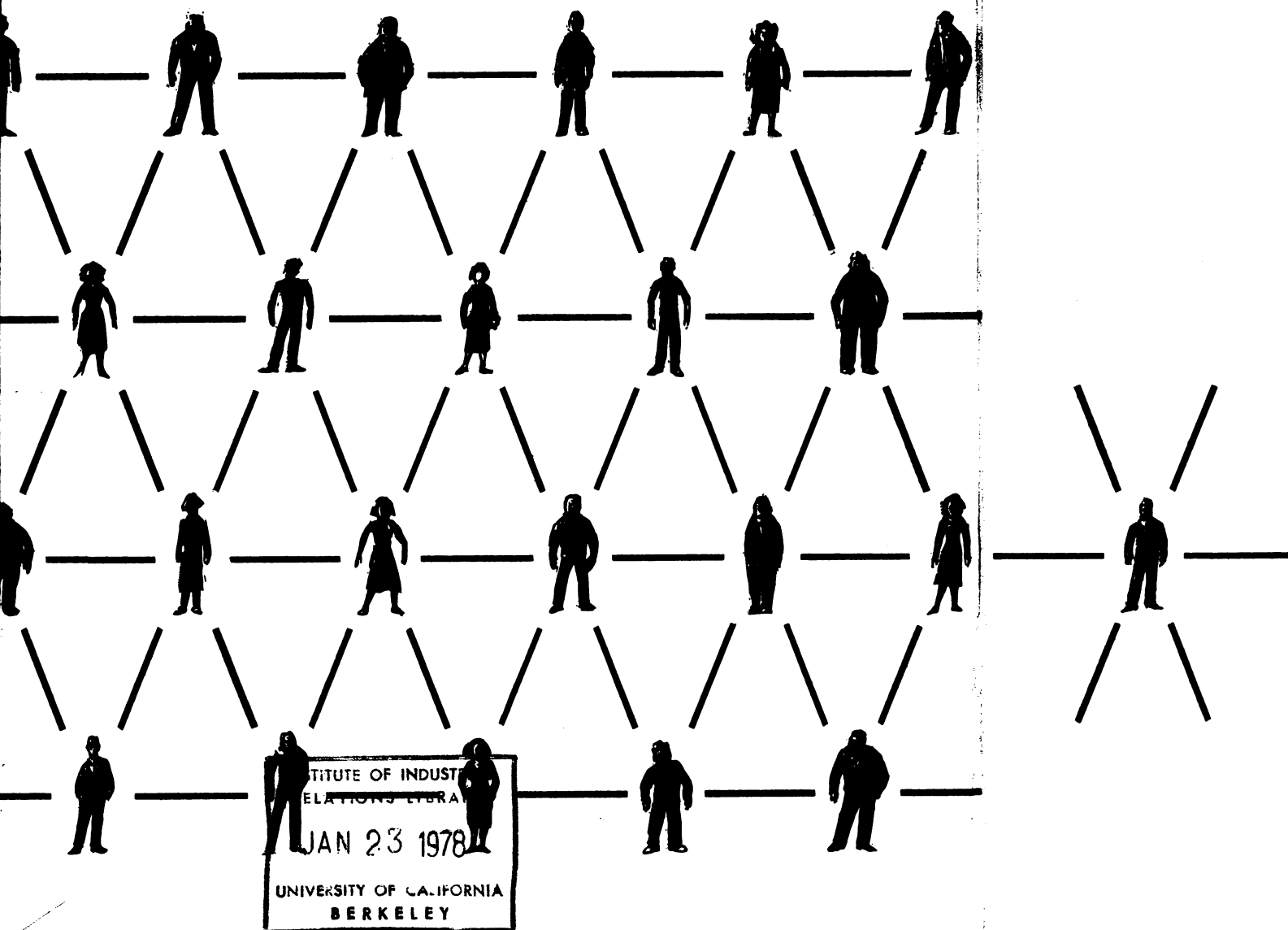


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(MONOGRAPH SERIES: 4)



INSIDE A SENSITIVITY TRAINING GROUP, by Irving R. Weschler & Jerome Reisel

Institute of Industrial Relations • University of California, (Los Angeles)

**INSIDE A SENSITIVITY
TRAINING GROUP**

INSIDE A SENSITIVITY TRAINING GROUP,

By

Irving R. Weschler,

With clinical comments by

Jerome Reisel. //

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. • (LOS ANGELES)

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*To all of us
who traveled together,*

*To those
who found the way,*

*To those
who found the direction,*

*And to those
who found neither.*

Foreword

The Institute of Industrial Relations is pleased to offer, as the fourth in its monograph series, Inside a Sensitivity Training Group, by Professors Irving R. Weschler and Jerome Reisel. The study is a product of the Human Relations Research Group which for the past ten years has been cosponsored by the Institute and the Graduate School of Business Administration. The Group's work has been primarily concerned with the nature of leadership and the development of leaders.

This monograph is one of several completed or projected research publications reporting on sensitivity training—a form of human relations training designed to help people become more effective in dealing with others, both on an individual and on a group basis. Inside a Sensitivity Training Group clearly reflects the deep involvement of its authors in closely related research and practice. Such dual involvement has typically characterized the members of the Human Relations Research Group, adding greater relevancy to their research and a firmer foundation to their practice.

The present study describes and analyzes the complex, challenging relationships between a trainer and the members of one of his training groups. In so doing, it also provides views and interpretations of other facets of a sensitivity training group in action.

Irving R. Weschler is Associate Professor of Personnel Management and Industrial Relations in the Graduate School of Business Administration and Associate Research Psychologist in the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California, Los Angeles. Jerome Reisel is Acting Assistant Professor of Personnel Management and Industrial Relations and Assistant Research Psychologist at the same university. Their report was first issued in mimeographed form in 1958 for private distribution to a number of professional colleagues, whose valuable comments contributed much to the final revision of the manu-

script. Financial grants from the Division of Research of the Graduate School of Business Administration and from the Institute of Industrial Relations made the study possible.

The Institute is grateful for the critical comments and suggestions of Irving Bernstein, Melville Dalton, and Robert Tannenbaum, all of the University of California, Los Angeles, who served as the Institute's reading committee. Mrs. Anne P. Cook edited the manuscript. The cover was designed by Marvin Rubin.

GEORGE H. HILDEBRAND, Director
Institute of Industrial Relations
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The Setting

Sensitivity training produces a deeply personal experience. Perhaps more than any other form of human relations training, it stirs and prods people into taking a good, close look at themselves and at their relations with others. Throughout a full-length training experience, spasmodic peaks of excitement, even exhilaration, seem inevitably followed by long periods of apathy and frustration, characterized by expressions of futility, disgust, and anger.

Until recently, very little was known about the individual, personal reactions of the trainees as—for better or for worse—they committed themselves to the uncertainties, the trials and tribulations of the typical sensitivity training experience. On the outside, even unskilled observers could note that something was happening. The intense huddles of small groups after each training session, the hasty departure of some members as if “trying to find fresh air,” the friendly glances in the halls, the knowing look of sharing—all these contributed to the “mystique” of the sensitivity training process.

Sensitivity training is founded on the belief that human relations *understanding* and *skills* can be developed. Its aim is to help the participants *feel* differently—and not merely *think* differently—about the many human relations problems which they are likely to face. This is brought about, first, by helping them to increase their awareness of how others think, feel, and are likely to behave (social sensitivity); and second, by helping them to acquire the ability to act appropriately in varying interpersonal situations (behavioral flexibility). As participants gain understanding of themselves, of others, and of the various social pressures generated by human relationships, it is hoped that they will become able to function more productively in face-to-face and in group situations, that they will become more aware of their own individual strengths, and that they will distinguish between real and imaginary pressures and thus increase their capacity to speak and act as free, strong, and considerate individuals.

Sensitivity training is based in substantial part on the following assumptions:

First, the essential sources of personal growth and development lie

within the participants themselves; no attempt is made to tell them whether to change or how to change. The participants are helped to see themselves more objectively; then, if they are dissatisfied with certain aspects of their attitudes or behavior, the decision to change and the direction of change are up to them. In this respect, the function of the trainer is primarily to help create the conditions under which the trainees can gain new perspectives of themselves.

Second, people in general want control of their own destinies—they want to engage in healthy interpersonal relations, with minimum fears and doubts, free from attitudes, feelings, and ideas that keep them from being creative and comfortable with themselves.

Third, interaction with other people is necessary for productive social learning. Each person creates for himself as well as for the others of his training group a set of mirrors in which values, attitudes, and behaviors can be reflected. Free and open communications are therefore encouraged, and the trainees are urged to comment both on what they see and hear and on how they feel.

Fourth, the setting of a climate for learning is essentially a matter of facilitating certain group norms which permit the individual to learn. As Jack Gibb describes it, these norms permit intrapersonal and interpersonal exposure of ideas and feelings, valid feedback to the individual as to the adequacy of his ideas and feelings, a supportive atmosphere which allows the individual to look at his inadequacies, and provisional and exploratory behavior directed toward personal familiarity with new ideas, attitudes, and feelings.¹

Finally, personal growth is best promoted in a learning situation in which the individual is respected and his right to be different protected. Sensitivity training encourages an individual to be himself so that he can test his effectiveness in varying interpersonal situations.

THE CAST AND THE METHOD

This study is part of an intensive program of research on the nature and impact of sensitivity training, underway since 1956.² It is the story

¹ Jack R. Gibb, "A Climate for Learning," *Adult Education*, 9 (Autumn, 1958), 19-22.

² For a fuller description of this research, see Irving R. Weschler, Robert Tannenbaum, and John H. Zenger, *Yardsticks for Human Relations Training*, Adult Education Monograph No. 2 (Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1957). This work is supported by both the Institute of Industrial Relations and the Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, UCLA. A number of colleagues at UCLA and at other institutions have read an earlier draft of this manuscript and made numerous constructive comments. In this regard, conversations with Dr. George

of one sensitivity training group, as seen through the eyes of its participants, of its trainer, and of a skilled clinical observer.

This is also the story of one trainer—the numerous problems he faced in guiding the group, his successes and failures as he tried to do his job. I was the trainer. This was my group.

In some ways the experiences of this group were similar to those of many groups that had preceded it and of many that followed it. Yet, in time, place, and composition, this group was also truly distinctive, with a “group mix” of personalities the like of which will never be together again. With outstandingly different “characters” to bring on more than its share of “critical events,” its life cycle seems particularly worth describing.

The group was one of three intensively studied during the spring of 1956.^a Its members took a course, entitled “Leadership Principles and Practice,” which is offered as part of the curriculum of the UCLA School of Business Administration. The official description reads as follows:

Knowledge and skills leading to effectiveness in interpersonal relations. Understanding one's self as a leader, and others as individuals and as members of working groups. Understanding of group process, including group leadership. Practice in methods and procedures available to managers in effectively dealing with subordinates, peers, and superiors.

This particular group consisted of twenty-four members—eighteen young men (average age: 23.6 years) and six somewhat older women (average age: 34.1 years). All were college seniors or graduate students. Most of the men were enrolled in the School of Business Administration, while the women came from Nursing, English, or Physical Education. The group met twice a week for thirty meetings of two hours each, beginning on February 7 and ending on May 22.

The formal course requirements consisted of three quizzes based on readings that were selected to correlate closely with the typical stages of group development, a small-group project, and a diary to be turned

R. Bach of the Institute of Group Psychotherapy in Beverly Hills have been particularly helpful.

^a Another monograph, tentatively entitled “Explorations in Sensitivity Training,” is currently in preparation. It will report on the results of experimentation with new research instruments designed to assess the impact of training and will provide empirical data with regard to specific hypotheses concerning sensitivity training. In addition to the authors, Professors Robert Tannenbaum, Fred Massarik, and Warren Schmidt participated in this research. Gary Carlson, Robert Dorn, Ray Ezekiel, Jerry Fogelson, Kaj Lohmann, Henri Tieleman, Clovis Shepherd, and John H. Zenger contributed valuable assistance.

in upon completion of the experience. The projects were intended, first, to provide each student with a *task-oriented* small-group experience, requiring cooperative efforts in conducting field research, presenting findings orally, and writing a report, and second, to emphasize the importance of *process* in the accomplishment of work objectives. Thus, through experimentation and experience, each group was to arrive at the appropriate balance between task and process. Although the criteria for judging the project were not immediately defined, such factors as originality, application of relevant theories, utilization of field contacts, quality of writing, effectiveness of presentation, group integration, and insight shown would obviously be relevant as potential yardsticks.

Aside from these requirements, most of which were to be accomplished outside scheduled meetings, the total group was more or less free to chart its own course of action. The fact that its freedom to act proved severely limited—not the least by me, the trainer, as my own unconscious needs at times impeded the group in the realization of its objectives—will be the basis for considerable discussion in the body of the study.

The commentator, a clinical psychologist, attended every meeting, tape-recorded everything, and intensively interviewed me at the close of each session. His observations serve here to add depth to what we hope will be a meaningful journey through time in the experience of this one sensitivity training group.⁴

Trainee diaries provide the key raw material upon which this report is based. The participants were requested to record fully in their diaries, after each session, their perceived feelings, opinions, and reactions as to anything that had happened during that period. They could write as much or as little as they desired; in terms of the course requirements, however, they had no choice about turning in their diaries at the end of the course.

In retrospect, these diaries accomplished a number of objectives. Most important, they helped the trainees to reflect upon and evaluate their own experiences as they went along. They also provided us with continuous feedback on feelings and reactions about which so far very little had been known.

The diaries turned out to be an excellent source of both quantitative and qualitative data. Since by their very nature their content was largely determined by the trainees themselves, they deal with experi-

⁴See also Jerome Reisel's report on "The Trainer Role in Human Relations Training: A Clinical Case Study" (1958), available in mimeographed form from the Human Relations Research Group, UCLA.

ences and relationships that often had intense personal meaning. Furthermore, since the training process proceeded for thirty meetings over a period of four months, they constitute a series of successive subjective impressions (samples), each large enough to provide information and insights on individual development and group growth.

Content analysis was used to transform the qualitative diary materials into a form susceptible of statistical treatment.

Thought units, defined as a series of consecutive words expressing a single thought or idea, were utilized as the units of measurement.

With regard to content classification, it was necessary to devise *content categories* that would cover almost all kinds of references made in the diaries. Eventually, forty separate categories were used, including six "pure" referents—Self (S), Trainer (Tr), Trainee (Te), Training (Tg), Group (Gp), and Subgroup or Clique (Sg)—and thirty-three "action" referents, utilized when in a given thought unit there were at least two "pure" referents, with one seen as affecting the other. For example, "Tim annoyed the group with his aggressive remarks" refers not merely to "Tim" and "the group," but more specifically to Tim acting on the group (Te→ Gp). The final category, called "Other," was used as a "wastebasket" for any units that could not be classified in the already established categories.

Treatment of the diary entries with regard to unit determination (what shall the measurement unit be?) and category formulation (what is the passage about?) was followed by a concern with the *emotional tone* of the trainees' reactions. We were interested not only in what was said, but also in how the respondents felt about what they wrote. Our judgments concerning feeling tone fell into four possible classifications: positive feelings (+), negative feelings (−), ambivalent feelings (±), and descriptive or neutral reactions (De). Thus, to summarize, each entry was coded with regard to how much was said, what was said, and how the writer felt about it.⁵

People (24 members), time (30 days), and content (17,424 thought units, in 40 categories, with 4 possible emotional classifications) are the key variables which we use in our analysis. What we highlight in the dramatic, clinical materials to follow will be buttressed by the cold statistical facts presented in the next few pages.

⁵ A full description of the development and validation of this specific method of content analysis is contained in Jerome Reisel's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "A Search for Behavior Patterns in Sensitivity Training Groups" (UCLA, 1959). It is based to a considerable degree on the schema evolved by James F. T. Bugental in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "An Investigation of the Relationship of the Conceptual Matrix to the Self-Concept" (Ohio State University, 1948).

“WHO’S WHO”

Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Major	Mean C.P.I. Adjustment Score	End-of-Training Interaction Inventory Scores on		Mean Daily Volume of Diary Thought Units	Index of	
						Sensitivity	Flexibility		Emotionality (E.I.)	Satisfaction (S.I.)
Bill.....	M	23	S	Bus. Adm.	59.18	+	++	11.7	1.89	.38
Russ.....	M	23	S	Finance	48.82	○	++	18.9	2.35	.52
Bob.....	M	24	S	Pers. Man.	63.24	++	++	27.7	1.05	.63
“Red”.....	M	25	S	Man. Theory	54.24	--	--	16.5	3.41	.25
Marie.....	F	33	S	Nursing Ed.	57.88	++	?	55.2	1.97	.67
Mike.....	M	22	Mar.	Marketing	48.88	++	++	16.8	1.26	.53
Don.....	M	27	Mar.	Finance	49.82	?	++	24.8	1.31	.60
Jean.....	F	35	Div.	Nursing	49.94	○	○	41.3	.86	.59
Maurice.....	M	21	S	Marketing	56.82	○	--	38.9	3.70	1.00
Hank.....	M	26	Mar.	Accounting	47.76	--	--	15.5	3.88	.42
Fred.....	M	21	S	Pol. Sci.	58.18	○	○	17.3	1.01	.32
Dorothy.....	F	43	S	Pub. H. Nrs.	57.65	○	○	11.5	1.82	.60
“Duke”.....	M	21	Mar.	Prod. Man.	53.24	--	--	19.5	1.56	.26
Robin.....	F	21	S	English	51.06	?	○	30.1	3.38	.43
Frances.....	F	41	Mar.	Pub. H. Nrs.	54.88	++	--	27.7	1.83	.48
Lew.....	M	24	Mar.	Pers. Man.	51.59	--	--	28.0	1.32	.60
Max.....	M	22	S	Marketing	50.12	--	--	17.3	1.24	.52
Ben.....	M	27	S	Accounting	43.00	+	--	30.9	1.32	.37
Pete.....	M	21	S	Pers. Man.	47.88	○	--	8.0	2.71	.52
Larry.....	M	24	S	Pub. H. Adm.	42.65	++	○	34.4	2.06	.79
Al.....	M	24	Mar.	Pers. Man.	60.47	++	○	13.1	4.48	.45
Dick.....	M	25	S	Pers. Man.	51.88	++	○	16.5	1.98	.75
Art.....	M	25	S	Bus. Adm.	57.94	++	--	20.3	1.61	.71
Beverly.....	F	32	S	Phys. Ed.	60.53	++	++	42.7	3.47	.59
Totals and averages: 24 members.....	6F 18M	$\bar{X}(\text{all}) = 26.3$ $\bar{X}(\text{M}) = 23.6$ $\bar{X}(\text{F}) = 34.1$	7 Married 16 Single 1 Divorced		$\bar{X} = 53.24$ $\bar{X}(\text{M}) = 52.54$ $\bar{X}(\text{F}) = 55.32$	7++ 6+ 2? 4○ 5--	6++ 2+ 1? 5○ 6--	$\bar{X} = 24.4$	$\bar{X} = 2.14$	$\bar{X} = .54$

First, let us take a more detailed look at the people who make up our group. An abridged "Who's Who" is provided in Table 1. The data summarized there include the student's name (fictitious), sex, age, marital status, and college major, plus other relevant information collected as part of the over-all research program.

The student's mean C.P.I. (California Psychological Inventory) score may be interpreted as a rough estimate of his or her total personal adjustment. Harrison Gough⁶ suggests that the mean of C.P.I. scales 1 through 17 is an index of interpersonal effectiveness. Generally speaking, the higher the score in relation to the general baseline of 50, the more effectively the person is thought to be functioning, both socially and intellectually. The C.P.I. scores in our group range between 43 and 63, with a mean score of 53. Interestingly enough, at least on this measure, the women appear better adjusted (mean 55.32) than the men (mean 52.54).

The sensitivity and flexibility scores were derived from the end-of-training administration of the Interaction Inventory. This sociometric test was designed to provide measures of effectiveness with regard to a variety of training-relevant criteria. Choices received by fellow trainees on the dimensions of understanding other people's feelings (social sensitivity) and behaving appropriately as circumstances demanded (behavioral flexibility) appeared most relevant for our purposes.

After observing the distribution of the data on the Interaction Inventory, it was arbitrarily decided that the most logical separation of "successful" from "unsuccessful" people would be as follows: anyone with five or more positive and fewer than two negative choices would be considered a "super-star" (++); those with between two and four positive choices and less than two negative were to be called "stars" (+); those with two or more positive and two or more negative choices would be labeled "controversial" (?); those with less than two positive and less than two negative choices would be considered "isolates" (o); those with less than two positive, but with between two and four negative choices were to be designated "rejects" (-); and finally, those with five or more negative and fewer than two positive choices were labeled "super-rejects" (--).

