Reading Book For

LABORATORIES IN

HUMAN RELATIONS TRAINING

Edited By

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PREFACE

• The informal papers reproduced here represent theory sessions of use at various NTL Institute Laboratories. They are intended as supplemental notes helpful in understanding various laboratory experiences. The ideas and concepts touched on here have proved useful in laboratories over the years, and they will be relevant to much that happens at a laboratory session.

• It is impossible to designate authorship for some of these articles: the concepts have been reused and, in some cases, altered and refined over the years in various training programs. Authorship is indicated wherever it is known. Some editing or rewriting of articles from the previous edition has been done by the current editors whose names are given below.

• The Appendix to this reader provides information about the activities of the NTL Institute and both general and specialized bibliographies.

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CONDITIONS FOR LABORATORY LEARNING

The following conditions need to be met if participants are to achieve goals of improving their understanding, sensitivities, and skills in interpersonal relationships. A laboratory experience can help you to develop clearer ideas of the consequences of your behavior. You can discover behavioral alternatives that are available and decide whether you want to change your behavior by choosing and practicing an alternative. In order to feel free to do this, the following conditions are necessary:

Presentation of self. Until the individual has (and uses) an opportunity to reveal the way he sees and does things, he has little basis for improvement and change.

Feedback. Individuals do not learn from presentation of self alone. They learn by presenting themselves as openly as possible in a situation where they can receive from others clear and accurate information about the effectiveness of their behavior—a feedback system which informs them of how their behavior is perceived and of what the consequences of that behavior are.

Atmosphere. An atmosphere of trust and nondefensiveness is necessary if people are to feel free to present themselves, to accept and utilize feedback, and to offer it.

Experimentation. Unless there is opportunity to try out new behaviors, the individual is inhibited in utilizing the feedback he receives.

Practice. If his experiments are successful, the individual then needs to be able to practice new behaviors so that he becomes more comfortable with changes he has decided to make.

Application. Unless learning and change can be applied to back-home situations, they are not likely to be effective or lasting. Attention needs to be given to helping individuals plan for using their learnings after they have left the laboratory.

Relearning how to learn. Because much of our traditional academic experience has led us to believe that we learn by listening to experts, there is often need to learn how to learn from this experiential mode—presentation–feedback–experimentation.

Cognitive map. Knowledge from research, theory, and experience is needed to enable the participant both to understand his experiences and to generalize from them. Generally this information is most useful when it follows or is very close in time to the experiences.

The T Group creates a situation in which these conditions may come into being, allowing each member to participate in his own learning experience and to play a part in the learning experience of others in the group.

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WHAT IS SENSITIVITY TRAINING?*

Sensitivity training is one type of experience-based learning. Participants work together in a small group over an extended period of time, learning through analysis of their own experiences, including feelings, reactions, perceptions, and behavior. The duration varies according to the specific design, but most groups meet for a total of 10-40 hours. This may be in a solid block, as in a marathon weekend program or two to six hours a day in a one- or two-week residential program, or spread out over several weekends, a semester, or a year.

The sensitivity training group may stand by itself or be a part of a larger laboratory training design which might include role playing, case studies, theory presentations, and intergroup exercises. This paper focuses mainly on the T Group (the *T* stands for *training*) as the primary setting for sensitivity training. However, many of the comments here also apply to other components of laboratory training.

A Typical T-Group Starter

The staff member in a typical T Group, usually referred to as the trainer, might open the group in a variety of ways. The following statement is an example:

This group will meet for many hours and will serve as a kind of laboratory where each individual can increase his understanding of the forces which influence individual behavior and the performance of groups and organizations. The data for learning will be our own behavior, feelings, and reactions. We begin with no definite structure or organization, no agreed-upon procedures, and no specific agenda. It will be up to us to fill the vacuum created by the lack of these familiar elements and to study our group as we evolve. My role will be to help the group to learn from its own experience, but not to act as a traditional chairman nor to suggest how we should organize, what our procedure should be, or exactly what our agenda will include. With these few comments, I think we are ready to begin in whatever way you feel will be most helpful.

Into this ambiguous situation members then proceed to inject themselves. Some may try to organize the group by promoting an election of a chairman or the selection of a topic for discussion. Others may withdraw and wait in silence until they get a clearer sense of the direction the group may take. It is not unusual for an individual to try to get the trainer to play a more directive role, like that of the typical chairman.

Whatever role a person chooses to play, he also is observing and reacting to the behavior of other members and in turn is having an impact on them. It is these perceptions and reactions that are the data for learning.

Underlying Assumptions

Underlying T-Group training are the following assumptions about the nature of the learning process which distinguish T-Group training from other more traditional models of learning:

1. *Learning responsibility.* Each participant is responsible for his own learning. What a person learns depends upon his own style, readiness, and the relationships he develops with other members of the group.

2. *Staff role.* The staff person's role is to facilitate the examination and understanding of the experiences in the group. He helps participants to focus on the way the group is working, the style of an individual's participation, or the issues that are facing the group.

3. *Experience and conceptualization.* Most learning is a combination of experience and conceptualization. A major T-Group aim is to provide a setting in which individuals are encouraged to examine their experiences together in enough detail so that valid generalizations can be drawn.

4. *Authentic relationships and learning.* A person is most free to learn when he establishes authentic relationships with other people and thereby increases his sense of self-esteem and decreases his defensiveness. In authentic relationships persons can be open, honest, and direct with one another so that they are communicating what they are actually feeling rather than masking their feelings.

5. *Skill acquisition and values.* The development of new skills in working with people

is maximized as a person examines the basic values underlying his behavior, as he acquires appropriate concepts and theory, and as he is able to practice new behavior and obtain feedback on the degree to which his behavior produces the intended impact.

Goals and Outcomes

Goals and outcomes of sensitivity training can be classified in terms of potential learning concerning individuals, groups, and organizations.

1. **The individual point of view.** Most T-Group participants gain a picture of the impact that they make on other group members. A participant can assess the degree to which that impact corresponds with or deviates from his conscious intentions. He can also get a picture of the *range of perceptions* of any given act. It is as important to understand that different people may see the same piece of behavior differently—for example, as supportive or antagonistic, relevant or irrelevant, clear or ambiguous—as it is to understand the impact on any given individual. In fact, very rarely do all members of a group have even the same general perceptions of a given individual or a specific event.

   Some people report that they try out behavior in the T Group that they have never tried before. This experimentation can enlarge their view of their own potential and competence and provide the basis for continuing experimentation.

2. **The group point of view.** The T Group can focus on forces which affect the characteristics of the group such as the level of commitment and follow-through resulting from different methods of making decisions, the norms controlling the amount of conflict and disagreement that is permitted, and the kinds of data that are gathered. Concepts such as cohesion, power, group maturity, climate, and structure can be examined using the experiences in the group to better understand how these same forces operate in the back-home situation.

3. **The organization point of view.** Status, influence, division of labor, and styles of managing conflict are among organizational concepts that may be highlighted by ana-

lyzing the events in the small group. Subgroups that form can be viewed as analogous to units within an organization. It is then possible to look at the relationships between groups, examining such factors as competitiveness, communications, stereotyping, and understanding.

One of the more important possibilities for a participant is that of examining the kinds of assumptions and values which underlie the behavior of people as they attempt to manage the work of the group. The opportunity to link up a philosophy of management with specific behaviors that are congruent with or antithetical to that philosophy makes the T Group particularly relevant to understanding the large organization.

Research and Impact

Research evidence on the effectiveness of sensitivity training is rather scarce and often subject to serious methodological problems. The suggested readings at the end of this [book] are the best source for identifying available studies. The following generalizations do seem to be supported by the available data:

- People who attend sensitivity training programs are more likely to improve their managerial skills than those who do not (as reported by their peers, superiors, and subordinates).

- Everyone does not benefit equally. Roughly two-thirds of the participants are seen as increasing their skills after attendance at laboratories. This figure represents an average across a number of studies.

- Many individuals report extremely significant changes and impact on their lives as workers, family members, and citizens. This kind of anecdotal report should be viewed cautiously in terms of direct application to job settings, but it is consistent enough that it is clear that T-Group experiences can have a powerful and positive impact on individuals.

- The incidence of serious stress and mental disturbance during training is difficult to measure, but it is estimated to be less than 1 per cent of participants and in almost all cases occurs in persons with a history of prior disturbances.

3

SOME ASPECTS OF THE T GROUP
AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM*

The T Group is a social system in the making during the early period of a Human Relations Workshop. This becomes evident if we reflect upon the missing group characteristics as the T Group begins. The T-Group purpose (as stated by the staff) is not comprehended because its origin is external to those about the table and is too far removed from traditional training experiences for explanations to be meaningful. There is no authority structure because the trainer fails to lead discussion and supply the assistance usually given by a chairman. There is no rank or prestige system to enable another participant to gain general acceptance in taking the trainer's place. The vacuum in authority structure is further aggravated by the lack of an assigned or agreed-upon topic which might otherwise provide the participants with a common and meaningful focus of attention. There is a lack of shared expectations and perceptions which stands in the way of agreement on a topic. The staff's heterogeneous grouping of individuals and appellation of the term "T Group," with the lack of shared expectations and perceptions, contribute to the nonexistent or limited sense of being a "unity" or "whole." Hence, in the opening session the situation is essentially one of individuals seated about a table under circumstances which intensify self-awareness and sensitivity. There remains immediately available, however, one characteristic fundamental to all animate systems—interaction.

The circumstances thus created, the lack of forms and procedures which normally characterize group life, force (with trainer assistance) sharper attention to interaction and bring into relief processes of group formation and operation which normally lie, in large part, beneath the surface of social systems.

The group dynamics through which the T Group becomes a social system begin in the first session although many forces in the minds of different individuals may have been set in motion long before the workshop began—

through reading, conversations, and so on. Comment on the processes will be limited at this point to but a few observations as they bear upon the general nature of systems.

The participants, in the effort to cope with the unique circumstances, engage in testing the trainer, one another, and in alternative ways of meeting the situation—that is, to discover satisfying forms and procedures. (The member contributions also reflect individual dynamics, but our concern at this point is with the system aspects.) Attempts to meet the difficult situation are at this point predetermined by past experiences in other groups, since the participants have as yet developed no model for problem solving in the T Group.

One of many possible temporary solutions may be, after a few scattered comments (primarily oriented to seeking direction from the trainer), to launch into self-introductions. These reflect an attempt to fill the vacuum and to establish a pattern of relationships within the group. They also reflect individual efforts, at least on the part of some, to establish themselves in the emerging system. The self-introductions may be long or short. They generally tend to emphasize jobs, titles, degrees, and affiliations, society's typical symbols of prestige and rank. When the introductions have been completed the participants again reach an impasse. The introductions may momentarily have satisfied some or many, and the interaction, though superficial, may have had a salutary effect; but the ambiguity remains. The introductions have communicated too little of the real self of the individuals to provide a meaningful basis for interaction. Prestige and rank are, in the final analysis, only significant as they reflect shared needs and values in a specific social system to which they are relevant. The T Group will eventually establish a relevant system of prestige and rank, but this will come about only through member performance in the group's interaction.

There will be continuing attempts to induce

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the trainer to make decisions for the participants and to tell them what they should do. The participants may select a topic for discussion and appoint a chairman. Different members will seek to help or to dominate the discussion. The form and intensity of the movement varies with group composition and trainer behavior, but the fundamental processes are the same. If at some point the participants draw up a list of their expectations of the trainer, it is likely to include so many behaviors that the members themselves perceive and recoil at the extent of their desire to depend upon him. The resolution of the authority problem takes place only as members share feelings and expectations and come to terms with one another by assuming an ever-widening list of responsibilities for the group's operation. (For discussion of the emotional aspects of this development, consult the section on "Frustration" [in the *Handbook*].)

Though the T Group continues to wrestle with procedures and lacks cohesion it quickly becomes a social reality and is referred to as an entity. Individuals may already refer to the T Group as "we" and "our group" during the first meeting. Invariably, participants after the first session share experiences with those of other groups and in their comments show identification with the group as a "thing." Often comparisons with other groups in the first feedback session carry a tone of inter-group competition.

Finding a Role in the T Group

The early meetings of a T Group intensify and bring into sharp relief the processes and problems of discovering and taking roles and demonstrate the situation which confronts new members in groups. The T-Group participant brings with him a conception of himself, attitudes, expectations, and internalized roles from membership in other groups. These have sometimes been depicted as invisible committees sitting behind the person as he takes part in a new group, for they are derived from meeting the expectations of others in other situations. For some time the imaginal audiences and the roles he assumed in other situations are of greater influence on the participant's expectations than are the actual conditions in the T Group. Because the T-Group situation is ambiguous and the expectations are unclear,

the participant has no frame of reference to which past experiences and internalized roles can be brought to bear effectively. Furthermore, the traditional crutches with which people support and comfort themselves in uncertain circumstances such as status symbols and stereotypic behavior are of little or no use.

The situation of a T-Group member in the initial meetings has been likened to that of a man who without a light enters a strange house on a very dark night. He fumbles to get the key in the lock. When he finally succeeds in opening the door there is nothing but total darkness before him. By this time he is slightly tense and more sensitive to sounds and other sensory cues. He takes a few steps forward and bumps into a piece of furniture. He pauses, trying to sense what direction he should take. Naturally, he seeks to locate the wall where he expects to find the light switch. When he moves again, and with more caution, he knocks over a clothes tree. This startles him and evokes further responses. His heart may beat more rapidly. He may feel a slight constriction at the throat or a prickly feeling on the skin. He may even perspire slightly. Whatever the types of responses, they will be characteristic of himself. He may move forward rapidly and bump into many pieces of furniture or, with great caution, slowly feel his way. Finally, when he does discover the switch and the room is bathed in light, he moves with ease and certainty and the symptoms of his stress disappear.

The dark room and the early meetings of the T Group have some important similarities, although the T Group may appear less dramatic and behaviors may be more muted than in the analogy. The T-Group members are confronted with a vacuum, as the man is confronted with the darkness. They must find a solution, as the man must find the light switch. In the process of doing so, they bump into each other as the man bumps into the furniture. One individual wishes to have a chairman; another does not. One seeks to impose a topic for discussion; others refuse to accept it. There is also a difference, for the T-Group situation is even more complex. Whereas the man in the dark room contends with a fixed order, that is, the furniture remains in the same place, the T Group is continuously changing. Members alter their views and change their behaviors.

On two successive days the group may vote on the question of selecting a chairman; some who voted for him may decide they do not want his services by the time he is halfway through leading the discussion which he was instructed to conduct. Thus, T-Group members are not only forced to discover the boundaries (the light switch), but they must also participate in creating them by defining the purpose, establishing the authority structure, and developing the procedures.

Members may not react so strongly as did the man in the dark room, but their typical behavior tends to become accentuated. Some individuals may become anxious and more demanding that the group adopt an agenda and orderly procedures. Others, after finding their proposals unheeded, may withdraw and sit silently, waiting for the light to appear. Some respond by talking more than they would normally do. Some, after trying to lean on the trainer, look to others to save the situation. Others move in sharply and seek to take control. Some ask questions and patiently wait for others to listen. At first only a few listen carefully and seek to understand what others really say. In situations of stress, groups usually tend to seek simple and quick answers rather than to go through the slow and sometimes painful process of thoughtfully sharing ideas, exploring one another's views and feelings, and seeking a consensus which reflects a resolution acceptable to all.

In a period of several meetings, however, a T Group does change. As the members talk with one another a new system of relationships based upon shared experiences and oriented to events within the T Group emerges. Through trial, error, and evaluation, goals and procedures tend to become more clear. The members are creating their own system which will provide each individual with a frame of reference for his participation. As this takes place, the members become more familiar with the characteristic behaviors of other members, and the situation become more predictable. Some are found to listen thoughtfully and critically and can be counted upon to speak with impartiality. Some are found to contribute unique and original ideas. Some can be trusted to lead the discussion without imposing their will upon others. Some smooth over difficult periods and give support and encouragement

to those who seem uncertain. Members who tend to dominate are brought under control. The member role behaviors which emerge are not, of course, entirely new. They are a combination of behaviors derived from experiences within the T Group and of the internalized behaviors the members brought with them from other groups.

Like all new group members, the individual finds a role in the T Group through participation in the interaction which takes place. The process of finding a role thus involves both the individual and the group. In the T Group, because of its peculiar nature—

1. The individual is initially confronted with the necessity of participation without the traditional guidelines and supports for participation. This tends to heighten emotional responses and increase self-awareness.

2. The individual participates in creating the system and, in the emergence of the system, finds guidelines for his role behavior.

3. The individual has an opportunity to become more sensitive to his internalized role behaviors—as an authority, a peer, and a subordinate—and can discover the aspects of these which are productive and the aspects which are ineffectual.

Communication in the Group

The principles which characterize communication between two persons apply also to groups. The T Group begins to cope with its problems as members feel more free to interact and to express their wishes, feelings, and attitudes. As these are accepted by others, trust grows and further expressions take place. The mutual sharing leads to more real and meaningful communication. Feedback plays a central role in this process, for it enables the members to examine and correct distortions.

There is a dimension of greater complexity in group than in two-person communication because of the increased number of persons involved. Each of the individuals has private goals, expectations, and feelings. The potential number and variety of potential distortions increase. Furthermore, many persons have a natural tendency to more readily share with one person than with many because of their own anxieties and fears of being misunderstood.

There may, however, be a group factor which tends to offset this as the total atmosphere becomes more permissive and accepting. One individual stimulates another. Some persons may even feel more free to say things they would scarcely admit to themselves as they hear them expressed by others.

Moods in the T Group fluctuate rapidly, though sometimes a topic external to the group seduces it into a long period of flight from examining member relationships. Gradually, periods of heated interchange which discharge tension lead into periods of mutual clarification and sometimes introspection which, in the process, build more meaningful relationships. The members speak more directly and frankly with one another, expressing both positive and negative feelings as they come to trust and feel warmer toward one another. The exchange of perceptions and feelings (pairing) begins first among a few persons. This gradually spreads and brings about new levels of communication and expression within the group. The moods, as in a warmly related and closely knit family group, move back and forth through the entire range—dependency, fight–flight, and pairing—but in the process the group gradually becomes a more integrated and emotionally cohesive system to which the members have greater commitment. Much of what is most important in this process takes place at feeling levels of which the members are only partly . . . aware.

The Dimensions of Group Growth

One way to think systematically about the development of staff strength and the nature of the group standards is to analyze the events which take place and member behaviors. This can be done in a series of dimensions. The dimensions represent a way of abstracting observations from the total mass of activity which is taking place and reflecting upon the meaning of the particular data to the group's processes and its work.

A first dimension lies in the attitudes of individuals toward the group and the group's attitudes toward individual members. In a strong, cohesive group there is loyalty toward the group and among the members. There is an acceptance of individual members and a willingness to use the contributions of each member as he has something to offer, without attacking him for his inadequacies. In a beginning group, or a group lacking cohesion, there is little group loyalty and little acceptance of the weaknesses of members. This is natural, for in order to have loyalty one must trust and feel commitment to others. In an immature group, each member's interests and activities tend to be oriented solely to his own individual needs. As a group moves toward maturity, members become aware of other members' needs and those of the group as a whole.

A second dimension for examining growth in group strength is in the nature and the quality of the relationships between the leader and the members. Immature groups and all groups as they begin to work together are highly dependent on the authority of a leader. There are many reasons for this. One is that some persons tend never to develop beyond the dependency characteristics of childhood, particularly if they are not given an opportunity to do so. Others, even though they learn to be somewhat self-dependent, retain strong, unconscious wishes to be dependent. A third reason is that people are usually so anxious to get on with the surface task or the stated problem that they fail to see the need for and are unwilling to give the time to dealing with the problems of working out an interdependent relationship with the authority figure which will stimulate individuals to take the maximum degree of responsibility for themselves. At best they fall back upon a handbook of rules of order. Finally, it is not easy to establish a mature working relationship between the authority figure and the group. Many authority figures are so anxious about their own prestige that they are afraid to trust the group. And even under the best of circumstances there is the necessity for a mutual clarification of expectations. Nonetheless, the least effective work-group is that characterized by "eye service," and the most effective group is that in which the responsibilities of and the obligations to some type of authority are recognized while at the same time each member works with an awareness of personal responsibility for the group task.

A third dimension for examining growth in group strength lies in the area of feedback. Is it possible to point out ways in which the group is not functioning well? Are the members then willing to evaluate the working methods and to look for ways of improving practices? Do members accept criticism? Is the whole area of ques-

tioning practices ignored? Is there a taboo which prevents the members from looking at the group's way of working or from looking at individual behavior?

In many groups there can be no improvement because the members cannot speak freely to one another. The degree to which feedback is possible both at the group and the individual member level is a significant index of staff strength. Of course, it is directly related to the leader attitude toward evaluation and the members' trust of one another.

A fourth dimension for examining growth in group strength lies in the area of dealing with conflict. A new or immature group is usually very anxious about any evidence of hostility or conflict. When people differ and express their differences with strong feelings, the matter is ignored or denied. The chairman may move in with a story. Someone may suggest a break. There is a complete lack of recognition that people cannot work together intensively or creatively without having feelings about what they are doing and arguing hotly about it. A strong group is able to accept and try to deal with conflict, recognizing that the feelings themselves testify to a commitment to the job.

A fifth dimension for examining growth in group strength lies in the area of utilizing all member resources. This requires sensitivity to other members and their potentialities. It calls for sufficient sophistication about group process to involve nonparticipants in a way that is not perceived as attack and at other times accepting their right to abstain from participation if they wish to do so. It calls for looking for corrective measures and skill in raising questions which lead the group to examine what is going on when the meeting falters. Often the very clarification of problems and feelings has a salutary effect on attitudes and productivity. A staff suggestion box and a system for rewarding discoveries or innovations which improve efficiency or productivity are organizational efforts to utilize all member resources.

There are group standards in relation to each of the above dimensions. They tend to remain unrecognized. They can, under favorable circumstances, be examined by a group and as they become more explicit contribute to improved group strength. The improvement of group operation as here conceived involves movement in the direction of more shared leadership, greater member commitment to the group, greater freedom of communication and expression of feelings, and more effective use of all resources, toward the end that the staff become a strong problem-solving work unit more aware of itself as well as its movement toward accomplishing the stated task.

