see Table 2) is a set of from one to three letters that indicate the dimension or combination of dimensions that the trait represents. The trait "dominant" represents the Upward end of the Upward-Downward dimension. The trait "sociable" represents a combination of two dimensions, Upward and Positive. The trait "persuasive" represents a combination of three dimensions, Upward, Positive, and Forward. The items

TABLE 1
Situational Variables, Systems Levels, Field Locations,
and Weights in Cybernetic Hierarchy

Situational variable	System Level	Field Location			Weight	Weighted Field Location		
Heat	Biological (state)	5U	12N	00	1	5U	12N	00
Likeable	Personality (trait)	3U	10P	2B	2	6U	20P	4B
Late for class	Role	4U	00	9F	3	12U	00	27F
Helper	Role	5U	13P	5B	3	15U	39P	15B
Strangers	Group	00	5N	3B	3	00	15N	9B
Sums of differences						38U	32P	1B
Sum/12 (rounded)						3U	3P	00

on the list of traits can be used to describe a characteristic pattern of interaction with another person or persons. Bales described the personality traits associated with each of the 26 positions in the SYMLOG space (Bales, 1970, pp. 189–386; 1999, pp. 307–325; Bales & Cohen, 1979, pp. 355–386). Bales has also provided lists of behaviors and values that can be scored and summed to derive locations on a field diagram of behaviors or value positions. An indication of the variance in the area of the three-dimensional space that can be covered by an individual, a group, or an organization can also be identified.

To measure the effects of aspects of the physical and social situation in which the individual acts, such as noise or crowding, a checklist is needed that describes the state of the individual as a reaction to each aspect of the situation. Each aspect of the situation influences the individual's disposition to be active or passive, to help or hurt, to focus on the task or to withdraw from the field. The location on a field diagram of each aspect of the situation can then be plotted, along with the area of behavior or values that is associated with it, so that the cumulative effect on an individual of, for example, noise, plus crowding, plus the presence of a person in distress, plus a time limit, can be noted.

Three types of states can be distinguished for an individual: affect, mood, and emotion. *Affect* informs an organism about the states of affairs that are valued, some positively, some negatively. *Mood* reflects a set of beliefs about the likelihood of pleasure or pain in the future. *Emotion* reflects the existence of a specific goal and the relationship of an individual to the goal (Batson, Shaw, & Oleson, 1992). Each one of these states reveals a readiness to act in a way that is consistent with the feeling represented by the state. Factor analy-

TABLE 2
SYMLOG Trait List

	[0]	[1]	[2]	Helper Ratings
1. U Dominant	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	2
2. UP Sociable	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	2
3. UPF Persuasive	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	2
4. UF Managerial	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
5. UNF Moralistic	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
6. UN Tough	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
7. UNB Rebellious	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
8. UB Funny	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	2
9. UPB Warm	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	2
10. P Equalitarian	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	1
11. PF Cooperative	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	1
12. F Task-oriented	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
13. NF Persistent	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
14. N Selfish	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
15. NB Cynical	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
16. B Unpredictable	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	2
17. PB Likeable	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	2
18. DP Trustful	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	1
19. DPF Responsible	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	1
20. DF Obedient	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	1
21. DNF Self-sacrificing	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
22. DN Resentful	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
23. DNB Withdrawn	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0
24. DB Indecisive	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	1
25. DPB Contented	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	1
26. D Silent	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	0

ses of the states often reveal the presence of two factors, active-passive and positive-negative (cf. Larson & Diener, 1992). For the purposes of this article, the third dimension of Forward-Backward needs to be added. In a more complicated version of this approach, a provision could be made for the amount of "emotion work" carried out by individuals to display emotions that are in line with an institutional definition of the situation rather than their own personal definitions (Heise, 1992).

For an illustration of the way in which situational variables can be identified, the summary of the social-psychological literature about interpersonal behavior in the text on *Small Groups* (Hare, Blumberg, Davies, & Kent, 1996) is used as a source of generalizations. In the text, beginning with Chapter 1 on "the physical situation," progressively more sources of influence are brought "on

stage” by adding the influence of the personalities and social characteristics of the actors, the presence of others, the roles and relationships of members, types of tasks, and the influence of the larger organization of which the group may be a part, and the presence of other groups that are in cooperation or conflict.

The variables in the physical environment include the ambient environment (noise, temperature), the presence of others (density, spatial arrangement), and material aspects (architecture, room design). For example, noise reduces people’s activity level and their ability to concentrate on the task, leaving them in a state of Downward, Backward; high temperatures make them angry (Upward, Negative); crowded situations give the individual a sense of loss of control (Downward, Negative, Backward); and close seating arrangements induce intimacy (Positive). The single most important influence of the physical situation is its perceived purpose. For example, the behavior associated with a classroom—Upward, Forward for the teacher and Downward, Forward for the students—is different from that associated with a factory assembly line (Forward) or a barroom (Upward, Positive, Backward).