The mean daily volume of thought units provides a measure of how much (at least quantitatively) each person confided in his diary. With the class average at 24.4 thought units per day, some students wrote

⁶ See Harrison G. Gough, *California Psychological Inventory Manual* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., 1957).

TABLE 2
EMOTIONALITY AND SATISFACTION INDICES, FOR EACH CONTENT CATEGORY—ALL DAYS

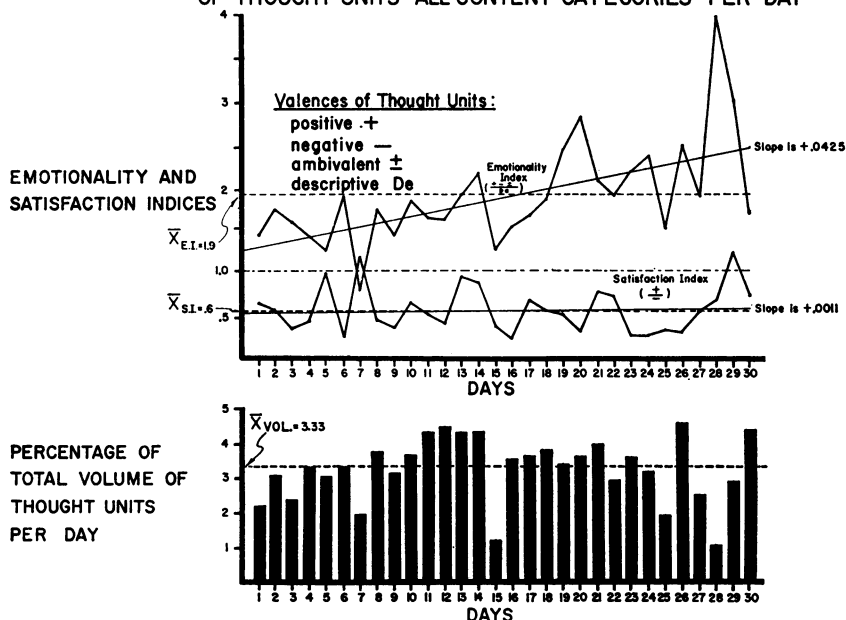
	Self	Te	Gp	Tg	Sg	Tr	Te → S	Gp → S	Tg → S	Sg → S
Volume of thought units.....	1468	509	523	1770	519	73	790	475	2140	554
Percentage of total volume.....	8.4	2.9	2.9	10.1	2.9	0.3	4.5	2.7	12.2	3.1
E. I.....	1.26	2.50	2.78	.75	1.48	1.53	4.07	4.56	3.72	5.49
S. I.....	.40	.53	.28	.69	.46	.50	.71	.32	.77	.55
	Tr → S	S → Te	S → Gp	S → Tg	S → Sg	S → Tr	Te → Te	Te → Gp	Te → Tg	Te → Sg
Volume of thought units.....	283	187	164	560	85	44	319	254	1034	102
Percentage of total volume.....	1.6	1.3	0.8	3.2	0.4	0.2	1.8	1.4	5.8	0.5
E. I.....	4.47	2.03	2.61	1.03	2.40	.80	2.87	3.05	.70	4.26
S. I.....	1.28	.46	.61	.73	.66	.50	.30	.72	1.11	.38
	Te → Tr	Gp → Te	Gp → Tg	Gp → Sg	Gp → Tr	Tg → Te	Tg → Gp	Tg → Sg	Tg → Tr	Sg → Te
Volume of thought units.....	58	230	1344	216	88	231	583	300	39	114
Percentage of total volume.....	0.3	1.3	7.6	1.2	0.4	1.2	3.3	1.7	0.2	0.6
E. I.....	.92	3.74	1.61	3.10	2.10	5.22	3.80	8.09	1.72	8.45
S. I.....	.08	.28	.47	.20	.28	.51	.75	.40	.21	.22
	Sg → Gp	Sg → Tg	Sg → Sg	Sg → Tr	Tr → Te	Tr → Gp	Tr → Tg	Tr → Sg	Tr → Tr	Other
Volume of thought units.....	168	872	135	49	75	160	487	91	0.0	0.0
Percentage of total volume.....	0.9	5.0	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.8	2.8	0.4	0.0	0.0
E. I.....	3.65	1.39	5.24	3.24	2.28	1.34	.30	4.85	0.0	0.0
S. I.....	.66	.68	.23	.28	.33	.50	1.16	.12	0.0	0.0

very little indeed, with 8 thought units per day the lower limit, while others utilized their diary as an important addendum to their training experience, contributing as many as 55.2 thought units per day.

The indices of emotionality and satisfaction are derived from an analysis of the feeling tones contained in the diary entries. The index of emotionality is obtained by dividing all positive (+), negative (-), and

CHART 1

CHANGES IN EMOTIONALITY, SATISFACTION, AND VOLUME
OF THOUGHT UNITS—ALL CONTENT CATEGORIES—PER DAY



ambivalent (\pm) entries by the descriptive entries (De), whereas the index of satisfaction is computed by dividing the positive entries (+) by the negative ones (-). Sensitivity training thus emerges as both a highly emotionally toned and a negatively charged experience. Once again, these reactions differ from individual to individual, with the emotionality index ranging from .86 to 4.48 (with a mean of 2.14), and the satisfaction index going from .25 to 1.00 (with a mean of .54).

Some days were "full of sound and fury," others dull; some were filled with tension, others with boredom. Here, the *time* dimension provides the key. Chart 1 presents the changes in emotionality, satisfaction, and daily volume over the thirty meeting days. As far as emotionality is concerned, the trend is obvious: the experience of this group

became more charged as time went on. The same cannot be said for the degree of expressed satisfaction. Although the trainees seemed slightly more content during the last few meetings, this rise is by no means significant.

Our final concern—before seeing “what really happened”—is with individual *content categories*. (See Table 2.) Clearly, people wrote more and felt better or worse about some things than about others.

They wrote most about:

Training on Self (Tg→S):	“This experience has opened my eyes.”
Training (Tg):	“There must be a purpose to this madness.”
Self (S):	“I was quiet today.”

They wrote least about:

Training on Trainer (Tg→Tr):	“Working with other groups has given Irv good experience.”
Subgroup on Trainer (Sg→Tr):	“The clique continued to annoy Irv.”
Trainee on Trainer (Te→Tr):	“Duke doesn’t trust the instructor.”

They got most excited about:

Subgroup on Trainee (Sg→Te):	“Duke and Hank bullied Mike.”
Training on Subgroup (Tg→Sg):	“Beverly and Marie were helped by the role-playing experience.”
Subgroup on Self (Sg→S):	“Red and Jean always mispronounce my name.”

They got least excited about:

Trainer on Training (Tr→Tg):	“Irv tried to explain the notion of process.”
Trainee on Training (Te→Tg):	“Art forced the issue to a vote.”
Training (Tg):	“This was exam day.”

They felt best about:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Trainer on Self (Tr→ S): | "Irv tried to help me this morning." |
| Trainer on Training (Tr→ Tg): | "The instructor played a tape of the last meeting." |
| Trainee on Training (Te→ Tg): | "Bob complained about the brainwashing going on in the group." |

They felt worst about:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Trainee on Trainer (Te→ Tr): | "Robin is always trying to show off for the instructor's benefit." |
| Trainer on Subgroup (Tr→ Sg): | "The instructor pointed to the nonparticipants." |
| Group on Subgroup (Gp→ Sg): | "The class tried to get Max and Russ to make the decision." |

Thirty Days of Crisis and Growth

The diary excerpts that follow have a vibrant quality. In our day-by-day commentary on them, we try to identify and amplify the themes that play beneath the surface in this specific group—to bring out some of the dynamic continuities in the data without reducing the experience to a series of clinical abstractions.

Our method of approach, however, is essentially clinical. The major focus of the observer is on the interpersonal tensions within the group—their source, manifestation, and resolution.⁷ The choice of the interaction between the trainer and his trainees as a central feature in the commentary is deliberate. It reflects a conviction that the trainer role is particularly crucial in the training process.

From a methodological viewpoint, the principal usefulness of the diaries is that they provide direct, continuous reports of trainee reactions, permitting a meaningful examination on both quantitative (time series analysis) and qualitative (content analysis) levels.⁸ Inasmuch as the purpose of this study is to take the reader inside a sensitivity training group, the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of the diary materials are stressed. Indices of trainee reactions (daily volume), emotional intensity (E.I.), and satisfaction (S.I.) are given primarily for over-all descriptive purposes. These indices are suggestive rather than definitive and should serve the purpose of amplifying the vital qualitative content.

Needless to say, the data for any given session are subject to a wide variety of interpretations. Many alternative clinical hypotheses presented themselves during the preparation of the material. Elaborating on these various alternatives not only expanded the analysis beyond reasonable proportions, but also resulted in safely hedged positions. The decision to focus mainly on one major feature within the total context of the group's experiences, that is, the interaction between trainer and trainees, in no way negates the validity of other points of view. It

⁷ Although *tension* and *anxiety* are generally differentiated, the latter usually having a pathological connotation, these terms will be used interchangeably.

⁸ The choice of the specific diary excerpts reflects the desire of the authors to show the feelings, doubts, insights, and inner struggles of trainees "inside a sensitivity training group," and in particular to focus on their reactions to the efforts of the trainer.

does, however, provide a central theme and thus gives cohesiveness to the over-all commentary.

The reader is encouraged to utilize the material to bring his own ideas into play.⁹ Other facets upon which a commentary might be based include the interpretation of communication and power networks, role interactions, phases of group development, learning processes, changes in individual and group images, and the evolution of facilitating and inhibiting behavior patterns. To a certain degree, many of these elements are touched upon here, either explicitly or implicitly.

February 7 (First Meeting): Initial Encounters

Daily volume = 2.2% (very low)

E.I. = 1.4 (very low)

S.I. = .7 (high)

After taking care of housekeeping details—enrollment, reading assignments, course requirements—I asked the students to consider what they personally wanted to get out of the course and how they might go about getting it. The initial silence, which one member called “the loudest sound I ever heard,” was followed by a great deal of participation. A few members took over right away and carried the discussion; there were others who failed to contribute anything. The students’ expectations varied from high hope to considerable doubt.

My main feeling about this class is extreme enthusiasm. This is the very kind of course I hoped to get into this year. I am more than pleased with my fate. . . . I am very eager to get a different slant on Human Relations. This is the first course I have taken out of Education, Psychology, or Sociology having to do with Human Relations. I am excited about being exposed to the view of these “businessmen” after having spent so much time with educators, and “women educators” at that. (Beverly)

I feel I will enjoy the class because of its ease and the freedom we are given. . . . If we handle the discussions correctly, a lot can be learned. . . . (Ben)

My feelings during and immediately after the first hour of class period were confusion, misgiving, and depression. I felt a little dismayed and depressed over the amount of work the course seemed to call for and wondered if it was going to take more time, effort, and ability than I had to give it. (Frances)

At times, the comments in class appeared forced. Some thought they

⁹ Paul and Faith Pigors have prepared a case study, based on this monograph, which focuses primarily on the communication difficulties encountered by the members of the group. It is to be published by McGraw-Hill in its forthcoming *Cases in Social Relations*.

should say something even though they had nothing too relevant to contribute. Others admitted they were not sure why they were talking, but felt compelled to go on nevertheless. The lack of clearly visible goals, so different from the usual university class, made a number of students feel insecure.

From our first meeting, I derived nothing but a vague impressionistic sense of entering into a situation completely alien to any I had previously encountered at this university. An aura of strangeness and awkwardness pervaded the atmosphere—incapable of being dispersed even by the heroic attempts on the part of most of the class members to acclimate themselves to this new environment. . . . I must admit the whole situation proved somewhat of a shock to my emotional system—especially during the two times I opened my mouth and heard utterances pour forth without benefit of raising my hand. . . . I have always been—in my school career—a rather shy, self-conscious person, and I am literally forcing myself to take part and participate in this course. (Robin)

Early communication difficulties led to some dissatisfaction.

I felt this discussion was rather pointless and meaningless. . . . The comments were too varied and led nowhere. It seemed to be more of a get-acquainted venture or an experiment in seeing how a group would function if turned loose without specific working knowledge and direction. Some people spoke more to participate rather than because they had anything definite to say. I forced myself to speak just to get the feel of talking before a strange group and to break my usual hang-back tendency when in the presence of a more informed, vocal group of people. (Frances)

My calculated unwillingness to “lead” caused some puzzled reactions.

I couldn’t get over the way Dr. Weschler turned the discussion over to the class. I would never have attempted it with any of my army classes. . . . I did see, however, lack of organization while this experiment was underway. (Lew)

There is no formal student-teacher relationship. Rather the teacher, Dr. Weschler, just observes the discussion and occasionally injects an idea. His relationship with the class is very casual—it is almost as if he is just another student. (Bill)

Observer: Initial encounters invariably influence the course of future relations. Expectations are aroused, anticipatory reactions take place, and a hint of the future is contained in the present.

This first session was not only a novel experience for the group members, it was also one for the trainer. To be sure, he had had considerable experience with sensitivity training groups in the past, but never under conditions in which *his* behavior and motivations were to be assessed and analyzed. The fact that he was being observed was, therefore, a

source of anxiety above and beyond that usually accruing during the course of a first group meeting.

If anything, I got the impression that the trainer was trying overly hard to do an effective, competent job. He thus ran the risk of engendering more tension in the group than might ordinarily be the case. The diaries reveal this to some extent. Vague feelings of uncertainty emerged immediately. There is a sense of impending conflict—perhaps, in view of the almost minimal interaction, somewhat premature.

Insofar as the trainer consciously saw his role as that of arousing tension in order to motivate learning, his behavior could not help but attain this end. Yet he seemed to communicate more tension than he may have deliberately intended. On a conscious level the group members were quite unaware of the trainer's somewhat excessive anxiety, but the dim foreboding of some members indicates attention to the trainer's nonverbal cues.

A basic assumption about sensitivity training is that the trainer plays an integral role in the transactions taking place in the group. This does not mean that he is the be-all and end-all of whatever transpires in the course of the group's existence. Rather, his role has a crucial *mediating* effect upon the directions taken by the group and is worthy of close attention.

One might look at the first meeting as a "sizing-up" experience. The members size up one another; they size up the trainer; the trainer, for his part, tries to get a feel for the group. At the outset, this process is apt to be tentative and cautious. Certain reaction potentials are constellated on deep levels within the group membership and the trainer which undoubtedly have a major determining effect upon the ultimate course that a group will take.

Insofar as specific expectations among the group members were concerned, an immediate source of tension was the trainer's obvious abdication of his formal teacher role. Irrespective of his personal tensions, his behavior constituted denial of a fixed stereotype held by the group members. This aroused anxiety of sufficient intensity to build up momentum in the group. They at once tried to fill the power vacuum by entering upon a search for leadership structure.

What if the trainer himself has conflicts over the relinquishing of authority? How will this affect the group? At this point all we know is that the group's reactions were mixed, with uncertainty predominating. The sense of uncertainty was expected, but since it appeared somewhat excessive, what direction would it take?

February 9 (Second Meeting): No Conclusions Yet

Daily volume = 3.1% (low)

E.I. = 1.7 (average)

S.I. = .6 (average)

At the beginning of class, four subgroups discussed the same two questions:

1. What would you like to know about a person in order to work with him (or her) effectively?
2. What difficulties do you foresee in getting this knowledge?

After the class was reassembled, I suggested that we look at the "process" which was to underlie our continued operations as a group—that is, that we take time out every so often to consider how effectively we talk. I made some suggestions on what the group might care to observe: patterns of communication, the nature of participation, the development of influence, individual roles, and other behaviors of this type. At my suggestion, one member of the group volunteered to act as process observer. His stated function was to observe and at appropriate times to comment on what he saw happening as the group continued its discussion. The observer's contribution did not prove too useful because, as he said, he "did not fully understand at the beginning what I was supposed to look for, and thus lost sight of the objectives of my job, as the discussion moved along."

Breaking into small groups seemed to draw more people into active participation.

The people who have thus far in class tended to be hesitant broke down the intangible barrier and now contributed. This will undoubtedly help draw others into the large group and in the end will increase the value of these discussions. (Mike)

When the large group reconvened, the discussion was monopolized by a few individuals.

If you didn't begin right when the previous speaker finished you were dead! It is embarrassing and discourteous to interrupt, so where do you draw the line when it is all right to speak. . . . Once when I got the opportunity, I put my foot in my mouth. I didn't hear the previous speaker say he wished to finish and butted in, saying sincerely I was waiting (bursting) to speak. (Maurice)

At several points I wanted to inject a comment or two, but was unable to break in without interrupting some other speaker, so I remained quiet. I felt one member was rather rudely cut off, first by one individual and later by several

others; he thus never had a chance to finish what he started to say. A rebuff such as this, especially if the individual is somewhat quiet and sensitive, is not conducive to good feeling or future participation. . . . The "cutting members" I am sure were not aware of the slight but were so intent on expressing their views, they carried on without allowing the discussion to return to the original speaker. (Frances)

To some members the discussion seemed rather pointless.

In all, I personally was rather dissatisfied with the apparent waste of valuable time, and thought of the topics that could have and, in my opinion, should have been dismissed within a matter of minutes. We should have gone on to bigger and more important things. . . . I asked myself, "How did this discussion aid in the process of helping me become a leader?" I have as yet not found a satisfactory answer. (Robin)

Some people began to realize that even though they wanted to speak, they were unable to do so.

My intention was to speak up and direct attention back to the original speaker's unfinished comment, but just then, someone called for the observer's report and so once again I remained silent. (Frances)

One member worried about losing his individuality in the group.

I was very much irritated at the use of "we" in our discussion this morning. The subgroups were not supposed to come back as a group. Expressing an opinion discussed in a group previously seemed to take away your title to it, so that you could only express yourself safely by saying—"we felt." (Pete)

In thinking back on this meeting, one member discovered a possible cause for her ineffectiveness.

It seems to me that this morning we were each intent on getting over our own ideas and having the group accept them. I now know that I wasn't listening closely to what other people were saying, for I was busy formulating my answers to what I thought they were saying. I am sure this is progress. . . . If the other members were doing the same as I, no wonder we couldn't reach any conclusion. (Marie)

The strongest feeling concerning this meeting was:

Brother! How far we've got to go! (Beverly)

Observer: The trainer pours it on! If he was unwilling to lead in the first meeting, he certainly has no compunctions about it now. He builds up the pressure through the various tasks that he sets for the group. The demand that the group complete its assignments within strict time limits serves to add further to its tension. It might be well to note this early emphasis upon time; it is a reality with which the trainer must

deal constantly as he attempts to achieve his training goals. Here we hear the early sounding of a theme that is to be elaborated later on in the course of this group's life.

When the subgroups reconvened from their assigned tasks, they were in a state of turmoil. Decorum gave way to anarchy, as people stumbled over one another in their efforts to speak. The more aggressive members managed to get the floor. The group was like a herd, tense and unsettled, prone to be stampeded into some sort of action by the least startling occurrence.

How can one account for this? One explanation arises from the contrast in trainer behavior. In the previous session he was rather quiescent; in this session he is extremely active. In one instance he seemed to be giving up command; now just as quickly he is taking over again.

In his own interview with me, the trainer said that he wished to get the group oriented to "process" as soon as possible. At the same time, in discussing what happened in this meeting, he became clearly aware of his own ambivalent feelings regarding authority.

The effect of the trainer's ambivalence was to induce a kind of generalized confusion. On the one hand, the group members desired to please him and to comply with his requests; on the other hand, they were totally unable to understand precisely what it was that he wanted of them.

At this point, the trainer was not certain how he felt about the group; the trainees, however, began to feel frankly annoyed with him. He effectively blocked their inclination to glide over tension areas by being overly civilized about everything they said and did. Even at this early date there were indications that the group was of the kind in which tensions would have to be handled primarily by frontal attack rather than by withdrawal.

February 14 (Third Meeting): Power Vacuum

Daily volume = 2.4% (very low)

E.I. = 1.6 (low)

S.I. = .4 (low)

The first half hour was utilized for the administration of psychological tests. The class could not be informed concerning their purpose since this might have contaminated results.