A DISCONFIRMATION THEORY OF LEARNING*

One of the strengths of the laboratory method is that it provides a setting and an atmosphere in which people can learn from one another—can have some behaviors confirmed as effective and others disconfirmed as ineffective: as not getting us what we intend them to get us or as getting us something we do not want!

A paradigm for examining the disconfirmation theory of learning is given below. It represents a single learning experience in a laboratory.
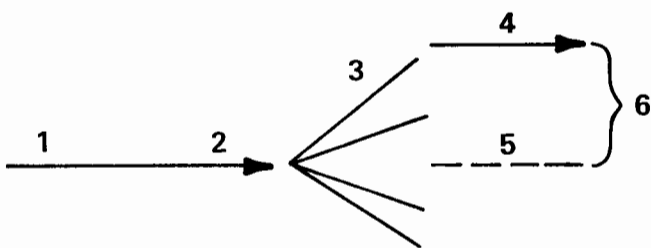
1. Let this line represent my usual—typical—behavior, especially when I am in a group. One aspect we might examine is my listening behavior. As it happens, my typical listening behavior is not very good. I often think I know what someone else is going to say; so I finish their sentences for them. While I think I am showing that I understand them, they perceive this as interrupting them—as *not listening*. No one has ever told me this; so in the T Group I behave in my usual way, participating in the group action by finishing other members' sentences for them.

2. As the climate in the group develops to a level where frankness and openness are acceptable, someone says to me, "I wish you wouldn't do that!" I am startled, perhaps affronted, and curious to find out what I have done to bring on this explosion. This is the experience of disconfirmation. As he/she tells me more about my behavior and his reaction to it, I learn, perhaps for the first time, that my well-intended behavior is having entirely unexpected consequences. I

check around and find that others have been feeling toward me in the same way. I feel at a loss.

3. I take immediate steps to counteract this feeling. First I find out more from the person who reacted toward me—*what* did I do? Do I do it often? How do I do it? Don't you understand why I do it? I explore my feelings and his or her feelings about this incident and about the issue in general. Perhaps I receive some suggestions for alternative ways of listening and showing understanding. The group may move on to something else while I get myself "put together" again. But I can't put myself together just as I was before. I have been living all my life comfortably assuming one thing and now I find that it was not true—it was not working as I thought—and maybe I have a habit I should break.

I search. I try different ways. I re-enter the group with floundering, fumbling steps, and for awhile I am not "myself."

4. Then, maybe several days later, someone says to me, "You are different. I liked what you just did." Again I may have to explore what I did that brought forth this welcome reward. I find that it consists simply of hearing people out. In doing so I project an image of concern, caring, patience, and *understanding*. Just what I wanted to present all the time! I have added a fillip of my own: I put their concepts into my own words sometimes to make sure I have heard correctly before going on to agree, disagree, or add my own opinion. I have discovered that many more people than I had thought have interesting and creative ideas. My life is enriched as I engage myself with them. Rewards such as these enable me to continue on my new path. I revert back to the old interrupting style with decreasing frequency (5).

6. The distance between 4 and 5 can be regarded as the increment of learning. Its

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importance lies in the fact that this distance represents a *change in behavior*. This, ideally, is what laboratory training is all about; it is not to *know* more, but to *do things differently*.

The disconfirmation experience can occur many times a day during a training laboratory. The T Group provides a rich opportunity for disconfirmation to occur from the first moment —as the group members try to fill the vacuum created by the removal of accustomed social props such as status, titles, topics for discussion, and leadership—to the last day, as one learns about his typical behavior during farewells, grieving, and loss of support. During the course of the T Group the feedback process is one of the primary sources of learning, and it is from negative or disconfirming feedback that we seem to learn the most. To be confirmed, to learn that one is "O.K." in one respect or another is rewarding, but what we really need to know in order to develop rests in the *dis*confirmations.

Other parts of the training also offer disconfirmation experiences. Activities are frequently designed to include a surprise or startle reaction, particularly as we are brought to look at some of the comfortable assumptions which we live with and rarely question. Many participants find disconfirmation both exciting and challenging, but some react to it with denial, with hostility, or with aggression. It is not easy nor particularly comfortable to have one's structure of belief about himself and the world questioned.

For most productive learning in a laboratory, however, it is helpful to be prepared for the disconfirmation experience, recognize it when it happens, and give it the thoughtful regard it deserves as an important avenue for growth.

EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AND EMOTIONAL STRESS*

Critics of laboratory training contend that in general it produces a pathologically high level of tension or stress in participants. Proponents and critics alike have been concerned about the possibility that emotional stress generated in laboratory training might trigger significant, possibly permanent, psychological damage. The issue has obvious implications for laboratory participants and for behavioral scientists.

Research Results

NTL Institute records indicate that of 14,200 participants in its summer and industrial programs between 1947 and 1968, the experience was stressful enough for 33 (.2%) as to require them to leave the program prior to its completion. While this is a very small percentage, even a single instance could not be lightly dismissed.

In "Level of Emotional Arousal in Laboratory Training," Bernard Lubin and Marvin Zuckerman[1] address the issue by comparing laboratory training with perceptual isolation experiments. Results of psychological testing have shown that experiments in which the subject's visual, auditory, and tactile sensations are restricted for a set period of time generate feelings of anxiety, depression, or hostility beyond the normal range. Lubin and Zuckerman used the same test to determine the degree of emotion aroused in laboratory training. Results indicated that laboratory training was far less stress-producing than the perceptual isolation experiment. In fact, none of the laboratory training participants showed anxiety, depression, or hostility beyond the point conventionally accepted as normal.

The YMCA's 1968 study of its extensive program of sensitivity training for YMCA leaders includes the following passage on the issue of "severe psychological disruption" as a consequence of participation in training:

A systematic effort was made to track down each instance of allegedly severe negative experiences in YMCA sensitivity training for professional staff. Out of the approximately 1,200 participants, four

negative experience cases were finally identified. Even for these four cases, however, the experience as a whole was not completely negative. Data gathered from careful interviews with the principals themselves, their work supervisors, their sensitivity group trainers, other group participants, and, where applicable, with clinicians working with the principals indicate that for three out of the four persons thus involved, the disruptive experience actually turned out to be helpful and is now appraised by them as being a valuable learning experience which has enhanced their effectiveness as individuals and as YMCA Directors. In the fourth case, although the individual does not evaluate the experience as being a positive one for him, he has not been incapacitated by the experience and is continuing to do an effective job in his position as a YMCA Director.[2]

Bernard and Alice Lubin report on a comparison of laboratory training stress with college examination stress.[3] To the participants in seven T Groups they daily administered tests measuring anxiety, depression, and hostility. The same tests were administered to seven undergraduate college classes on a nonexamination day, and again just prior to a scheduled examination. It was found that college examinations produce significantly more stress than the T-Group experience.

In spite of these findings—which appear to be somewhat reassuring in regard to the degree of stress engendered by laboratory training, as well as the longer term consequences—another study keeps the issue alive by demanding further research evidence. Irvin Yalom, Matthew Miles, and Morton Lieberman studied 18 encounter groups and administered multiple measurements before, during, and after the training. The groups included two sensitivity training groups following the approach of the NTL Institute and others representing an amalgam of NTL and Rogerian orientation, Synanon groups, transactional groups, Gestalt groups, nonverbal groups patterned after those at Esalen, psy-

*Cyril R. Mill.

[1]See The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1969, 5 (4), 483-490.

[2]Batchelder, R., & Hardy, J. Using Sensitivity Training and the Laboratory Method: An Organization Case Study in the Development of Human Resources. New York: Association Press, 1968. Pp. 83-84.

[3]"Laboratory Training Stress Compared with College Examination Stress." The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1971, 7 (4), 502-507.

chodrama groups, psychoanalytically oriented groups, marathon groups, and leaderless tape groups. Eight months after the experience, 8 per cent of the participants, as compared with 3 per cent of control groups of college students, showed evidence of psychological harm stemming from their participation in the groups.[4]

The leaders in these groups were variously classified according to behavioral styles. One classification, the Charismatic Leader, produced the highest "casualty" rate. The Charismatic Leader style emphasizes behaviors such as intrusive modeling and releasing of emotions by demonstration, confrontation, and challenge. It is a very personal style of leadership. Charismatic-type leaders are highly active and give signals of "Be like me; see me; I am here." Participants in these groups evaluated their experience in highly laudatory terms and were very likely to report peak experiences, but six months later a higher proportion of them than those in other groups studied perceived little change in themselves.[4]

Reducing Stress

Several factors are of importance in reducing the possibility of psychological damage associated with laboratory training:

1. The experience should be designed for educational, not psychotherapeutic, purposes. This is true for NTL Institute laboratories, which are not conducted to cure or alleviate pathological mental or emotional conditions. This is not the case with some of the other types of "new groups" currently available to the public—e.g., Gestalt therapy groups,

psychodrama groups, and some encounter groups. The informed participant should choose the group which best fits his needs and goals.

2. Counseling and/or psychiatric help should be available to the participant as part of the services provided by those who conduct training laboratories.

3. A participant with a history of psychological disturbances (such as having been hospitalized for an emotional disorder or having been under treatment for such problems) or one currently under treatment for such problems should let his trainer know of this fact. An informed trainer can work differently with the participant during periods of stress, whereas the uninformed trainer will be less able to work collaboratively with the participant should the latter experience difficulties. Persons currently under treatment should consult with their therapist and secure his approval before applying.

4. Participants should be prepared for some tension and stress during a laboratory. A central concept of the laboratory method is that feelings are relevant to, and may either enhance or inhibit, learning. It is therefore expected that programs using the laboratory method will evoke, recognize, and focus on the emotional reactions of participants to the extent that this emphasis is appropriate to the specific participants and program goals. And such an emphasis can be stress-inducing.

5. Participants should attend laboratories voluntarily. Attending against one's own will adds still another stress element, perhaps more than the participant can readily cope with in an already stressful environment.

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[4]See "The Group Experience: A Comparison of Ten Encounter Technologies." In L. Blank and M. Gottsegen (Eds.), *Encounter: Confrontations in Self- and Interpersonal Awareness.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1971.

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THE JOHARI WINDOW/A Graphic Model
of Awareness in Interpersonal Relations*

Like the happy centipede, many people get along fine working with others, without thinking about which foot to put forward. But when there are difficulties, when the usual methods do not work, when we want to learn more—there is no alternative but to examine our own behavior in relation to others. The trouble is that, among other things, it is so hard to find ways of thinking about such matters, particularly for people who have no extensive backgrounds in the social sciences.

Quadrant I, the area of free activity, refers to behavior and motivation known to self and known to others.

Quadrant II, the blind area, where others can see things in ourselves of which we are unaware.

Quadrant III, the avoided or hidden area, represents things we know but do not reveal to others (e.g., a hidden agenda or matters about which we have sensitive feelings).

	Known to Self	Not Known to Self
Known to Others	I Area of Free Activity	II Blind Area
Not Known to Others	III Avoided or Hidden Area	IV Area of Unknown Activity

THE JOHARI WINDOW

When Harry Ingham and I first presented The Johari Window to illustrate relationships in terms of awareness (at W.T.L., in 1955), we were surprised to find so many people, academicians and nonprofessionals alike, using and tinkering with the model. It seems to lend itself as a heuristic device to speculating about human relations. It is simple to visualize the four quadrants which represent The Johari Window.

Quadrant IV, area of unknown activity. Neither the individual nor others are aware of certain behaviors or motives. Yet we can assume their existence because eventually some of these things become known, and it is then realized that these unknown behaviors and motives were influencing relationships all along.

The Quadrants and Changing Group Interaction

In a new group, Quadrant I is very small; there is not much free and spontaneous interaction. As the group grows and matures, Quadrant I expands in size; and this usually means we are freer to be more like ourselves and to perceive others as they really are. Quadrant III shrinks in area as Quadrant I grows larger. We find it less necessary to hide or deny things we know or feel. In an atmosphere of growing mutual trust there is less need for hiding pertinent thoughts or feelings. It takes longer for Quadrant II to reduce in size, because usually there are "good" reasons of a psychological nature to blind ourselves to the things we feel or do. Quadrant IV perhaps changes somewhat during a learning laboratory, but we can assume that such changes occur even more slowly than do shifts in Quadrant II. At any rate, Quadrant IV is undoubtedly far larger and more influential in an individual's relationships than the hypothetical sketch illustrates.

The Johari Window may be applied to *inter-group* relations. Quadrant I means behavior and motivation known to the group and also known to other groups. Quadrant II signifies an area of behavior to which a group is blind; but other groups are aware of this behavior, e.g., cultism or prejudice. Quadrant III, the hidden area, refers to things a group knows about itself but which are kept from other groups. Quadrant IV, the unknown area, means a group is unaware of some aspect of its own behavior, and other groups are also unaware of this behavior. Later, as the group learns new things about itself, there is a shift from Quadrant IV to one of the other quadrants.

Principles of Change

1. A change in any one quadrant will affect all other quadrants.

2. It takes energy to hide, deny, or be blind to behavior which is involved in interaction.

3. Threat tends to decrease awareness; mutual trust tends to increase awareness.

4. Forced awareness (exposure) is undesirable and usually ineffective.

5. Interpersonal learning means a change has taken place so that Quadrant I is larger and one or more of the other quadrants has grown smaller.

6. Working with others is facilitated by a large enough area of free activity. It means more of the resources and skills in the membership can be applied to the task at hand.

7. The smaller the first quadrant, the poorer the communication.

8. There is universal curiosity about unknown areas, but this is held in check by custom, social training, and by diverse fears.

9. Sensitivity means appreciating the covert aspects of behavior in Quadrants II, III, and IV and respecting the desire of others to keep them so.

10. Learning about group processes as they are being experienced helps to increase awareness (larger Quadrant I) for the group as a whole, as well as for individual members.

11. The value system of a group and its membership may be noted in the way *unknowns* in the life of the group are confronted.

A centipede may be perfectly happy without awareness, but after all, he restricts himself to crawling under rocks.

AN EXPANDING REPERTOIRE OF BEHAVIOR*

One of the purposes of T-Group training is to learn new and more effective ways of relating to others. If others are honest with us and if we are open to their reactions, we can learn about those behaviors which are ineffective, which do not produce the consequences we intended or desired. We may learn of things we do (or do not do) that annoy, bewilder, mislead, put off, anger, hurt, or intimidate others (to name but a few possibilities) without our having consciously intended it. And it might be that some changes in our behavior would enable us to relate better to other people, to produce the consequences we really wish that behavior to lead to.

Behavioral Triangle

The problem is that sometimes it is difficult to see behavioral alternatives, and when we do, sometimes we swing from one excess to another —from "poor me" to "GREAT ME," from "tough me" to "fragile me," from "unemotional me" to "mawkish me"—from "full on" to "full off." What is needed is some kind of behavioral rheostat which will permit a range of behaviors between "off" and "on." In developing this range there is no substitute for experimentation—for trying out the behavior in a setting where one can be sure to get feedback as to its effectiveness. But it may be that some conceptualization would be useful too. Richard Wallen's typology, which follows, suggests some extremes of behavior, variations of which are familiar to us all, and some of which we can see in ourselves. It is a useful, though not exhaustive, listing in that it indicates three extreme "types," and by implication suggests alternative kinds of behavior for one who finds himself swinging too much toward one or another of these types.

Keeping Our Balance

Each of these types or styles can be overdone and distorted. The Tough Battler would be a better father, a better neighbor, a better manager, and a more satisfied person if he could learn some sensitivity, accept his own inevitable dependence on others, and come to enjoy consideration for them. He would be more successful if he recognized that some facts will not yield to pugnacity.

	TOUGH BATTLER	FRIENDLY HELPER	OBJECTIVE THINKER
Emotions	Accepts aggression Rejects affection	Accepts affection Rejects aggression	Rejects both affection and interpersonal aggression
Goal	Dominance	Acceptance	Correctness
Judges others by	Strength, power	Warmth	Cognitive ability
Influences others by	Direction, intimidation, control of rewards	Offering understanding, praise, favors, friendship	Factual data, logical arguments
Value in organization	Initiates, demands, disciplines	Supports, harmonizes, relieves tension	Defines, clarifies, gets information, criticizes, tests
Overuses	Fight	Kindness	Analysis
Becomes	Pugnacious	Sloppy, sentimental	Pedantic
Fears	Being "soft" or dependent	Desertion, conflict	Emotions, irrational acts
Needs	Warmth, consideration, objectivity, humility	Strength, integrity, firmness, self-assertion	Awareness of feeling, ability to love and to fight

*Cyril R. Mill and Lawrence C. Porter.

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The Friendly Helper would be a better father, citizen, manager, and person if he could stand up for his own interests and for what is right, even against the pleas of others. He needs firmness and strength and courage not to evade or to smooth over conflicts. He must face facts, especially when they seem unpleasant.

The Objective Thinker would be a better human being, family man, and business leader if he could become more aware of (and accept) his own feelings and the feelings of others around him. He needs to learn that there are times when it is all right to fight and times when it is desirable to love.

Objective
Thinker

Friendly
Helper

Tough
Battler
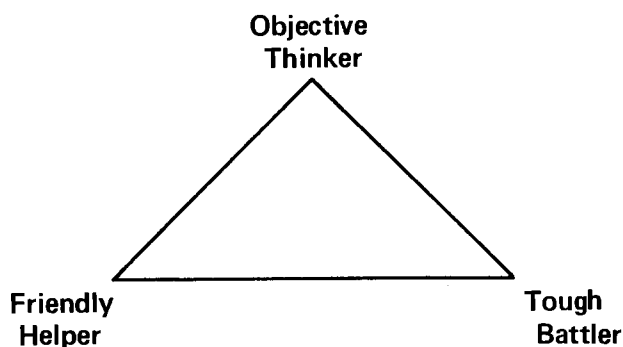
Most of us fall somewhere within the triangle shown above. If we are too far off center, the laboratory gives us a chance to try to rectify our human balance. We can try out, in the relatively safe environment of the T Group, some behavior patterns we have usually neglected. Perhaps suggestions for alternative behaviors can be derived from the typology given above. How much of this new behavior we want to keep will depend on how it works.

Experimenting with New Behavior

One of the major blocks to experimenting with new behavior is that we overvalue consistency to such a degree that we see departures from it as "phony," as not representative of one's "true self," as being somehow false to one's acknowledged identity. (There are usually enough people who will help us believe this. It suits *their* need for consistency to have us remain just as we "always have been.") Still, this identity which we all feel is so real came from someplace. It is not a given. It developed, grew, took shape over the years so slowly that most of us were unaware of and did not consciously participate in the process (the psychological equivalent of "growing like Topsy"). What we often forget is that this identity is *still* in the process of changing. All that is being suggested here is that the learner make the process more conscious (and thus more under his control) than is usually the case. It is natural during a period of trying out new behaviors to have some feeling of falseness or insecurity. So, also, does one feel unnatural when first learning to swing a golf club—or to use a more appropriate analogy—when trying to correct a swing learned long ago. Only with practice and through rewards does it finally come to feel "natural."

Another major block derives from confusion over just what "experimenting with one's behavior" really means. If the group of which the "experimenter" is a member experiences his experimentation as exploitive or manipulative, if others sense that he is experimenting *on them,* rather than *with himself,* then the result is not likely to be what he expects or desires. Expanding one's repertoire of behavior requires experimenting with it in ways that elicit feedback as to its effectiveness. This is quite different from saying that one should expand his repertoire of manipulative, exploitive, or controlling behavior.

If one can shake off for a while the "virtue" of consistency and experiment in ways that are centered in his *own* behavior, some valuable learning may occur. The alternatives are either to pretend that we are now fully formed and immutable or that whatever change occurs in our behavior will happen in ways not susceptible to our control.

Experimentation, then, is a denial that we are either cast in amber or victims of chance.

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BEHAVIORAL COMMUNICATION: OR, "YOUR WORDS TELL ME 'YES, YES,' BUT THERE'S 'NO, NO' IN YOUR EYES"*

As most of us realize, there are times when our behavior speaks more eloquently than our words. For example, a person who says, "I'm not angry," does not always convince us—especially if he pounds the table while saying it or delivers it with icy control. Frequently it is difficult for *us* to know what kind of "behavioral message" (known to some today as "vibrations," or simply "vibes") we are sending along with our words.

One way in which laboratory training can be helpful to us is by providing feedback on how well our words and the other "signals" we send match up. Not that we are being intentionally deceptive. Sometimes a person does not even realize what his feelings are, at which times feedback from the group can put him in touch with what he really is feeling—or at least what his behavior causes people to think he is feeling. This kind of "out-of-touchness" is most likely to occur when we have feelings or needs that we have come to think of as "bad." Since they *are* "bad," they "shouldn't" exist in us; and if we say the right words, they *won't* exist in us! By the time we become adults, such denial of certain feelings may be a deep-seated aspect of our life style. The feelings themselves are still there, but they are vented in any number of relatively "safe" ways.

Fighting, for example, is a behavior most of us have been taught to avoid. And so we may try to deny that we are fighting by doing it indirectly: humor (irony, sarcasm), semantic quibbling, using "deflection shots" ("How do you feel, Harold, when Gwen does that?"), shooting arrows from behind a shield of smiles, maneuvering others into "lose-lose" situations (the classic form of which is the old chestnut, "Are you still beating your wife?"), waiting until a person is struggling with some very heavy feedback and then dropping in a negative tidbit we have been nurturing for two days as our "contribution" to his growth!

Most of us have needs to *control* others, to get them to do something that is good for us or that we think is good for them; and we have subtle ways of doing it: giving advice, bringing out a silent member of the group, eliciting sympathy by telling horror stories about our childhoods, being ostentatiously silent so that someone in the group will ask us why we are so quiet, flattering someone, beginning our comments with controlling phrases: "Now don't get angry at me, but . . .," or "I know you don't want to hear this, but . . . ."

Most of us find it necessary at times to *withdraw*, but we fear that this may be seen as unsocial behavior. And so we volunteer to act as umpire (to get out of playing the game); take on observer or recorder roles; arrive late with regularity (and always with a good reason); state firmly that we've "been taking up too much of the group's time, and now it's somebody else's turn."