The influence of the personalities of the actors in the situation is the easiest to classify because over the years so many psychologists have used variations of the three dimensions in describing personality, with the recent identification of the “Big 5” personality dimensions (McCrae & John, 1992), which, as noted above, also include factors related to variance (neuroticism), problem-solving ability, and creativity (openness). Individuals who are Upward, Positive, Forward are more likely to participate in group interaction, influence group decisions, and lead group activities. However, people who are depressed, anxious, or emotionally unstable (Downward, Negative, Backward) are less likely to exhibit these behaviors. People who are sociable and affiliative (Positive) are more likely to be cooperative, warm, and friendly. People who respect power and authority (Upward, Negative, Forward) are more likely to be domineering and directive when in positions of leadership. When they are in subordinate positions, however, their acceptance of authority makes them act in a submissive and conformist way (Downward, Forward). The known social characteristics of an individual (age, sex, social class, ethnic group) are carried over to a small group to provide an initial set of “expectation states” concerning the likelihood that the person will be Upward or Downward, Positive or Negative, or Forward or Backward. Considerable research has dealt with the expectations concerning women and men, with men being expected to be more task oriented (Upward, Positive, Forward) and women more social and emotional (Positive, Backward). The mere presence of others can produce arousal (Upward), which will facilitate well learned or easy tasks (Upward, Forward) or hinder performance of new or complex tasks (Downward, Backward).

One set of researchers has been concerned with helping behavior and

another set with aggressive behavior. Taken together, the two sets of research on helping and aggression represent behaviors at the two ends of the Positive–Negative continuum. Situational variables that inhibit aggression (Upward–Negative) tend to facilitate helping (Upward, Positive). For example, if an individual is in a group of strangers, the person is already on the negative, distant, side of the field and thus is less likely to help and more likely to be aggressive. A person who is with friends is already on the positive side of the field and is more likely to help and less likely to be aggressive (unless the group of friends has a predilection for aggression). A person who is concerned about moving out of the situation as soon as possible to achieve some personal goal (Forward) is unlikely to respond in either an aggressive or helping mode. People who are under stress (Downward, Negative, Backward) are likely to seek relief by moving to the opposite octant of the field (Upward, Positive, Forward) by affiliating with others in the same situation for support and information about their condition.

Summing SYMLOG Ratings

The list of 26 SYMLOG traits can be summed to produce a field location score that can be plotted on a field diagram. For example, the “helper role” is one of the images located on Figure 1. That field location was obtained by first rating each of the 26 traits, according to the probability that they are in evidence “rarely,” “sometimes,” or “often” (recorded as 0, 1, or 2). The list of ratings (Table 2) ensures that all the people and variables in a social interaction field are rated in the same way, even though each rater tends to rate the images from his or her own perspective (Hare, Hare, & Koenigs, 1996). In the present case in which one may wish to predict the average reaction to each variable in a situation, a rating can be made by several judges and then averaged.

The method of summarizing ratings is illustrated in Table 3. The first nine traits all have an element of U (Upward) as one of their directional indicators. Thus, the sum of the ratings for the first nine items gives a score of 10 for the Upward end of the Upward–Downward dimension in this example. Because there are nine items, the maximum possible score would be 9 times 2, or 18, and the minimum possible score would be 9 times 0, or 0. The last nine traits on the list all contain an element of D (Downward). Thus summing the ratings for the last nine items gives a directional score for Downward of 5. The absolute difference between the scores for the two ends of the dimension is then calculated, which is 5 in this case. The difference score is assigned a letter to indicate the direction of the difference—5U in this case.

In a similar way, the ratings of all items with an element of P (Positive) are added and subtracted from the ratings for all items with an N (Negative) element to give a score for P or N, depending on the direction of the difference.

TABLE 3
Summing SYMLOG Ratings to Produce a Field Location Score
[Example for Helper Image]

Upward		Downward		Positive		Negative		Forward		Backward	
I	R	I	R	I	R	I	R	I	R	I	R
1	2	18	1	2		5	0	3	2	7	0
2	2	19	1	3	2	6	0	4	0	8	2
3	2	20	1	9	2	7	0	5	0	9	2
4	0	21	0	10	1	13	0	11	1	15	0
5	0	22	0	11	1	14	0	12	0	16	2
6	0	23	0	17	2	15	0	13	0	17	2
7	0	24	1	18	1	21	0	19	1	23	0
8	2	25	1	19	1	22	0	20	1	24	1
9	2	26	0	25	1	23	0	21	0	25	1
Total: 10		Total: 5		Total: 13		Total: 0		Total: 5		Total: 10	
Difference: 5				Difference: 13				Difference: 5			
Add directional indicator: 5U				Add directional indicator: 13P				Add directional indicator: 5B			
Field location score: 5U 13P 5B											

Note. I = item number; R = rating.