One looks at the prospect of being a guinea pig with mixed emotions. I cannot help wondering just how much similarity there is between our group and those

that have had the course before—how much of what we are doing has been done previously and how much is experimental—what effect our personal, physical, mental, and emotional feelings from day to day have on the whole experimental process. (Jean)

Afterward I again put the group on its own to use its time as it saw fit. The discussion floundered quite a bit. Some felt that it was the trainer's responsibility to keep the meeting on the straight and narrow.

We all seem to look to Dr. Weschler for help that he does not give. I think we are expected to search the problem out ourselves. . . . Maybe we're still getting used to a new situation. No one seems to be willing to stick his neck out. As a group, we seem to feel a real lack of authority or structure. (Bill)

It would be far better if we had a leader to start things, but I suppose that would defeat the purpose of the class. In the meantime, some of the people speak with authority on subjects I'm sure they know very little about. (Hank)

Once again the conversation began to be monopolized by just a few.

As time slipped by, without my getting into the discussion, I found it difficult to get a chance to speak before the subject was changed. So many ideas were being presented so rapidly! I feel this is partly due to a few people who tend to monopolize the conversation. . . . What is the point in prolonging a discussion when there are such set ideas on both sides of the issue? . . . We cannot change ideas by arguing. . . . When the atmosphere is in this state, we cannot even *help* these people think through the meaning of what they are saying. (Marie)

Some people felt uncomfortable during periods of silence.

Once again when the silence remained unbroken, I felt sort of lost and ill at ease—a little embarrassed, for myself and the group. I still prefer some instructor guidance and definite meeting purpose. . . . Still, I had no preconceived topic to suggest. (Frances)

At one point, interest focused on an article dealing with "empathy" which had been assigned for reading. As the discussion continued, the class became lethargic and apathetic. Those not talking looked bored and those speaking seemed afraid of nonacceptance. Someone correctly pointed out that dealing with the readings prevented the group from looking at what it was really doing.

I wondered why so much more interest was suddenly shown in the "empathy" article. Was it because the article represented something less personal, something involving someone else, something we could discuss more objectively? Feelings and processes involving our own group would have been more interesting to me. In fact, I felt pretty resentful and antagonistic when the "empathy" article gained momentum. . . . (Frances)

Unless an occasional member tries to bring us back to the actual situation we are in, most of us prefer to banter about anything at all—rather than tackle the problem of “us” and how we are going to put into actual practice in this class what we are learning from the readings and the instructor’s pointed remarks. (Jean)

As the group process continued, more and more people became concerned about their role.

Sometimes I feel more mature, experienced, and more capable than most people at “sizing up” others. . . . Yet, I hesitate to talk too much. I need to be able to see myself more clearly in relation to the group. What function do I have if I do see things with a little bit more insight? . . . Of course, fundamentally the problem is within me because I feel guilty about having these superior feelings (with the superiority actually not present). . . . Class stunk today, and I may see what I can do about it next time. If only I could see my role! This is what the class is for; I am still most excited about it. (Beverly)

Some of our difficulties were traced to lack of organization.

We have no organization. Many questions are brought up, and nothing more is ever said about them. It seems to me that after a problem has been kicked around for a while it’s dropped or left hanging in the air. No agreements or conclusions are reached. . . . The only thing we seem to have accomplished is that a few more students are taking part in the class discussion. Well that’s nice—it’s at least something. (Dick)

Observer: The administration of research materials again forced the trainer into the orthodox teaching role. This tended to have a dampening effect on the group’s interaction.

Immediately after the research phase, he again became permissive, thus highlighting the different aspects of his role. The group was unable to cope with his rapid shifts, and a desultory interlude followed. He was bombarded with questions about the research, and asked to give his impressions of the observer’s and recorder’s reports of the previous session. Some of the more aggressive members tried hard to make the trainer commit himself, thereby hoping to gain a clearer perception of the group’s relationship to him. Was he or was he not going to be the professor? There was much switching of discussion, each member tending to veer off in a private direction. Behavior in the group was of the kind that takes place when individuals respond to either a real or imagined threat.

The introduction of the “empathy” article led to arid intellectualized talk. For the most part, a sense of orderliness prevailed. Toward the end of the meeting, however, members began quietly to snip at one

another; cutting remarks pierced through the blandly rational conversation.

The group seemed to be engaged in a blind search for formal structure. Each speaker seemed to be a momentary leader. Everyone was taking a crack at filling the power vacuum.

The diaries indicate that throughout this dry spell many of the members were engaged in assessing themselves and their roles in the group. Evidently unable to resolve their uncertainty with regard to the trainer, they were forced inside themselves. The discussion of the "empathy" article reflected this.

The group's attempt to cope with this article, which was concerned with the exercise of greater understanding in the handling of employer-employee relations, reflected its own problems with the trainer. One segment of the group identified with management, the other with the employee. The issue was dealt with in terms of the weak and the strong, and who should have the last say. In no uncertain terms, the group was thus dealing with its own problem, namely, whether or not coercive efforts would be needed to weld it into an integrated unit. Aware of what the highly impersonal nature of the discussion implied, the trainer commented on it during the last few minutes of the meeting. He noted that he was constantly referred to as either "Dr.," "Mr.," or "Professor," and inquired why—especially in view of the fact that he had put his first name on his desk-card. (Each member had a name card placed in front of him.) This led a few to talk about insecurity, and some pent-up feelings were deflected toward the trainer when one of the members called him an "inhibitor." Immediately thereafter, he was called by his first name; the ice seemed to have been broken.

The last remark of the meeting was again a question—would there be a discussion leader in each hour?

February 16 (Fourth Meeting): The "Railroad" in Action

Daily volume = 3.4% (average)

E.I. = 1.4 (very low)

S.I. = .5 (average)

The sensitivity training process forces upon the trainer an early decision on how actively to participate. No simple guidelines seem to exist. Complete withdrawal may throw a group into a state of shock from which it may have difficulty recovering, whereas too active involvement may provide a group with crutches which it may find im-

possible to throw away. If people have enough time to work through their reactions to the trainer role, his early behavior may not be too important other than in providing "grist for the mill." Although with some of my most recent groups I have adopted a more consistent non-directive role at the beginning, in this instance I chose to confront the trainees initially with a number of problem situations or stimuli, after which I more or less withdrew to let them discuss the impact of these experiences by themselves.

On this particular day the members were asked to write a short essay of one hundred words or less on the question "Who Am I?" They were told to describe themselves in such a manner that someone who had to work with them would get to know them. After I collected all the profiles, I read five of them to the class without revealing the name of the writer.

Many of our class seemed to feel that they can pass judgment on their fellow classmates after reading a brief, 100-word introduction entitled "Who Am I?" It seems to me that the class is reading too much into the things people wrote or did not write. I personally feel that 100 words cannot be used effectively to tell people anything about yourself. It is too limiting to do much good. (Hank)

The first person whose profile was read was determined not to convey her authorship to the class.

I could not recall all that I had written and was trying to keep one step ahead of Dr. Weschler, as he deleted identifying phrases or words. To deny that it was an uncomfortable spot to be in would be foolish—especially since there was to follow an open discussion. For a fleeting moment I wished that I had asked not to have mine read; but at the time the offer was made, I was fairly certain that my profile contained little of interest for class discussion. Oh, well—just like a spot check on one's income tax. Sooner or later the authorities catch up with you! . . . Still, I have a fairly set idea as to my self-concept, and it won't hurt me to listen to the viewpoints of a number of my classmates. . . . (Jean)

It was very interesting to see how various individuals projected their own personality and experiences upon the profiles under discussion.

With reference to the second profile, I noted the importance of the readjustment period for veterans. The veterans and nonveterans began to argue. A number of people talked about not knowing anything about the service and inferred that I did. I noticed that Max was against me, and that Lew and Don sided with me. The strange thing is that I am only 21 years old and not a vet. I thought it was interesting, so I said nothing. (Mike)

For some time interest was high and communications seemed to improve.

I felt today we were really making progress. I think most of us seem to agree on what we expect to learn from this course. . . . We also seem to be more aware of the importance of qualifying our statements. . . . Now, most everyone in beginning his comments says, "To me—," "In my opinion—," "Do you mean—?" or "I agree with you, but—." (Beverly)

Although the discussion during the first hour was calm and collected, in the second hour it appeared at times totally chaotic. Tempers flared and a riot appeared possible. The key issue was merely whether the group should use a moderator.

In my opinion it was a rather simple question. Why then did things go from bad to worse? . . . At times it seemed we were near a solution, but then someone would block it. Consequently, we achieved nothing. . . . The students who were actively and ardently discussing the question said, "Yes, we were near a decision," while those who remained less active were of the opinion that the class was not anywhere near coming to a conclusion. (Dick)

At this point, the group became aware that it had no adequate means for reaching good decisions. Vote-taking so far appeared to have been unsuccessful.

This discussion about the moderator was terrible. I didn't enter into it because in some places I didn't have a chance, and in other cases shied away, letting the "pack of dogs" fight among themselves. (Maurice)

Some more silent members wanted a moderator to help them get into the group.

I really want and appreciate a moderator. This was demonstrated to me by my reactions or feelings of security and accomplishment during the first hour when the instructor was so much more active. . . . Now, at last we have something to talk about, some decision to make. This should lead to some purposeful, orderly discussion, the kind I have missed in our past meetings. . . . (Frances)

The history of every sensitivity training group is highlighted by some *critical events* which eventually give it its unique character. These incidents become the focus of thinking and discussion, and people remember them throughout the life of the training group and often thereafter. The first of these critical events took place when Beverly succeeded in cutting off further discussion on the moderator question by asking for volunteers to serve as recorder and observer. Al volunteered to be recorder, while Lew offered to observe the group. The decision was forced by a quick vote, and all three were immediately accused of "railroading." Beverly was only too ready to admit the impact that she had helped create.

My impatience is going to be my ruination. I react so strongly to the things that are being said. . . . One of these years I shall have to admit that I am an intense being. I sit in that class and pick my fingernails (a habit that is unacceptable to me, incidentally), get knots in my stomach, and my heart begins to flicker. I react from stem to stern. . . . Why do I react so violently? I often felt complete shame and guilt because I got so heated up. . . . Today I acted and now I am most desirous and apprehensive of knowing—so what? I am sure I had no business “railroading” the observer and recorder issue through. It was probably very unorthodox and domineering, but unfortunately, I would do the same thing again, should the situation arise. (Beverly)

Observer: The tension that had been building up during the last three sessions has now begun to overflow. The group had reached a point where it was necessary to do something—anything! This “doing something” took the form of reaching consensus as to whether or not the group should have a moderator. A decision had to be made! In the long run it made little difference whether the decision came about through democratic procedures or sheer authoritarian techniques. One of the feminine members of the group, a person evidently more capable of aggressive behavior in the face of authority, resolved the tension by carrying out a vote. This was a source of great relief to the group, notwithstanding the fact that it was done in rather primitive fashion (“railroading”).

The trainer had become a symbol of the “weak father” for the group. Now there was a compensating symbol, a “strong mother.” Because she mediated a release of tension, this group member would henceforth have to be respected for the deed. Such is the way group mythology begins. It is interesting to note how often a group compensates for its unconscious sense of weakness either by seeking out and defying an authoritarian figure or by perpetrating an authoritarian act of its own. The “railroaded” vote was, in essence, an impulsive and regressive solution to a conflict over authority. It had the virtue of releasing tension. It also had a character-defining quality for the group. The question now arose as to whether this and allied techniques would henceforth be utilized in resolving tensions in the group.

February 21 (Fifth Meeting): “Eye of the Beholder”

Daily volume = 3.12% (low)

E.I. = 1.3 (very low)

S.I. = .9 (very high)

At the beginning of the period the film “Eye of the Beholder” was

shown. This picture, originally produced for the General Electric Television Theater, dramatically makes the point that we see what we are prepared or want to see.

I think the basic reason for showing us the movie was to make us aware that people react differently to the same stimulus, and that our reactions can be far from right. It is hard to see the truth. . . . I got very little from the discussion, because I felt that we were trying to be amateur psychologists. (Bill)

The "Eye of the Beholder" had a good effect on me. I right away tried to apply the lessons that it taught. Once when Bill and I were carrying on a cross discussion about the crying scene, Max chimed in and said, "This is all worthless and of no interest to me. Let's have the observer's report." My normal reaction would have been one of immediate dislike of Max for saying we were worthless, but when I took a second look it was obvious there was nothing personal in his comment. (Pete)

The discussion was guided by a moderator, the first one for the semester. Don volunteered for the role. He functioned in a most permissive manner, helping people to say what they felt like saying. Don himself was unaware of his success.

I would not say that I was a failure, but I am not sure. I perhaps did not function as I should have, since I don't feel that a moderator is necessary. I tried not to point the discussion nor to lead it. My thought was to control it as little as possible. Perhaps I did a fair job after all. . . . At one point I mentioned that we seemed to be laboring some issues, but this seemed to have no visible effect. . . . Later, I wished to hear some criticism, but none seemed to be forthcoming. This, I think, is satisfaction of the ego. Having thought I did well, after all, I wanted to hear it from someone else. (Don)

Unwilling or unable to express their support of Don verbally, many members entered favorable comments in their diaries.

Under the influence of a moderator, I believe we accomplished a great deal today. By accomplishment, I mean that a great many more people took an active part in the discussion; many more than usual. The primary five or six didn't dominate. I guess I will have to change my opinion on having a moderator as I believe it worked very well, especially for the first time. (Art)

The discussion related to what we saw and how we interpreted it. While the moderator held us mainly to the subject at hand, he did not hamper actual discussion. We related well, and I feel that this was gaining experience for us as a group. (Jean)

Toward the end of the period, I made a number of observations. By now, I too was becoming more controversial. Some members found my observations useful and seemed greatly influenced; others resented them, while still more either ignored or didn't hear them.

Dr. Weschler's comments are getting to be more and more revealing. I am wondering if he has purposely held back because he sensed the class wasn't ready. I can see that my anxiety was at its height last Thursday, and that it was an instance of my readiness or desire for something to happen that was not ready to happen in the group. I say "I can see it"—what I mean is that after much misery and speculation, this seems to be the answer at present. . . . After one of Dr. W.'s contributions, I stated I thought we were missing the meat by not discussing his comments. . . . "What may be meat for you may be stuffing for the others" was his comment. I am assuming he was saying I must learn to see the other side. (Beverly)

When Mr. Weschler suggested that perhaps we were unconsciously picking our leader, he named several in the group who spoke the most so far in the course. This made me feel very bad. . . . Here I am in a leadership course, and the instructor implies that I might be a follower in the group. I don't feel that I . . . have been resisting a potential leader. If I am to be a follower, it wouldn't be the end of the world, because everybody cannot be a leader or there would be no followers. I must find out what my role in the group should be. Can I be a success in this? Should I fight for leadership by speaking more often? Does a leader need extra drive, age, experience, or speaking ability? I wonder. . . . (Lew)

The lack of visible goals continued to plague some individuals, while the group's inability to make effective decisions bothered others.

I don't really see how this class will do me any good by the type of discussion we have been having today. It seemed both fruitless and worthless. . . . There is no need to single out any one person and attack his position or censure his nonparticipation. That function belongs to Irv Weschler alone. . . . Today was the first time I felt I had anything to say. . . . I must try to participate more in the future, but most of the arguments seem, as I stated before, fruitless. (Hank)

If we vote and have thirteen for and eleven against, we proceed as if everyone were happy. . . . The White House Conference on Education used the non-voting technique. I really don't understand it, so I have to dig about it. In my readings, a paragraph from Benne and Muntyan, *Human Relations in Curriculum Change* (p. 130), hit home: "It takes patience and reasonableness on the part of all persons in the group to reach a deliberate consensus." Or, "Groups will have a full quota of impatient and even irrational souls; it is necessary to learn how to cope with variations in temperament while yet helping all to acquire behavior patterns more congenial to group process."

I think after a week and a half of deliberation I know what I must do—we will see if I can do it! Of course, the problem within me is to control the inside. I can sit back and discipline myself, but I want to learn how to do it without getting knots! (Beverly)

Observer: In this meeting the striking pattern of trainer-trainee relations comes into bold relief. The group has been in existence for two and a half weeks. In every session the trainer has inaugurated the pro-

ceedings—with administrative details, organization of buzz-groups, administering research materials, requesting a self-descriptive essay, and, at this meeting, showing a film.

What are the implications of this pattern? For one thing, the trainer maintains his position of central authority. This is not so much by deliberate design as by force of circumstances. The trainer is apparently quite conscious of his goals and the techniques by which these are generally attained. He sees his role to provide some stimuli for the trainees and then to withdraw in order to permit them to appraise their own reactions.

The trainer is unaware that his behavior has been covertly authoritarian despite overt permissiveness. This contrast between manifest and implicit trainer activity reveals what might be called an intuitive flair for arousing tension. He sees himself in only one way; the group, however, perceives both aspects. This results in uncertainty and confusion.

From the trainer's point of view, the creation of tension is one of his most consciously sought-for goals. At this point, his objective is certainly being achieved. Nonetheless, on another level, he makes himself more of a problem to the group than he would wish to be. This conflict over leadership is engendered by the way he plays his role. What he overlooks is that the group does not perceive him merely as a trainer but also as a person. As long as this latter aspect is a source of difficulty for the group members but not for the trainer, they are forced to work out the problem in terms of their own experience. This is akin to the problem of a therapist who remains unaware of his feelings toward a patient. In such circumstances, he is often at a loss to understand why certain patterns of reaction occur.

At this point, one is prone to evaluate the trainer's behavior as either "good" or "bad." Such evaluations are beside the point. The real question in this instance is whether or not he is being himself. He is! This is his nature, blind spots and all. This is the way he trains. He is a person with great affective capacities and needs an emotionally toned atmosphere in which to feel comfortable. He is a joy to people with commensurate affective responsivity and a threat to those for whom feelings are an unfortunate complication of life.

In this meeting, the trainer is acting in a way to confront the group with its difficulties over his role. He is aware that he is a problem to the members and evidently feels that the sooner they resolve this, the sooner they can get down to discussing interpersonal relationships as these emerge in the group.

Despite his assiduous efforts to crystallize the problem of his role in the group, the members just as intently avoid dealing with it. In the light of what has just been said, it may be that they sidestep the problem for fear that their efforts may be fruitless. On their part they fail to attribute to the trainer the capacity for flexibility and change. This blindness can be interpreted as passive resistance to the aims of the trainer. When they complain about lack of visible goals, they reflect what in effect is the message of the film "Eye of the Beholder": we see only what we want to see.

February 23 (Sixth Meeting): The "Walkout"

Daily volume = 3.4% (average)
 E.I. = 1.9 (average)
 S.I. = .3 (very low)

This dramatic day started innocently enough. Mike requested volunteers to serve as observer and recorder. He got quick response. However, when the group formally voted to continue having a moderator, no one wanted the job. Everyone just sat. Finally one person accepted the assignment after he was told that his duties were merely to give floor recognition to those people who wanted it. Mike's decisiveness in starting the class aroused admiration.

Mike seems to "take over" so well that I really do believe he is becoming the leader in this class. Everyone seems to listen to him and respect him. I myself feel no antagonism whatsoever toward him. What are the qualities that make him the leader of our group? . . . I have read these articles on empathy, etc., but I still cannot see what makes him the leader. Perhaps Mike is more aware and has more insight than I. Today, for example, he noticed that one of our group, named Dave, had changed his name card to read "Duke." I had completely missed observing this. . . . Perhaps I observe too little. This incident was good for a laugh. But more than this, it showed to me that Mike has keen awareness. When Mike passes me in the hall he says "hello, Lew," in a very natural manner. I have, in fact, no doubt but that it comes naturally for him to greet me and call me by my first name. I must say that I have never been able to remember names. I have often felt that this part of my makeup is a detriment. I always notice a person who greets me by name. . . . If I don't recall who they are, I feel inadequate. (Lew)

Almost half the group abstained from voting on the moderator issue. Thus, the problem of how to reach effective decisions again came to the fore. Some members made valiant efforts to suggest ideas to the group.

Some declared themselves in favor of a binding majority decision, while others thought of voting merely as a means to discover how people felt regarding a given issue. Beverly created the greatest controversy with her suggestion that the group try for complete consensus. For the first time, the notion of a "tyranny of the majority" (control by the many) versus the "tyranny of the minority" (blocking by the few) appeared.