This is a very brief list, of course, and each of us can add his own particular item to it—some feeling or need that we don't think we *should* have and which therefore we try to disguise. If you find it hard to believe that *you* ever send mixed signals or that sometimes there is more to your utterances than meets the ear, use the group to check it out. It makes little difference if one thinks his sarcasm doesn't hurt, if others in the group experience pain from it; it doesn't help to deny that one is controlling if the other person replies, "Then why do I *feel* controlled?" In other words, our *intentions* are not at issue, though our *impact* is—and that impact may be the product of behaviors we are largely unaware of, while others —in various indirect and subtle ways—are picking them up. For this reason, many of our attempts to conceal our real feelings or needs from ourselves and others will fail, although we may be "successful" enough in sending out mixed signals to muddy the waters of our relationships.

*Lawrence C. Porter.

FEEDBACK: THE ART OF GIVING AND RECEIVING HELP*

Feedback is a way of helping another person to consider changing his behavior. It is communication to a person which gives him information about some aspect of his behavior and its effect on you. As in a guided missile system, feedback helps an individual know whether his behavior is having the effect that he wants; it tells him whether he is "on target" as he strives to achieve his goals.

Criteria for Useful Feedback

The giving and receiving of feedback is a skill that can be acquired. When feedback is attempted at the wrong time or given in the wrong way the results will be, at best useless, and may be disastrous. Therefore, developing feedback skills can be important. Here are some criteria for useful feedback:

• It is descriptive rather than evaluative. It is helpful to focus on what the individual *did* rather than to translate his behavior into a statement about what he *is*. "You have interrupted three people in the last half hour" is probably not something that a person really wants to hear, but it is likely to be more helpful than, "You are a bad-mannered oaf."

• It focuses on the feelings generated in the person who has experienced the behavior and who is offering the feedback. "When you interrupt me I feel frustrated," gives the individual clear information about the *effect* of his behavior, while at the same time leaving him free to decide what he wants to do about that effect.

• It is specific rather than general. For example, it is probably more useful to learn that you "talk too much" than to have someone describe you as "dominating."

• It is directed toward behavior which the receiver can do something about. Frustration is increased when a person is reminded of some shortcoming over which he has no control.

• It is solicited rather than imposed. Feedback is most useful when the receiver feels that he needs and wants it, when he himself has formulated the kind of question which those observing him can answer.

• It is well-timed. In general, feedback is most useful at the earliest opportunity after the given behavior, depending, of course, on the receiver's readiness to hear it, support available from others, and so on.

• It is checked to ensure clear communication. One way of doing this is to have the receiver try to rephrase the feedback in question to see whether the receiver's version corresponds with what the sender meant.

• When feedback is given in a training group, both giver and receiver have opportunity to check its accuracy with others in the group. Thus the receiver will know whether this is one person's impression or an impression shared by others.

• Feedback should not be given primarily to "dump" or "unload" on another. If you feel you *have* to say this to the other person, then ask yourself who it is you are trying to "help."

• Feedback does not ask "Why?" It stays within the bounds of behavior and one's reactions to that behavior. To theorize about or ask why a person does a certain thing is to plumb the depths of motivation and, perhaps, of the unconscious. Avoiding the "whys" will help one to avoid the error of amateur psychologizing.

Given the premise that properly given feedback can be a fine way to learn about oneself, what are some reasons that we resist it? For one thing, it is hard to admit our difficulties to ourselves. It is even harder to admit them to someone else. We are not sure that the other person can be trusted or that his observations are valid. We may be afraid of learning what others think of us; we often expect to hear only negative opinions about ourselves, tending to overlook our positive qualities.

We may have struggled so hard to make ourselves independent that the thought of depending on another individual seems to violate something within us. Or we may during

all our lives have looked for someone on whom to depend, and we try to repeat this pattern in our relationship with the helping person.

We may be looking for sympathy and support rather than for help in seeing our difficulty more clearly. When the helper tries to point out some of the ways *we* are contributing to the problem, which might suggest that we as well as others will have to change, we may stop listening. Solving a problem may mean uncovering some of the sides of ourselves which we have avoided or wished to avoid thinking about.

We may feel our problem is so unique no one could ever understand it and certainly not an outsider.

On the other side of the interchange, it is not always easy to give feedback to others. Most of us like to give advice. Doing so suggests that we are competent and important. We get caught up in a "telling" role easily enough without testing whether our advice is appropriate to the total issue or to the abilities, the fears, or the powers of the person we are trying to help.

If the person whom we are trying to help becomes defensive, we may try to argue or pressure him. Defensiveness or denial on the part of the receiver is a clear indication that we are going about trying to be helpful in the wrong way. Our timing is off or we may be simply mistaken about his behavior, but in any case, it is best to desist until we can reevaluate the situation. If we respond to the receiver's resistance with more pressure, resistance will only increase.

To be fruitful the helping situation needs these characteristics:

1. Mutual trust.
2. Perceiving the helping situation as a joint exploration.
3. Careful listening, with the helper's listening more than the individual receiving help.
4. Behavior from the helper which will make it easier for the receiver of help to talk.

Feedback takes into account the needs of both the receiver and the giver. Positive feedback is welcomed by the receiver when it is genuine. If feedback is given in a training laboratory under the conditions described here it can become one of the primary means of learning about self.

IS HELP HELPFUL?*

People in the service professions often see themselves as primarily engaged in the job of helping others. Helping becomes both the personal style of life and a core activity that gives meaning and purpose to the life of the professional. The youth worker, the camp director, the counselor, the consultant, the therapist, the teacher, the lawyer—each is a helper.

Helping is a central social process. The den mother, the committee chairman, the parent, the personal friend, the board member, the dance sponsor—each is a helper.

Help, however, is not always helpful. The recipient of the proffered help may not see it as useful. The offering may not lead to greater satisfaction or to better performance. Even less often does the helping process meet a more rigorous criterion—lead to continued growth on the part of the participants.

To begin with, a person may have varied motivations for offering help. He may wish to improve performance of a subordinate, reduce his own guilt, obtain gratitude, make someone happy, or give meaning to his own life. He may wish to demonstrate his superior skill or knowledge, induce indebtedness, control others, establish dependency, punish others, or simply meet a job prescription. These conscious or partially conscious motivations are so intermingled in any act of help that it is impossible for either the helper or the recipient to sort them out.

Depending upon his own needs and upon the way he sees the motives of the helper, the recipient will have varied reactions. He may feel gratitude, resentment, or admiration. He may feel helpless and dependent, or jealous of the helper who has the strength or resources to be in the helper role. He may feel indebted, or pressured to conform to the perceived demands or beliefs of the helper.

We have all noticed that in certain cases the recipient of the help becomes more helpless and dependent, less able to make his own decisions or initiate his own actions, less self-sufficient, more apathetic and passive, less willing to take risks, more concerned about propriety and conformity, and less creative and venturesome. We have also seen circumstances in which, following help, recipients become more creative, less dependent upon helpers, more willing to make risk decisions, more highly motivated to tackle tough problems, less concerned about conformity, and more effective at working independently or interdependently. Help may or may not lead to personal growth and organizational health.

Under certain conditions both the giver and the receiver grow and develop. In general, people tend to grow when there is reciprocal dependence—*inter*dependence, joint determination of goals, real communication in depth, and reciprocal trust. To the degree that these conditions are absent, people fail to grow.

Orientations That Help or Hinder

From the standpoint of the organization, help must meet two criteria: the job or program must be done more effectively, and the individual members must grow and develop. These two criteria tend to merge. The program and the organization are effective only as the participants grow. The same conditions that lead to organizational health lead to personal growth. Table 1 presents a theory of the helping relationship. Seven parallel sets of orientations are presented. One set of conditions maximize help and a parallel set of conditions minimize help.

Reciprocal trust. People accept help from those they trust. When the relationship is one of acceptance and trust, offers of help are appreciated, listened to, seen as potentially helpful, and often acted upon. The receiver accepts help from one whose perceived motives are congenial to him. He tends to reject offers from people whose offering is seen as a guise for attempts to control, punish, correct, or gain power. "Help" is most helpful when given in an atmosphere in which people have reciprocal feelings of confidence, warmth, and acceptance. When one feels that his worth as a person is valued he is able to place himself in psychological readiness to receive aid.

TABLE 1. *The Helping Relationship*

Orientations that help	Orientations that hinder
1. Reciprocal trust (confidence, warmth, acceptance)	1. Distrust (fear, punitiveness, defensiveness)
2. Cooperative learning (inquiry, exploration, quest)	2. Teaching (training, advice giving, indoctrinating)
3. Mutual growth (becoming, actualizing, fulfilling)	3. Evaluating (fixing, correcting, providing a remedy)
4. Reciprocal openness (spontaneity, candor, honesty)	4. Strategy (planning *for*, maneuvering, gamesmanship)
5. Shared problem solving (defining, producing alternatives, testing)	5. Modeling (demonstration, information giving, guiding)
6. Autonomy (freedom, interdependence, equality)	6. Coaching (molding, steering, controlling)
7. Experimentation (play, innovation, provisional try)	7. Patterning (standard, static, fixed)

Distrust. When people fear and distrust each other, even well-intended help is resisted, resented, or seen as unhelpful. Offers of help are sometimes given in service of motivations that are unacceptable to the receiver. That is, one offers help in order to place the other person in a dependent position, elicit expressions of gratitude, assert one's superiority, or punish him. In distrust the recipient's guard is up. He is likely to project his distrusts onto the helper and to resist or resent the help.

One often gives help to camouflage or assuage his desire to change another person— change his character, habits, or misconceptions. The desire to change another person is essentially hostile. At a deep level, one who genuinely accepts another person does not wish to change him. A person who is accepted is allowed to be, become, determine his own goals, and follow them at his own pace. The person who genuinely wishes to help offers the help that the recipient wishes. Genuine help is not foisted upon the receiver. Neither the punisher nor the child really believes that the punishment is given "for the good of the child."

Punishment or censure may be given with a conscious desire to help but usually is accompanied by a deep component of retaliation or by a desire to hurt, control, or assert superiority. The giver often speaks of his act as "helpful" in order to rationalize to himself and to the receiver acts that are done for other motivations.

Cooperative learning. People are helpful to each other when they are engaged in a cooperative quest for learning. The learning atmosphere is one of joint inquiry and exploration. Needs for help and impulses to give help arise out of the demands of the common cooperative task. Help is thus reciprocal. The helper and helpee roles are interchangeable. Each participant has the intent to learn and feels he can learn from the partners and from the common task. The boss and the subordinate, the teacher and the student, the professional worker and the youth—all are most helpful when each member of the pair sees the relationship as a quest with potential learning for each. An effective project team is guided by the task and not by the teacher. It is motivated by the shared potential for learning.

Teaching. When one participant in a project sets out to teach, train, advise, persuade, or indoctrinate the other members or is seen as wanting to do so, the learning of each member is reduced. People cannot be taught. People must learn. People cannot be trained. They grow and develop. The most deeply helpful relationship is one of common inquiry and quest, a relationship between co-learners and co-managers in which each is equally dependent upon the other for significant help and in which each sees and accepts this relationship.

Mutual growth. The most permanent and significant help occurs in a relationship in which both members are continually growing, becoming, and seeking fulfillment. Each member participates in a mutual assessment of progress, accepts this reality of growth, and participates in a way that will maximize the growth of both participants. In a fundamental sense one can only help himself. The helper can only participate with another in an effort to create a climate in which growth can occur.

Evaluating. Growth is often hindered when one member of the helping team sets out to

appraise or remedy the defects in the other member. Help is most effective when it is seen as a force moving toward growth rather than as an effort to remove gaps, remedy defects, or bring another person up to a standard criterion. The limits of growth of any person are extremely difficult to foresee or to assess. The potential for growth is consistently underestimated by both participants in the helping relationship.

Reciprocal openness. One of the essential conditions for effective human learning is the opportunity for feedback or knowledge of progress. Feedback is essential in acquiring skills, knowledge, and attitudes. In the areas where professional help is most commonly sought or given, the essential progress in learning and growth is blocked most often by the failure to obtain adequate data on people's feelings and perceptions of each other. In order to do effective work one must know how others feel and how they see things. In the usual situations in which professional helpers find themselves, there are many pressures which camouflage or distort the relevant data necessary for efficient work and best learning. Many factors reduce the availability of the relevant data: differential status, differential perceived power, and fears that one can hurt or be hurt.

Strategy. When some part of the helping process is closed or unavailable to all participants, people are likely to become anxious, resentful, or resistant. Neither participant in the helping process can "use" the other for his own needs. The helping process is most effective when one plans with another, not for another. One is not helped when he is maneuvered into some action which he does not understand. Gamesmanship and gimmicks are antithetical to the helping process.

Shared problem solving. The productive helping relationship focuses upon the problem to be solved. Problem solving involves a joint determination of the problem, continual redefinition of the problem as successive insights are gained, joint focus upon possible alternative solutions, joint exploration of the data, and continual reality testing of the alternatives. The expertness and resources of each person are shared. The aspect of the behavior about which help is given is seen as a shared problem—not

as a defect to be remedied or as something to be solved by the helper as consultant.

Modeling. A common image of the helping relationship is one where the helper offers a model for the advisee to follow. The expert gives a demonstration of how the recipient may solve his problems. The problem is defined by the expert. Diagnosis is made by the expert. The expert is challenged to offer additional alternatives to the solution of the problem and perhaps even to test the solutions. The process is unidirectional. The limitations of modeling are many. Dependency is increased. The pupil seldom gets better than the model. The worker tries to conform to the image of the supervisor. Growth is limited.

Autonomy. The ideal relationship for helping is an interdependent one in which each person sees the other as both helper and recipient in an exchange among equals. It is essential that each participant preserve his freedom and maintain his autonomous responsibility for guiding himself toward his own learnings, growth, and problem solving. The helper must work himself out of the helping job. The supervisor, youth worker, and counselor must become decreasingly necessary to the people being helped. Psychological weaning, however painful to both helper and recipient, must continue if help is to be truly helpful.

Coaching. The coach molds, steers, or controls the behavior of the recipient, much as a tennis coach or physical education director molds the behavior of the athlete or skill-directed recipient of help. This is another unidirectional process in which the coach is assumed to have special diagnostic and observational powers which he applies in a skilled way to the behavior of the recipient, who puts himself in the hands of the coach. The recipient of help is encouraged to maintain respectful dependency upon the coach, to not challenge his authority or expertness, to put implicit trust in his abilities and powers, and to receive from the coach motivational or inspirational guidance. Both coach and pupil suffer under this pattern. Each may gain in skill. Neither grows as a person.

Experimentation. Tentativeness and innovative experimentation are characteristic of the most productive helping relationship. There is a sense of play, excitement, and fun in the common exploratory quest for new solutions to

continually changing problems. The helping process is viewed as a series of provisional trials. Each participant joins in the game and adds to the general excitement. Errors can be made—and are perhaps expected. Help is a search. Finding creative solutions to newly defined problems is a game—full of zest and intrinsic drives that keep the game going.

Patterning. Help is limited when the process is seen as an attempt on the part of one person to help another meet a prescribed standard, come up to a criterion, or reach a goal specified in advance. Helping is a creative synthesis of growth and a continual search for new forms.

"Help" is not always helpful—but it can be. Both the helper and the recipient can grow and learn when help is given in a relationship of trust, joint inquiry, openness, and interdependence. Growth-centered helping processes lead to healthy groups and effective organizations.

A HIERARCHY OF NEEDS*

What do people work for? Money? Status? Possessions? A person with an empty belly knows what he wants. A father possesses a clear drive to provide a roof over the head of his family and clothes for them to wear. Even in an affluent society there are many people whose basic needs are not met. But for the majority in a highly developed society the basic needs are generally satisfied.

And yet, we find many employers continuing to rely on these needs to motivate workers. The human race has a long history of having to give primary consideration to the meeting of basic needs such as physical and security requirements; we do not easily move to other levels of thinking about human motivation.

Abraham Maslow suggests that beyond the survival needs there ranges a new hierarchy of higher-order needs which have motivational importance after basic needs are met.

A Hierarchy of Needs

Self-Fulfillment
Ego
Social
Security
Physical
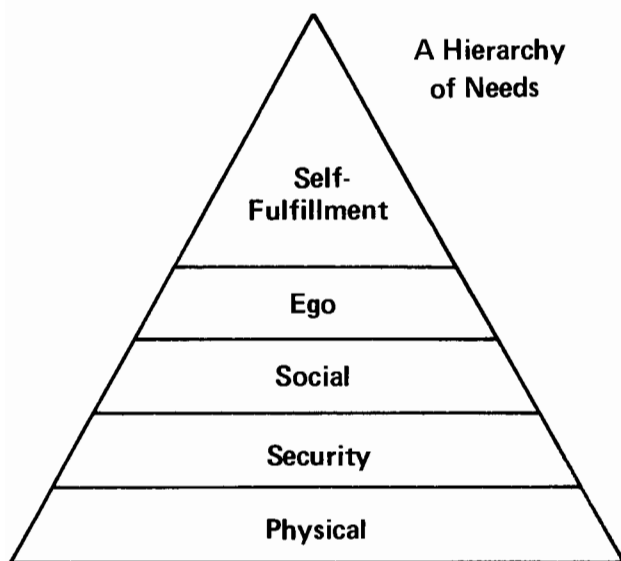
Self-expression and fulfillment are probably not motivating needs to one who is not sure of meeting his physical and security requirements. The paradox lies in the fact that a need satisfied no longer motivates, while at the same time needs that are fulfilled quickly give way to new sets of needs. At the pinnacle are those needs to live fully, to express oneself in satisfying and perhaps enduring ways or, to use another of Maslow's terms, to become "fully human."

An important goal for many people in a human relations training laboratory is to learn how to get more satisfaction out of life. The self-actualizing individual is one whose work is so satisfying that it is like play, whose behavior and feelings are congruent, whose living is growing. As we move up in the hierarchy of needs we are motivated toward more difficult achievements and more general accomplishments. The next article provides some guides for understanding self-actualization as one important aspect of Self-Fulfillment in Maslow's hierarchy.

BEHAVIORS LEADING TO SELF-ACTUALIZATION*

What does one do when he self-actualizes? Does he grit his teeth and squeeze? What does self-actualization mean in terms of actual behavior or actual procedure? I shall describe eight ways in which one self-actualizes.

Self-Actualization Means . . .

First, self-actualization means experiencing fully, vividly, selflessly—with full concentration and total absorption. It means experiencing without the self-consciousness of the adolescent. At this moment of experiencing, the person is wholly and fully human. This is a self-actualizing moment. This is a moment when the self is actualizing itself. As individuals, we all experience such moments occasionally. As counselors, we can help clients to experience them more often. We can encourage them to become totally absorbed in something and to forget their poses and their defenses and their shyness—to go at it "whole-hog." From the outside, we can see that this can be a very sweet moment. In those youngsters who are trying to be very tough and cynical and sophisticated, we can see the recovery of some of the guilelessness of childhood; some of the innocence and sweetness of the face can come back as they devote themselves fully to a moment and throw themselves fully into

the experiencing of it. The key word for this is "selflessly," and our youngsters suffer from too little selflessness and too much self-consciousness or self-awareness.

Second, let us think of life as a process of choices, one after another. At each point there is a progression choice and a regression choice. There may be a movement toward defense, toward safety, toward being afraid; but over on the other side, there is the growth choice. To make the growth choice instead of the fear choice a dozen times a day is to move a dozen times a day toward self-actualization. *Self-actualization is an ongoing process;* it means making each of the many single choices about whether to lie or be honest, whether to steal or not to steal at a particular point, and it means to make each of these choices as a growth choice. This is movement toward self-actualization.

Third, to talk of self-actualization implies that there is a *self* to be actualized. A human being is not a *tabula rasa,* not a lump of clay or plasticine. He is something which is already there, at least a "cartilaginous" structure of some kind. A human being is, at minimum, his temperament, his biochemical balances, and so on. There is a self, and what I have sometimes referred to as "listening to the impulse voices" means *letting the self emerge.* Most of us, most of the time (and especially does this apply to children and young people) listen not to ourselves but to Mommy's introjected voice or Daddy's voice or to the voice of the Establishment, of the Elders, of authority, or of tradition.

As a simple first step toward self-actualization, I sometimes suggest to my students that when they are given a glass of wine and asked how they like it, they try a different way of responding. First, I suggest that they *not* look at the label on the bottle. Thus they will not use it to get any cue about whether or not they *should* like it. Next, I recommend that they close their eyes if possible and that they "make a hush." Now they are ready to look within themselves and try to shut out the noise of the world so that they may savor the wine on their tongues and look to the "Supreme Court" *inside themselves.* Then, and only then, may they come out and say, "I like it" or "I don't like it." A statement so arrived at is different from the usual kind of phoniness that we all indulge in. At a party recently, I caught myself looking at

the label on a bottle and assuring my hostess that she had indeed selected a very good Scotch. But then I stopped myself: What was I saying? I know little about Scotches. All I knew was what the advertisements said. I had no idea whether this one was good or not; yet this is the kind of thing we all do. Refusing to do it is part of the ongoing process of actualizing oneself. Does *your* belly hurt? Or does it feel good? Does this taste good on *your* tongue? Do *you* like lettuce?

Fourth, when in doubt, be honest rather than not. I am covered by that phrase "when in doubt," so that we need not argue too much about diplomacy. Frequently, when we are in doubt we are not honest. Clients are not honest much of the time. They are playing games and posing. They do not take easily to the suggestion to be honest. Looking within oneself for many of the answers implies *taking responsibility.* This is in itself a great step toward actualization. This matter of responsibility has been little studied. It doesn't turn up in our textbooks, for who can investigate responsibility in white rats? Yet it is an almost tangible part of psychotherapy. In psychotherapy, one can see it, can feel it, can know the moment of responsibility. Then there is a clear knowing of what it feels like. This is one of the great steps. Each time one takes responsibility, this is an actualizing of the self.