The same procedure is used to find the F (Forward) or B (Backward) score. For this example, the field location score for the Helper role is 5U, 13P, and 5B. This location can be plotted on the field diagram (Figure 1).

With a focus on helping behavior, the summary in Figure 1 illustrates the images of the variables in the situation and the expected behavior of a "likeable" individual who is crossing the university campus in a group of strangers on a hot day, when the individual, who is already late for class, sees a person who has dropped a load of books. The variables, their system levels, the estimate of their three directional locations, and their weights in terms of the cybernetic hierarchy are given in Table 1.

In this example, there is no variable at the cultural level, such as a norm that an offer to help implies that the person appearing to need help was incapable of managing and was given a weight of 4. At the environmental level, there is also no variable, such as a circumstance in which the individual in question is being blown along by a high wind and is given a weight of 1.

To estimate the final location of the individual in the situation described in Table 1, each set of numbers for a final location of a variable is multiplied by the weight for that variable and all of the resulting numbers summed by direc-

tional indicator. In this case, the state variable of Heat is given a weight of 1 because it is at the lowest, biological level, of the cybernetic hierarchy. The weighted field location score for Heat is 5U, 12N, and 00 (neither Forward nor Backward). The trait of Likeable is given a weight of 2, at the Personality level. The weighted field location score for Likeable is 6U, 20P, and 4B. The variables of Late for Class, Helper, and Stranger are given a weight of 3, at the role or group level. The differences between the sums (Upward minus Downward, Positive minus Negative, and Forward minus Backward) are divided by the sum of the weights (here by 12). In this case, the U-D dimension scores are in the U direction. The total for the five variables is 38U, which is divided by 12 and rounded to 3U as an element in the field location. For the P-N dimension, the total for P is 59 and the total for N is 27. Subtracting N from P, dividing by 12, and rounding results in a score of 3P. For the F-B dimension, when the sums 27 F and 28B are divided by 12 and rounded, the score is 00. The resulting field location for the individual in Figure 1 is 3U 3P 00.

This location is at some distance from that required by the helper role (5U 13P 5B) in the Positive and Backward directions (using a difference on each dimension of 3 as an indication of an important difference, the "rule of thumb" of the SYMLOG Consulting Group). This set of weights and the distance that is significant may well be changed on the basis of more experience with this method of prediction. For the present, the use of the three-dimensional field diagram is suggested as a method for estimating and visualizing the cumulative effects of several variables in a situation that influence the behavior of an individual.

Not Yet There, Not Yet Done

As readers have by now discovered, the promise of the title of this article—that role repertoire can be a predictor of behavior in a given situation—has yet to be fulfilled. It is a hypothesis, although a method has been presented for combining the various dimensions of the roles in a person's repertoire with additional elements of the situation that influence an individual's behavior. The example of the way the various factors that influence helping behavior can be combined illustrates the model.

Although the SYMLOG 26-item questionnaire provides an elegant way of producing field location scores that can be used for analysis, any bipolar scales for the three main dimensions of the social perceptual field can be used. The simplest way is to rate each image on three Likert-type continua (lines) with seven divisions (more or less). One continuum is for Dominance versus Submission, one for Friendly versus Unfriendly, and one for Conforming versus Nonconforming. Scores can also be derived from the first three factors of the "Big 5." Two main contributions of the SYMLOG approach are to con-

ceptualize aspects of a situation in terms of a three-dimensional social perceptual space and to use a three-dimensional score as an indication of the position of each variable in the space.

The reason more people are not using SYMLOG is partly because the Bales and Cohen (1979) volume that contained the SYMLOG approach in detail set forth a very complex system for the direct observation of groups, with less emphasis on the 26-item behavior and value questionnaires, versions of which had been available earlier (Bales, 1970). Even in the heyday of small group research, in the 1950s, few people other than Bales and his colleagues used his earlier Interaction Process Analysis category system (Bales, 1950). By 1980, the direct observation of groups seemed to have gone out of fashion. After the publication of the 1979 volume, Bales retired from Harvard. No other major university with a large set of graduate students took up the task of exploring the ramifications of the SYMLOG approach. Bales turned his attention to providing materials for those associated with the SYMLOG Consulting Group (Koenigs & Cowen, 1988) to use in team and organizational consulting rather than in an academic setting. Although the 2,000,000 plus ratings of persons and other concepts made by individuals in teams and organizations, mainly in the United States, are available for academic research, they consist primarily of variables associated with social perception.

Author's Note: The section of this article that describes helping behavior is part of a paper that was presented at a meeting of the American Sociological Association, Toronto, 1997.

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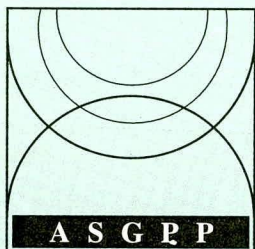
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