As soon as Beverly had expressed her desire for consensus, a number of people started throwing questions at her. She was seen as idealistic rather than realistic. . . . Upon receiving this barrage, Beverly took the defensive. Everyone threw questions at her, and no one waited for recognition from the moderator. Soon, the meeting left the rational level and entered the emotional level. People started ignoring each other, and many appeared overtly fed up with what was going on. (Bob)

As the chaos continued, the group seemed unable to agree even on whether to take a break. In the midst of the floundering, another "critical event" took place. Under the active leadership of Duke, seven members walked out, deciding to take a break for themselves. The remaining two thirds of the group stayed and continued the discussion.

I was disturbed to see them leave the group. In the first place, I felt their request for a break was made at a rather high peak of activity. Secondly, I also felt that the departing members were deliberately making their stand and move as obvious and pointed as possible. To me, it smacked of open rebellion. It reminded me of small children who handled peer opposition by saying, "If you won't play our way, just go home!" . . . I don't mean to infer that withdrawal as a defense is necessarily immature or bad, or that individuals shouldn't hold fast to their beliefs—in some instances withdrawal is undoubtedly the wisest course—but in an adult group whose purpose is to work together, I feel greater effort should be exercised to suppress doggedness and impulsive behavior, to stick with the group and be more tolerant of the view of others. (Frances)

One of the "walkers" saw it differently.

What a class this is! We spend two whole hours arguing—not discussing—the question of how to decide an issue. . . . When Beverly, "the railroader," raised the point of consensus she was talked down, mostly by me, and had to throw her hands up and ask someone else to speak for her. . . . After a while, whenever anybody said anything it usually was a rehash of what had already been said. The discussion got so emotional, I thought a few persons were going to lose their tempers, but no one did. At 11:00 a.m. Duke, Ben and I finally pulled the walkout because we were disgusted and ready for a break. . . . Later, various members tried to rebuke us for leaving, but since Irv (the trainer) had said it was O.K., I don't care what they think. I wish we could get more concrete problems to work on, but I guess this is not the purpose of the class. We will see what happens when we resume again. (Hank)

One interesting speculation concerning the walkout was to see it as an organized effort to control the class.

I believe the observer called the shot correctly when he said that the walkers were trying to force the class to end the discussion. . . . The same feeling hit me—but it appears now that this effort has failed. Their leader, Dave alias Duke, is a person with a strong self-concept. A direct approach to him is not likely to work. A nondirective approach must be used. I hope to be able to try this shortly—to feed back to him his statements and to draw him out further. (Don)

Morale appeared to be deteriorating; some feelings of despair were openly expressed.

I am completely unnerved today! . . . I cannot remember a situation that was more uncomfortable for me than this one. I am sure I have never felt comparable fear and anxiety. . . . The feelings I interpret and nurse are really frightening to me. . . . Of course, the fear comes from my inability to see how to help the situation. . . . I have absolutely no idea as to how we could have resolved our discussion today. We are like 24 people who have been put into a room with extraordinarily complicated equipment—maybe like a physics lab—and are there to operate the equipment without knowing how to turn it on, read the gauges, what the job is, etc. (Beverly)

My impression of our meeting today—confusion, meaningless redundant argument, floundering, lukewarm discussion, pointless talking, and general over-all chaos. (Art)

Psychologically, the walkout was also used to test the trainer's tolerance to let the group shift for itself.

When the eight people walked out for a break, I was one of them. It was a snap decision, based on a frame of mind. I felt the need for a break. But more importantly, I was interested also in seeing what would happen if we pushed Irv a little. I guess he is O.K. He isn't going to be a bear after all. (Pete)

Or put another way,

What an extremely fine line between teaching and "taking over." I'm sure Dr. W. (Irv—brother, what importance this addressing business does have in some people's minds!) has much better judgment than I, but I am very interested in watching to see what he is going to do. (Beverly)

By now, my infrequent "cogent remarks" were consistently ignored or by-passed.

I feel that Dr. Weschler's comments could be pertinent to the growth of our group and invaluable in helping us get a learning experience. Often, however, after he speaks, there is just a great big silent void—a noticeable one to me—then someone quickly shifts to an entirely different topic. (Jean)

One thing that interests me is that Irv was asked to give his impressions and some "food for thought," but after he speaks we don't try to answer his questions. I don't even understand my own reluctance to talk. Is it a defense on my part because I don't want to look at my own reactions? (Dorothy)

The fact that there were people in the group who held strongly opposing viewpoints provided the opportunity to learn how to deal with conflict.

Today I planned to try to see things as Max does so that perhaps I can get to understand him better. He feels that voting is the realistic way of handling a problem; it is the method used in all political, social, and business organizations; we must therefore be realistic in that this is society's method and so it should be ours. . . . Max can't see any value in discussing a situation in which he feels there is no room for argument; he reacts to this by becoming impatient, anxious to change the subject, or is pressed by an overwhelming desire to remove himself from the situation. . . . I don't quite know what to do . . . , but I am glad Max is in our group because I have met people in other situations who have affected me in similar ways. . . . (Marie)

Although the group could have profited greatly from critically looking at its own operations, especially the machinations of some of its members, it appeared quite unready to do so.

I think it's time that we "back off" and see where we stand. Possibly we ought to call in some "outside" help. If we are going to act and function as a group, let's start doing it . . . or is this the "normal" way a group acts? (Dick)

In view of the fact that the observer's report was poorly done, providing no real guidelines for personally oriented discussion, I decided to make some observations of my own. Again, my comments had little, if any, impact, and I felt as if I were speaking merely to keep my own head above water.

If our reaction to Irv's questions remains as it has been, we will avoid trying to find answers to them and continue to discuss topics that are vague and impersonal—just so we don't bring our personal likes and dislikes to the fore. . . . I can't, for example, imagine in my wildest dream our ever answering a query as to "what is the responsibility of the group in finding out people's opinions?" Everybody in our group just wants to express his own opinion—no one is interested in finding out or listening to anyone else's. (Robin)

As the meeting ended, a feeling of distrust and fear pervaded the group. Some members became concerned with their apparent lack of acceptance. For some the danger of being cast outside the group's psychological boundaries was overwhelmingly real.

Is this a typical class? Personally I feel that this is one of those odd things that happen—a group of people who just don't click. . . . I quadrupled the job

ahead of me by my complete engrossment in my own goals and complete lack of awareness of the group goals. . . . I refer to the irritation and, I'm afraid, even hatred that was bred by my recent outbursts. I think the damage was done in those last two days, but I imagine that there has been some negative reaction all the time. . . . My impatience and irritation with our lack of progress was probably taken as a personal insult by the class members. My approach tends to be too final, I guess in the way I say things. . . . I know when we get to the point where we can talk about "what you did to me" my eyes will probably pop out of my head with insight. . . . My strong, strong feelings seem so often to be almost the exact opposite of those of the group. With rapport, group feeling, and warmth around, I wouldn't worry about this, but I don't have a feeling of trust with the group. With my foreignness, standoffishness, emotional outbursts *plus* not being able to agree with so many of the stated views, the cleavage is growing, or will grow, if I don't pretty soon get on the accepted list. (Beverly)

Observer: A week ago, steaming with tension, the group *had* to make a decision. This it did; now it has not only to live with it, but it must take responsibility for the way in which the decision was made. The trainer has seen to it! How?

If we go back to the fourth session, we find that the group was dealing with self-descriptive sketches, which were to push it into areas of emotional tension demanding some form of resolution in the group setting. Formal organization of the group in the guise of a moderator, recorder, and observer was the answer. This decision came into being via an aggressive, authoritarian act—a "railroaded" vote. In one fell swoop, the group had filled the void created by the trainer's abdication of power. For the moment the group's concern was obscured by the relief associated with the fact that at long last a decision had been made.

At the outset of the fifth meeting, an event occurred which had considerable influence upon what the group now experienced. The trainer had written "observer," "moderator," and "recorder" on the blackboard. The group was to be held to its decision! The fact that a film ("Eye of the Beholder") was interposed between this event and the selection of the moderator, observer, and recorder tended to sidetrack the group. Thus, the background. Thus, the new tension.

As things start, the group presents a portrait of apathy. It goes through the motions of finding a moderator; discussion of consensus is academic and stilted; members raise their hand when they wish to speak. Although they begin to call the trainer by his first name, it seems more a concession to his wishes than a comfortable mode of address.

The group had wanted formal structure—now it has it! What to do with it? After about an hour, we see an exercise in mass frustration.

The moderator is moderating, the recorder is recording, and the observer is observing. Everything is neat, orderly—and a crashing bore. But underneath the apathy there is seething tension—all the potential for a chaotic outbreak.

Suddenly the walkout takes place. Another impulsive and regressive act—another instance of coping with tension by adopting an acting-out pattern of behavior. By its very nature this departure signals anger, disgust, and frustration. In the context of the inertia which overcame the group this represents emotion come to the surface. The group is now forced to confront its failure to build an artificial structure to fill the leadership vacuum. The members begin to realize that if their problems are to be solved, they will have to act by themselves.

First, however, the group must retreat to an earlier line of defense. Any attempts to have the trainer release it from the responsibility of finding its own way are no longer acceptable. Here then, in this ostensibly negative act, we observe the first real hint of future possibilities for growth and more mature behavior. In its own way the walkout tends to crystallize the problems of the group. Inwardly, the pessimism and despair that many of the group members feel can be compared to sulfur and molasses—it tastes horrible but has beneficial effects.

February 28 (Seventh Meeting): Organizing the "Guinea Pigs"

Daily volume = 1.9% (very low)

E.I. = 1.2 (very low)

S.I. = .8 (very high)

The initial phase of the group's development was rapidly coming to an end. During the first hour, everyone took the California Psychological Inventory, part of the test battery designed to assess the impact of sensitivity training. Most students are test-conditioned and take them as a matter of course, but there were exceptions.

We had our first bug-doctor test today. Four hundred and some questions to do as fast as we could read. Trouble with these tests is the psychology background I have interferes with a true answer. (Duke)

During the second hour, we proceeded to organize the small-group projects. I listed four acceptable topic areas, all very broadly defined: (a) the introduction of change, (b) leader selection and management development, (c) problems in improving group effectiveness, and (d)

methods for evaluating group effectiveness. The students could form their own groups as they saw fit, as long as each group contained either four or five members.

Mr. Weschler made a diagram on the blackboard, designating where people interested in a given topic could meet. He then asked whether we thought that we should allocate ourselves first by a show of hands on each project to keep the groups equal, or whether we should just go to the designated topic area. It was interesting to see that the consensus compromise was 100% for just going to the area. (Bob)

I must say that there was and still is some confusion in my mind as to just what Dr. Weschler wants us to accomplish in our group project. I have glanced at several projects from past semesters but I understand that ours is to differ. I guess this will all clear up as we go along. (Lew)

Observer: This session was devoted to research and to the formal organization of small-group projects. There was little in the way of group interaction. The problems of the group were underground for the moment. In an indirect way, the trainer made it clear that these group projects were very important to him. If the group had any reaction to this, there was no opportunity to express it.

The problem of doing research on the training process is worthy of some consideration. One of the most significant effects was to arouse resentment in the trainees by making them feel like "guinea pigs." The idealized atmosphere of permissiveness and acceptance was jarred by the introduction of materials which led group members to feel manipulated into activities remote from immediate concerns. Thus the urgency of the group's need for coming to grips with tensions was watered down, and emergent patterns and rhythms were disrupted. Although the group may already have been "test-conditioned," it was now introduced to the idea that science must be served first. The cost of this in terms of unresolved tensions and frustration might become too great.

March 1 (Eighth Meeting): Fear of Feelings

Daily volume = 3.8% (high)

E.I. = 1.8 (average)

S.I. = .5 (average)

At the beginning of the hour I asked each member of the group to indicate by secret ballot, first, whom he knew best, second, whom he understood best, and finally, whom he understood least.

Our first activity was just what the doctor ordered. I wonder if Irv thought this up to help us out with our troubles or if it is just one in a series of activities that happened to fall on today. It was a very effective tool to get us down where we were "forced" to say names out loud. This is really the first time that we have been able to refer to people with any ease. (Beverly)

As tabulated on the blackboard, fifteen people were chosen as "known best," and twelve as "understood best," with Beverly receiving six votes. Eight people were seen as "understood least," with Ben receiving six votes and Max, one of the more vocal members, receiving four votes. Beverly was amazed that people thought they understood her most.

It is difficult for me to put my finger on why I feel so good today, but before our break today I had the most secure feeling I have ever felt in this group. As the class talked about me I was relieved, surprised—in fact, amazed—to see that they could discuss me. We were on a real high plane of personal discussion. (Beverly)

Max's reaction was less favorable.

The fact that I picked up show money in the "understood least" category, with four bettors pulling for me, was a great blow. Here I had been rolling along, adding my limited knowledge to the class and then this blow—what a fate! As I write this—some eight hours later—I am still totally amazed. Here just a few weeks ago I walk into class, not knowing any of the twenty-three others, and now I hear such comments about myself as "you speak in circles," "you are not sure of yourself," "we can't figure you out," and the like. . . . As the discussion gets personal, people are taking sides on a number of controversial topics. . . . Beverly figures to become another Eleanor Roosevelt at the rate she is going. And in the midst of all this, Dr. Weschler just sits, smiles and writes. (Max)

Ben was not surprised at having been chosen "least understood" because he hadn't spoken a word before this.

No one can understand me because they don't know what I am thinking. . . . When Irv was asked whether he also understood me least, he said he thought he understood me well. This surprised me no end. . . . All in all, it was quite amusing, to say the least. (Ben)

Some speculation focused on people who received no choices at all. One of the persons talked about recognized his own defensiveness.

Could it be that I am shielding myself in the group in such a way that no one present can get to know or understand me? . . . I think I will try to give more of myself to the group and see what effect it has on their getting to know me. . . . I am beginning to realize now that I could be doing much that is constructive in the group process. (Pete)

After the break, Lew called the group to order, determined to continue the discussion at a personal "gut-level." He sharply asked Bob why he

felt that he understood him least, next Ben why he never saw fit to say anything in class.

Ben stated that he did not feel motivated. . . . After some people had protested that the discussion was getting too personal, I asked Duke why he got so emotional when he spoke. . . . By the end of the period I felt that I had antagonized more people than in all the other meetings put together. I did, however, feel that I had implanted an idea I hope will grow. Perhaps my method was wrong. Some said I was attacking Mike, Ben or Duke. Others said that we do not have the tools needed to analyze personalities. . . . I feel I did not put my point across as effectively as I might have but I am hoping for some help from a few of the people who agree with me in principle. (Lew)

In spite of his good intentions, Lew's determination to have everyone reveal his personal feelings had a traumatizing impact on the group. The discussion became extremely heated and inflamed those who felt that getting personal can be dangerous and, in the wrong hands, can do irreparable damage to people.

It seems that as the discussion got underway, the group forgot they were dealing with individuals and discussed the members as though they were inanimate objects. This I consider most unfair. . . . What is to be gained by suddenly stripping an individual of his defenses, without giving him a new way of responding so he won't feel the need to erect new ones or disrupt the group all over again. Singling him out and spotlighting his weaknesses or failures, I am sure, won't help him feel more secure or help him change his attitudes and behavior. It seems we need something better than the floundering approach used thus far. (Frances)

It is interesting that some people felt obliged to defend others who were not concerned about defending themselves.

Some of these guys such as Lew and Al really turn my stomach. They all jumped on Ben for not talking. They were reading all kinds of things into his nonparticipation in class. . . . I feel just like Ben; most of the time the discussions haven't been worth taking part in. . . . I would have laughed at some of these wise guys if they had hopped on me. . . . I wonder if they are just talking to appear to Irv as though they were working. Most of their remarks are just rehash of what someone else has already said before. . . . I don't think we should ever get so personal again because before too long there are liable to be some pretty nasty remarks flying around. (Hank)

Following the break, I experienced a most uncomfortable period. . . . Lew seems to be the "needler" type. . . . He kept hammering away with little side remarks, first at Ben and later at Duke—asking him why his face became red when spoken to. . . . I am certain I was not the only person who felt extremely embarrassed for all parties involved. My face often colors when I least expect or want it to, and I know I would have been completely on the defensive had he called on me rather than Duke. (Jean)

For some people, the heated, personal discussion was still too tepid.

Several members of the class are really beginning to irritate me. They are aware of what needs to be done, but want to avoid it. I am getting tired of incessantly talking and having no feedback, no idea of what sort of impact, if any, I am having on the class. Half the reason I talk so much is because I like to experiment, but hell—there is no reaction! These people yacking about not knowing what we are doing are just plain *scared*. . . . Now, if ever, is the time for sticking our necks out and learning to test new ideas! (Red)

Red appears quite correct in his observations—some people were scared, perhaps more now than ever before in a class situation.

I am really amazed at the amount of pure fright that I seem to see in this class. Why am I so surprised that they are as scared as I think they are? I guess last week I thought I was the only one, but now I see in these men a basic fear of each other. Is it there, or am I all wet? (Beverly)

Observer: Thus far the “railroaded” vote and the walkout have been key events in the group’s life. These comprise one aspect of the developing mythology in the group. Another aspect of the mythology is also gaining new roots. For the eighth straight session, the trainer started the proceedings by presenting the group with a task. As has already been stated, his feeling was that he could serve best by being the devil’s advocate, creating tension and forcing the trainees to confront their emotions. As a trainer, he assessed his effectiveness in terms of his ability to arouse feelings with which the group would have to deal in order to grow. His worst fear was that the group might stagnate in a morass of intellectualism. From previous experience he knew that groups tend to avoid the interpersonal aspects of their membership experience if they can, their premise being that tension is painful, has no positive prospects, and is best avoided. Whatever his personal reasons, his role of provocateur was characteristic of his rather firmly established training technique.

For the group members, the problem was not only one of coming to grips with their own internal processes, but also of clarifying their reaction to the tensions specifically created by the trainer. Thus far, they had devised two techniques for that purpose—the authoritarian powerplay and the negativistic withdrawal. In effect the group had found the best way to resolve its tension was to resort to a distinctive “fight-flight” behavior, which was justified on the ground that it fell within the prerogatives permitted in a democratic framework.

The trainer focused now on two matters—a stronger process orientation and, something new, helping the group to face its responsibility

toward the nonparticipant members. On the first count, the trainer's effort proved to be successful. The group began to talk of its fear of being "personal." For the first time, the *fear of feeling* was patently in the spotlight. The ability of the group members to discuss their fears gave them a feeling of closeness and agreement. "Personal feelings" were now in the open. Heretofore their fear of aimlessness and the absence of boundaries had led to a search for structure. Now their concern became one of handling feelings of closeness and intimacy. Sandwiched in between these two problem areas, but touching each, was the question of how the group felt about the trainer as a person. This area remained untouched.

March 6 (Ninth Meeting): "To Hell with Irv"

Daily volume = 3.15% (low)

E.I. = 1.4 (very low)

S.I. = .4 (low)

At the beginning of the period, I asked each person to fill out a short questionnaire containing thirty-two items taken from a typical personality inventory. Then they were asked to take the questionnaire again, this time, however, as they thought Beverly had responded to it. I chose Beverly because at the period before she had been selected as the person the class "understood best." When these responses were compared to Beverly's, it turned out that Ben—the person chosen as "least understood"—was most accurate in predicting Beverly's reactions. Although most members appeared interested in the proceedings, some resentment was brewing underneath the surface.

Today we got a guinea pig to evaluate in one Beverly. . . . I cringe whenever these psychological papers are being passed out. We discovered that few of us were truly able to evaluate Beverly, but what surprised me was her own lack of knowing herself. My buddy, Ben, rated the highest. Immediately the pseudo-psychiatrists in the class jumped into the act and began studying him. It seems to me you can't even breathe without some idiot investigating why you do it. I am rapidly developing a temper restraint in this group lest I smash a few people in an emotional outburst. (Duke)

After the experiment, which to many may well have been personally too threatening, the group floundered at length, seemingly searching for clearer goals to justify its actions. Boredom, frustration, apathy, and irritation were the order of the day.

This is the fifth week of the semester, and we are apparently no further along than we were at the beginning. I don't believe this is due to the fact that we are not reading enough. It must be something much more complicated. (Marie)

I'm afraid my reaction is despair bordering on disgust. . . . I am so impatient because I was so fired up for this experience which I have wanted for years. . . . Here we sit! Isn't it too bad that the chocolate soda for which one waits three sizzling days while camping on the desert never tastes as good as one expected. . . . Maybe I am learning, but I hate to see those golden opportunities pass by. (Beverly)

As the meeting deteriorated, it became obvious to some that the group was failing to deal with the real issues that were preventing its progress. One of these concerned my failure to help when my help—or anybody's help—was so manifestly needed.