Fifth, we have talked so far of experiencing with self-awareness, of making the growth choice rather than the fear choice, of listening to the impulse voices, and of being honest and taking responsibility. All these are steps toward self-actualization, and all of them guarantee better life choices. A person who does each of these little things each time the choice point comes will find that they add up to better choices about what is constitutionally right for him. He comes to know what his destiny is, who his wife or husband will be, what his mission in life will be. One cannot choose wisely for a mission in life unless he dares to listen to himself, his own self, at each moment in life, and to say calmly, "No, I don't like such and such."

The art world, in my opinion, has been captured by a small group of opinion- and taste-makers about whom I feel suspicious. This is an *ad hominem* judgment, but it seems fair enough for people who set themselves up as able to say, "You like what I like or else you are a fool."

We must teach people to listen to their own tastes. Most people don't do it. When standing in a gallery before a puzzling painting, one rarely hears, "That is a puzzling painting." We had a dance program at Brandeis University not too long ago—a weird thing altogether, with electronic music, tapes, and people doing surrealistic and Dada things. When the lights went up everybody looked stunned, and nobody knew what to say. In that kind of situation most people will make some smart chatter instead of saying, "I would like to think about this." Making an *honest* statement involves *daring to be different,* unpopular, nonconformist. If clients, young or old, cannot be taught about being prepared to be unpopular, counselors might just as well give up right now. To be courageous rather than afraid is another version of the same thing.

Sixth, self-actualization is not only an end state but also the process of actualizing one's potentialities at any time, in any amount. It is, for example, a matter of becoming smarter by studying if one is an intelligent person. Self-actualization means using one's intelligence. It does not mean doing some far-out thing necessarily, but it may mean going through an arduous and demanding period of preparation in order to realize one's possibilities. Self-actualization can consist of finger exercises at a piano keyboard. Self-actualization means working to do well the thing that one wants to do. To become a second-rate physician is not a good path to self-actualization. One wants to be first-rate, or as good as he can be.

Seventh, peak experiences . . . are transient moments of self-actualization. They are moments of ecstasy which cannot be bought, cannot be guaranteed, cannot even be sought. One must be, as C. S. Lewis wrote, "surprised by joy." But one can set up the conditions so that peak experiences are more likely [to occur], or one can perversely set up the conditions so that they are less likely. Breaking up an illusion, getting rid of a false notion, learning what one is not good at, learning what one's potentialities are *not*—these are also part of discovering what one *is,* in fact.

Practically everyone does have peak experiences, but not everyone knows it. Some people wave these small mystical experiences aside. Helping people to recognize these little moments of ecstasy when they happen is one of the jobs of the counselor or metacounselor. Yet how does one's psyche, with nothing external in the world to point at—there is no blackboard there —look into another person's secret psyche and then try to communicate? We have to work out a new way of communication. I have tried one. It is described in another appendix in . . . the book, *Religions, Values and Peak-Experiences,* under the title "Rhapsodic Communications." I think that kind of communication may be more of a model for teaching and counseling, for helping adults to become as fully developed as they can be, than the kind we are used to when we see teachers writing on the board. If I love Beethoven and I hear something in a quartet that you don't, how do I teach you to hear? The noises are there, obviously. But I hear something very, very beautiful, and you look blank. You hear the sounds. How do I get you to hear the beauty? That is more our problem in teaching than making you learn the ABC's or demonstrating arithmetic on the board or pointing to a dissection of a frog. These latter things are external to both people; one has a pointer, and both can look at the same time. This kind of teaching is easy; the other kind is much harder, but it is part of the counselor's job. It is metacounseling.

Eighth, finding out who one is, what he is, what he likes, what he doesn't like, what is good for him and what bad, where he is going and what his mission is—opening oneself up to himself—means the exposure of psychopathology. It means identifying defenses; and after defenses have been identified, it means finding the courage to give them up. This is painful because defenses are erected against something which is unpleasant. But giving up the defenses is worthwhile. If the psychoanalytic literature has taught us nothing else, it has taught us that repression is not a good way of solving problems.

Desacralizing. Let me talk about one defense mechanism that is not mentioned in the psychology textbooks, though it is a very important defense mechanism to some youngsters of today. It is the defense mechanism of *desacralizing.* These youngsters mistrust the possibility of values and virtues. They feel themselves swindled or thwarted in their lives. Most of them have, in fact, dopey parents whom they don't respect very much, parents who are quite confused themselves about values, and who, fre-

quently, are simply terrified of their children and never punish them or stop them from doing things that are wrong. So you have a situation where the youngsters simply despise their elders—often for good and sufficient reason. Such youngsters have learned to make a big generalization: They won't listen to anybody who is grown-up, especially if the grown-up uses the same words which they've heard from the hypocritical mouth. They have heard their fathers talk about being honest or brave or bold, and they have seen their fathers being the opposite of all these things.

The youngsters have learned to reduce the person to the concrete object and to refuse to see what he might be or to refuse to see him in his symbolic values or to refuse to see him or her eternally. Our kids have desacralized sex, for example. Sex is nothing; it is a natural thing, and they have made it so natural that it has lost its poetic qualities in many instances, which means that it has lost practically everything. Self-actualization means giving up this defense mechanism and learning or being taught to *re*sacralize.

Resacralizing. Resacralizing means being willing, once again, to see a person "under the aspect of eternity," as Spinoza says, or to see him in the medieval Christian unitive perception; that is, being able to see the sacred, the eternal, the symbolic. It is to see Woman with a capital "W" and everything which that implies, even when one looks at a particular woman. Another example: One goes to medical school and dissects a brain. Certainly something is lost if the medical student isn't awed; but without the unitive perception, he sees the brain only as one concrete thing. Open to resacralization, one sees a brain as a sacred object also, sees its symbolic value, sees it as a figure of speech, sees it in its poetic aspects.

Resacralization often means an awful lot of corny talk—"very square," the kids would say. Nevertheless, for the counselor, especially for the counselor of older people, where these philosophical questions about religion and the meaning of life come up, this is a most important way of helping the person to move toward self-actualization. The youngsters may say that it is square, and the logical positivists may say that it is meaningless; but for the person who seeks our help in this process, it is obviously very meaningful and very important, and we had better answer him, or we're not doing what it is our job to do.

Little Accessions

Put all these points together, and we see that self-actualization is not a matter of one great moment. It is not true that on Thursday at four o'clock the trumpet blows and one steps into the pantheon forever and altogether. Self-actualization is a matter of degree, of little accessions accumulated one by one. Too often our clients are inclined to wait for some kind of inspiration to strike so that they can say "At 3:23 on this Thursday I became self-actualized!" People selected as self-actualizing subjects, people who fit the criteria, go about it in these little ways: They listen to their own voices; they take responsibility; they are honest; and they work hard. They find out who they are and what they are, not only in terms of their mission in life, but also in terms of the way their feet hurt when they wear such and such a pair of shoes and whether they do or do not like eggplant or stay up all night if they drink too much beer. All this is what the real self means. They find their own biological natures, their congenital natures, which are irreversible or difficult to change.

Observing and Diagnosing Group Behavior

WHAT TO OBSERVE IN A GROUP

One way to learn in a training laboratory is to observe and analyze what is happening in one's T Group. All of us have spent our lives in groups of various sorts—the family, gang, team, workgroup, platoon, and so on—but rarely have we taken the time to observe, discuss, and try to understand what was going on in the group. One of our main goals here is to become better observers, which may help us become more effective group participants.

But what do we look for? What is there to see in a group?

I. Content and Process

When we observe what the group is talking about, we are focusing on the *content*. When we try to observe how the group is handling its communication, i.e., who talks how much or who talks to whom, we are focusing on group *process*.

Most discussion topics about the back-home situation emphasize the *content*: "What is good leadership?" "How can I motivate my subordinate?" "How can we make meetings more effective?" They concern issues which are "there-and-then" in the sense of being abstract, future- or past-oriented, and not involving us directly. In focusing on group *process*, we are looking at what our group is doing in the "here-and-now," how it is working in the sense of its present behaviors.

In fact, the content of the conversation is often the best clue as to what process issue may be on people's minds when they find it difficult to confront the issue directly. For example:

Content	Process
Talking about problems of authority back home may mean . . .	that there is a leadership struggle going on in the T Group.
Talking about how bad group meetings usually are at the plant may mean . . .	that members are dissatisfied with the meeting of their own T Group.
Talking about staff men who don't really help anybody may mean . . .	dissatisfaction with the way the trainer in the T Group is behaving.

At a simpler level, looking at process really means to focus on what is going on in the group and to try to understand it in terms of other things that have gone on in the group.

II. Communication

One of the easiest aspects of group process to observe is the pattern of communication:

> Who talks? For how long? How often?
> Whom do people look at when they talk: Others who may support them? The group as a whole? The trainer? No one?
> Who talks after whom? Who interrupts whom?
> What style of communication is used—assertions, questions, tone of voice, gestures, support or negation?

The kinds of observations we make give us clues to other important things which may be going on in the group, such as who leads whom or who influences whom.

III. Decision-Making Procedures

Whether we are aware of it or not, groups are making decisions all the time, some of them consciously and in reference to the major tasks at hand, some of them without much awareness and in reference to group procedures or standards of operation. It is important to observe how decisions are made in a group in order to assess the appropriateness of the method to the matter being decided on, and in order to assess whether the consequences of given methods are really what the group members bargained for.

Group decisions are notoriously hard to undo. When someone says, "Well, we decided to do it, didn't we?" any budding opposition is quickly immobilized. Often we can undo the decision only if we reconstruct it and understand how we made it and test whether this method was appropriate or not.

Some methods by which groups make decisions follow:

The Plop: "I think we should introduce ourselves" . . . silence. (Group decision by omission)

The Self-Authorized Agenda: "I think we should introduce ourselves, my name is Joe Smith . . . ." (Decision by one)

The Handclasp: "I wonder if it would be helpful if we introduced ourselves?" "I think it would, my name is Pete Jones. . . ." (Decision by two)

"Does Anyone Object?" or *"We all agree."* (Decision by a minority—one or more)

Majority-Minority Voting. (Decision by majority)

Polling: "Let's see where everyone stands; what do *you* think?"

Consensus Testing: Exploration to test for opposition and to determine whether opposition feels strongly enough to be unwilling to implement decision; not necessarily unanimity but essential agreement by all.

The procedure can be tricky. For example, it sometimes happens that a decision to poll—which looks very democratic, because polling is considered democratic—can be made by self-authorization or by handclasp. At such a point, the alert group member will realize what is going on and insist that the group be clear on its decision-making style. Actually, the decision a group makes about how it will make decisions can be the most important single element with respect to how it works as a group.

IV. Task or Maintenance Behavior Vs. Self-Oriented Behavior

Behavior in the group can be viewed from the point of view of what its purpose or function seems to be. When a member says something, is he primarily trying to get the group task accomplished (task), to improve or patch up some relationships among members (maintenance), or to meet some personal need or goal without regard to the group's problems (self-oriented)?

The types of behavior relevant to the group's fulfillment of its *task* are these:

Initiating: Proposing tasks or goals; defining a group problem; suggesting a procedure or ideas for solving a problem. . . .

Seeking Information or Opinions: Requesting facts; seeking relevant information about group concern; requesting a statement or estimate; soliciting expressions of value; seeking suggestions and ideas. . . .

Giving Information or Opinion: Offering facts; providing relevant information about group concern; stating a belief about a matter before the group; giving suggestions and ideas.

Clarifying and Elaborating: Interpreting ideas or suggestions; clearing up of confusions; defining terms; indicating alternatives and issues before the group. . . .

Summarizing: Pulling together related ideas; restating suggestions after the group has discussed them; offering a decision or conclusion for the group to accept or reject. . . .

Consensus Testing: Asking to see whether group is nearing a decision; sending up trial balloon to test a possible conclusion. . . .

Types of behavior relevant to the group's remaining in good working order, having a good climate for task work, and good relationships which permit maximum use of member resources, i.e., *group maintenance,* are as follows:

Harmonizing: Attempting to reconcile disagreements; reducing tension; getting people to explore differences. . . .

Gate Keeping: Helping to keep communication channels open; facilitating the participation of others; suggesting procedures that permit sharing remarks. . . .

Encouraging: Being friendly, warm, and responsive to others; indicating by facial expression or remark the acceptance of others' contributions. . . .

Compromising: When own idea or status is involved in a conflict, offering a compromise which yields status; admitting error; modifying in interest of group cohesion or growth.

Standard Setting and Testing: Testing whether group is satisfied with its procedures or suggesting procedures; pointing out explcit or implicit norms which have been set to make them available for testing. . . .

Every group needs both kinds of behavior and needs to work out an adequate balance of task and maintenance activities.

V. Emotional Issues: Causes of Self-Oriented, Emotional Behavior

The processes described so far deal with the group's attempts to *work,* to solve problems of task and maintenance; but there are many

forces active in groups which disturb work, which represent a kind of emotional underworld or undercurrent in the stream of group life. These underlying emotional issues produce a variety of behaviors which interfere with or are destructive of effective group functioning. Groups often ignore such an issue or wish it away, which can be detrimental to their task-accomplishment as well as to the growth of the individual(s) whose behavior is based on self-oriented needs. The effective group will recognize what is going on, try to identify the issue, and then work with it in ways which permit these same emotional energies to be channeled in the direction of the group's effort.

What are these emotional issues or basic problems?

Identity: Who am I in this group? Where do I fit in? What kind of behavior is acceptable here?

Goals and Needs: What do I want from the group? Can the group goals be made consistent with my goals? What have I to offer to the group?

Power, Control, and Influence: Who will control what we do? How much power and influence do I have?

Intimacy: How close will we get to each other? How personal? How much can we trust each other? Can we achieve a greater level of trust?

What kinds of behaviors are produced in response to these problems?

Dependency-Counterdependency: Opposing or resisting anyone in the group who represents authority.

Fighting and Controlling: Asserting personal dominance, attempting to get own way regardless of others.

Withdrawing: Trying to remove the sources of uncomfortable feelings by psychologically leaving the group.

Pairing Up: Seeking out one or two supporters and forming a kind of emotional subgroup in which the members protect and support one another.

These are not the only phenomena which can be observed in a group. What is important to observe will vary with what the group is doing, the needs and purposes of the observer, and many other factors. The main point, however, is that improving our skills in observing what is going on in the group will provide us with important data for understanding groups and increasing our effectiveness within them. Often, the most effective and useful group member will be the one who can function as "participant/observer," contributing to the group's task accomplishment, yet still able to use a "third eye" to observe how the group is working—information which he shares with the group at appropriate times in an effort to help it deal with maintenance issues and blockages arising out of self-oriented needs.

INCREASING YOUR COMMUNICATION SKILLS*

Sophisticated people today tend not to think of communication only in terms of words but to accept nonverbal communication as an equally important feature of social exchange. The difficulty with nonverbal communication is that it can so easily be misinterpreted. A lingering glance, for instance, can mean that she saw a spot on your nose, not that she was open to an approach from you. Nonverbal communication more often than not needs to be checked out verbally before you can be sure that the meaning which you attribute to it is the meaning which was intended.

Verbal communication also is frequently in need of corroboration. In the special climate of the T Group this can be done. It is easy to visualize a situation where one group member says to another while shaking a finger in his face, "I'll bet you're afraid to try!" Then the whole T Group spends half an hour analyzing the full meaning of both the words and the gesture. We rarely do this at work or at home. Although we often make do with less than full communication even at the risk of inviting misunderstandings, in many situations it is important that our full message be sent and received with clarity. There are some skills that will help in this endeavor, but first we must understand clearly the elements in communication.

What Is Communication?

Communication is defined as a person sending a message to another individual with the conscious intent of evoking a response. Thus, there is a *sender*, a *receiver*, and a *message* which may be verbal, nonverbal, or behavioral. Full communication is achieved when the receiver understands the full *meaning* of the message as it was intended by the sender. This must include not only the content, as carried by the words, but also connotations or special meanings which may have influenced the selection of the words that were used and the emotional flavor or context which rounds out the full tone of the message. Dramatists and actors are well aware of these complexities. One of the pleasures of seeing a play several times, done by different casts, is to savor the different meanings given to the words of the playwright by different actors.

If a message is not fully comprehended, it is because something caused an interference. This interference is called *noise*. In the sender, noise can refer to such things as his attitudes, prejudices, or frame of reference, as well as his skill in finding the right words. (The next time you talk to a very young child, note his difficulty in finding words and your difficulty in interpreting his meanings from the words he does happen to use.) In the receiver, noise refers to such things as his attitudes toward the sender and elements of his background or experience which help or hinder him in placing the message into a meaningful context.

Effective communication exists when a message is received as it is intended. It takes effort on the part of both the sender and the receiver, and success is determined by the degree to which noise is overcome or controlled.

What the Sender Can Do

Given the complexities of the communication situation, it is no wonder that misunderstandings occur. Communication failure may result when the sender overloads the system or talks too long or gives too much detail. A situation of distrust can cause a sender to reduce the amount of information he supplies to a minimum. The sender may not check to see whether he and the receiver are using words in the same way. Many words carry a variety of meanings to different people, and until a common definition has been agreed upon, miscommunication will result. Much of the jargon complained of in training laboratories are words of this type: "sensitivity training, human relations, laboratory, and encounter" are all "trap" words which can no longer be used with an expectation that anyone within hearing range will give them the same content, connotation, and emotional flavor that you may intend.

A sender can increase the likelihood of his message being accurately understood by (a) using visual aids, thus using more than one channel of communication, (b) being sure to

give enough background but not more than enough to place the message in context, (c) making the message personal by using works like "I" and "my," and (d) making sure that verbal and nonverbal messages are congruent (looking angry when sending an angry message).

Above all, the sender who imparts an attitude of *credibility* will be a successful communicator. That is, he appears to know what he is talking about, expresses warmth and friendliness, speaks in a dynamic manner, and is generally accepted as one who is open about his motives.

What the Receiver Can Do

Noise in communication can arise as much from the receiver as from the sender. The receiver often divides his attention, perhaps only waiting for his turn to speak, with the result that he does not build on the ideas just sent to him. Or he tends to listen to details rather than to search for the meaning in the message. The relationship between sender and receiver can become more personal when you listen accurately and respond relevantly. In this way you communicate caring and understanding to the sender.

The major barrier to building close relationships is a tendency to judge, evaluate, approve, or disapprove of the statements made by the sender. Even if the disapproval of the sender or his message is only internal to the listener, this evaluation tendency is likely to result in distortion of the message. This can be avoided if the receiver attempts to paraphrase the message in his own words and allows the sender to correct his perception until the sender is sure that he has been heard and understood correctly. The act of listening carefully, with occasional paraphrase responses, tends to be seen as very helpful to the sender. His fears about revealing himself will be reduced and his defensiveness decreased.

All too often the listener hears only a part of the message. This is quite natural, for any communication is complex as we have seen, and we tend to be selective about what we perceive and what we respond to. We may hear only that part of the message that conforms to what we expected, or that which we want, or whatever is in line with our own opinions and beliefs. On the other hand, in a condition where we mistrust or disapprove of the message or the sender, our selective perception may bring us to respond only by disagreement with portions of the communication, and not to attend to the remainder which we may approve or agree with. So we must be ready to change our perceptions when it becomes evident that we have misperceived a message; we must "negotiate" the meaning of a message before responding to it.

Finally, there is the matter of "owning" your statements. People know where you are when you accept responsibility for your own opinions by using "I" and "my." People often avoid this personal stance by using "we" or "everyone" or "some people." Personal pronouns increase the personal quality of statements and tend to build relationships between people. They reveal one's intentions and therefore offer less possibility of a person's being misunderstood.

Communication is inevitably improved through the development of mutual confidence and trust. Such an atmosphere can go a long way toward cutting through the noise of misused terminology, fragmented ideas, and partially formulated thoughts. Paraphrasing, negotiating meaning, and making your responses relevant to the sender's message are skills which you can develop to improve understanding. Skills such as these can be practiced in the T-Group setting and have direct application in other situations at work and at home. Through the improvement of communication you will be better able to develop close, fulfilling relationships with other people.

GROUP NORMS: SOME THINGS CAN'T BE LEGISLATED*

Think of the circumstances under which we come together in groups: the middle-management team at the plant, the church finance committee, passengers on a bus, a class in geology, a social gathering, a jury. Most of us have experienced these kinds of groups. And most of us have experienced the discomfort that comes from not knowing what the "ground rules" are when we enter a new group, as well as the comfort of knowing them, or the frustration of trying to live with "rules" which, though unspoken, seem to prevent us from being or doing what we really want to be or do.

These usually unspoken and unexamined "rules," which determine what is and what is not acceptable behavior in the group, are not really rules at all: they are *behavioral norms*. The middle-management team, for example, may have a *rule* (published and known to all) that meetings will start at 10:00 a.m. Anyone watching the group, however, will note that the meetings usually start between 10:10 and 10:20, without anyone's taking exception to it. A new member of the group must somehow learn this norm. Bus companies do not generally make rules about where passengers should sit; but if there are only six passengers on a 30-passenger bus and I sit right next to one of them, my behavior would violate an unuttered social distance norm. In another instance, a man who swears like a trooper at work may use much more decorous language when meeting with the church finance committee, though the group has never discussed the issue nor established a "rule" about it.

A norm, then, is an operational entity. It comes into being as a result of what the group is and does. Over a period of time, for example, as a group (say, a T Group) forms, the members somehow come to know that it is acceptable to do some things ("Ralph *can* interrupt Jack") and unacceptable to do other things ("Jack *cannot* interrupt anybody"). Since this usually happens without the group's conscious awareness, norms can develop which block or hinder the group from doing what it really wants to do. For this reason it is often useful for a group to identify important norms, judge whether they are facilitating or blocking, and

then decide how to go about developing new ones if the old will not do.

Developing New Norms

Note the terminology. "Developing new ones" *for* ourselves is quite different from "imposing new ones" *on* ourselves; for a norm is a slippery thing, arising not only (or mainly) out of desires or ideals or abstract promises or pressures but out of *norm-setting behavior*. For example, many of us have had the experience of being in a group which has a mutually agreed-upon "rule" of "telling it like it is." Still, if we look carefully at what is normally happening in that group, we realize that few people are really open; we may even notice that something holds us back from "telling it like it is." In short, the *rule* ("telling it like it is") says one thing, but the *norm* is "to play it safe."

What is important here is that in such a group openness is not likely to be increased by insistence on it (is pressure likely to make you more open?). But the group may move toward greater openness by trying to find answers to the question, "What are we *really doing* with respect to openness, and what conditions exist here which bring about such behavior?" This kind of nonpunishing question enables the group to discuss alternative behaviors which might produce greater openness, clearly establish such behavior as desirable, and then monitor itself with respect to what happens subsequently. It might discover, for example, that tentatively open behavior has been met with judgmental responses, which have blocked further attempts at openness. It might agree to identify judgmentalism whenever it arises and discuss its impact on the desired end: greater openness. (Note that coincidentally the group is creating and operating under a norm that "in this group it is O.K. to examine our own behavior.")

Norms have a powerful impact on what happens in a group. If, for example, the norm in a group is that the lone voice of dissent will be laughed at, then it is likely that members will dissent only when they are certain of allies or when the issue is so important to them that they are willing to risk being jeered. Thus the

*Lawrence C. Porter.

group may lose a valuable source of information on any given issue without knowing that it is doing so or why. If the norm is to use a man's openness about problems on the job as a way of enhancing the careers of other group members, then one can be certain that such problems will be kept out of the group discussion. This can inhibit the group's supportive capacity and add strength to whatever norms for competitiveness exist, often to the detriment of the group's effectiveness. If, on the other hand, the norm is to give understanding and consideration to the open expression of ideas, irrespective of how "unpopular" they are, then it is likely that people will speak out, thus making available to the group all of the relevant information possessed by its members. Most of us act in groups the way the groups, in many subtle, indirect ways, "tell" us to act. Small wonder that norms have such power over what happens in a group!

Clearly personal growth and learning flourish best in a T Group whose norms create an atmosphere conducive to self-disclosure, feedback, and experimentation. Such a group is not easy to find in the world as most of us know it ("Even your best friend won't tell you!"), but a T Group *can* create such an atmosphere and therefore can be a powerful instrument for personal growth and learning.

A T Group *can* create such an atmosphere; but it does not follow automatically simply because the members will it or because rules can be set and enforced which will ensure it. Often participants look initially to the trainer for such rules, but he/she refuses to set them (at the same time setting the first *norm:* "In here I do *not make rules* for the group"). However, at some points the staff person may help by asking the group to identify some of its norms, to discuss whether they are facilitating or blocking, and to decide either to keep them

or to try to behave in ways that will create new, more desirable ones. If, for example, one forceful group member pushes through a rule that no one may interrupt anyone else, the trainer (or any other group member) might concern himself less with the rule than with the fact that the group is beginning to operate by a norm which may impede growth: "It's O.K. for some people in here to make decisions for the entire group."

Facilitative Norms

Because we are the kind of people we are, there are some group norms which seem more likely than others to create an atmosphere conducive to growth and learning. A few norms are listed below: those on the left are facilitative and those on the right hinder or block the creation of the kind of atmosphere which is needed for growth.

Collaborative behavior places people in a relationship in which the important question is not "Who was right?" or "Who won?" but "What can we or did we learn?" This reduces threat and encourages more open presentation of self, whereas competitiveness increases the risk of openness by creating polarizations: win-lose, right-wrong, attack-defense.

Dealing with the *here-and-now* deprives group members of the false support of back-home status. In the here-and-now we are much closer to being equal with respect to our needs and to the contributions we can make to one another's learning. In addition to providing a means for one-upmanship, the there-and-then can too often be used as a sky-hook which lifts one to safety when the going is rough.

Acceptance of my own feelings is important if I am to risk exposing them to others; *acceptance of others' feelings* is important if they are to risk exposing them to me. Censoring creates facades: "Since I should not have that

FACILITATING NORMS	HINDERING OR BLOCKING NORMS
Collaborative behavior	Competitiveness
Dealing with the here-and-now	Dealing with the there-and-then
Acceptance of my own and others' feelings	Censoring and/or denying own feelings; criticizing or evaluating others'
Respect for the individual	Insistence upon conformity to the group
Describing other persons' behavior	Inferring the motivation behind other persons' behavior
Recognition that behavior has consequences	Insistence that a person "should" or "should not" behave in a particular way

feeling, I'm a bad person for having it, and I must conceal that fact from the group." Criticizing or denying the feelings of others says essentially the same thing to them. (What, for example, is your reaction likely to be if someone says to you, "You shouldn't be angry" or "You're not really so angry as you say you are"? Will such responses increase your willingness to share your feelings? Do they help you learn and grow?)

Respect for the individual means that we behave toward him in ways that speak of acceptance: "It's O.K. to be you, to move in your own way, at your own pace"; not in ways that command, "In order to be acceptable to us you *must* do what *we want* you to do." If I have a behavioral issue I want to work on and the group tells me that I must do it immediately and in such-and-such a way, I find that suddenly I have *two* issues, the second one being, "How do I deal with my feelings about being pressured and threatened?" Group pressure is likely to lead either to counter-pressure (and consequent escalation) or to "obedience," neither of which seems helpful in creating a learning atmosphere.

Describing behavior is more likely to be perceived as helpful and collaborative than is making self-serving ("You do that because you know it bugs me!") or psychoanalytical ("You have a father hang-up!") guesses. For one thing, if you describe what I am doing, you help me see my behavior as you see it, you give me an opportunity to check your perception with that of others in the group and with my own perception, and I may learn something. In addition, description leaves me free to focus on the behavior itself, rather than on defending myself against what may sound like accusations. A defensive crouch is not the best learning posture.

If the individual can be helped to see that a *specific behavior has specific consequences*, rather than being told, "You shouldn't do that!" he is free to decide for himself whether he is willing to accept those consequences or whether he wants to experiment with new behavior which will remove them—a decision which is much more likely to produce learning than is a struggle over whether or not he should do something. For example, if you tell me that when I interrupt you it makes you angry and therefore less likely to listen to what

I am saying, I am then free to decide (among other alternatives) whether I want to stop interrupting you because I don't want you not to listen or whether I will continue interrupting you because that behavior is more important to me than is its impact on you. In other words, your statement leaves me in a decision-making (potentially collaborative) mode, rather than in a defensive one, and is likely to encourage me (and others in the group who observe this) to be open in my behavior. But if you say to me, "You shouldn't interrupt me," I may begin defending myself. I may hear you giving me an order, and I may counterattack ("Well, you shouldn't be such a blabbermouth!"). The issue then is not my behavior or its consequences, or even what we might learn from the interaction; instead it is who will win, or "Who's boss?" In a group in which the norm is that people will be told how they "should" behave, the risk of self-disclosure is likely to be high, and when it comes, it may carry a chip on its shoulder.

Openness, risk-taking, self-disclosure, helpful feedback, experimentation are all necessary to the learning process of a T Group. But they will not exist simply because the group wants them to, insists that they should, pretends that they do. Think about it. If someone says to you, "Come on; you can trust me," is that sufficient to create that trust? If a group has to say, "Come on, Henry; you can be open in here," the chances are that Henry will not be open or self-disclosing. Solid *trust is* not *built on* rules, promises, desires, or illusions; it is built on *behaviors* that say (perhaps over and over, until most people in the group believe it), "We have behaved toward each other in ways that have not punished, coerced, or tricked. If anyone in here is not yet convinced, let him keep watching until he is. Then, in his own good time, he may come to trust us."

Norms are not good or bad; they are effective or ineffective—they help the group or they hinder it. Often we are not consciously aware of them, but most of us must know they exist because we behave in ways that are responsive to them. Identifying and examining them is often hard work and we may struggle against it, but sometimes—especially when nothing seems to be going right—our best hope may lie in paying some attention to "what it's O.K. to do in here and what it's not O.K. to do."

THE CIRCULAR PROCESS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

One significant fact of social interaction is the degree in which each individual's self-image and attitudes toward others condition what happens in any given interaction. To put it a different way, people respond to someone largely on the basis of how he behaves toward them; and his behavior toward them is produced primarily by his attitudes toward them and his feelings about himself. This circular process has important implications for each of us in that it indicates the extent to which we are responsible for the ways in which others respond to us.

Figure 1 illustrates this circular process in a step-by-step way which freezes interactional segments which actually occur so rapidly as to be almost simultaneous. To go through it systematically, let us begin with the upper left circle and continue clock-wise.

1. The individual has feelings about himself (his self-image) and a set of attitudes toward the others who are present. These attitudes may be based on past interactions with them or with people "like them," or on the fact that he has never interacted with them before.

2. These feelings and attitudes become intentions in the situation. For example, if his feelings toward himself are that he has useful, acceptable ideas, and if his attitude toward the others is that they are open to his ideas and will deal with them justly, then he probably will develop an intention to make a contribution to what is going on.

3. This intention causes him to initiate some behavior, identified on the chart as BEHAVIOR OUTPUT.

4. This behavior passes through a screen which exists in others. This screen is made up of their expectations, which are based on their values, needs, previous interactions with him or others "like" him, and so forth.

5. The individual's behavior output is then assessed by the others in terms of the degree in which it is consistent with their expectations or varies from them.

6. As a result of this assessment, the members develop some attitudes and then intentions toward the individual.

7. These intentions motivate them to initiate behavior toward the individual, indicated on the chart as BEHAVIOR INPUT.

8. This behavior also goes through a screen (the attitudes and feelings about himself he started with), and is received as FEEDBACK, which either confirms or modifies his expectations of how his behavior output would be received.

Locked In

This apparently abstract, complex process may appear simpler if we apply it to an actual situation. Let us suppose that we are talking about Ike in a group. He is a secure person, sees himself as effective in his relations with others, feels warmly toward others. His intentions, based on this combination of feelings and attitudes, are to express his ideas, to cooperate, and to be active in the group. His behavior output then is active and friendly.

This behavior output is perceived by others as warm, friendly, competent, cooperative, and other group members develop intentions toward Ike that are friendly, respectful of his opinions and ideas, and accepting of his influence attempts. These intentions are acted upon in the form of behavior input which is positive. Ike perceives this behavior of other members (through his screen) as indicating that his behavior output is accepted and liked. In other words, the feedback (behavior input) confirms his original self-image. So he continues to produce similar types of intentions and behavior and is likely to maintain high status in the group.

It can be seen that a person with a positive self-image behaves in ways which elicit positive feedback, confirming that self-image and leading to more positively received behavior, and so on. . . . In a sense he is locked into a rewarding kind of cycle, which is a very good thing for Ike. Unfortunately, the same process can also lock people into less desirable cycles.

Take Ted, for example. He thinks of himself as inadequate, and his attitude toward others is that they will think so too, if he lets them really see him. And so, to keep them from really seeing him, he "plays it safe," which

produces a very low behavior output in the group.

This low behavior output may well be perceived by others as somewhat neutral, neither friendly nor unfriendly, effective nor ineffective; therefore, it tends to produce very few intentions to initiate behavior toward him and, consequently, little behavior input on the part of group members. Ted, who began with a low self-concept, is likely to read this as confirmation of what he already "knew," and so he plays it even more "safe," and so on. . . . Ted is now locked into a self-defeating cycle.

Still another person, Ann, feels adequate, but her attitude toward others is that they are competitive toward her. This produces intentions to keep them from blocking or defeating her, leading to a behavior output that is active, possibly aggressive and competitive. This may make others resistant or angry and they develop intentions to reject or resist her ideas, even when they are good. The behavior input, then, is to ignore her or fight her. She perceives this as confirmation of her original attitude, and the cycle begins anew.

Leverage Points

To effect change in such a situation, there are a number of alternatives:

1. We can help the individual take a longer look at her own feelings about herself and her own attitudes. Perhaps her initial attitude that others distrust her is a place where some help can be given.

2. Her behavior might be the focal point. If the group helped her explore her own behavior and gave new feedback when she tried new behavior, she might be encouraged to experiment.

3. Perhaps the people who are reacting to Ann could explore the basis for their own reactions and assessments. Perhaps they are jumping to conclusions and pre-evaluating, which means they are probably not listening to her contributions. If this aspect could be changed, the cycle could be broken and a more productive one begun.

4. Others might change their behavior toward Ann, so that the feedback she receives helps to correct her own images, attitudes, and behavior.

Anyone who wishes to improve his interaction with others needs to be aware of his own behavior system—that is, the processes within himself and the situation in which he finds himself, which includes the attitudes and expectations of others. This awareness can be helpful in determining a point for introducing change into a situation by determining where the most effective leverage point might be.

Fig. 1. THE CIRCULAR PROCESS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

Inner Processes
Within Member

Behavior to Others

**Feelings About Self
(Image)**

Reactions to Others (Attitudes)

Reactions to Feedback

**Intentions
to Act**

**Initiated Behavior
Skillful –
Unskillful**

**Response to
Behavior of Others**

Perceptual
Screen

BEHAVIOR INPUT

BEHAVIOR OUTPUT

Perceptual
Screen

**Initiated Action
to Others**

Reaction to Others

**Intentions
to Respond**

Expectations of Others

Reaction of Others

Behavioral Response

Processes Within
Others

DILEMMAS OF LEADERSHIP

Our basic dilemma may be a discrepancy between what we believe to be right and desirable and what we do in practice. Maybe we express this as "How democratic can I be?" as opposed to "How authoritarian must I be?" We face a series of dilemmas. For instance,

We have a tradition of competition . . . but . . . we must be cooperative.

We are under pressure to get the job done, to be efficient . . . but . . . we believe all points of view must be heard.

We are pushed for time . . . but . . . we want participative decision making and this takes time.

We see opportunities for quick results in one-man decisions . . . but . . . we believe shared responsibility makes for better solutions.

We can look at the dilemmas in terms of a continuum developed by Warren Schmidt and Robert Tannenbaum.

If we extend the continuum at either extreme we get *autocracy or abdication*. The autocrat violates our traditional values and our self-image as persons who are open and sensitive. The abdicrat is irresponsible and violates concepts of leadership which get work done.

I can decide where I stand on the continuum by examining the following factors:

Forces in me, including
    My motives and needs
    My assumptions about people in general and about colleagues, subordinates, superiors, peers, in particular
    My value system
    My confidence in the group
    My leadership inclinations
    My feelings of security and my "tolerance for ambiguity"
    My own motives as related to the personal needs I am satisfying.

Forces in the group, including
    Their needs for independence/dependence
    Their readiness to assume responsibility
    Their tolerance for ambiguity
    Their interest in the problem
    Their understanding of goals and their role in formulating them
    Their knowledge, experience, and skill in the particular task
    Their expectations
    The effect on the group of my own assumptions about them, their motives, and needs.

Forces in the situation, including
    Type of organization
    Effectiveness of the group
    Pressure of time
    Consequences of action
    The perception I have and the perceptions the group has of the task.

An examination of these forces may yield significant information about one's leadership style and, of great importance also, about the way in which that style is appropriate to any given condition created by these forces. There is not one "best" style. Making a decision which affects the well-being of the total group and which the group is going to have to carry out might be done best with a "Consulting" or "Joining" style; but the cry "Man overboard!" requires "Telling." Rather than working hard to develop style *X,* a leader would be wiser to develop the capacity to discern *what kind of leadership is required in a given situation* and the resources to use that style.

Leader-Centered   Group-Centered   "Abdicrat"

Use of Authority by Leader

Freedom of the Group

Autocrat

Tells   Sells   Tests   Consults   Joins
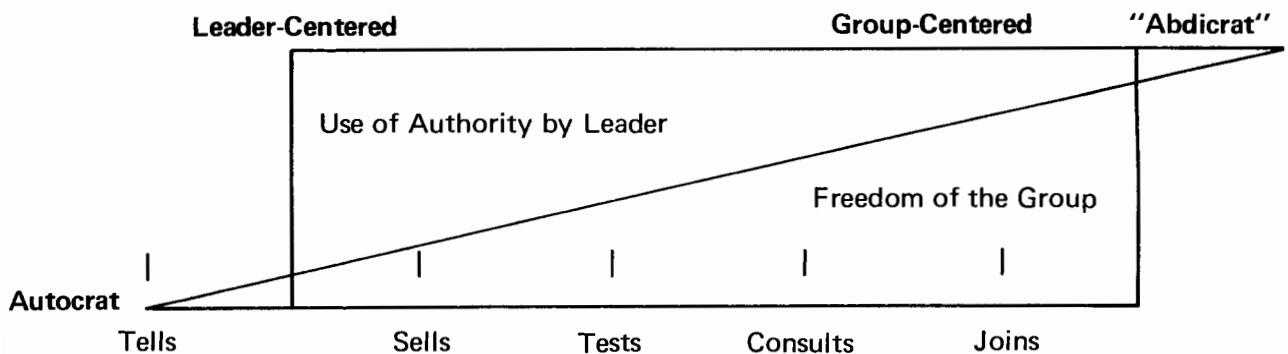
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN CONFLICT

Were I to ask you to associate freely to the word "conflict," I predict I would receive three kinds of responses. One set of terms would have grisly and negative connotations—"war," "death," "destruction," "disorder," "aggressiveness," "violence," "rape." A second set of terms would have positive connotations—"adventure," "opportunity," "drama," "fun," "excitement," "development." A third set of terms would be relatively neutral, affectively speaking —"tension," "competition," "scarcity," "mediation," "bargaining," "reconciliation."

Some of us would produce terms belonging to two or to all three sets. If I am right in my predictions, the results indicate a basic ambivalence in us, individually and collectively, toward "conflict." And these mixed attitudes are justified in empirical reality. Conflicts can and do bring disorder, destruction, and death to human affairs. But conflicts also can and do bring opportunity, drama, development, and growth to human individuals and societies. In fact, I am prepared to defend the thesis that all individual growth and social progress involve the facing and rationally creative resolution of conflicts.

Conflict Can Lead to Growth

I will make one other prediction about my fantasied data collection. Since we are for the most part middle class Americans here, I predict that a large majority of our free associations to "conflict" would be negative, implying that conflict is a bad thing in human life. It is. But if it is also potentially a good thing—the motor of individual growth and social progress —will not an attempt to deny, suppress, or eliminate conflict, if successful, also deny, suppress, or eliminate growth and progress? As a matter of fact, if conflict cannot be eliminated from human relationships, as I fully believe that it cannot, an attempt to deny, suppress, or eliminate it will therefore lead to destructive modes of expressing and handling it, and so justify and reinforce the fears that led to its denial and suppression in the first place. The schoolteacher who suppresses open expression of hostility between factions in her class reaps a harvest of unctuous tattling and informing upon one another "for the good of the group" or of the persons informed upon. The conflict

is still present but in a form more ugly and less rationally manageable than before. Thus the painful self-fulfilling prophesy of the unmitigated evil of conflict re-enacts itself.

How can the cycle be broken? Here is where the neutral vocabulary for characterizing conflict—the third set of responses—finds its usefulness. Scientific study demands a neutral vocabulary for objectifying data collection about and interpretation of human events, however fraught with painful or joyous connotations the terms for these events in commonsense language may be. If we are to understand conflict we must, for the time of diagnosis at least, get outside our fears or our exultation in order to estimate the nature of the conflict, its potentialities in terms of growth or destruction for those involved, and the best deployment of our resources for helping to actualize more of the former potentialities than of the latter. The neutral language and concepts of social and behavioral science are important tools in such dispassionate diagnosis.

Unfortunately, social and behavioral scientists have also tended until recently to avoid the serious study of conflict. Lewis Coser in his *The Functions of Social Conflict* makes this point in a telling way:

> Even a cursory examination of the contemporary work of American sociologists clearly indicates that conflict has been very much neglected indeed as a field of investigation. . . .
>
> In contrast [to early American sociologists], the majority of sociologists who dominate contemporary sociology, far from seeing themselves as reformers and addressing themselves to an audience of reformers, either have oriented themselves toward purely academic and professional audiences, or have attempted to find a hearing among decision-makers in public or private bureaucracies. . . .
>
> They center attention predominantly upon problems of adjustment rather than upon conflict; upon social statistics rather than upon dynamics. Of key problematic importance to them has been the maintenance of existing structures and the ways and means of insuring their smooth functioning.

Recently a new interest in the scientific study of human conflict has developed. This is illustrated by the publication of *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, devoted exclusively to attempts to generalize beyond the specific areas in which conflict has been studied empirically—

race relations, labor-management relations, and international relations particularly—toward more inclusive theories of conflict and strategies of conflict resolution. At the Human Relations Center in Boston University, a cross-disciplinary group has been studying conflict and conflict resolution over several years. Our conviction is that psychological, group, social, and cultural factors in conflict must be seen and studied together if adequate growth-releasing strategies of resolution are to be devised and developed.

I cannot summarize here all of the propositions about conflict that today find some support in the literatures of various social and behavioral sciences. I will state a few propositions that may be useful in our thinking about valid and invalid strategies for handling the ambivalences inherent in the concept and the actuality of human conflict.

Conflict always occurs within a context of interdependence. It is a relationship between parts of a system of interrelated parts. If the "parties" in conflict were not interdependent in the sense that the actions of one "party" have consequences for the opposed "party" and vice versa, conflict could not occur. This helps in part to explain the fear of conflict—at the least it disrupts the order and the productive output of the system in which it occurs; at the most it may lead to the dismemberment and destruction of the system. This proposition also offers hope for constructive resolution: If the system of interdependence has value for all parts of the system and if perception of the common values of maintaining the system can be kept alive in all parties to the conflict, this provides a force toward creating some mutually satisfactory and acceptable resolution of the conflict, which, in effect, means the improvement of the system. (The "system" as used here may be a person, an inter-person, a group, an organization, a community, a nation, or an inter-nation.)

One type of conflict grows out of similarities in the needs and values of parts of a system in the presence of scarce and undistributable goods required to satisfy these needs and realize these values. Johnny and Jimmy, siblings, both want the same toy to play with—there is only one toy. Johnny and Jimmy are in conflict. It is not differences in needs and valuations which induces the conflict; it is rather the similarity of needs and valuations in the presence of scarce

goods. Enlarging the supply of scarce goods may resolve the conflict. Changing the image of the good desired to joint utilization of the toy rather than sole possession may also resolve the conflict. If the toy is a fire truck and Johnny and Jimmy can find more value in playing a game utilizing the fire truck along with other available resources than in either child's possessing the fire truck exclusively, the conflict may be lifted onto a higher level of cooperation. The main point is that similarities in need and value systems need not lead to cooperation but may rather lead to conflict. Creating distributable and nonscarce values in the conflict situation may be a growth-releasing way of resolution if emphasis can come to be placed upon joint utilization and manipulation of distributable goods rather than on exclusive possession of scarce values.