I wish the instructor would step in, clarify what has been going on and give the group some leads as to why, how and where we are being blocked. Perhaps we could then go on and work out ways for handling these stumbling blocks. . . . We need an experienced leader to help us get going! (Frances)

At this stage I question the value of letting the class flounder to the point of frustration which I think we are reaching. . . . I wouldn't have the nerve to lose a class as much as I think this class is lost. I keep thinking we have gone beyond the point of being able to pull ourselves back to a unit by the end of the semester. . . . If I were in Irv's place I would have started working on unity about three periods ago. . . . Does Irv have faith that we will become a group before the semester ends? Does the class development have bearing on what he does, or is the time element his main guide? I wonder. (Beverly)

At one point, while the discussion dealt with "feedback," Don asked me to define the meaning of the term. Before a reply was possible, Red burst out with the comment, "To hell with Irv"—followed first by stunned silence, then by uproarious laughter. This remark had a tremendous impact on the group, perhaps because here the authority figure was for the first time openly challenged. To some people, using the trainer as a "crutch" appeared admitting defeat.

I am very happy that Red said, "To hell with Irv." I like Irv, but I want to have the class stand on its own two feet. He may be a help, but he is also somewhat of a detriment. (Maurice)

Is Irv a crutch? If we are to consider Irv a member of this group, why shouldn't he be asked for suggestions? I believe if we can clarify his role, more will be accomplished later. (Ben)

Red's challenge of the trainer role represented one form of "testing the limits" of how far it was safe to go.

The best thing that happened to date in all our sessions was Red's coming out with "To hell with Irv." . . . To me this was one of the first progressive steps we have made. It showed complete confidence, freedom of expression, and placed the issue squarely. I think we are still trying to keep Irv in somewhat of an authoritarian role, and our problem is to determine how much freedom we are able to exert with regard to him. (Larry)

There are still many people who fear Irv as a figure of authority. Red does not, or his "To hell with Irv" would not have slipped out so easily. This remark made a terrific reaction in the class, probably because some were deeply touched due to their fear of authority, others because of their concern for grades, and still others because they were afraid that Irv might be offended. (Marie)

In my closing comments—lately, somewhat to my own surprise, offered as a matter of routine—I asked the group to focus on me as a possible source of difficulty.

Irv might be an obstacle; however, he does not seem to be so to me at least. Someday it might be interesting if he were not to show up for class! I wonder what would happen. (Dick)

Observer: This meeting featured the "ritual slaying of the father." This symbolic act—embodied in "To hell with Irv"—represented an effort at resolving a major group dilemma, thereby allowing it to turn to other matters pertinent to its own development. In this group the demise of the trainer as the "bad father" could hardly have occurred in any other way. Symbolically, one could not have wished for a better study in contrasts. The "good mother" (Beverly) has already been associated with the resolution of tension within the group (the "railroaded" vote). The "good mother" relieves it. The "bad father" is a person who creates tension. The trainer is the one "understood least." The "good mother" is the person who is "understood best."

The group has been looking to the trainer for help. He, however, has made it clear that the group will have to develop methods and attitudes of its own which will enable it to resolve difficulties. Thus the group is disappointed with the trainer. The members show this through fear, disillusionment, and anger. They fear him because he holds power of retribution (grading); their disillusionment is traceable to his abdication of the usual teacher role, thus leaving them in a state of conflict; and in their anger they are able to project their own feelings onto a suitable frustrating figure. Making the trainer the target of their feelings, they in fact assert their own desire for independence. The exclamation, "To hell with Irv," represents a brash attempt to cut the silver

cord. The fact that the trainer helped them to make this choice by his behavior remains hidden from their awareness.

March 8 (Tenth Meeting): The Search for the Hidden Agenda

Daily volume = 3.7% (high)
E.I. = 1.8 (average)
S.I. = .7 (high)

The billing for this meeting might well be "The Search for the Hidden Agenda." At Art's suggestion, we all wrote on slips of paper what we thought the biggest problems of the group were. This survey brought forth many areas of concern, including participation, poor communications, the trainer role, and the lack of permissive atmosphere.

The results of this survey made me feel good inside, inasmuch as my opinions were somewhat expressed by not one, but almost every member of the class. Realizing what our problems were, we set to work on them and actually came to a few concrete realizations as to what we had been doing wrong. (Art)

A general feeling of accomplishment seemed to prevail. This was partly due to the success the group had in identifying for itself some of the tools needed to increase its productivity and to make it possible for people to contribute at their maximum potential. These tools included, first, consideration for the other person's feelings; second, an evaluative frame of mind toward ideas, but not toward people; and third, active help for those who found it difficult to participate unless assistance was offered. The plight of some of the nonparticipants was clearly brought out in the discussion.

I want to participate, and I am interested. Usually I talk a great deal, but not here. Today's session was certainly interesting, and yet I still didn't take part in the discussion. I had things to say, yet they were said by others. . . . Why didn't I speak up, and why was I content to sit and let others express my thoughts? I guess I will have to sit down by myself and analyze it; right now I have discovered the biggest problem to date was me. (Art)

I don't feel I have enough confidence within myself or the class in me so that what I say will be looked upon as important. There have been prior sessions where I have either been cut off or where my opinions have been merely disregarded; as a result I have tended to withdraw. I am hoping that the things we talked about today will have the effect of bringing others like myself into the group. (Larry)

The highlight of the session was a long and animated exchange between Red and Beverly on the subject of "attacking." After much to-and-fro, with both explaining their concepts of "putting a person on the spot" and "what it means to be defensive," a definite meeting of the minds could be sensed.

Red was able to listen and understand Beverly's viewpoint, and she in turn his. Whether or not they agreed is immaterial, but the fact is that they were able to come to some common understanding. This to me is the essential element of what we as a group have been striving for. (Larry)

In this exchange, Beverly seemed to become aware of some of her own shortcomings.

Beverly asked the class to help her recognize when she may be monopolizing the conversation while a more reticent member is waiting to speak. . . . Group awareness—being cognizant of each and every member in the class—is a big order, but I feel that through exchanges such as we have aired today, many grievances are brought out and much is said that needs to be said before we can progress. (Jean)

In spite of the excellent climate in the group, some people still found it impossible to participate effectively. One member projected her difficulties onto the group; another looked within herself.

Out here, people are too occupied with their own thoughts to try to listen to and understand other people's feelings. Consequently the world is what it is and our group is what it is—full of nothing but a lot of wind and platitude. (Robin)

Today out of curiosity I tabulated the number of times I opened my mouth to speak. It was twelve times. Four times I did manage to break through, but then the spontaneity and clearness of my thoughts were lost, and my remarks either fell flat for lack of completeness or they were overshadowed by a tone of harshness and bluntness which I really didn't feel or wish to convey. . . . I am not resentful that I was deliberately cut off, more resigned I guess. . . . I felt that the other members were more enthusiastic in their thinking and talking, and had just as much, if not more, right to hold the floor, especially since they came out with good, constructive remarks. This probably tags me as a person who is willing to let the other fellow carry the ball. This is probably true, especially in those areas where I feel I am not at ease. (Frances)

Some of the so-called "hidden agenda" remained hidden. One of these concerned what one member interpreted as a slur on his religion.

I am unhappy about two of my small-group members, but I don't dare say anything because we have to work together. They made some slur that I felt was in poor taste. I don't know if they were joking or serious, though the books seem to feel that joking always hides an ulterior motive. . . . If I had made a rebuke

it might have cleared the air. Still it was a religious slur which affects me quite deeply. I don't know if they are aware of my being Jewish, but I felt they were ridiculing my outmoded Jewish accent. I am not a religious person, but I am deeply proud of my ethnic heritage. I intend to speak up if they say it again, but I hope it does not upset our balance for the small-group project. (Maurice)

As people became aware that changes in their behavior could lead to greater effectiveness, they began to experiment with new roles.

Today I stayed in there pitching and gave quite a little dissertation. If an observer had clocked the minutes, I imagine I would have had the longest single time. . . . Does a person have a right to take over a group like that? How can I decide when to talk and when to keep quiet? I talked too much, I'm sure, at times, but at other times I would clam up completely. As Max said today—that is the way with Beverly, she either says something or else she withdraws entirely. . . . I must work on guidelines on how much to talk or not to talk. (Beverly)

I am trying not to talk so much. I have now come to the point where I feel the best role I could assume for myself and for the benefit of the class is to keep quiet. I would like to hear a few of the others express their opinions, but it seems that once one starts speaking in the group it is just as hard to stop as it is to start. (Lew)

I have been sniping at people who demand to know what to do. Yet I wish I could do something other than beat around the bush. I sometimes feel the urge to just jump into the discussion with "fangs bared." A crude way to get action, but it might work. . . . There are several people in our group who are more worried about pacifying others than getting at the emotional level where we might get something out of them. If I were really good, I could do something to help. Maybe in another day or so I will be goaded into something—probably blundering. Time alone will tell! (Red)

One of the common problems facing the trainer is to decide when to give forthright answers to the many questions he is asked. The line between appearing helpful and interested and seeming coy and manipulative is very tenuous. As of this writing, I am still not clear what the guidelines are. I think it is impossible for the trainer ever to become a regular member of the group, but it may well be that a frank admission of his own concerns about the group and its progress might help facilitate the process. In this particular instance, my failure to reply directly to a pointed question led to considerable resentment.

When Irv was asked a question and he again refused to answer, Bob became angry. So did I. Why shouldn't Irv answer a question directed to him if he wants to be accepted as a member of the group like the rest of us? (Ben)

My unwillingness to share my feelings with the group led many members to repay me in kind.

I have been wondering from time to time what happens to the guides that Irv presents to us. I feel they do serve a purpose and yet we always reject them. Could it be that we are rejecting Irv also? (Larry)

Observer: The above account makes it appear that the tenth meeting was different from all those preceding it in that the trainer did not inaugurate the activity. This was not the case! The trainer started the session by giving a résumé of the previous meeting in which he assuaged any guilt the group may have felt in attacking him. He raised the question of dissatisfaction with the training and encouraged those who had negative feelings to express them. He focused on his own role, noting that his behavior seemed to affect the way the group functioned. Perhaps of most interest in terms of a discrepancy in the trainer's recollection of what happened was the fact that it was he, not Art, who asked the group to write down what they thought their major problems were. Thus, the pattern of the group remained unchanged. Trainer-initiated activity continued to be the opening pattern for each meeting.

Participation increased. The atmosphere was clearly different from prior sessions. Somehow the group was more concerned with the way it was doing things (process) than with merely what was being said and done (content). The trainer was clearly and easily a subject of group concern, and his actions were confronted in a more direct manner. The interchange between Red and Beverly on the subject of "attacking" reflected the problem of what to do about aggressive and hostile feelings. The members were testing how far they might safely go in expressing feelings of all kinds. Despite the overt freedom of expression, there was considerable uncertainty about the validity and usefulness of expressing feelings. Some for whom feelings continued to be frightening abstained from active participation.

Those who were more active found in the nonparticipants a source of uneasiness, perhaps even guilt. When the trainer made participation an issue, the "ball-carriers" seemed to feel attacked and rejected. They felt pressed, and perhaps they were. By his probing, the trainer continued to be a problem for the group. In the previous session, the group had asserted its desire for independence and self-determination. The members were apparently ready to live with the guilt associated with the ritual destruction of the trainer. But the trainer's unconscious need to lead the group along his way took the form of actions designed to relieve them of guilt over their hostile act. By remaining active, he meant to allay their fears but in fact asserted his strength and denied them responsibility.

Much as individuals in their development tend to fixate at some specific conflict level, this group in its struggle with the trainer has come to a point of no return. He has led the members quickly into areas heretofore rarely penetrated in their previous experience. They followed—willingly or unwillingly—because this seemed to offer a promise of safety. They needed security, protection, and guidance. They were forced to project these qualities onto the trainer in order to compensate for lack of these in themselves. In the trainer, they manufactured a deity in whom they could not tolerate evidence of human limitation. Human, he was; a deity, he was not!

March 13 (Eleventh Meeting): The Emergence of Duke

Daily volume = 4.4% (very high)

E.I. = 1.6 (low)

S.I. = .5 (average)

Another slow starting period—again lots of hedging. Those who wanted to talk about the trainer role couldn't seem to find the right opening.

Today I thought we were finally getting close to it! . . . What is "it"? Irv, of course, and the part he is playing. . . . Look what his opening comment did today. The silence which followed was deafening. Why? . . . It appears that his comments carry quite an impact on the group. I have the feeling that many are holding back from saying how they really look at Irv. Although they want the class to believe that they mean what they say, they sure are careful in the way they go about saying it. (Dick)

Everyone seemed to define the trainer role differently. A number of people were obviously bothered by me; those who felt unconcerned were therefore first to talk.

It disturbs me that Irv's role is such a problem to so many, for I myself am not bothered by it. I feel the real difficulty hinges on grades. Until this problem is ironed out, we are going to be up against a wall. . . . To me Irv's role is one of guidance rather than authority. I feel this when he interjects his observations, makes his summary of what has taken place, and teases us with provokers, such as "What is sensitivity?" . . . I find myself quite comfortable in his presence; even his note-taking appears to me to be only observing of what is taking place so that he can later better bring it to our attention, for either acceptance or rejection. . . . Many of the people here must feel that he is making personal evaluations of them when they speak (which might be) and this tends to have a disturbing effect on them. (Larry)

To me, Irv is a promoter who never seems to object to anything we do. As a result, there is no problem for me, but evidently there are other influences which people seem to believe he exerts over the group. (Art)

Irv's presence is not an inhibiting factor—this was proved during recess. I noticed a fairly large group had congregated in a close, informal circle and were actively expressing all sorts of thoughts and feelings not brought out in the round-table discussion. Irv was listening in on the sidelines. Everyone seemed completely unmindful of his presence and said whatever they wanted to in a much less stilted fashion. (Frances)

By now we appeared to be divided into three distinct subgroups—those who were pressuring to face the crucial issues, the “hidden agenda,” including the trainer role; those who were openly fighting this type of discussion; and, finally, those who preferred to observe from the sidelines, seemingly too fearful to get involved openly.

By now, Irv's “defenders” made further discussion of his role difficult by implying that anyone seeing him as a threat was either insecure or silly. . . . If we discuss his role once more, I am going to leave. I am sick of it! The same people who play along with Irv continue to speak, and I refuse to enter into this whitewash. . . . Some moron said he wasn't interested in a grade. This to me is the height of a lie—the same lie over and over again. (Duke)

Out of a clear sky, Duke suddenly demanded that the group do something “more practical.” Outside the class, he had prepared a set of role-evaluation sheets which he now passed out to the group. This inventory was based on Benne's and Sheats' role analysis,¹⁰ and required the members to list names for each of the roles that were described. His manner appeared brusque, but self-assured.

Today I brought my personal answer to the screams of those demanding adequate feedback. I waited till what I thought was the opportune time to spring it, and when I did, the class grabbed it up. Some, notably the women, applauded my efforts. Did I get embarrassed! (Duke)

Before the group could act, a few members objected to the procedure. Duke's motives were also questioned.

Red immediately took on his “mightier-than-thou” role and questioned my motives. It took all the restraint I had to keep from hitting that Alf Landon in the chops! (Duke)

Some recognized Duke's effort as a sincere attempt to help the class.

I was completely amazed to find someone going out of his way to do something for us. The fact that it was Duke was even more surprising. In the back of my

¹⁰ For a listing of these roles, see, for example, “Spotlight on Member Roles,” *Adult Leadership*, January, 1953.

mind the thought arose first that this was Irv's idea, with Duke being the "front," and second that Duke had talked to Irv about this before presenting it to the class. . . . It seemed that everyone except a few wanted to fill out these forms. . . . This was a tool. What did we have to lose? . . . Red, though I think he is a swell guy, threw the big monkey wrench into the operation by being quite noisy in his objections. Frances took a narrow view, and so did Robin and, to some extent, Beverly. What in hell are these girls afraid of? Do they think the class doesn't understand them and will give them too much criticism? Or are they so sensitive to people's feelings that they don't want anybody to get hurt? . . . In either case, we must have the opportunity to get things out into the open. (Maurice)

Here finally was the first tangible effort on the part of a group member to do something for us. Was it accepted right off? Of course not. . . . We have to waste an hour talking about why people want to accept it. . . . Here, in my opinion is what is wrong with our class—we can't talk about anything except to talk about talking. I am sure if the world were made up of guys like Red and girls like Beverly, there never would have been jets! I felt like a volcano ready to erupt. . . . We finally decided by majority to fill the evaluation forms out at home in order "not to waste the class's time"! (Max)

Some thought Duke had shown real initiative, others were happy that now at last the class had something concrete to work on, while a few regretted that the discussion of the trainer role was so abruptly cut off.

Red hit the nail on the head when he wanted the class to explain why they were so happy to change the subject. Everyone seemed greatly relieved when Duke passed his forms out. . . . I am sure we haven't heard the last of this. (Dick)

Nondirective counseling was one of the skills that some experimented with during the discussion.

Today I was trying to encourage a person who does not often participate. I tried indirect counseling on Larry by asking him, "What do you mean by your last statement?" He then clarified and expanded his answers. I also asked Pete a similar question which he answered and expanded on. It was extremely interesting to see that these methods that Irv talked about actually do work. (Lew)

I have been very curious about where this nondirective counseling fits into the picture. I am surprised it is turned loose on a group like this. At first, my reaction was that lay people have no business trying to counsel. Yet, with all the reading and the reinforcement given by Irv, I am becoming more aware of its possible use. I guess I'll try some of it myself. This is completely new to me—using counseling techniques to become an effective member of a group! Seems dangerous—but very logical, as far as improving communications and empathy are concerned. (Beverly)

A few minutes before the end of the meeting some revealing remarks

concerning the trainer were made once more. Al admitted that he talked only when he thought he had something to say which "Irv wanted to hear."

The statement was made by Al so late in the game that no further discussion could take place. However, I am sure he is looking to help his grade. . . . I guess there are others who act the same way. Here at UCLA, the motto still is "The God-Almighty Grade." (Don)

Observer: In opening this session the trainer again pointed out the problematical nature of his role. The first reactive silence was followed by an attempt to cope with this now persistent problem.

Contents of the diaries differ about what actually took place in the group. Perhaps the most characteristic remark was that of one member who felt the trainer didn't bother the group "too much." Duke's introduction of the role-evaluation scheme reflected his growing annoyance with the emphasis upon the trainer role. Perhaps more than anyone else in the group, he had acute conflicts with authority. He had a fixed view as to how power should be wielded, and tolerated no alternatives in his conception. Any discussion of the trainer would therefore bring to the surface many of the frustrations and resentments in this area of his life. To deal with the trainer was to appease authority, and for Duke the only virtue in appeasing authority—at least in school—was that it sometimes led to a satisfactory grade.

Duke represents the people who come to sensitivity training with the idea that learning about leadership involves nothing more nor less than acquiring self-preservative skills in a world that is clearly a jungle. For individuals like him, sensitivity training creates a serious challenge to a rigid position. People, such as the trainer and members of the group, who adopt a permissive, accepting point of view can only be seen as wishy-washy. For Duke, a comfortable relation with the trainer as authority was clearly inconceivable. He used the trainer as a target for his pent-up feelings toward those in positions of power.

In opposing the resolution of the trainer problem, Duke in turn becomes a problem, not only to the group and to himself, but to the trainer as well. The truth about Duke may well be that, much as he fears change in himself or in others, he is dimly aware that new vistas might be beneficial. First, though, he must fight! In the process he prevents the group from solving a problem that is pertinent to its further development, thereby making his cause now the primary issue. He is extremely influential in the sense that he keeps the group on primitive levels. In displacing the trainer as the focus of attention, he raises the

crucial question of whether a group can be effective if the inhibiting influence of recalcitrants is allowed to be pervasive.

The problem of authority is now focused on the person of Duke. Duke has challenged the trainer to mortal combat. The other members, in turn, become spectators in this power struggle.

This is clearly a trainer-induced dilemma. It is a product of the trainer's need to be a central figure who is beloved, admired, and respected. It is also a product of the kind of situation in which the expectations of the trainer come to be seen by him as necessary occurrences. In this instance, the trainer believes that his role must be a problem for the group. The difficulty arises when he encounters his own resistance to having the problematical nature of his role resolved in any way other than what he would like.

Duke represents a member of the group who is unwilling to carry through on the trainer problem. By becoming the issue, Duke displaces the trainer.

The trainer is now faced with quite a situation. If he takes on Duke, the rest of the group will be neglected. If he gives in to Duke and remains permissive, this will be seen as passive compliance by both Duke and the other members. On the one hand the trainer faces the threat of apathy, and on the other hand he faces chaos. A real impasse has developed. At this juncture, the group seems ready to be bullied—no matter whether it be by a member or by the trainer.

March 15 (Twelfth Meeting): Against the Current

Daily volume = 4.5% (very high)

E.I. = 1.6 (low)

S.I. = .4 (low)

I opened the discussion with a throwback to what I thought had taken place at the end of the last hour. Four problems seemed to me to be important: first, my own role in the class; second, our inability to influence each other or the group; third, our lack of communication skills; and fourth, the existence of a great deal of hostility which wasn't talked about openly. With reference to my own role, I tried to get the group to discuss what I might do to help.

At last, for the first time, Irv was speaking on a personal level. He "lowered" himself to the position of a person of flesh and blood who wanted *our* advice and help. This made the group listen much better to his remarks and understand him better. (Maurice)

When the trainer abdicates his authority, his later influence efforts are usually marked by some futility. The difficulties which I was experiencing were strongly felt by others with similar problems.

I am amazed to realize just how much and how deeply Irv feels rejected. I have been aware all along, however, why he should feel this way—there are plenty of obvious reasons for it. I thought he possessed some type of armor to protect him, just because he is the instructor. I can now see that this is a silly supposition to make. . . . When I finally realized it, I felt terrible mainly because I was sure I had more sensitivity to others' feelings. To make the situation worse, Lew and Duke were cold and cutting in their remarks about Irv's request for help. I don't know what it is going to take to get us to work together as a group. We seem to have such strong, unrelenting characters that this time I feel it is almost hopeless. (Beverly)

Those who were not concerned with the trainer role again became angry and tried everything in their power to have the topic changed.

Well, I just about walked out. Irv's role again. Some people just have sawdust for brains. I don't know what Irv is trying to do, but from appearances I think he tends to be a self-centered egotist! (Duke)

Poor Dr. Weschler—he looks as if he is never going to have his problem solved or his role determined. . . . The question was considered of recognized importance to some and of no importance to others. (Robin)

One possible explanation for the difficulties surrounding the trainer role concerns the group's inability to use the freedom which the abdication of his authority has provided for them. As a member of another group once put it: "Freedom is something you have to acquire a taste for. It's just like Scotch—you give a person a fifth, and, at the end of the month, half of it will be left over. On the other hand, give him a shot on Monday, two on Tuesday, and so on, and by Saturday the bottle will be gone and he will be begging for more." Along this vein, one member described the situation somewhat poetically as follows:

From the very first day, we were led to believe that we could do what we wanted with the class. . . . The effect of this freedom from direct supervision was startling. It reminded me of a group of people walking toward a partially open door, through which rays of sunshine were penetrating darkness. They approach the opening slowly, fearfully, afraid of being confronted by something worse than the confines of darkness in which they have been living. A few rush toward the door—hesitatingly and falteringly but irresistibly. When the door is finally opened all the way, through the combined efforts of the leader and the followers, they find themselves bathed in the sunshine of freedom. Tenaciously they hold on to this newly found freedom—fearing anything that may again acquire the power to force them back into the darkness of submission. . . . I don't want to elucidate any more on this illusion. Dr. Weschler has given

us our freedom, but he also maintains the power to take it away from us. (Robin)

The personal nature of the discussion and the aggressiveness and hostility with which it was carried on had a most incapacitating effect on some. Tension was riding high.

Never have I been as worked up as today. I was hot and cold—my hands and feet were like ice—my heart was palpitating—I thought I was going to have a stroke! I really don't know why. When I asked Russ who was beside me at the break how he felt he indicated he didn't feel anything. I can't account for this. . . . I am so angry, and yet I feel guilty because I look down on the group—no, I get thoroughly irritated with them because I think they are so far off base. My feeling still is, "Those darn fools—why don't they let Irv talk?" I know I should be patient and understanding but I become so intent upon trying to get us going that I suppose I hinder more than I help. Fred gave me a good amount of insight today. He came charging over at break time and said, "Why do you always have to have things go your own way? Don't you think anybody else's opinion is worth anything? Why do you always laugh or put your head in your hands if you don't get your way?" All these things and a couple of more statements like it were forced right at me. When I think about it, it makes a lot of sense. (Beverly)

The hostility in the group has at times made me so uncomfortable that, with external pressures from work and home, I have felt a dread of coming to class. It takes a certain amount of courage and intestinal fortitude to face a hostile group. . . . Is it any wonder that there are days when I feel a much needed rest in bed or at Palm Springs would be so much better than this badgering which gives no indication of anything but "yacking" to hear oneself "yack"! . . . I feel I have matured enough to be able to accept criticism, but I don't think people have a right to "bring down the house," so to speak, on some of the more sensitive members of the class. Perhaps they don't need protection, but they do need a helping hand, a bit more of a permissive attitude. . . . (Jean)

By now, only some of the more verbally facile members were able to get a word in edgewise.

I am beginning to feel that it is difficult for me to influence this group with my ideas. Since I can't seem to influence them they are going to find it doubly hard to influence me. . . . The least I can do, however, is to observe. I thought it was extremely funny the way Red went out on a limb to meet the group and found himself left alone. It reminded me of an episode in *War and Peace*. There a lieutenant grabbed up the standard which had fallen, shouting "follow me," and ran into the enemy. He forgot to look back, and the rest of the men were just standing there watching him go. You can just imagine his surprise when he got there all by himself. . . . Red is in my small group, and I am developing a strong dislike for him. (Pete)

I tried to break in and give support to those who expressed views similar to mine and give opposing comments to those with whom I disagreed, but, as in

most sessions where interest and feelings were high, too many other people had the same need to spout off. Being unable to verbalize my feelings, I was left with bottled up tensions and inner excitement which had to subside in resigned frustration. (Frances)

Once again Duke was able to change the discussion from one concerning the trainer role to one dealing with the role-evaluation sheets which he had prepared.

We finally got off the trainer-role bender. . . . Through "railroad tactics" some of the role-sheet supporters got the group to use them and tabulate the results. . . . Seeing the contrasting roles for each of us proved to me my point for making the sheet—we do make spot evaluations. Some people thanked me for doing it, while others, whom I overheard, were condemning it. Of course they stopped talking about me when I appeared—the two-faced bastards. I again left the class with the question "Why?" (Duke)

This time the opposition to Duke's experiment was unable to prevent its progress.

I was scared to death what effect this experiment was going to have on the group. Marie and I were both trying to explain to Fred why we didn't think the group was ready for such a pointed approach. . . . I was afraid someone would be hurt—temporarily destroyed by the group. . . . Incidentally, Fred just laughed at us. He said that everybody in the class was ready to take it, at least on the outside—if not on the inside. It wasn't important to him that we were getting to the inside too. Perhaps I am magnifying things—as usual. (Beverly)

Although the discussion on the role-taking poll appeared disorganized and confused, the specific results had a deep impact.

Of 25 possible roles listed I made almost half—an even dozen to be exact. Two roles seemed most dominant, with "pusher" receiving six votes and "dominator" finishing close behind with five. Other roles receiving more than one vote were "mover" and "blocker"—three each; "recognition-seeker," "aggressor," and "irritant" caught a pair. One person tabbed me as each of the following—"organizer," "director," "supporter," and "instigator." . . . When I think of these roles I have to ask myself, am I really that negative? . . . I am unable to arrive at an unbiased answer, but I have decided to try an experiment during the next two meetings. I am going to try not to "toe-step." It will be tough, but I'll try! (Max)

I noticed that many people put me down as "blocker," "irritant," and "aggressor." The "aggressor" is probably a result of the role I played when I went after people in order to get the discussion on a personal level. . . . Some people saw me as "idea innovator," "supporter," or "acceptor." There were a great number of different descriptions of me. I do believe that I have contributed somewhat to the group process by the roles I undertook. Although I was somewhat a failure when I let my emotions show, I now realize what I must try to

remedy in the future. I shall have to listen more and speak less. Interestingly, when I spoke to Irv during the break he said exactly the same. . . . I wish I knew how to shut up. Well, at least I am motivated. (Lew)

Although I consciously tried to let the group do what it wanted to do, I seemed unable to hide my disappointment that the discussion was diverted from the trainer role.

It is interesting to note the apparently negative attitude Dr. Weschler had toward the experiment. It is difficult to say how important this negative attitude was to the success or failure of the experiment—but I am sure that if Duke felt the negative attitude (if there was one), this will seriously affect his attitude toward the class. (Al)

The tabulating of the individual roles produced none of the traumatic effects that some had feared.

No one was singled out as being the cause of the group's ills, as I was afraid might happen. All that concern was for nothing! As a marine friend learned while he was in Japan and still says to me, "Don't sweat, Beverly!" I guess this is my answer. I wish I could stop "sweating"! . . . My first breath of relief was taken when I discovered there were only two who marked me as "irritant." It is really interesting that this poll gave me a warmer feeling toward the group. I felt that I had been much more of a bad influence than good, and this didn't show it to the extent I had pictured it. The eight detrimental votes I received are eight too many, but at least I am not the ogre that I was afraid they thought I was! (Beverly)

Observer: In the previous session, Duke took the play away from the trainer just as the trainer role was about to be crystallized as a focal issue. Duke made it a personal rather than a group issue.

In this session, we get the group's immediate reaction. Heretofore, when the group was angry at the trainer it deflected its anger to one of the members. Now, the group is mad at Duke and so it turns on the trainer, who showed himself weak by allowing Duke to take command.

The trainer opened by suggesting that he himself was a vulnerable human being. At this point, straightforwardness was about the last thing the group could tolerate. By suggesting that his *personality* might be the source of difficulty, the trainer seemed to alter his view that his *role* was the bone of contention. But the trainer's role and his personality are not independent of one another! In giving up this false dichotomy the trainer makes a crucial point—the training experience is an occasion for involvement and learning on the part of the trainer as well as the trainees.

The reaction of the group is most striking; it is willing to accept

utter falsehoods if delivered with authority rather than to accept the truth if it is offered with humility.

The trainer is fully cognizant of the dilemma posed by Duke, both to himself and to the group. The members have come to see a battle, and once blooded they are not to be denied. They expect to see the trainer wrestle with Duke, and they are not to be sidetracked by philosophic discussions on the value of fighting.

At the outset of the previous session, the trainer seemed to be approaching calm waters; now, however, he finds himself swimming against the current. His efforts to get the group back to where it was at the beginning of the previous hour are doomed to failure. The group, instead, is doing everything in its power to get away from discussing him as a source of its difficulties. Of course, he still is, but now this has been obscured by the emergence of Duke. The group is evidently not particular where it builds its tensions, just so long as it has them!

Toward the middle of the meeting, discussion of the trainer is dropped completely. The group tallies the results of Duke's role-evaluation study. At last the trainer is being given a dose of his own medicine. If the group members harbor any rancor toward him for imposing the various tests, rules, experimental materials, training aids, etc., this is their chance to show it! The trainer exposed his vulnerability at the beginning of the hour by his admission of human weakness. For the moment, they choose to trample him and to enjoy their revenge.

Knowing something, as we do, of the trainer's needs for visual signs of productivity, it is not surprising that he is affected by the rebuff given him. He refers to the students' efforts as "the great numbers game," and points out that he has suggested topics other than himself as subjects of discussion. No takers! Thereupon another confrontation between Duke and Irv. The trainer tries to reflect Duke's problem with authority by pointing out that Duke is reluctant to be seen as a "yes-man." Nothing comes of this either. The tallying is at last completed; the group discusses the results in an apathetic manner. On this note the session ends.

March 20 (Thirteenth Meeting): The Bloc within a Bloc

Daily volume = 4.4% (very high)

E.I. = 1.9 (average)

S.I. = .9 (very high)

This was to become the group's most satisfying meeting to date. It started in a low key with a somewhat academic discussion of the nature of leadership.

When I brought up the topic of leadership, I had the feeling the members were not particularly interested and the topic would meet a speedy death. In the first place, I felt the majority were considering the source and were possibly somewhat reluctant to discuss a topic I suggested because it happened to be offered by an "uninfluential" instead of an "influential" member. Secondly, since it had been discussed before, and hastily dropped, I felt the members might consider it too repetitious to spend time on it again. . . . I was wrong on both counts; the discussion started slowly because the members were obviously trying to organize their thoughts and think carefully before speaking. No one changed the subject or introduced a half a dozen side issues but we stuck squarely with the original topic for a whole hour. It was tremendously satisfying for me. (Frances)

During the discussion there was obviously better communication: we were carefully listening to each other, and the attacks on persons and the display of negative attitudes were conspicuously missing. The expression of genuine feelings helped to further the permissive atmosphere.

For the first time today the group as a whole really listened to what others had to say. I am beginning to know what is meant by permissive attitude. Max was very helpful when he expressed his reactions and feelings on the evaluation of his role. I had decided that I had shirked my responsibility by not verbalizing my thoughts and feelings, but when the same feelings are expressed by others, is it necessary to repeat them? (Dorothy)

I went into class today with one aim—to prove what type of person I really am. I had come to the conclusion that a change was needed in my method of approaching the group, based on the role-evaluation sheet from last week. I knew I was one of five or six members who had some influence in the group but my only trouble was that it seemed to be bouncing back at me. So this was a new Max who walked into the room. . . . (Max)

Some "silent members" continued to have difficulties even though the atmosphere appeared permissive to most.

Today was one of the few days when I have said nothing. Everyone else was able to contribute. . . . I came in with lots of material that was relevant, namely,

how to deal with silent people and what to do about the overtalkative ones. But I felt completely suppressed. . . . I just couldn't force myself to venture a comment. It was something like feeling stage-fright. . . . I now know for sure that this was not caused by the size of the group; when our subgroup met right after class, I still had a rough time saying anything. (Pete)

After the break, I assumed what many saw as a "forceful and dynamic" role in trying to sum up where I felt we stood as a group. I gave a short talk, pointing out the difference between "psyche-needs" and "socio-needs,"¹¹ and indicated that a proper balance of both is needed before a group can hope to accomplish its tasks. I also ventured to indicate that there were still many "hidden agenda," both in the small and large groups. I felt it was our problem to find these hidden agenda, deal with them, and thus eliminate them.

Today was our best session. I believe this was due to Irv's role. He seemed to take an aggressive attitude in throwing out suggestions for discussion and his comments meant something—they caused all of us to think a bit more. (Art)

I was a little surprised, and very pleasantly so, when Irv opened the second hour by giving definite pointers to the group. . . . For the first time he assumed the role of a strong leader. I approved of the direct, forceful way in which he presented his talk. In contrast to his previous soft, hesitant suggestions he was arresting to hear and left no room for the members to dilly-dally and ignore his comments. I had a feeling that he was a little bit fed up with the wishy-washy way the group had been functioning; he decided it was time to step in and give us the long-needed direction since we showed no promise of taking hold ourselves. (Frances)

Irv's leadership today was extremely helpful, making us think and discuss important issues. (Bob)

Irv's talk about hidden agenda and our needs as a class was just what we needed. He hit the nail on the head. What he said was applicable to all. It brought results and I am eagerly looking forward to what will happen next. (Larry)

Today Dr. Weschler played his first really influential and valuable role in the class. His timing was perfect. He introduced the concept of "hidden agenda" and gave specific illustrations—something I don't believe any of us would do or could do as effectively. (Robin)

One of my comments produced what, in my opinion, was to be the most significant "critical event" in this group's history. I pointed out that one of our problems was a "bloc within a bloc," composed of Duke, Hank, and Ben, who either through active or passive resistance

¹¹ For a good discussion of this topic, see Helen H. Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation* (2d ed.; New York: Longmans, Green, 1950).

seemed to prevent the group from making genuine progress. My remark was focused on a boil which I felt had to be lanced if the group was to move forward. I tried to be as noncritical as possible, wishing merely to point out a key problem so that the group could deal with it. In retrospect, my action was symptomatic of a serious lack of faith in the group's ability to handle its own problems. Right or wrong, the observation caused a tremendous storm.

If you think what Irv says does not carry an impact, look what happened today! . . . After mentioning a number of hidden agenda, he pointed out a certain group which he felt was acting as a bloc within a bloc. . . . No sooner did he finish when all the tension was focused on these people, and they were immediately put on the defensive. Looking around the class, everyone—and I mean everyone—was on the edge of his chair and paying close attention to what was going on. I attribute this to the “tongue lashing” the instructor gave our group. (Dick)

The reactions of the three “blockers” were startling. For Hank and Ben my remarks appeared helpful since they were now considered important enough for discussion.

During the break Irv asked me what it would take to get me into the class. . . . I told him I could see no point in the discussion and therefore didn't have enough interest to do much participating. . . . After the hour started, Irv forcefully brought out the idea of hidden agenda again. Before I knew it I was telling the class how I felt about it. . . . Soon I was being questioned from all sides. I really enjoyed this hour. . . . There was at last something real and concrete to get my teeth into. . . . I didn't realize that our little group had such an impact on the class but I will admit that maybe we do owe it to the group to bring out how we feel. . . . Maybe something can be done about it still to rectify either the class or else my attitudes toward the class. I will have to try to do something more, but I can't enter into a discussion if there is no point to it. I shall be looking forward to next time to see if we can make B.A. 152 more interesting. (Hank)

When Irv mentioned that Duke, Hank and I were sitting together, forming a bloc which had influence on the class, it was something I had not known or been aware of before. Hank was called on to tell why he was a nonparticipant. He said he had no use for the class, that nothing was being done or accomplished. This really started something. He was asked if the same applied for Duke and myself. We answered with a loud “yes.” Discussion on this continued until the end of the hour and we were just getting started. . . . I am glad this was finally brought into the open for everyone to see. It should have been done before, but better late than never. I believe from now on there will be more understanding among the group members, and I hope we won't swing back into the same rut again. . . . I'll try to do my part to see that we don't. (Ben)

For Duke, my comments provided the opportunity to engage in open combat. His smoldering resentment of the group in general, and of me in particular, had at last found an outlet.

When Irv suddenly had Hank, Ben, and me placed in the category of "a bloc within a bloc" I was amazed. . . . Hank gave very blunt answers to the class which made me very happy. . . . Ben screwed up the works by hemming and hawing about something. I wish he would get some self-confidence. . . . The general idea is that we present a problem. I didn't know we even fitted into some people's narrow thoughts, but discovered that people notice even our seating habits. Now at last the group has something controversial to chew up, and I hope they continue their attacks next time so I, too, can get in a few licks. (Duke)

Some were frankly shocked at my deliberate frontal attack on the problem of the "bloc within a bloc."

I was so against it all that I couldn't enter into the discussion. I was afraid there could be no other result in this than to increase the hostility of the fellows and to make matters worse. I was just ready to step in to block the whole process when I noticed Irv encouraging Max in his interpretation of how the blockers affected him. . . . At the end of the meeting I had an opportunity to talk to Irv; he helped me realize that in certain situations, an open expression of feeling is the only reasonable course of action. . . . There is the possibility, after all, that these boys might reflect on what happened and change their attitude. . . . Irv pointed out the progress Max had been making as a result of the role-evaluation sheet. I had to agree with him and now see that some good might come from this approach after all. . . . Perhaps I was again projecting my own feelings when I interpreted how the "blockers" would receive the attack. In trying to empathize with these boys I failed to take into consideration individual differences. Somehow I now feel more a part of the group; maybe I felt unconsciously up to now I had nothing important to learn here. (Marie)

The discussions outside of class often help to crystallize opinions and feelings.

I, too, felt we were a little harsh with the three boys, but when Marie told me about her conversation with Irv, I can now see clearly what I am doing. . . . Empathy is feeling as the other person feels—not as you would feel if you were in his position. . . . Marie and I admitted to each other how hard it is to realize that we are in exactly the same boat as some of the others, except we are in the bow and they are in the stern. We are as oversensitive in some respects as we deem them to be undersensitive. . . . I find it a great help to talk these things over with someone. Marie can crystallize many impressions that are hazy to me. Our talking helps me to gain perspective. . . . (Beverly)

By identifying Duke, Hank, and Ben as a clique, I may have made it more difficult for them to act as individuals at future meetings.