Another type of conflict grows out of differences in needs and valuations as among parts of a system. The needs and values of one part of a group, for example, may favor one direction of movement for the group; the needs and values of another part of the group may favor another direction of movement. Or the differences may lie not in direction but rather in methods of moving toward the agreed-upon goal. Resolution may lie in breaking up the group, in compromise, in bargaining, or in some creative synthesis of a new direction or method of movement, developed out of the very clash of differing needs and valuations. Out of the last kind of experience may grow appreciation of persons with differing values and needs in an association as sources of fruitful conflict and creativity. The sights of all parties must be lifted toward utilization of differences in a common quest and away from defensiveness toward loss of *my* present distinctiveness, in order to accomplish creative resolution.

Trust and Rationality

The "ideal" resolution of the two types of conflict just noted involves two requirements. First, each party to the conflict must accept the right of the other party to his claim upon the situation along with his own—must, in effect, trust him. Second, all parties must be capable of locating realistically and rationally the sources of the conflict. When conflicts are not faced and recognized, when full-bodied communication about the nature and genesis of the

conflict is not released and maintained, the parties tend to develop unrealistic versions of each other and of the conflict situation. Projection by one party of his or its undesirable motivations upon the opponents occurs and vice versa. If one party feels at some level he is selfish and cannot admit this to himself, he comes to find "pure" selfishness as characteristic of his opponents. The motives of the opposition are impugned on both sides; the drama of conflict becomes a melodramatic and externalized struggle of good and evil. Noncommunication with the enemy comes to be seen as a virtue. Also, realistic acceptance by a member of "my" party of the enemy's right to oppose us comes to be seen as disloyalty and treason in the member. Or if the source of the conflict realistically involves a revered or powerful person or faction in opposition, displacement of negative affect toward a less powerful and less revered "opponent" takes place, and responsibility for the conflict is heaped upon a more or less helpless scapegoat.

In other words, under conditions of denial and noncommunication, "unrealistic" versions of the conflict tend to obscure the "realistic" sources of the conflict. Both *trust and rationality,* essential elements in creative resolution of conflict, tend to be lost and excluded from the situation. Preventing the emergence of nonrealistic conflicts and converting a nonrealistically perceived conflict situation into a realistically perceived one become major concerns of those who would encourage the creative utilization of conflict in human affairs.

Evading or Denying Conflict

What forms do strategies for denying and/or eliminating conflict from human situations take? Most of these have already been suggested. Perhaps renaming them here will be helpful:

Segregation of conflicting elements in a situation. Segregation seldom works well because of the actual interdependence within the system which it thwarts.

Melodramatic externalization of the conflict. The conflict is all out there between the evil "Them" or "Its" and the holy "I's." The conflict is actually within Me and within You as well as between Me and You. Externalization thus beclouds reality.

Making a virtue of submission to established power relations. To maintain an existing order against all internal attack is to assume that whatever is, is right; and since in human affairs this is never true, reality is falsified again.

Myth that "we are all alike essentially." This is false as well as suicidal—I am I and Thou art Thou. But even if it were accepted as true, it would not eliminate conflicts which grow out of similar needs and values in the presence of scarce and undistributable goods.

Undermining "partial" identifications in the name of devotion to the whole. I am responsible not alone to maintain the whole of whatever systems I belong to but also to change them in areas where I believe they need changing. My "partial" identifications within the whole are my leverage for changing the whole over time. To deprive me of these levers is to crush me into passivity.

Legalistic punishment of aggressive acts without consideration of the merits of the context in which aggression and counter-aggression occur. We frequently assess the merits of the parties to a conflict by trying to answer the question "Who started it?" rather than "What are the rights in the situation?" This is to substitute chronology for ethics and theology.

Facing and Resolving Conflict

And what of the conditions and strategies for facing and creatively and rationally resolving conflicts in human affairs?

Facing and accepting the complexity of the motivations of myself and of my own party and of those in opposition within the conflict situation. To oversimplify a complex situation is to falsify it, however flattering to the ego, and out of falsification further falsifications grow.

Humanizing and rehumanizing my party and the opposition party in the conflict situation. This is related to the previous point, but humanization involves more than a fair assessment of faults and virtues. It involves acceptance of the dignity and potentiality for growth and learning of self and of others. It is to see the drama of human conflict as essentially tragic rather than melodramatic.

Internalization of the conflict. Objectivity toward a conflict situation can be achieved

only if the claims of my opponents upon the situation can be internalized and entertained along with my own. What is at stake in the conflict is felt as well as cognized.

Envisioning values inherent in the situation as changed. Conflicts generated in situations as they now are cannot be resolved without altering the situation, including the parties within it. Rejuggling the situation as now perceived and enacted can lead only to compromise resolutions. Creative resolutions require changes all around.

Acceptance of conflict as inherent in human life. This does not mean passive drift in the presence of conflict or joyous exultation in the destruction of values, which is always a potential in conflict situations. It does mean an attitude of not being so threatened by conflict as to resort consistently to strategies of evasion or denial.

Maintaining and building in each person and other human systems a methodological character attuned to division, and enacting growth-releasing resolutions of conflicts whenever they may appear. To rely on commonly acceptable methodologies to carry us through situations where our own values are under challenge and review is not to forsake old values. It is rather to accept the premise of continuing creation of new values through conflicts jointly, imaginatively, and rationally faced and resolved. It is to remember John Dewey's wisdom—"He who would think of ends seriously must think of means reverently."

HOW TO CHOOSE BETWEEN STRATEGIES OF CONFLICT AND COLLABORATION

Distributive and Integrative Social Situations

I would like to examine the factors that should influence our choice between strategies of conflict and collaboration, or competition and cooperation, in various social situations. We shall be especially interested in analyzing whether the model of collaboration represented by the T Group in its later stages can be applied in our work situations back home.

We can distinguish between social situations of two types—distributive and integrative. The serious poker game is an example of a distributive social situation—what one person wins the other must lose. Several persons working together on a parlor jig-saw puzzle is an example of an integrative situation—persons integrating their resources toward a common task. We can contrast other business situations: a buyer's interaction with a used-car dealer in an effort to arrive at the purchase price of a used car will be primarily distributional bargaining; discussions with a fellow member of a research team may be largely an integrative process.

Alternate Modes of Behavior

Let us identify two familiar, but opposite, modes of behavior, which we may designate Approach A and Approach B.

APPROACH A	APPROACH B
1. Behavior is purposeful in pursuing own goals.	1. Behavior is purposeful in pursuing goals held in common.
2. Secrecy	2. Openness
3. Accurate personal understanding of own needs, but publicly disguised or mis-represented—don't let them know what you really want most so that they won't know how much you are really willing to give up to get it.	3. Accurate personal understanding of own needs and accurate and open representation of them
4. Unpredictable, mixed strategies, utilizing the element of surprise.	4. Predictable; while flexible behavior is appropriate, it is not designed to take other party by surprise.
5. Threats and bluffs.	5. Threats or bluffs are not used.
6. Search behavior is devoted to finding ways of appearing to become committed to a position; logical, nonrational, and irrational arguments alike may serve this purpose.	6. Search behavior is devoted to finding solutions to problems, utilizing logical and innovative processes.
7. Success is often enhanced (where teams, committees, or organizations are involved on each side) by forming bad stereotype of the other, by ignoring the other's logic, by increasing the level of hostility. These tend to strengthen in-group loyalty and convince others that you mean business.	7. Success demands that stereotypes be dropped, that ideas be given consideration on their merit regardless of sources, and that hostility not be induced deliberately. In fact, positive feelings about others are both a cause and an effect of other aspects of Approach B.
8. Pathological extreme is when one assumes that everything that prevents other from reaching other's goal also must facilitate one's own movement toward his goal; thus, one would state his own goals as being to negate goal achievement of the other.	8. Pathological extreme is when one will assume that whatever is good for others and group is necessarily good for self. Cannot distinguish own identity from group or other person's identity. Will not take responsibility for own self.
9. Etc.	9. Etc.

My thesis is that Approach A is associated with what are assumed to be distributive social situations; Approach B, with integrative. We may, however, need to check our assumptions.

Is the T Group a Special Case?

Now, referring to our T Group, whereas we made heavy use of Approach A early in the life of the T Group, we have increasingly adopted the alternate—Approach B. Approach B is illustrated when X initiates, Y seeks relevant opinions and facts, Z gives opinion and facts, R clarifies, and S tests for consensus. By contrast, Approach A operates when X initiates, Y invariably initiates on another topic, and perhaps Z still another; or when X initiates, Y offers certain opinions, and Z invariably offers contrary opinions.

Two things have happened in the group to shift our behavior from Approach A to Approach B.

First, we have made the *rational discovery* that gaining personal learnings through the T Group is largely an integrative process. However, we did not recognize a largely integrative game when we first saw it. For the first few meetings, many of us were acting as if there were a limited amount of attention or prominence, control and influence, and we wanted to hurry up and get our share. Not that those of us who held back in this period did not also see the game this way—we just had a different strategy, namely to hold back while the others spent themselves. The paradox here is that as long as no one will accept another's influence, there is *no* influence, and no one's need to be influential is satisfied; later, when there is little competition for influence, all members exercise more influence. Members of the group can then collaborate to give individual feedback and to understand how groups function.

Second, we have made *emotional adjustments* to one another so that there is less personal need to "prove oneself" or to "defeat another." As long as the group is "hung up" with competition for attention and control, very little genuine concern by anyone for anyone can develop or be shown, nor can the mutual relationships of confidence and concern which are essential to the very personal kind of T-Group learning be developed.

Recognizing that we have shifted our behavior and that Approach B has proved far superior for the T Group, what are the implications for modifying our approach back home? The answer to this lies in the objective nature of the back-home situations. Are they structured as primarily distributive or integrative situations?

Logical Determinants of the Social Situation

Considering a host of possible situations—engineering a new gadget, installing a new EDP system, getting a new man assigned to your department, writing a staff report, delegating authority for a project, settling a grievance, negotiating a contract, dealing with a customer, dealing with a vendor, developing a marketing strategy—how can we tell whether the situation is logically distributive or integrative, so that one can select the appropriate behaviors? The key is the relationship between the goals of the two parties. Hence, the discriminating question: If one reaches his goal, will the other in some degree be unable to reach his goal? If so, and to the extent that that is true, the parties are entered into a distributive situation. The extent to which goal achievement by one involves or leads to goal achievement by the other is the extent to which the game is integrative.

Let's look at the goals and the reward structure of the T Group. Generally stated, the personal learning goals of the T Group are held in common—to learn more about self and group and to practice learnings. Moreover, the laboratory has deliberately minimized the payoff for competitive behavior: there is no external reward system; there is no important set of status symbols in scarce supply to be distributed among the best performers according to some external standards determined by the training staff; nor are there any economic resources that one can compete for. We deliberately remove the typical environmental conditions which induce and sustain competitive behavior, not only because the learning process we have in mind is collaborative, but also because we believe collaborative behavior itself is worth practicing—and that it can be employed more on the job.

We have a different situation back home. We work in organizations in which only some of us who occupy similar positions today are going to be promoted to the next higher position tomorrow. And we are all aware—those of us

competing for that job—that, provided the operation does not fail, one of us will get the job. Well, here is a reward structure that encourages some elements of Approach A behavior, because the situation is at least partially distributive. But other aspects of the reward structure demand that these same people also collaborate.

The Mixed Social Situation or "Game"

The preceding situation suggests an important source of our problems. It seems that we have to play both the distributive and integrative games simultaneously. If you are a company negotiator facing the union, you must on the one hand try to keep the settlement nearer the lower end of the range set by industry patterns, knowing full well your counterpart in the union is an adversary with opposite intentions. On the other hand, you have to be able to explore with him solutions to the problem of seniority, job jurisdiction, retraining programs, and so on, created by his need for job security and your need for production flexibility. To cast the problem of the economic settlement wholly into an integrative model would be to risk a larger than necessary package. And to cast the problem of seniority provisions wholly into a distributive model would be to ignore whatever possibilities there are to meet his needs without corresponding sacrifice on your part, and vice versa.

The question is, what are the problems of being engaged with the other in both distributive and integrative games? Playing the distributive game creates a "win-lose" complex with the following consequences,[1] each of which makes problem solving with the same individuals more difficult:

"We-they" and "superiority-inferiority" complexes. Individual factions or groups under competitive pressure invariably rate themselves "above average" in both cohesion and ability.

Distortions in judgment. Individuals or groups under competitive pressure invariably evaluate their own contributions as best and fall into downgrading efforts of others.

[1] Some of these consequences and others are reported on in R. R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton's "Reactions to Intergroup Competition Under Win-Lose Conditions," *Management Science*, July 1961.

Distortions in perception. Experiments demonstrate that under competitive pressures persons perceive that they understand the other's proposal when in fact they do not. Consequently, areas shared in common are likely to go unrecognized.

Overuse of One Approach

One person may approach every situation as if it were a distributive game; e.g., he will transform every discussion into a debate. Another person will approach every situation as if it were an integrative game. An older gentleman I knew well was such a person; e.g., he even saw selling his house in that light, and was severely taken advantage of. Another will tend to see the objective reality of the situation and will choose approaches that are appropriate. The first type I will call *cynical,* the second *naive,* and the third *realistic.*

Now, I think the more common problem with us in industry and education today is cynicism. We characteristically approach situations as if they were distributive even when they are not. The T-Group experience, as well as our general familiarity with organizational life, tends to bear this out.

Similarly, the early decades of union-management relations were conducted in strictly win-lose manner, as if the whole thing were distributional bargaining: what labor gained management must lose, and vice versa. However, over time attitudes changed, parties began to wonder if, and hope that, the game might have some integrative aspects. And indeed it did. This is not to suggest that no distributive element of labor relations persists, and therefore that no competitive mode of behavior remains appropriate. On the contrary, unions and managements do put different priorities on different goals.

Note the key role of attitudinal change as a factor permitting integrative behavior to substitute for distributive. The important thing is that the parties began to get to know each other and have some trust in each other (if not positive affect). Then they began to reexamine the situation to find its integrative aspects. This, of course, is just what happened in our T Group.

In diagnosing our back-home problems where we find that we have had to use Approach A, we can make three possible diagnoses:

First, that no real conflict exists, but it has

been assumed that it does. That is, we may re-examine the logical aspects of the situation and discover that no real conflict of goals or competitive reward structure exists. You may discover new integrative possibilities.

Second, there is no real goal conflict, a fact that is already recognized by the parties involved; but basic attitudes and interpersonal relations between them prevent collaboration to move toward their common goal or goals. Here, one must work directly on improving interpersonal relationships and on creating mutual trust and concern.

Steps which one can take toward this end include: (a) as a starter, accepting the position of the other in good faith; (b) if two antagonistic groups are involved, such as union and management committees or an operating department and the controller's department, break down the groups and assign individuals to joint subcommittees which permit persons to interact face to face; and (c) increase the amount of meetings spent on fact finding, rather than making a direct attempt to argue that differences are more apparent than real.

Third, we may discover that apparent goal conflict is significant and real. If we are only participants in a situation where the reward structure is determined by others we may have no choice but to adopt Approach A and play the distributive game.

However, as managers who establish the nature and rules of the game, including the reward system, you can move persons toward distributive or integrative behavior. As you consider the relative advantages of the two types of situations, you might recall some developments in the T Group that accompany the shift from a competitive to a cooperative situation. Experiments of Morton Deutsch (reported in *Group Dynamics,* edited by Cartwright and Zander) have produced similar results.

With respect to group function the cooperative social situation (integrative game) produces more of the following behavior than did the competitive social situation (distributive game):

Coordination of efforts
Subdivision of activity
Achievement pressure
Number of communication acts
Attentiveness to fellow members
Mutual comprehension of communication
Common appraisals of communication
Orientation and orderliness
Productivity per unit of time
Better quality of product and discussion
Friendliness during discussions
More group functions (whereas competitive behavior showed more individual functions)
Pride in group (coming after first integrative success).

CONFRONTATION AND BASIC THIRD-PARTY FUNCTIONS*

Differences between persons or groups in organizations can be handled in a variety of ways including avoidance, repression, and indirect conflict. A more direct approach to conflict involves confrontation, hopefully leading toward problem solving. Confrontation itself involves clarification and exploration of the issues in conflict, the nature and strength of the underlying needs or forces involved, and the types of current feelings generated by the conflict itself. It requires that a person be candid about his feelings as well as opinions. This act in itself often violates organizational norms prescribing rationality and proscribing emotionality. Moreover, additional risks are incurred by owning up to the personal needs, concerns, and doubts as well as the antagonistic feelings often integrally involved in an organizational conflict. For example, if one does not resolve the relationship issue, one's statements may serve to add further fuel to the other's antagonisms. Moreover, one may feel even more vulnerable because of what the other knows about him.

The idea that organizations are more effective if they "confront and problem-solve conflict" in contrast to "smoothing" or "forcing" issues is supported by persuasive reasoning, plenty of anecdotal evidence, and some systematic research. . . .

Two persons who would like to reach a better understanding of their apparent differences frequently experience difficulty synchronizing their efforts to confront each other. One may choose a time and a place not suitable to the other, who then tries to avoid the open confrontation, which is taken as further rejection or an indication that the other prefers to play out the conflict by indirect means, and so on. If the second party later tries confrontation in a different situation, the first in the meantime may have resolved to handle the differences by avoidance or indirect means; and now the second party is offended, further aggrieved, and more resistant to an open confrontation. . . .

The third-party consultant is often perceived by the parties as decreasing the risk of an abortive confrontation. He is presumed to possess substantial skills at facilitating such processes as interpersonal communications and the handling of exposed feelings; therefore, the parties perceive less risk that the confrontation will bog down, become repetitious, and result in more frustration and even bitterness.

The third party slightly increases the potential pay-off for the confrontation in the sense that the participants believe that he can assist them in learning something of value in generalizing about their behavior in such situations.

One of the reasons for not confronting an issue is that exposing an underlying issue in a conflict means owning up to resentments, rejections, and other feelings that the person himself is reluctant to admit. Many of us have been brought up to regard these feelings as "petty" and "silly" and as "being too sensitive." Also, one may know or believe that these feelings result from insecurities (about one's competence or his acceptance or membership) that he is unwilling to acknowledge either to himself or to someone else.

A third party consultant who is assumed to be nonevaluative of these feelings and who can provide acceptance and emotional support is reassuring to the participant in confrontation. He can assume that there is a greater likelihood that someone present will understand and accept his feelings.

In addition to contributing to such factors as these which encourage confrontation, the third party performs a diagnostic function during and after the confrontation. He listens to each discuss his views and feelings and sharpens what he understands to be an issue, to which the participants respond in ways which tend to confirm or disconfirm this as a deeper, underlying issue. The third party tries to state these issues in ways which make each person's position understandable, legitimate, and acceptable.

Differences in the third party's relationships to the two principals can influence his effectiveness. Three different types of third-party sym-

metry are important: (1) He is neutral with respect to outcome. (2) He is equally close to or distant from the parties in a sociometric sense. (3) He advances ground rules for handling differences which do not inadvertently operate to the advantage of one and the disadvantage of the other. Symmetry is not necessary but it is usually helpful. Actually, in some cases, asymmetrical third-party roles or interventions are more effective (e.g., when they offset a basic power or skill asymmetry between the parties themselves).

PART THREE

Planned Change and the Consulting Relationship

CHANGE DOES NOT HAVE TO BE HAPHAZARD

No institution or organization is exempt from change. Today the student who returns to his alma mater ten years after graduation can expect to find changes not only in personnel but also in personnel policies and teaching practices. The executive returning to the firm where he once worked, the nurse going back to her old hospital, the social worker visiting his agency—all can expect to find sweeping changes.

It is fairly easy to identify changes in institutional patterns after they have occurred. It is more difficult to analyze changes while they are going on and still more difficult to predict changes or to influence significantly the direction and the tempo of changes already under way. Yet, more and more, those who have managerial functions in organizations must analyze and predict impending changes and take deliberate action to shape change according to some criteria of progress. The planning of change has become part of the responsibility of management in all contemporary institutions, whether the task of the institution is defined in terms of health, education, social welfare, industrial production, or religious indoctrination.

Whatever other equipment managers require in analyzing potentialities for change and in planning and directing change in institutional settings, they need some conceptual schema for thinking about change. This need stems from the profusion and variety of behaviors that accompany any process of change.

One useful model for thinking about change has been proposed by Kurt Lewin, who saw behavior in an institutional setting not as a static habit or pattern but as a dynamic balance of forces working in opposite directions within the social-psychological space of the institution.

Driving Forces and Restraining Forces

Take, for example, the production level of a work team in a factory. This level fluctuates within narrow limits above and below a certain number of units of production per day. Why does this pattern persist? Because, Lewin says, the forces that tend to raise the level of production are equal to the forces that tend to depress it. Among the forces tending to raise the level of production might be: (a) the pressures of supervisors on the work team to produce more: (b) the desire of at least some team members to attract favorable attention from supervisors in order to get ahead individually; (c) the desire of team members to earn more under the incentive plan of the plant. Such forces Lewin called "driving forces." Among the forces tending to lower the level of production might be: (a') a group standard in the production team against "rate busting" or "eager beavering" by individual workers; (b') resistance of team members to accepting training and supervision from management; (c') feelings by workers that the product they are producing is not important. Granted the goal of increased productivity, these forces are "restraining forces." The balance between the two sets of forces, which defines the established level of production, Lewin called a "quasi-stationary equilibrium." We may diagram this equilibrium as follows:

Restraining Forces	a'	b'	c'	$\ldots n'$
	↓	↓	↓	↓
Present Level of Production				
	↑	↑	↑	↑
Driving Forces	a	b	c	$\ldots n$
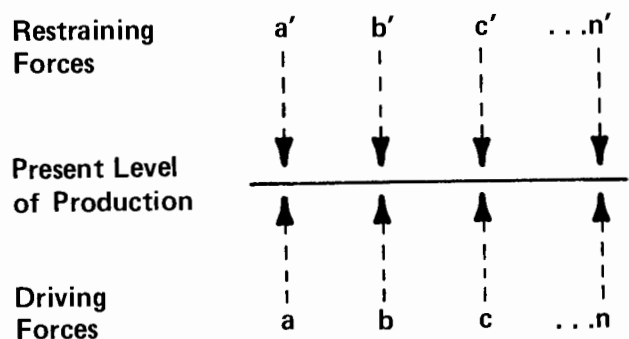
According to Lewin, this type of thinking about patterns of institutionalized behavior applies not only to levels of production in industry but also to such patterns as levels of discrimination in communities; atmosphere of democracy or autocracy in social agencies; supervisor-teacher-pupil relationships in school systems; and formal or informal working relationships among levels of a hospital organization.

According to this way of looking at patterned behavior, change takes place when an imbalance occurs between the sum of the restraining forces and the sum of the driving forces. Such imbalance unfreezes the pattern: the level then changes until the opposing forces

are again brought into equilibrium. An imbalance may occur through a change in the magnitude of any one force, through a change in the direction of a force, or through the addition of a new force.

For examples of each of these ways of unfreezing a situation, let us look again at our original illustration. Suppose that the members of the work team join a new union which sets out to get pay raises. In pressing for shifts in over-all wage policy, the union increases the suspicion of workers toward the motives of all management, including supervisors. This change tends to increase the restraining force —let's say restraining force b'. As a result, the level of production goes down. As the level of production falls, supervisors increase their pressure toward greater production, and driving force a increases. This release of increased counterforce tends to bring the system into balance again at a level somewhere near the previous level. But the increase in magnitude of these opposed forces may also increase the tension under which people work. Under such conditions, even though the level of production does not go down very much, the situation becomes more psychologically explosive, less stable, and less predictable.

A war that demands more and more of the product that the work team is producing may convert the workers' feeling that they are not producing anything important (restraining force c') to a feeling that their work is important and that they are not working hard enough. This response will occur provided, of course, that the workers are committed to the war effort. As the direction of force c' is reversed, the level of production will almost certainly rise to bring the behavior pattern into a state of equilibrium at a higher level of productivity.

Suppose a new driving force is added in the shape of a supervisor who wins the trust and the respect of the work team. The new force results in a desire on the part of the work team to make the well-liked supervisor look good—or at least to keep him from looking bad —in relation to his colleagues and superiors. This force may operate to offset a generally unfavorable attitude toward management.

These examples suggest that in change there is an unfreezing of an existing equilibrium, a movement toward a new equilibrium, and the

refreezing of the new equilibrium. Planned change must use situational forces to accomplish unfreezing, to influence the movement in generally desirable directions, and to rearrange the situation, not only to avoid return to the old level but to stabilize the change or improvement.

This discussion suggests three major strategies for achieving change in any given pattern of behavior: the driving forces may be increased; the restraining forces may be decreased; or these two strategies may be combined. In general, if the first strategy only is adopted, the tension in the system is likely to increase. More tension means more instability and more unpredictability and the likelihood of irrational rather than rational responses to attempts to induce change.

It is a well-known fact that change in an organization is often followed by a reaction toward the old pattern, a reaction that sets in when pressure for change is relaxed. After a curriculum survey, one school system put into effect several recommendations for improvement suggested by the survey. The action was taken under pressure from the board and the superintendent; but when they relaxed their vigilance, the old pattern crept back in.

This experience raises the problem of how to maintain a desirable change. Backsliding takes place for various reasons. Those affected by the changes may not have participated in the planning enough to internalize the changes that those in authority are seeking to induce; when the pressure of authority is relaxed, there is no pressure from those affected to maintain the change. Or a change in one part of the social system may not have been accompanied by enough correlative changes in overlapping parts and subsystems.

On the basis of this model of analysis, several principles of strategy for effecting institutional change may be formulated.

Strategies for Effecting Institutional Change

• **To change a subsystem or any part of a subsystem, relevant aspects of the environment must also be changed.**

The manager of the central office of a large school system wants to increase the efficiency of the secretarial forces by placing private secretaries in a pool. It is the manager's hope that

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the new arrangement will make for better utilization of the secretaries' time. In this situation at least two driving forces are obvious: fewer secretaries can serve a larger number of sub-executives; a substantial saving can be expected in office space and equipment. Among the restraining forces are the secretaries' resistance to a surrender of their personal relationship with a status person, a relationship implicit in the role of *private* secretary; the possible loss of the prestige implicit in the one-to-one secretary-boss relationship; the prospective dehumanization, as the secretaries see it, of their task; and a probable increase in the workload. Acceptance of this change in role and relationship would require accompanying changes in other parts of the subsystem. Furthermore, before the private secretaries could wholeheartedly accept the change, their bosses as well as lower-status clerks and typists in the central office would have to accept the alteration in the secretarial role as one that did not necessarily imply an undesirable change in status. The secretaries' morale would surely be affected if secretaries in other parts of the school system—secretaries to principals in school buildings, for example—were not also assigned to a pool.

Thus to plan changes in one part of a subsystem, in this case in the central office of the school system, eventually involves consideration of changes in overlapping parts of the system: the clerical force, the people accustomed to private secretaries, and others as well. If these other changes are not effected, one can expect lowered morale, requests for transfers, and even resignations. Attempts to change any subsystem in a larger system must be preceded or accompanied by diagnosis of other subsystems that will be affected by the change.

• **To change behavior on any one level of a hierarchical organization, it is necessary to achieve complementary and reinforcing changes in organization levels above and below that level.**

Shortly after World War II, commanders in the United States Army decided to attempt to change the role of the sergeancy. The sergeant was not to be the traditionally tough, driving leader of men but a supportive, counseling squad leader. The traditional view of the sergeant's role was held by enlisted men below the rank of sergeant as well as by second lieutenants above the rank of sergeant.

Among the driving forces for change were the need to transform the prewar career army into a new peacetime military establishment composed largely of conscripts, the perceived need to reduce the gap between military life and civilian status, and the desire to avoid any excesses in the new army that might cause the electorate to urge a return to the prewar volunteer military establishment.

Among the immediate restraining forces were the traditional authoritarian role behaviors of the sergeancy, forged by wartime needs and peacetime barracks service. These behaviors were in harmony with the needs of a military establishment that by its very nature is based on the notion of a clearly defined chain of command. Implicit in such a hierarchy are orders, not persuasion; unquestioning obedience, not critical questioning of decisions. Also serving as a powerful restraining force was the need for social distance between ranks in order to restrict friendly interaction between levels.

When attempts were made to change the sergeant's role, it was discovered that the second lieutenant's role, at the next higher level, also had to be altered. No longer could the second lieutenant use the authority of the chain-of-command system in precisely the same way as before. Just as the sergeant could no longer operate on the principle of unquestioning obedience to his orders, so the second lieutenant could no longer depend on the sergeant to pass orders downward unquestioningly. It was soon seen that if the changed role of the sergeant was to be stabilized the second lieutenant's role would have to be revised.

The role of the enlisted man also had to be altered significantly. Inculcated with the habit of responding unquestioningly to the commands of his superiors, especially those of the sergeant, the enlisted man found the new permissiveness somewhat disturbing. On the one hand, the enlisted man welcomed being treated more like a civilian and less like a soldier. On the other hand, he felt a need for an authoritative spokesman who represented the U. S. Army unequivocally. The two needs created considerable conflict. An interesting side effect, which illustrates the need of the enlisted men for an authoritative spokesman for the army, was the development of greater authority in the rank

of corporal, the rank between private and sergeant.

To recapitulate briefly, the attempts to change the role of the sergeancy led unavoidably to alterations in the roles of lieutenant, private, and corporal. Intelligent planning of change in the sergeancy would have required simultaneous planning for changes at the interrelated levels.

● **The place to begin change is at those points in the system where some stress and strain exist. Stress may give rise to dissatisfaction with the status quo and thus become a motivating factor for change in the system.**

One school principal used the dissatisfaction expressed by teachers over noise in the corridors during passing periods to secure agreement to extra assignments to hall duty. But until the teachers felt this dissatisfaction, the principal could not secure their wholehearted agreement to the assignments.

Likewise, hospitals have recently witnessed a significant shift of functions from nurses to nurse's aides. A shortage of nurses and consequent overwork led the nurses to demand more assistance. For precisely the same reasons, teachers in Michigan schools were induced to experiment with teacher's aides.

The need for teachers to use the passing period as a rest period, the desire of the nurses to keep exclusive control over their professional relationships with the patient, and the resistance of teachers to sharing teaching functions with lay people—all these restraining forces gave way before dissatisfactions with the status quo. The dissatisfactions became driving forces sufficiently strong to overcome the restraining forces. Of course, the restraining forces do not disappear in the changed situation. They are still at work and will need to be handled as the changing arrangements become stabilized.

In diagnosing the possibility of change in a given institution, it is always necessary to assess the degree of stress and strain at points where change is sought. One should ordinarily avoid beginning change at the point of greatest stress.

Status relationships had become a major concern of staff members in a certain community agency. Because of lower morale in the professional staff, the lay board decided to revamp lay–professional relationships. The observable

form of behavior that led to the action of the board was the striving for recognition from the lay policy-making body by individual staff members. After a management survey, the channels of communication between the lay board and the professional staff were limited to communication between the staff head and the members of the lay board. The entire staff, except the chief executive, perceived this step as a personal rejection by the lay board and as a significant lowering of the status of staff members. The result was still lower morale. Because of faulty diagnosis the change created more problems than it solved.

The problem of status-striving and its adulteration of lay–professional relationships could have been approached more wisely. Definition of roles—lay and professional—could have been undertaken jointly by the executive and the staff in an effort to develop a more common perception of the situation and a higher professional *esprit de corps*. Lack of effective recognition symbols within the staff itself might have been dealt with first, and the touchy prestige symbol of staff communication with the lay board put aside for the time being.

● **If thoroughgoing changes in a hierarchical structure are desirable or necessary, change should ordinarily start with the policy-making body.**

Desegregation has been facilitated in school systems where the school board first agreed to the change. The board's statement of policy supporting desegregation and its refusal to panic at the opposition have been crucial factors in acceptance of the change throughout the school system and eventually throughout the community. In localities where boards of education have not publicly agreed to the change, administrators' efforts to desegregate have been overcautious and half-hearted, and the slightest sign of opposition in the institution or the community has led to a strengthening rather than a weakening of resistance to desegregation. Sanction by the ruling body lends legitimacy to any institutional change, though, of course, "illegitimate" resistance must still be faced and dealt with as a reality in the situation.

● **Both the formal and the informal organization of an institution must be considered in planning any process of change.**

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Besides a formal structure, every social system has a network of cliques and informal groupings. These informal groupings often exert such strong restraining influences on institutional changes initiated by formal authority that, unless their power can be harnessed in support of a change, no enduring change is likely to occur. The informal groupings in a factory often have a strong influence on the members' rate of work, a stronger influence than the pressure by the foreman. Any worker who violates the production norms established by his peer group invites ostracism, a consequence few workers dare to face. Schools, too, have their informal groupings, membership in which is often more important to teachers than the approval of their supervisors. To involve these informal groups in the planning of changes requires ingenuity and sensitivity as well as flexibility on the part of an administrator.

• **The effectiveness of a planned change is often directly related to the degree in which members at all levels of an institutional hierarchy take part in the fact-finding and the diagnosing of needed changes and in the formulating and reality-testing of goals and programs of change.**

Once the workers in an institution have agreed to share in investigating their work problems and their relationship problems, a most significant state in overcoming restraining forces has been reached. This agreement should be followed by shared fact-finding by the group, usually with technical assistance from resources outside the particular social system. Participation by those affected by the change in fact-finding and interpretation increases the likelihood that new insights will be formed and that goals of change will be accepted. More accurate diagnosis results if the people to be changed are trained in fact-finding and fact-interpreting methods as part of the process of planning.

This article has been written from the standpoint that change in an institution or organization can be planned. Is this a reasonable view? Can change be deliberately planned in organizations and institutions as complex as school systems, hospitals, and armies? Do not many determinants of change operate without the awareness or knowledge of those involved?

It is true that most people are unaware of many factors that trigger processes of change in the situations in which they work. And most people are unaware of many factors that influence the direction of change. Many factors, even when known, are outside the power of people in an organization to control. Sometimes forces that influence change in an organization stem from the wider society: new knowledge, new social requirements, new public demands force the management of a school system to alter the content and the methods of its instructional program. Some factors cannot be fully known in advance. Even when they are anticipated, the school cannot fully control them. Some forces that work for change or resistance to change in an organization stem from the personalities of the leaders and the members of the organization. Some of these factors are unknown to the persons themselves and to those around them. Some personality factors, even when they are known, cannot be altered or reshaped, save perhaps by therapeutic processes beyond the resources of personnel involved.

All this is true. Yet members and leaders of organizations, especially those whose positions call for planning and directing change, cannot evade responsibility for attempting to extend their awareness and their knowledge of what determines change. Nor can they evade responsibility for involving others in planning change. All concerned must learn to adjust to factors that cannot be altered or controlled, and to adapt and to alter those that can be. For as long as the dynamic forces of science, technology, and intercultural mixing are at work in the world, change in organizations is unavoidable. Freedom, in the sense of the extension of uncoerced and effective human choice, depends on the extension of man's power to bring processes of change, now often chaotic and unconsidered, under more planned and rational control.

DEVELOPMENTAL SKILLS FOR A COMMUNITY*

In October, 1970, Hotline, a telephone referral service for troubled young people and adults, was established in Frederick, Maryland. The service was designed and built by community volunteers assisted by staff members from the Community Mental Health Services. Even before it went into service, the project helped the community, for through its development, people learned how to work together to create a solution to a common problem.

In the following story of the Frederick Hotline, those of us who worked with the volunteers believe we can see principles that can be applied to the development of any community mental health project. We believe that by using these principles, a community can not only provide new services to its people but can also learn to solve its problems more thoroughly and with more independence from professional direction.

Story of Hotline

The original idea came from the community. The social action committee of a local church came to the community mental health center, having been referred by another public agency. The committee wanted to start a telephone referral service and wanted help in doing it. The center's involvement in the project was thus legitimate assistance, not unwarranted interference.

Responsibility remained with the community volunteers. From the beginning, the clinic staff rejected the doctor-patient relationship community members often try to establish with professional service agencies. The staff thought the Hotline sounded like a good idea. Instead of taking over action at this point, however, it recommended that a research committee find out how a similar project in a nearby county had been established and how it operated, and how a Hotline could be financed.

Community leaders were involved from the beginning. Mental health center staff members also contacted the head of the Mental Health Advisory Board, who is the minister of a large church in Frederick. They described the proposal and asked the minister to suggest others

to consult. His suggestions—of individuals and of a county-wide organization of churches—proved to be extremely valuable. When work on the project began, most of the volunteers belonged to those churches, although many were not actually representatives.

Before any decision was made, a broad base of support was established. After the research committee reported, the staff called together interested people from the various churches and other parts of the community and discussed priorities with them. The consensus was that this was indeed the project the community wanted to carry out at this time. A planning committee was formed.

The planning committee members did their work in a systematic manner. First, they established the goals of the project: What exactly did they want to accomplish? Then, assisted by the mental health staff, they set up a schedule. As soon as they set a date for beginning the service, large sheets of newsprint were put up in the meeting room, with space designated for each week before the starting date. Tasks to be completed during each of the weeks were listed, and names of those responsible were written after each task. Use of newsprint for this, as for other records, gave everyone a share in the information recorded, rather than making it the property of the person recording, to be shared only at the recorder's discretion.

After the task assignments were made, it remained to carry them out, simultaneously refining the goals and tasks as the progress of the work brought new information and influences into play. Each week for 12 weeks a two-hour meeting was held in the room adorned by the newsprint schedule. The persons assigned tasks reported their progress in the presence of the schedule of assignments, thus reinforcing the importance of commitment to the time schedule.

The committee members remained open to and undefensive about reactions and suggestions from the community. During the refinement process, for example, they decided it would be helpful to have a governing board to keep the project functioning once it was started. However, this idea, when it became

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known, caused considerable repercussions in the community. People feared that this independent government would remove the project from the community's ordering of priorities within its public service program as a whole. A project governing board, the community thought, would do whatever it chose without any further accountability or responsiveness to the community.

The committee invited the leading persons concerned about this to come and talk about their ideas with some of the leading workers on the project. After plenty of discussion, it was plain that there could be a structure for keeping Hotline going, and there could at the same time be continuing responsiveness to the will of the community. By taking time to deal (personally and thoroughly) with a public concern the committee members showed the sincerity of their intention to accept their accountability. What had temporarily been two sides became one.

Prospective consumers of the service helped even in the early stages of planning. Two meetings of high school students were held, one at the mental health clinic, which is centrally located in the county, and one in a high school. Since the program was intended primarily to serve high school students, this step was absolutely necessary, as was shown by the positive change in plan that resulted. The adult planners had considered involving a state policeman who did much of the local drug-law enforcement, because he also taught and lectured extensively about drug abuse. The students, however, felt this would be a mistake, since anyone calling Hotline about drugs might well be legally vulnerable. Such persons would probably be discouraged from using the service, even anonymously, by fear that the trooper would be able to trace the call and take legal action against them.

At this point the persons preparing the program, committee and clinic staff alike, could not avoid a difficult decision. They could exclude the trooper in order to secure the credibility of the project with the people it was intended to help or they could retain the trooper and, in so doing, risk turning away many persons who could benefit from the program. The trooper was excluded. They decided that the function of the Hotline was to help as many people as possible, as much as possible, and

that this function should not be confused in the public mind with the work of law enforcement agencies. Consumer involvement thus had tailored the plans in a substantive way.

The project did not limit itself to traditional sources of community support. The planning committee contacted college students through professors of social work and others on campuses. Students volunteered to be responsible for answering the telephone on specific shifts. Involvement of college students in community service was new in Frederick and is uncommon elsewhere.

Members of a local commune of young people responded to the general call for telephone volunteers. Their ongoing participation in the program has added a new dimension of understanding among persons working on the program as well as making a major contribution.

Traditional sources of county support were also used. Adult volunteers were recruited to act as consultants to the students answering the phones. A wide variety of counselors and other community resource persons were enlisted to be "on call" in emergencies.

The development of the project was never considered irreversible. The project was initially planned to operate for three months. This limit made it possible for the service to be discontinued without embarrassment if there was little demand for it, if it aroused widespread opposition, or if it proved to be impracticable. In this case, a planned ending to the first pilot attempt made it easier to begin a similar operation in the future if resources, skills, needs, or acceptance are found to have increased. On the other hand, the program could easily be put on a permanent basis if it was successful during the trial period.

The project planners cooperated with related agencies already operating in the community and the state. Time and personal attention were invested in the agencies to which Hotline would refer callers for social services like housing, health, medical, or financial help. A subcommittee wrote to each agency explaining Hotline, how that agency could help, and requesting an appointment. The subcommittee, which included some public service and community leaders, called on the agencies to answer questions and establish a working relationship. Most agencies offered to expedite the cases of per-

sons referred by Hotline in order to avoid red tape and delay.

A group at the state level which had not been contacted came to the Hotline committee to offer its services to callers. The subcommittee also met with the regional mental health director, who helped them clarify last-minute details. He also mentioned that if the project worked, it would be possible to apply for state monies to help finance its continuation. This is a distinct contrast to the common pattern in which a state or federal agency starts a pilot project in a community and the project soon dies for lack of local support.

A public information program was carefully coordinated and scheduled. About ten days before the Hotline began operating, publicity was released. In planning this, the committee had the opportunity to learn from a project that had been planned earlier, widely publicized prematurely, and never begun because of the opposition—and the overexposure—that ensued.

In addition to newspaper articles and radio announcements, the Hotline publicity included posters made by high school students. One of these posters was selected to be reproduced in a flyer distributed at the county fair and to every junior and senior high school student in the county.

Rather than shaping the project, the mental health center was shaped by it. The mental health center instituted a walk-in clinic to operate five days a week for people referred by Hotline.

This example of a project's influence on an agency of professional people contrasts sharply with the common pattern, in which the professionals take over direction of a community project and frequently cut it off from its community support in the process. Such takeovers are difficult to avoid, but the immediate and long range benefits to the community in developing a program for itself justify the most rigorous self-restraint by the professional agency involved.

Emerging Principles

From the experiences outlined above, we have drawn principles for the development of a community project. Although not new, they seem to us to be basic. They are not difficult principles to memorize, but they are difficult to apply, for they require continuous exercise of both perception and self-restraint.

The mental health professional must assist, not direct, the community volunteers who work on the project. The citizens must set the goals and take the action, while professionals contribute their knowledge of how to get things done. If the lead is taken away from the citizens, they will lose interest and the project will suffer.

The broader the project's base of involvement and support, the better will be its chances of success. The public will take more interest in a project that does not involve acknowledged leaders alone. A project that does not limit itself to the obvious sources of community help in seeking support will have a variety of resources to draw upon.

The people who are to benefit from the project, not just the prospective benefactors, must be involved in planning. Otherwise the project will not be used when it begins to operate.

People who are sought out, consulted, and asked for help and advice are often likely to support the project, even if they would otherwise be indifferent or hostile to it. Similarly, acknowledged community leaders who are not consulted are likely to be resentful.

All of these principles are concerned with the sharing of substantive responsibility of various kinds among as many people as possible in the community. We believe that this sharing has a double value. It secures public interest in supporting, providing, and using the service being established. It also creates resources of expertise in program development among individuals and groups in the community. These resources will continue to be of value as long as the community has problems and seeks to solve them.

CHANGE AGENT SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE

The change agent (be it an individual, group, or an organization) needs certain skills to move the client toward a collaborative and receptive response to change. Each of the following steps and the skills categorized under them may be pertinent to changing a person himself, his relations with others, the relations between several others, a total group, a community, or widely held opinion. Actually, each changee becomes a changer at some place in the normal development of the change process.