I personally don't feel the three are a bloc because they don't participate; they probably have not as yet found enough stimulation to enter the group. I also don't feel we should go out of our way to find special stimuli for them, but when the occasion presents itself, they will naturally be drawn in. . . . All three impressed the fact upon the group that they were speaking for themselves. I believe that although they don't participate to any extent, they definitely want to be thought of as individuals. (Bob)

One member interpreted my comment as a plea for conformity.

I am very unhappy! We again continued in our Mr. District Attorney role of making Ben, Duke, and Hank more a part of the class. I admire them for a nonhypocrisy which makes them finer people than some of their righteous persecutors. I guess this is like the Spanish Inquisition—when any deviation from the code of some demigods was inconceivable. They have both the right and courage of their convictions; why not try to understand them instead of directly attacking them? (Maurice)

Observer: The previous session found the group saying to the trainer: "Don't disturb any of our fixed conceptions by making yourself human!" This message made a dent in the trainer's philosophy of "permissiveness at all costs." His efforts to show himself as a person of flesh and blood merely served to arouse more anxiety. The group members insist on an omnipotent person to guide and succor them; they alone claim to have the right to exhibit human frailties. In a kind of perverse way, there now is competition between the members and the trainer as to who is more vulnerable.

The events of the thirteenth meeting revealed that the trainer had done some serious soul-searching. He had tried many ways to confront the members with the fact that he constituted an issue for them to resolve. They in turn denied the allegation.

It became apparent about this time that despite his conscious efforts to be nondirective, the trainer had in fact been just the opposite. As long as he denied this to himself, the group could point it out to him only by a kind of unconscious unanimous denial of his efforts. Now the trainer saw the light. The group needed evidence of strength. Could he show it without destroying his training philosophy? This was the core of his problem. The situation demanded immediate action. Whether he liked it or not, he faced a group with relatively low anxiety-tolerance. It therefore needed the trainer's active support if it was to move ahead.

Just to complicate the situation further, a hostile, competitive situation had developed between the trainer and Duke. This, too, could not be by-passed. From the trainer's point of view, there was no easy solution to the problem inasmuch as he was forced into the position of having to

kill two birds with one stone. First, there was the about-face of his own. Second, there was the urgent need to clarify his relationship with Duke.

Having decided upon action of some sort, the trainer manages a startling coup. In one motion he becomes both directive and supportive, and at the same time shows his strength by taking on not only Duke, but two additional members of the group, whom he identifies as a "bloc within a bloc." He shows strength in all directions! What happens?

The group is both awe-struck and satisfied! Although some tend to see the trainer's action as punitive and condemnatory, the members for the most part are relieved to find that the trainer has a point of view and is willing to stand up for it. The trainer is now less calculating and more spontaneous. This comes across to the group. The critical impact of his act will, as we shall see, be revealed immediately.

March 22 (Fourteenth Meeting): Christmas in March

Daily volume = 4.8% (very high)

E.I. = 2.1 (high)

S.I. = .9 (very high)

Christmas in March, goodwill toward man, friendliness toward all! In a genuine climate of permissiveness, almost everyone who wanted to talk seemed able to get in; people listened and ideas were carefully evaluated. Conversation flowed easily and without strain. Some who hadn't been heard from for many a meeting took part today.

It all started with the six women—another "group within a group"—bringing coffee and doughnuts to the room. Even Duke was impressed.

Well, today we really had a surprise. The girls brought coffee and doughnuts for the group. This proved to be a boon for mixing. It gave me faith in the group again. (Duke)

Some felt the reason for the change in atmosphere was the contribution of the girls at the beginning of the meeting, but most seemed to reach for more significant reasons.

We are really coming as a group. . . . We have reached a stage where permissiveness is finally possible. It is so interesting to see that the noticeable change in individuals also brings with it a change in our group. Which is the cart and which the horse? . . . A few meetings ago I told myself that things were so blooming uncomfortable I really didn't want to come to class anymore. I dreaded it! Last time things began to pick up and now I am enthusiastic again. . . . Another interesting point. I had a few blisters again for the first time in a year—

I am sure it's the tension this class is putting me through. . . . I think I'm helping the atmosphere to become better. I have become a real listener. I have much more knowledge of what is expected of a good group member. The Rogerian (nondirective) technique is working, though every time I see it, I am just as amazed and impressed as I was the first time around. (Beverly)

One of the girls felt very unsure how the surprise coffee and doughnut snack would be accepted by the group.

In the past so much emphasis had been placed on working together and getting approval from the entire group before anything was done that I had a vision of someone, or possibly a number, coming up with such remarks as "You girls are violating group principles. You should have consulted us first to find out if we wanted coffee"! . . . I watched to see the reactions as the members came in, but from all outward appearance, everyone seemed pleased. A few appeared a little suspicious—perhaps curious would be a better word—and wanted to know the reason for our gesture. (Frances)

If the women were not fully accepted by the group before, they certainly are now! The fact that no one accused them of struggling for leadership shows to me a more accepting atmosphere in the group. If this had been tried in the first few weeks, I am sure someone would have called them on this point. . . . (Lew)

As people helped each other to express their deeper feelings, a genuine esprit de corps developed in the group.

Today Dick and Bob opened the door for me to have a say. It felt good to be able to make the kind of comment I wanted to make for so long and to find the group willing to listen. This made me want to hear everything everyone else had to say. . . . Now I feel I can contribute and have my ideas given a fair chance. . . . I was beginning to think this class was impossible or that I was a flop. I am glad we were at least once able to enjoy our conversation even if we didn't accomplish any specific goal. (Pete)

It's strange to experience the "camaraderie"—this sort of an "oh, well, we're all in this together" feeling. It has resulted in my being able to accept more readily other points of view and ideas, even though they may be antagonistic to my own. I am glad we are all getting better acquainted. . . . As we become aware of each other, we are beginning to see our own roles more clearly—our impact and the like. (Red)

Today I finally expressed my true feelings—how I felt with regard to my position in the class. I guess Pete provided the stimulus for me. It really wasn't easy. I felt like a washed-out rag, but hope that something will come of it. . . . We seem to be making headway, as the discussions are now centered around our immediate problems and conflicts. . . . We don't seem to be beating around the bush so much anymore. . . . In a short time, I hope I shall find the security I am looking for, the feeling that what I have to say is of importance and will be accepted by the rest of the group. (Larry)

Even my comments are now readily accepted and discussed.

Almost all the points Irv brought out in today's meeting were aired. . . . Most important, Irv stated that the individual had obligations to the group as well as the group having obligations to the individual. He brought this out at the proper moment. It was a statement that had to come from Irv. It needed a little authority behind it. . . . The only point that seemed to stymie us was getting the Hank-bloc of nonspeakers into the group. . . . Irv is correct when he says it is up to the individual in the "bloc" to take action. (Lew)

After the break, there were considerable efforts to draw Hank, Ben, and some of the other more silent members into the group. Attempts were made to find subjects of interest to them, despite the narrowness of the one that Hank finally chose for discussion.

When I asked Hank . . . what he would like to see done, his reply was, "Something concrete—something you can get your teeth into and not this dribble which has been going on." He mentioned a discussion of fraternities and sororities, which was immediately picked up. . . . To me the exposition of fraternities was utterly wasteful and definitely away from the purpose of our discussion. When I commented on this, Red became annoyed and snapped at me. . . . What shall we do? We have tried to face the problem of our perpetual bloc and have tried to draw them out, but every time we do it it's like bucking against a stone wall. . . . Right now my attitude is to hell with them. This I realize is bad, but I dislike being jumped at, when I am trying to solve a group problem. (Art)

Today I was asked what would stimulate me, and I found the discussion about fraternities very enjoyable. When the subject at hand is a concrete one, I can participate and really feel like doing so, but these nebulous questions we have talked about in the past do not raise any interest in me. . . . I am sure I am missing the purpose of the class somehow or other, but I don't think it's because I have a closed mind on the subject. I have talked to some who have had this course before. . . . They told me they felt similar to the way I do, but now that it's over they think the course has been of some value to them. (Hank)

Some saw the special attention paid to Hank, Duke, and Ben as a subtle form of psychological attack.

Adults are no better than children. I mean, when children find another child they can pick on, they will do so continually; that's exactly what we are doing—picking on Ben, Hank, and Duke. To a point we have made it almost impossible for them to enter our group effectively. (Don)

I feel that Ben, Hank, and the others resent what is being done to them—that is, forcing them into the group discussion. . . . They want to discuss more "tangible subjects"—something they can sink their teeth into. When the group asked them to suggest what they wanted to talk about, they had little to say. I think the problem lies elsewhere, but where exactly I am not sure. (Dick)

Putting these three fellows on the spot is not the way to get them into the group. We are merely severing them further. If they finally do participate, someone is going to clap. . . . They are placed in the position of guinea-pigs on whom the group tries its effectiveness! (Fred)

I wonder what Irv's idea is in aligning the "Unholy Three" against the rest of the group? Are we really a problem to him, or are we just something that the class can talk about? (Hank)

My original reference to the "bloc within a bloc" has created stereotypic thinking which now has become difficult to break down. The label sticks, and Ben especially has trouble getting out from under its corroding cover.

Ben, Duke, and Hank seem determined to stay outside the group. . . . I sat next to them today and could overhear Hank's sarcastic remarks when others had something to say. . . . Ben and Duke bristled when they were forced into the conversation. . . . Hank's comment was, "Well, here we go again, right on the griddle." . . . It seems to me that something has to give pretty soon. . . . These boys are backed up against a wall about as far as they can go. It was put to them very clearly that they should realize they have a responsibility as members of the group. The longer they maintain their current attitude the harder it will be for them to give it up. After a while it will become a matter of principle for them to see how long they can maintain their negative behavior. . . . If they would only stop their side remarks. When they finally do get into the group, I am convinced there will be no real change in their attitude. Somehow I feel that it will be Ben who will give in first. (Marie)

It seems that every time Hank gives his negative views, the class thinks he is talking for Duke and myself, but it isn't true. This assumption was made a couple of times today until Duke finally put a stop to it. . . . It seems to me our so-called "bloc" is giving the class more concern than we had ever thought possible. Everybody seems uncomfortable about our not entering into the class discussion. To me they are making a mountain out of a molehill—but that's life, I guess! (Ben)

Toward the end of the meeting the discussion became even more hostile and aggressive. Immediately thereafter, the expression of honest feelings was sidetracked. During one rapid-fire exchange, one of the girls was thrown off balance by a forceful, unfriendly line of questioning, while one of her male friends found it impossible to protect her.

I was so totally unprepared for all this being directed at me. I felt like a fool when I found myself on the defensive. . . . I am not sorry it happened, but usually I acquit myself with more agility than today. . . . It took a jolt to make me realize that I am as vulnerable to attack as anyone else. (Robin)

I am very unhappy because Robin has been deeply hurt and stepped on. . . . I hate to see other people attacked or criticized. These shits—and I use this

word for emphasis—have no right to go around hurting people because it suits their whims. . . . Some of these fellows like Mike—now a big man, although his leadership has at no time sent white hot flashes down my spine—have to build their egos while pretending to help the class. What a way to prevent learning for personal gratification! (Maurice)

Observer: Somerset Maugham has said, in effect: "A woman will forgive a man the harm he does her but never the sacrifices he makes for her." In this respect it is striking to note that the trainer's show of masculine assertiveness was received with warmth and delight by the women of the group. Having received, how quick they were to give! The atmosphere in the group revealed that this was no act of placation on their part.

Paradoxically, the directive behavior of the trainer actually opens the way for closer interpersonal relationships. There obviously is an infinite variety of ways in which needs may be gratified; there are no fixed, inflexible rules with regard to the way this process may be carried out.

Unfortunately, the soothing effect of mother's milk is only temporary. Despite its short-lived effects, the group learned something of paramount importance—by using its potentials for cooperation, productive and integrated behavior was possible.

The balm offered by the women did not negate the effect of the trainer's identification of the clique within the group. Another central problem had been created. If coffee and doughnuts could make a lasting peace, the Gray Ladies of the world long since would have displaced the diplomats at the conference tables of the world.

The trainer found himself in the position of having temporarily resolved two problems by creating at least one other. He had pointed to a sore spot in the group and rightfully so. Now he had cause to wonder whether or not his flexing of muscles was more than a show of strength. Was it scapegoating as well? Obviously, the problems of growth in groups of this kind are far from simple. No sooner is one problem apparently resolved, than a new one is created. How like life! As the group approached the halfway mark, it had certainly come a long way, but the distance left to travel was still considerable.

March 27 (Fifteenth Meeting): Quiz Time

Daily volume = 1.2% (very low)

E.I. = 1.3 (very low)

S.I. = .4 (low)

Another phase of the group's activity had come to an end. During the first hour, I administered the first quiz, which was based primarily on readings. The second hour was spent in project subgroups. Spring vacation was around the corner, and for a week all was quiet on the sensitivity-training front.

Observer: Examination. No commentary.

April 3 (Sixteenth Meeting): The Big Grading Problem

Daily volume = 3.5% (average)

E.I. = 1.5 (low)

S.I. = .3 (very low)

At the beginning of the period, I returned the results of the quiz. Beverly and Ben, a member of the "bloc within a bloc," received the highest grades.

There goes Ben—highest grade in the test. Once again his abilities and insight come to the fore. I think it's just too bad we can't help him express himself. All outward indications seem to point to a readiness, but the catalyst just hasn't been found yet. (Beverly)

Irv—was I shook today! That test! I have to admit I was figuring on being top dog, but to be beaten by a woman—that was too much! (Red)

We got the quiz back today—and it looks like any other. He who parrots best gets the highest grade. . . . What phoniness! (Duke)

This was the day on which we started work on the big grading problem. The problem of the class was to arrive at criteria as well as weights for the various components making up the final grade. Here at last the group was confronted with a task, with very definite time limits, with whose successful conclusion most seemed intimately concerned. The purpose of this exercise was to help the class members put into practice in a real work situation some of the sensitivities and behavioral skills which they might have acquired or sharpened as a result of past sessions. One of the key limitations I imposed upon the group was that there

was to be "responsible grading"—a requirement intended to insure that those people who had done well would be visibly rewarded for effective performance. A total of four hours, to be spread over a number of meetings, was allotted to this task. The group was urged to use its time wisely, and to provide opportunities for looking at its own process in order to discover and deal with those forces which were interfering with its efforts to reach an effective solution of the problem.

The initial discussion fell flat on its face. A number of people seemed deeply involved, and switched from one topic to another without paying much attention to what anyone had said before them. Others were obviously bored or expected to sit on the sidelines long enough to discover which way the wind was blowing. No decision-making mechanisms existed, and the unrealistic pressure on the part of some to "get things done" prevented the group from making real progress.

Today many of us were operating very poorly—on two cylinders instead of eight. There were definite cliques operating, with people joining one clique or the other in order to satisfy their own selfish goals. (Bill)

Initially, there were a number who had no clear-cut idea as to how they wanted to be graded.

I kept quiet at first, hoping to gain some definite ideas by listening to what others had to say. . . . I soon found that I must have had some thoughts about the matter after all, for I discovered when, for example, a written final examination was strongly opposed I felt myself becoming very disturbed—worried, tense, and anxious. I was afraid the arguments for an oral examination would be so overpowering that we would be carried along by sheer force and not because everyone was in favor of it. . . . I don't think an oral exam would give everyone an equal chance to show what they knew or what they could do best. (Frances)

From time to time, I was asked to interpret to the group some of the limits which I had placed upon them. Some of these "interpretations" were seen as arbitrary restrictions on the group's freedom to act.

I feel we are really close together within the severely restricted confines of the rules. I thought it was pretty sneaky of Irv continually to add new rules after he once told us to go ahead. I am now certain that even if we come up with a workable solution, he will throw a monkey wrench into it. (Pete)

The difficulty of making decisions was highlighted by the impact of Red, who prevented the group from reaching complete agreement.

What are we going to do with Red? And others like him? . . . Why should the group become bogged down because of one person? Here is one individual whose opinions are contrary to those of twenty-three others. Is his feeling that

important? Is it up to the group to try to see his point of view? Or should he try to understand why the group thinks as it does? I feel strongly that when there is only one member on the "other side of the fence" it is up to him to try to make the move. If he doesn't, then he stands as the single blocker—he hinders progress! (Dick)

The atmosphere had again deteriorated greatly, and some of the usually more effective members appeared unable to function. They had become afraid to act and showed considerable lack of confidence.

Why am I afraid of doing something wrong? . . . Perhaps I don't want to make a fool of myself. Some time ago I might have tried my wings but then I had confidence in my "feel for the situation," knowing that I wouldn't do too much damage. Now I intellectually know exactly what needs to be done, but I have completely lost my feel for knowing how to do it. There are so many ways of doing things wrong! . . . I would have loved to play two minutes of "upset the fruit basket" or "Simon says," perhaps "dungaree doll" or just anything to break the tension to make the group act as a group. . . . Why am I afraid? I think I just had a vision. I couldn't until now quite visualize our "three musketeers" as "hidden agenda." . . . I am afraid that they and some of the others whom I tag as blockers would ridicule me or laugh me right out of this room. They are inhibiting me, and I am helpless! (Beverly)

Should the group prove unable to reach a workable consensus, the grading problem was to revert back to me for final decision.

As long as we have members who feel they will never compromise unless they have their own way, we will not reach consensus on major issues. . . . I guess Irv purposely tried to complicate issues by tacking up results of the first quiz before we started our discussion. Perhaps Irv knows that we can't reach consensus because of our "hidden agenda." In any case, either consciously or unconsciously, he makes it harder for us. (Lew)

Although the expressions of many are "we will never reach consensus," I think we can and will. . . . Although we seem no nearer to the accomplishment of our task, at least I think we got rid of some of the fears that existed in the group. . . . (Don)

Before the end of the meeting, a number of attempts were made to get the group to evaluate its progress. I offered some of my own observations, which included the following points: First, some of the more potentially effective people in the group had let the group down by operating way below par. Second, the atmosphere was lacking in permissiveness—there was much boredom, and a number of cliques were operating. Once again I inadvertently focused on the "big three" by pointing out that their sitting together and whispering to each other might be disturbing to the group. My last observation—in the form

of a suggestion—was that the group might try some of the more useful problem-solving techniques, such as the use of observers, committees, and the like, in order to reach agreements easier and faster. The reaction to my comments varied from eager acceptance to total rejection.

Irv is playing his cards slowly and cagily. We naturally got nowhere and instead flittered from pillar to post. . . . My popularity is declining every time I speak. . . . After much of nothing, Irv closed the meeting with some of his "sage" advice. I am sick of it! (Duke)

When Irv accused me after class of sitting there and not helping the group, I knew he was right. I know things I could have done instead of just sitting there, struggling with my own emotions. I could have helped the group take a good look at itself. (Marie)

I don't know if Irv was aiming his comments at any particular people, but they certainly hit home with me. For example, when he talked about people letting the class down because of delusions of grandeur, I felt he was referring directly to me. (Red)

My second "attack" on the "big three"—pointing out that they always sit together—did not contribute toward making the atmosphere any more permissive.

I personally never noticed Duke, Ben, and Hank sitting in a group until Irv mentioned it. . . . I honestly believe that a person is looked at with a double eye if he is pointed out by Irv in this class. . . . Their presence may have had some negative influence on us, but I feel the problem was doubled when they were pointed out. They were pressured, labeled, and ridiculed . . . all to make them talk. Maybe this is why they later moved—to find out what the hell was going on. (Fred)

I think Irv has brought definite pressure to bear on these three people. Everyone now seems quite conscious of them and various forces are brought to bear upon them. The three became rather indignant at the fact that they were being questioned as to why they were sitting together. As Duke stated, "It's none of your damn business." (Bob)

Observer: The "coffee ceremony" was now a week old, the atmosphere created by it consigned to the dim haze of memory, and the struggle about to be renewed—this time in a new disguise.

The "grading problem" set before the group was a big order. The time limits and consensus proviso insisted on by the trainer caused an immediate build-up of tension. Time limitation—the return of a familiar issue!

By forcing the group to handle a new specific task, the trainer tends to push unresolved problems into the background once again. One gets the impression that the trainer follows a rather rigid schedule in

which certain activities are to be completed. As a consequence, the group lacks freedom to determine its own direction.

Of course, the reality of the trainer's world is such that his goals have to be realized within a certain period of time. For the group, it may appear that no sooner is it out of the frying pan than it is back in the fire. In this sense, the training experience is artificial. It is unlikely that groups operating in real life are under such extreme pressure to alter their pattern so rapidly. More often than not, a work-oriented group minimizes the problem of psychological needs, though it does pay attention to it. Similarly, the "psyche-group" (social group) does not shift to a task-orientation until it is ready to do so. Judging from the transactions of this session, it would appear that the time limitations imposed upon the group may prove to be a severe and debilitating handicap.