Skill Area 1

Assessment by the change agent of his personal motivations and his relationship to the "changee."

Some skills and understandings needed for this aspect of change follow.

Understanding his own motivation in seeing a need for this change and wanting to bring about a change
Understanding and working in terms of a philosophy and ethics of change
Predicting the relation of one possible change to other possible changes or to those that might come later
Determining the possible units of change:
  What seems to be needed
  What is possible to him (or them)
Determining the size, character, structural makeup of group of changees
Determining the barriers, the resistance, the degree of readiness to change
Determining the resources available for overcoming barriers and resistance
Knowing how to determine his own strategic role in the light of the situation and his abilities.

Skill Area 2

Helping changees become aware of the need for change and for the diagnostic process.

Some skills and understandings needed for this aspect of change follow.

Determining the level of sensitivity the changees have to the need for change
Determining the methods which changees believe should be used in change

Creating awareness of the need for considering change and diagnosis through shock, permissiveness, demonstration, research, guilt, "bandwagon," and so on
Raising the level of aspiration of the changee and making aspirations realistic
Creating a perception of the potentialities for change expectations
Creating expectations to use a step-wise plan and to have patience in its use
Creating perception of possible sources of help in this change
Creating a feeling of responsibility to engage in this change by active participation.

Skill Area 3

Diagnosis by changer and changee in collaboration concerning the situation, behavior, understanding, feeling, or performance to be modified.

Some skills and understandings needed for this aspect of change follow.

Making catharsis possible and acceptable when indicated as a starting point
Skill in use of diagnostic instruments appropriate to the problem: surveys, maps, score cards, observation, and others
Diagnosis in terms of causes rather than "goods" or "bads"
Skill in helping changees to examine own motivations
Examination of the relation of one change to other changes possible in that situation and helping changees to understand these relationships
Clarifying interrelationship or roles between changer and changee
Skill in dealing wisely with changee's ideology, myths, traditions, values.

Skill Area 4

Deciding upon the problem; involving others in this decision; planning and implementing action.

Some skills and understandings needed for this aspect of change follow.

Techniques in arriving at a group decision
Examining the consequences of certain possible decisions

Making a step-wise plan

Doing anticipatory practice in carrying out a plan

Providing for replanning and assessment at later stages

Providing administrative organization

Eliciting and eliminating alternatives.

Skill Area 5

Carrying out the plan successfully and productively.

Some skills and understandings needed for this aspect of change follow.

Building and maintaining the morale of the changees as they try the change

Deciding upon the amount of action to be made before pausing for an assessment of process and progress being used

Understanding the effects of stress on changee's beliefs and behavior

Defining objectives in a manner that leads to easy definition of methods

Creating a perception of the need for relating methods to the goal in mind.

Skill Area 6

Evaluation and assessment of changee's progress, methods of working, and human relations.

Some skills and understandings needed for this aspect of change follow.

Diagnosis of causes when group action becomes inefficient, through the use of measuring instruments, interviews, interaction awareness panel

Use of score cards, rating scales, and other measures.

Skill Area 7

Insuring continuity, spread, maintenance, and transfer.

Some skills and understandings needed for this aspect of change follow.

Creating perception of responsibility for participation in many persons

Developing indicated degree of general support for change

Developing appreciation by others of work of participants who need support.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CONSULTANT'S JOB*

Consultation, like supervision—or love—is a general label for many variations of relationship. The general definition of consultation used in this paper assumes that—

1. The consultation relationship is a *voluntary relationship* between
2. a professional *helper (consultant) and help-needing system (client)*
3. in which the consultant is attempting to *give help* to the client in the solving of some current or potential *problem,*
4. and the relationship is perceived as *temporary* by both parties.
5. Also, the *consultant is an "outsider,"* i.e., not a part of any hierarchical power system in which the client is located.

Some additional clarification of this condensed definition is needed. The client is conceived to be any functioning social unit, such as a family, industrial organization, individual, committee, staff, membership association, governmental department, delinquent gang, or hospital staff. The consultant is usually a professional helper, such as a marriage counselor, management consultant, community organizer, minister, social worker, human relations trainer, psychiatrist, applied anthropologist, group therapist, or social psychologist. The role of psychological "outsider" may sometimes be taken by a consultant located within the client system, such as a member of the personnel department.

This issue of the *Journal* does not consider consultation with the single individual as client. This relationship has been explored extensively in the literature on counseling and psychotherapy. The focus in this issue is on the group or larger social system as client.

The Larger Social System as Client

One way of examining the role of the consultant is in terms of the series of questions or problems the consultant must pose for himself and work on during the course of a consulting relationship. Each of these questions can be viewed as a professional problem on which information is needed, about which theorizing must be done, action must be taken, and feedback must be sought by the consultant in order to get data about the consequences of the helping actions. The sequence of the questions formulated below does not represent any assumption that this is the orderly flow of questions and problems in the carrying through of a consultation relationship. Many of the questions are being worked on simultaneously at any one time, and the questions keep recurring as the process of consultation unfolds. But in order to formulate them as dimensions of a consultant's role, we need to examine them one by one, rather than try to reproduce the multidimensional complexity of the consultant's job as he experiences it at any moment in time.

Question 1: What seems to be the difficulty? Where does it come from? What's maintaining it?

Every consultant has a cluster of ideas, or a set of concepts, which guide his perception of "what exists" and "what is going on" when he comes in contact with a particular group or organization or other social unit. This cluster of ideas is his theory about the nature of groups and persons in groups and what makes them behave the way they do. For some consultants, the theory may be largely inarticulate, and the concepts may not have much systematic refinement or relationship to each other. Nevertheless, the consultant must have some kind of theory in terms of which to select "what to see" and "how to understand it" when he views the complexities of group or organizational life. Other consultants approach their task with a relatively systematic framework of concepts such as psychoanalytic theory, structure-function theory, learning theory, social conflict theory, or role theory. Those without much theory have a harder time organizing and comprehending what they see. Those with a more systematic theory have a harder time noticing and interpreting important events which are not taken into account by the concepts of their theory.

In addition to having a systematic *descriptive-analytic theory,* the consultant must have a *diagnostic theory* which guides him in focusing on symptoms of pain or disruption in the system, on evidences that things are different from "normal" or "healthy." Usually a diagnostic theory includes both ideas about symptoms or clues that something is wrong and conceptions about the basic causes of certain patterns of symptoms. In our study of a wide variety of consultants (Lippitt, Watson, and Westley, 1958) it seemed possible to delineate several typical diagnostic orientations such as:

1. An inappropriate distribution of power, too diffuse or too centralized.
2. Blockage and immobilization of productive energy.
3. Lack of communication between the subparts of the system.
4. A lack of correspondence between external reality and the situation as perceived by the client.
5. A lack of clarity or commitment to goals for action.
6. A lack of decision-making and action-taking skills.

These and other theories about "the source of trouble" provide the basis for selective probing to secure information from the client which will be used to interpret the nature of the difficulty and to make decisions about what type of helping should be tried. Also, such a diagnostic theory helps to define the directions along which improvement is desired and expected, and therefore defines the symptoms of improvement which will be watched for in order to know whether there are desired consequences of the helping efforts.

Because these two frameworks of theory, systematic and diagnostic, play such a central role in the nature and quality of the performance of the consultant, it would seem particularly important for research to explore the use in practice of systematic theory and the development of improved diagnostic theory. One of the most unexplored areas is that of the exact nature of the relationship between general systematic theory about groups and organizations and diagnostic theory about pathology of social systems.

Question II: What are my motives as a consultant for becoming involved in this helping relationship? What are the bases of my desire to promote change?

Being a *professional* helper implies responsibility for a high level of self-awareness about one's own values and needs as they may influence the helping relationship. Some critical observers of the American scene think we demonstrate the value that "any change is better than no change." Such a value would relieve both consultants and clients of a great deal of serious responsibility for goal setting and would make it easy to label all resistance to change as bad. Clearly such a position is untenable. Another extreme position is sometimes taken which maintains that any planful efforts to stimulate change in others is *manipulative* and *undemocratic.* Very little significant work would get done in the world if this unrealistic conception prevailed. The observation of any meaningful social process indicates a picture of continuous efforts of people and groups to influence each other in the interest of various types of goals. The consultant must clarify for himself his own particular goals and motivations for influencing others. . . .

Even in the field of individual psychotherapy a large proportion of the individuals in need of help do not, for various reasons, take the initiative to seek help. Much attention is being given currently to ways of stimulating self-referral and other ways of getting help-needing individuals into contact with consultant resources. It is even harder for groups or organizations as total systems to clarify a need for help and to take initiative to seek help. And if one individual or subgroup from the potential client approaches a consultant asking for help, can this be considered as a request for help from the total system?

This *initiative* problem means that consultants who work with groups must be prepared to take active initiative to stimulate and develop helping relationships. This requires a thoughtful job of clarifying values involved in such "intervention" into the ongoing life of a group. Various consultants have formulated different bases for "the right to intervene" with attempts to give help.

1. Some consultants feel that a group situation is "calling for help" when there is evidence that the social processes of the group are

causing individual suffering, such as rejection, isolation, scapegoating. Individual discomfort and frustration of group members is taken as a valid basis for the value judgment that "something needs to be done."

2. Other consultants tend to take a "group welfare" orientation and perceive a basis for intervention when there are symptoms that the group is suffering because of inefficiencies and inadequacies of its efforts to move toward its goals, such as low productivity or failure of group efforts.

3. Other consultants may take an "institutional welfare" orientation and evaluate a group situation as warranting intervention if efforts of a group are causing disruption or "pain" for the larger organization or for neighboring groups, such as breakdown in one department of an organization or disruption of the neighborhood life by a delinquent gang.

Many consultants whose reports have been reviewed do not present any explicit rationale for making active influence attempts.

In addition to the "justification for intervention," there is the question of "what goals for change." On the basis of his diagnostic observations does the consultant formulate goals for change in the client or does he work only in terms of goals formulated by the client?

Some consultants feel they are justified in acting only in terms of goals which have been collaboratively formulated and accepted by both the client and the consultant. Other consultants feel they have a right to certain methodological goals, such as using good procedures for problem solving, but have no right to take positions on the answers to the problems.

This aspect of the job of the group consultant has received very little critical exploration in the literature. There would seem to be need for active discussion and clarification of the various professional orientations.

Question III: What seem to be the present, or potential, motivations of the client toward change and against change?

The analysis of change forces and resistance forces is an important part of the initial assessment job for the consultant and also a continuing challenge during all stages of the consulting relationship. A conceptual framework for analyzing these forces has been presented by Lewin (1947), by Coch and French (1948), and by Lippitt, Watson, and Westley (1958). Our comments here are limited to a few special aspects of the motivational situation in working with groups as clients.

In work with individuals, feelings of pain and dissatisfaction with the present situation are most frequently the dominant driving forces for change, but in work with groups very often one of the most important motivations, or potential motivations, is a desire to improve group efficiency, to achieve some higher level of functioning, even though there may be no critical problems in the present situation. Therefore, one of the consultant's jobs with groups is very frequently to help clarify "images of potentiality," rather than to focus on ways of alleviating present pain. Perhaps the most crucial aspect of motivational analysis in working with groups is the study of the nature and effects of the interdependence between the subparts (e.g., subgroups or departments) in the client system. An eagerness by one subgroup to change may not be a clue to readiness for change of other subgroups or of the total group or organization. Learning about the supporting and conflicting relationships between subgroups is a crucial task, and success in getting these facts will determine to a great degree whether the consultant is able to develop the necessary and appropriate relationship to the total group and to its various subparts. One of the most frequent forms of resistance to change in group clients is the perception by certain subgroups that the consultant is more closely related to other subgroups and is "on their side" in any conflict of interests.

Question IV: What are my resources as a consultant for giving the kind of help that seems to be needed now or that may develop later?

The requirements of time and skill needed to carry through a psychotherapeutic relationship with an individual have become fairly clear. Usually, the situation is not so clear in working out a consultative relationship with a group or organization. Quite frequently a consultant relationship with a group is begun which will require much more time and a greater variety of helping skills than are available from the consultant. Two unfortunate things seem to happen more frequently in the consultation with

social units than with individuals. Often the consultant offers diagnostic help and arrives at certain recommendations for improvement or change but offers no continuity in the actual working through of the meaning of the diagnostic findings for changing procedures, practices, and interaction patterns. This dropping of the relationship with the client system at such an early stage in the process of changing often results in disruption and demoralization because of the inadequacy of the client group to cope with the implications for change without further technical help from a consultant. As in the field of medicine, very frequently in the area of group consultation, the consultant who has the analytic skills for diagnosis does not have the training and therapeutic skills required for working through of the implications of the diagnosis. A consultant team would seem to be the creative solution in many cases.

Question V: What preliminary steps of action are needed to explore and establish a consulting relationship?

As pointed out previously, groups as groups are much slower to develop and clarify an awareness of the need for help than are individuals. Therefore, group consultants have a greater responsibility for developing techniques of helping the social system develop this awareness through appropriate communication procedures. This often requires taking an active initiative of a kind frowned on in the field of individual consultation. Examples of useful techniques are presented by Lippitt, Watson, and Westley (1958).

The defining of a "trial period" or pilot project as a basis for exploring a possible consulting relationship should also be emphasized. This provides an opportunity to establish relationships to all the different subgroups and to clarify expectations about a readiness to change and about the nature of the consultant's role.

The third problem which is typical at this stage is "getting trapped" into a special relationship with one of the subgroups which makes it difficult to move into a relationship with other subgroups and with the total client system.

In initial contacts it is very difficult to know whether an administrator, for example, is speaking as a representative of the organization, as a representative of a small subgroup, or only for himself. The techniques of dual entry and multiple entry have been developed to meet this situation. Getting into contact with the "whole" client is one of the most challenging skill problems for the group consultant. In an organization or community this often means working closely with a group of representatives from all units to keep channels of communication open to all parts of the system.

Question VI: How do I as consultant guide, and adapt to, the different phases of the process of changing?

The consultant who works through the problems of changing with a group finds that there are several phases or stages to the process of working through, and that those phases require different levels of relationship and different kinds of helping skills. Starting from Lewin's (1947) three-phase analysis, Lippitt, Watson, and Westley (1958) discovered in their comparative study of a population of consultants that seven phases could be identified with some degree of consistency. These were:

1. The development of a need for change
2. The establishment of a consulting relationship
3. The clarification of the client problem
4. The examination of alternative solutions and goals
5. The transformation of intentions into actual change efforts
6. The generalization and stabilization of a new level of functioning or group structure
7. Achieving a terminal relationship with the consultant and a continuity of change-ability.

These are very general labels for a great variety of activities, but do seem to help clarify some of the shifts of goal and changes of consulting activity that take place during the total cycle of a consulting relationship.

As the consultant works with a group on phase 4, the examination of alternative possibilities for improvement, it usually becomes clear that various types of special skill training will be needed to support the group's change efforts. It is our belief that most consulting relationships with groups require a consultant-trainer role to carry through an adequate job of problem solving. It is important for the consultant to clarify for himself the nature and the timing of this shift from the more non-

directive role of helping a group develop and clarify its own goals for change to the more active directive role of helping the group learn the procedures and skills needed for them to move with efficiency and success toward the goals they have established. It is an unhappy picture to see a group floundering and unsuccessful in their change efforts because the consultant has not been able to shift from the consultant role appropriate to the earlier phases of consultation to the more active training role which is usually necessary for the successful carrying through of the later phases of consultation.

Question VII: How do I help promote a continuity of creative changeability?

A successful process of consultation with an organization or a group ends with at least three kinds of learnings:

1. The organization has learned to cope more adequately with the problem or problems which initiated the consulting process.

2. The organization has learned how to function more adequately in clarifying future problems as they emerge and to make appropriate decisions about seeking for outside help when needed.

3. The organization has learned new procedures and new types of organization to help it maintain a healthy state of changeability in adapting to changing conditions and in utilizing potentialities for creative improvement in group functioning and productivity. Perhaps the most challenging task for the consultant in this regard is to discover ways of training the group to use procedures of data collection and analysis on a continuing basis which will permit the identification of new problems and possibilities. In small face-to-face groups this may mean helping the group to develop functions of group observation and feedback as a continuing part of the group practice, without continuing dependency on the consultant. In larger organizations, it may mean helping in the setting up of new staff functions of data collection, feedback, and skill training which will keep the organization tooled up to a continuous process of creative adaptation and social invention.

This is a very incomplete itemization of the dimensions of the consultant's job. . . . We have tried to emphasize some of the dimensions which seem to represent a special challenge and need for exploration on the part of consultants working with organizations or groups as contrasted to those working with individuals as clients. Perhaps the greatest challenge is that of continuously exploring the relevance of systematic theory from the behavioral sciences and finding opportunities for contributing to the body of theory through efforts to achieve a conceptual grasp of "what's going on," as we work at the job of giving help to groups in solving their problems of development and productivity. A basic integration of scientific theory and professional skills will be the continuing need as this field of social engineering develops.

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NTL Institute and Bibliographies

NTL INSTITUTE FOR APPLIED BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE

The National Training Laboratories Institute for Applied Behavioral Science is an independent nonprofit organization in Washington, D.C.

It is nationally known for its work in personal, professional, and organizational development, offering consultation, training, and research services to clients from business and industry, the governmental and voluntary sectors, educational institutions, communities, and to individuals.

Training programs are offered year-round for those who want to increase their own human relations skills and creativity, to improve their groups and organizations, to help others achieve up to their full potential, to work toward strengthening a changing society of free people. In addition to regularly scheduled training laboratories, programs are designed on request to meet the needs of particular groups.

NTL Institute consultation and organizational development services bring on-the-scene assistance to companies, government agencies, and public and private institutions working to increase their effectiveness. Problems as limited as managing a specific procedural change and as broad as long-range programming for organizational renewal are equally within the scope of the Institute's resources.

Institute research aims both to increase basic social science knowledge and to improve the technologies of change. Research services include consultation on research design, contract evaluation research projects, and the dissemination of research findings through publications such as the Institute's professional bimonthly, *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, and *Social Change*, published quarterly.

Through Institute professional development activities, social scientists and practitioners prepare to become qualified consultants, trainers, and organization change agents. Applied behavioral scientists prepare to provide a full range of services in a variety of social contexts. Professionals in specialized fields learn to provide training and organization development services within their own areas or organizations.

NTL's Purpose

The goal of NTL today is the same as at its founding in 1947: to help bring about peaceful, planned, coherent change through the application of knowledge from the behavioral sciences —psychology, psychiatry, sociology, anthropology, and the like.

The 1971 By-laws state this purpose more fully:

The fundamental purpose of the NTL Institute is to develop ways of improving the quality and effectiveness of relationships in all areas of human life. It is committed to the full development of human potential in persons and groups, to the humanization and democratization of institutions and organizations, and to the elimination of oppression and exploitation in every form of human relationship. . . . The NTL Institute will link the efforts of scholars and practitioners in advancing knowledge and practice in the behavioral sciences through (1) programs of experience-based learning; (2) innovative social change activities and programs; (3) programs for the examination, assessment, and analysis of personal and systems change efforts; and (4) programs of research and development.

NTL Institute believes these purposes are served when people influence the decisions affecting them or when parts of a system influence other parts to their mutual benefit. It believes that people and organizations can learn to apply basic scientific approaches to their own problems, that they can develop the skills and sensitivities necessary for change, and that men and institutions are most effective when they are learning—when they are improving their insight, knowledge, and skills.

Continuing Relationship with NTL Institute

Laboratory participation often stimulates an interest in further help of various kinds. NTL Institute is prepared to collaborate in a number of ways with organizations, colleges, communities, or school systems interested in staff development, leadership training, organizational improvement, human relations courses, research, and research utilization. Patterns of continuing relationship include the following:

1. Further Laboratory Participation

Participants frequently encourage their organizations to send other participants so that

there is a growing number of persons to support one another in change efforts. Increasingly, too, organizations send teams so that action planning may be initiated and teamwork developed during the laboratory.

2. Consulting Services

Through its national Adjunct Staff consultants, NTL is able to provide qualified staff to consult with organizations (businesses, colleges, communities, school systems, voluntary associations) in planning and developing such programs as—

• leadership training workshops for members, officers, boards, and so on
• inservice training programs for staff
• human relations courses
• research programs on organizational improvement
• total system analysis and change.

3. Staffing Services

NTL Adjunct Staff are located across the country. A frequent pattern is for an organization to ask NTL to help in recruiting appropriate staff for programs of training, consultation, or research.

4. Information Services

NTL serves as a major information exchange for persons interested in laboratory training. NTL's *Journal for Applied Behavioral Science* and *Social Change* offer an outlet for "first thoughts" and recent innovations as well as for carefully planned and executed research and theoretical studies. The NTL–Learning Resources Corporation, an NTL spin-off, publishes a broad spectrum of educational materials. A list of publications is available by writing to the Institute.

NTL's Structure

The National Training Laboratories is governed by a Board of Directors:

Mr. William C. Conner
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Dr. Morton Deutsch
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Dr. John R. Everett
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Ms. Mary Gardiner Jones
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Dr. Alfred J. Marrow (Chairman)
Dr. Samuel Nabrit
Dr. Vera S. Paster
Mr. Walter Scott, Jr.

The staff of NTL is organized into four Divisions:

• President's Office
• Contracts and Consultation Division
• Professional Development Division
• Programs and Laboratories Division

The staffs of the Divisions are supplemented by over 100 Adjunct Staff members who contribute to program policy planning, program development, and implementation. They are an international group of highly competent consultants, trainers, and change agents who are located at colleges and universities; at mental health, community, and research agencies; in major corporations; and in private consulting organizations.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY*

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│                        Key to Coding                            │
│                                                                 │
│  Change                                              C          │
│  Community and Social Action                         CSA        │
│  Conferences, Workshops, Etc.                        CW         │
│  Conflict Management                                 CM         │
│  Education                                           E          │
│  Individual                                          I          │
│  Leadership and Organizational Behavior              LOB        │
│  Organizational Development                          OD         │
│  Skill Training, Participative Cases,                           │
│        Role Playing, Etc.                            ST-PC-RP   │
│  Small Group                                         SG         │
│  Training and Learning                               TL         │
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