The grading problem, as posed to the group, was too close to intrapersonal areas of tension to be dealt with in anything like a rational fashion. In one way or another, the majority of the members had considerable vested interests in grades. All their fears, hopes, and aspirations with regard to their future outside the university seemed tied up in the context of the task set before them. It was not simply a task which the trainer had imposed—it was a moral problem. For most of the members, if not all, the struggle for grades had been an oppressive experience. For some, grades were an acceptable measure of performance; for most, grades were an institutional rite of indictment from which few had escaped. Presented with an opportunity to participate in a procedure long denied them, the group members were torn between the choices of making a mature decision or of indulging in a last retaliatory fling. Thus the moral aspect of the grading problem.

In the course of this session the issue of the clique arose once more. It was to come up again and again. Pressure of time, however, and the need for action prohibited the kind of working-through that could bring a sense of relief and satisfaction.

April 5 (Seventeenth Meeting): D-Day: Dispersed

Daily volume = 3.7% (high)

E.I. = 1.7 (average)

S.I. = .7 (high)

Another meeting with no formal agenda. The group was not prepared to work on the grading problem, but tried to pinpoint some of its internal problems instead. I noted that both the large group and the

smaller subgroups seemed once more to be heading into crises. Among the problems which I suggested the group might consider were, first, how to recognize hostility and deal with it, second, how to recognize, accept, and encourage nonconforming behavior, and finally, how to steer a clear course between the "tyranny of the majority" and the "tyranny of the minority" in reaching consensus. Although these comments were offered, at least consciously, to help the group, it seemed happy where it was and didn't want to face any of its dilemmas.

As the process developed, disagreement existed concerning the group's progress.

I wasn't too satisfied with our discussion today. We got into many of the process factors and were below the surface, but I felt rather depressed that in spite of my real endeavors to be of help I don't think we succeeded in accomplishing our objectives. . . . Even though I can see we are more and more becoming a group, I am convinced that we must work at a deeper emotional level before we can accomplish our task. There are still too many who do not feel this way and block us in our efforts. . . . I can't handle the fact that somehow the real vital things we are doing are going right over the heads of some people, so they react by expressing boredom. (Marie)

I can see a definite change in our class. We are no longer as frightened at being confronted with the facts. Progress has definitely been made with the group, but some people don't seem to see it. . . . Perhaps Irv could help some people see where they have been. I feel that these negative attitudes would be changed if he were more constructive by showing us how far we have progressed. I am sure his lecture wouldn't change anyone, but at least I think it would show the class it is not the total failure some of the group seem to think. . . . I get the feeling at times that for some the class is just a joke—nothing is happening—all we do is sit there and speak—"I'm bored"—etc. . . . I suppose that time heals all wounds and before it's over everyone will begin to see the value of the course. I know we have come a long way. . . . I will merely try to perform whatever roles are necessary until the class comes around. . . . I do believe they will "arrive" before the end of the semester. I wish there were a method of speeding up the process, but then I guess this is what Irv is doing his observing and research about. (Lew)

Once again, and in short order, the discussion focused on the "big three"—Duke, Hank, and Ben. This time, they made a point of sitting apart and calling attention to the fact. By now the issue had clearly become one of conformity versus nonconformity to group pressure.

Today was D-day—meaning disperse. We split up to see if the "preachers" in the class would be happy. I asked if it made any difference to them. . . . They got on Hank again and he came through with flying colors. . . . He said he would not conform. I agree with him 100 per cent. If we are going to be mentioned as a bloc, I wish they would leave Ben out. . . . He doesn't say anything,

just sits and gets embarrassed. Irv helped our strength with some more remarks at the end of the class. Tyranny of the minority! Ha! Ha! (Duke)

As the gulf between the "big three" and the majority of the class widened, prospects for reaching full consensus later on the grading problem became dimmer and dimmer. Duke especially had begun to taste the power which his nonconforming behavior wielded over the group, and he relished the attention which was focused on him and his cohorts. As this particular situation apparently continued to get worse, some members blamed the group, some blasted me, while others felt that matters were actually improving.

I think the blame for this mess rests with the group. If we hadn't made such a fuss about Ben, Hank and Duke, things would not be as they are now. The group forced them into their present position and it's up to us to get them out. . . . The best way to do this is to leave them alone. They will come around, but not if we put pressure on them. . . . This is exactly what happened so far. The "silent three" were put under pressure and resented it. They rebelled. A simple problem in the early stages of our group development has turned out to be quite a large problem by now. (Dick)

Beverly said she was scared to death of the "big three," as a united block. She especially didn't appreciate their talking among themselves while she was trying to get a point across to the group. It's funny, but to me these three offer no threat. . . . In fact Beverly and several of the other high-powered talkers give me more fear than any small nonspeaking subgroup. . . . Duke seems to be the leader of his group. . . . When they split around the room, they first monopolized the group by cross-conversations strictly between themselves. . . . (Pete)

One member saw the self-initiated separation of the "big three" as group-oriented behavior.

Perhaps the best thing that happened today was the separation of Hank, Ben and Duke. This to me represents a definite improvement in our group. All of them, but especially Duke, entered into our conversation. They wanted to know if and why they bothered the group. Quite a few opinions were expressed. . . . Beverly especially had a good point when she said she felt she was being ridiculed. . . . I was very pleased with their action. I must admit it makes me feel as if they are now really interested in the group, whereas before I didn't see it this way, except in a few isolated instances. (Art)

The attention lavished on Duke, Ben and Hank led to intense frustration on the part of a few who wanted to contribute to the group, but couldn't.

Frankly, I am getting fed up with the entire situation. I am bored to tears and sick of hearing a lot of lip service from people who just want to be heard. . . .

For weeks everyone sat around and asked why certain individuals weren't participating. After some of us voiced our reasons, it was dropped. This took a great deal out of me and yet it had no effect at all—I was just left dangling. . . . I am beginning to feel like a nonentity. I know a great deal of the fault lies within me, and yet I don't know what to do about it. . . . Once I asked for help, but what happened—nothing! Frankly, I don't care one bit whether Ben, Hank, and Duke sit at all and neither do they, I think. It seems we have put sufficient time on them. What about us—myself, Pete, Art—don't we count? Something must be done to clear this chilled atmosphere. I feel complete worthlessness! (Larry)

One of the key issues faced by any group is the responsibility of the individual member to do his best for the benefit of the group. When people fail to operate at their full potential, they are depriving the group of talent which it may vitally need to develop. During a discussion of some of the "hidden agenda," I pointed to this so-called "eight-cylinder" phenomenon. I indicated that I felt some of our people who had eight cylinders were operating on only two to four, while others seemed to function on twelve, though they perhaps owned only six. The analogy was readily picked up; Mike was especially singled out as one individual who had been sitting back too much, though he could have been of help. The discussion about who was or was not functioning on all "eight cylinders" created mixed reactions.

I felt the accusations against Mike were unjust. From where I sit he wasn't the only one who wasn't operating on all eight cylinders, if silence alone is an indication of nonfunctioning. I could name at least half a dozen others, myself included, who were possibly less active verbally and mentally than Mike. It seemed a little unfair, that he should be singled out from all the rest of us and I felt impelled to come to his support. . . . Still, it is significant that his silence was noted. It points to the importance of our expectations concerning behaviors of certain members of our group. . . . I feel everyone has the right to feel and say whatever he wishes and the right to be silent. (Frances)

Why was Mike selected and why not, say, Dorothy? Her potential is probably as great as Mike's. Yet, because she has not been as dynamic, she and a few others are thrown off to the side lines. It seems that value judgments have been made about certain individuals, and as a result, their feelings don't count! (Larry)

Once again, as some of the "hidden agenda" were uncovered, the group became more relaxed.

I think the group was extremely permissive to my comments. I am very happy about it. I think they now appreciate the pooriness of my communications, but still seem to feel that I can contribute. . . . This is very fine, and I am grateful. I am also pleased to find Irv so receptive to my outside comments to him. . . .

He took me off the hook at one time. . . . I meant exactly what he eventually said—but from his mouth it seemed so much clearer. (Maurice)

I too appreciated the opportunity to express how I felt about what has been going on. I know I was not alone in this. I enjoy becoming familiar with processes in the group—to become skillful at recognizing the hidden agenda and learning how to deal with them. (Dorothy)

From time to time, humor helps to break the tension, but it also serves as a defense against looking at what is really going on.

When it was said that we are all using defenses, it hit right home with me. . . . It is so much easier to see someone else than yourself. . . . When I walked out of class today, I said to myself—who do you think you are—Herb Shriner? It seems that every time I get the opportunity, I try to make them laugh. Really, I feel that this is the best way to get across my points, but only time will really tell whether this is so. . . . (Max)

Observer: After some platitudes on the meaning of “consensus,” it was noticed that the “clique” members were now sitting separate from one another. Duke could hardly wait to bring this to the attention of the group. It was obviously a peace offering to the group and to the trainer. Beverly was delighted and publicly supported this action of the clique by calling it “positive” and “meaningful.”

Duke does not know how to deal with warmth in any fashion, and when it comes from “mama” or “papa” it is more than he can take. Unaware of the real implications of the clique’s split, Duke announces that it was preplanned. This affords the group an opportunity to descend en masse. The clique is perceived as physically split up, but psychologically still intact.

The new attacks goad the clique into a morose unanimity. They now have a central value about which to rally—nonconformity. Under no circumstances can they accede to pressures which would have them become agreeable, nice, sweet little boys. They voice their contempt of the group and the training process by labeling it phony, weak, and unreal. They claim to remain in the group only because it is too late now to get out. Besides they need the grade.

The fact that the trainer discovered and identified the clique made it his responsibility. By his identification of the “bad boys,” the remainder of the group automatically became angels living in a state of grace. Clearly the trainer had roused a monster, and it was a question now whether or not it would continue to plague him and the group.

In the second part of this session, he again made an effort to have the group face the problem of feelings, the degree to which the group

could accept and even encourage nonconforming behavior, and the question of consensus. He was evidently deeply concerned about the clique, his part in making it an issue, and its possible effects on the total group experience.

Under pressure of this kind the trainer had a tendency to provide too many stimuli for the group. As a consequence, the group did not know in which direction to turn. The trainer was hopeful of getting it back on the track, but it seemed to be dragging its heels. Tentative feelers in a number of directions were thrown out, but for the most part this meeting was characterized by marking of time.

April 10 (Eighteenth Meeting): Battle for Survival

Daily volume = 3.8% (high)
E.I. = 1.8 (average)
S.I. = .6 (average)

Once again—the grading problem. The full two hours were spent on criteria for grading and the percentages to be assigned to each performance to be graded. In spite of the fact that few people came forth with gems of wisdom and that many seemed bored, some progress was made. At times the atmosphere was permissive enough for everyone to voice his views.

At Don's suggestion, the group broke into subgroups, each working on a segment of the total problem.

Much to my surprise, my idea was readily accepted. This helped inflate my ego. I was really quite surprised that it worked. Sometime later I might try something else. Irv mentioned that the use of a moderator might help. Perhaps I'm going to volunteer! (Don)

By now the group was committed to total consensus for reaching decisions. Majority vote was no longer acceptable since it had become clear to most that it implied victory for some and defeat for others.

I believe we should be able to reach consensus as a group. It is a challenge for us, and will be a milestone when we finally do make it! (Lew)

Willingness to compromise on nonvital issues was essential before effective consensus could be reached. Yet the fact that some people felt their personal interests would not be protected made compromising difficult for them. In the group's deliberations, both the fear of being trampled and the joy of holding power through blocking made significant move-

ment toward a solution difficult. In the controversy on whether the final examination should be written or oral, the less vocal members were concerned lest they be "lost" in the "battle for survival."

We still don't have the feeling of "we-ness" which is supposed to be present in groups. Everyone is working toward his own individual goal and suppressing the group task. There is absolutely no support for certain members of our group, such as Frances, Dorothy, myself, and a few others. . . . Irv talked about the feeling of fear. Yes, I do have it. I feel a deep sense of competition and it has affected my role. To me, there is a struggle for survival, even though we have many hypocrites who claim they are here to learn to solve group problems. Frankly, I don't see it. . . . That is why I want to fight an oral final—it is so clear to me that I might get lost. (Larry)

Among the major barriers to progress were apathy and expressions of lack of concern by people who claimed they didn't care what happened.

Robin is one of those. . . . I think when she says "I don't care what you do!" she really means "what you do is a real problem for me." She appears bored and disgusted, perhaps because she does not believe that we can ever reach an agreement. I think Robin is afraid to take a good look at herself, even though her defenses aren't very effective. (Marie)

In reaching unanimous agreement, "reading the group" is of utmost importance. Proper timing becomes crucial. A consensus on any given decision has to be felt and tested, before new activities can successfully be undertaken.

Today when we discussed the final, there was a lot of controversy; still we knew that a consensus had to be reached. Finally there were six people against a given issue, but by compromising we picked up five of them. Only Duke remained. We just about had him, when Pete cut in and changed the subject. What a blow! This was the nearest we had ever been in deciding anything. (Mike)

Once again, compromise was brought into play but just before we could reach a decision Lew suggested we look over the group process for the day. . . . Now, examining group process generally is a good idea, but for once it came at the worst possible time. We were so close to reaching a decision—another minute, I am sure, would have produced the solution. (Art)

When the chips were down, Duke remained a "tyrannical minority of one" or, as somebody else might see it, a "beacon against conformity."

None of us knew what to do with Duke, so we bogged down. I wonder if he really is a tyrant or if I am seeing him this way because I want it to be that way. . . . Poor old Duke. . . . I really feel for him! I think he needs help as much as anyone else in this group. . . . I am a little ashamed for judging him on so little evidence but when I see him dressed up for his job interviews I quake in

my boots. I think of the understanding it will take to help him get settled in a job and I worry about the strife this kid is going to have. . . . Perhaps he won't be as badly off as I fear now, but I wouldn't hire him to work with me or a group regardless of his abilities. (Beverly)

Under certain circumstances, the strength of an individual to resist group pressure can serve both him and his group. The conflict between individual freedom and conformity is often thorny indeed.

These people are *all* afraid to try something new—just as I told them. What a bunch of so-called leaders! We will undoubtedly end up with a parrot final, but not if I have anything to do about it. It seems I am becoming a real blocker. I don't think so. The weak ones said they would compromise, which made my opinion all the firmer. I'll "block" them to the very end! (Duke)

After this session, only one more hour was left for the grading problem. Interestingly enough, both of Duke's "satellites" had by now given up on the group.

Well—time is really running out on us. Just a little over six weeks to go and we will be into our final. . . . As far as I can see, this group will never have 100 per cent consensus on anything—not even the time of day. (Hank)

Today, one hour and fifty minutes were spent haggling. . . . We only have one more hour left for discussion. From the way things have been going I know the whole thing will be a big flop and wind up in Irv's hands. (Ben)

While some despaired, others plotted.

Next time if I see that we are not coming to a decision, I'm going to walk to the board, jot down a few figures and say: "This is better than what Irv will do." Then I'll get two or three others to chime in to the effect that what I am doing is good for the class and we'll railroad it through. It seems that now this is the only way we can expect to get things done! (Max)

After class, I joined one of the little groups that so frequently stand around to relive the events of the day and offered encouragement to one member who I felt could have been of greater help to the group.

Irv spoke to me after class and gave me words of encouragement. This was a great help, for it is hard for me to keep my courage unless I see that I am making some real contributions. . . . I was amazed to learn that my feelings show so accurately clear across the room or rather that they were interpreted so accurately by him. . . . I realize I am hampered by my inability to see all the processes. I am so busy trying to handle my own feelings when others constantly misinterpret or exhibit hostility. The realization of where my problem lies somehow seems to help, because when I recognize why I feel as I do, it seems to soften the impact. It was a terrific relief to me just to have someone else recognize my problem. (Marie)

Observer: Confronted with the task of resolving the grading problem within a specified period of time, the group appeared bogged down. Why? On the surface the development of problem-solving procedures appeared the main source of difficulty. In reality, it seems to me, the trainer-imposed restrictive decision that the group must arrive at unanimous agreement divested the group of any democratic pretensions and forced it into an absolutist régime.

In some way this meeting had the elements of a classical tragedy—with members being witnesses to and participants in a fate over which they had no control. Boredom and inertia reflected a tension-induced calm—once more before the storm.

The group now had a mythology of the kind in which development could take place only after outbursts of extreme emotional reaction. The rhythmic quality in the group had become firmly established. Apathetic quiescence and emotional violence comprised the world in which the group lived and operated.

The actions in this meeting are traceable to known developments: difficulties over the meaning and exercise of leadership, the expression of feeling, the exploration of interpersonal relationships, the acquisition of skills for dealing with one another. None of the tensions associated with these problems have been resolved. Underneath the apathetic exterior, animosity and frustration flourish. Under these conditions, mature decision-making is hardly to be expected.

One wonders if anyone is to blame for this state of affairs. One certainly cannot attribute malice aforethought to either the group or the trainer. The trainer has to generate emotional reactions in order to attain his training goals, and the group perceives emotion as something to be feared, as something blocking access to its "real goals."

At this point it appears that the group is probably an "unfortunate mix" of people. There appear to be no individuals in the group who can resolve the conflict over the expression of feelings. The trainer raises the issue—he cannot resolve it for the group. The question of whether or not he could have been more helpful in the past is now of secondary importance. At this point almost anything he does is likely to start a conflagration. While the members see the trainer as the culprit and the source of their difficulties, he sees them as irresponsible and juvenile. Both, apparently, have adequate reason to shift the blame for the current impasse to one another. Buck-passing of this kind is generally a result of what we find prevailing—a blatant inability to take responsibility for what is *really* going on.

April 12 (Nineteenth Meeting): Red "Blows His Cork"

Daily volume = 3.4% (average)
E.I. = 2.5 (very high)
S.I. = .6 (average)

One hour was all that was left for the grading problem. Little enough time, but under the present circumstances, even with the best intentions on the part of most, a failure experience appeared certain.

I opened the meeting by asking whether the group would like to continue with the grading problem or to spend some time on "profitable discussions." My slip was obviously showing! The word "profitable" drew quite a chuckle from the group. Some were dubious whether we could have a profitable discussion, while others were openly concerned about the lack of trust that I was showing in them. Once again I had faced the crucial crossroads—to intervene or not to intervene. If I had to act all over again, I definitely would let the group go its own way.

If we had tackled the grading problem today, we would not have made it. We were thinking about a lot of things, but not about grading. Many of us are afraid of the grading problem. . . . Today when the subject was mentioned, many of us had a very worried look on our faces and we squirmed around in our seats. I believe most of us are aware of the grading problem, but our inability to meet the problem is causing tensions and frustration. (Dick)

After sidetracking the grading problem, we again focused on the "hidden agenda," on fears and defenses which we use to protect ourselves—sometimes against the impact of training.

Apparently all of us do not accept the idea that the "hidden agenda" interfere with a group becoming "a group" or that we all use defenses to protect ourselves. I try to look at my reactions and I can see clearly how I defend myself when I start "clamming up". . . . I enjoyed our discussion of "fear" and was surprised—no, that was not the right word—disappointed that more of us weren't interested or did not feel involved. (Dorothy)

I was of the opinion that it was not the responsibility of the group to draw in these nonparticipants. I thought if they do not want to participate, that is their business, and the group should not concern itself about it. After seeing what happened today I am not sure that this is true. (Dick)

During the discussion of personal inadequacies, Dorothy made the following statement: "I have a fear that people don't pay much attention to what I have to say. Therefore I don't speak as often as I am tempted to do." This was an interesting comment; we talked about it for the remainder of the hour. Through this experience I think Dorothy gained new self-reliance. By bringing

her problem out into the open, she found at least a partial solution—hurray! (Bob)

The discussion droned on; some people appeared restless. Red, of “to-hell-with-Irv” fame, appeared particularly disturbed. Having met with his small-project group, I knew that all was not well with him, either in the large class or in his small group.

At first, when this class started, I thought I would put out a good deal of effort and be satisfied with any grade. . . . Lately I become so involved and worked up over what goes on in here that it is beginning to worry me. When I finally realized what it was all about, and could do something about it, I discovered that my other courses weren’t going too well either. For some time I had only one thought in mind—the grade—but as of now, I feel the hell with it! . . . I’ll do just enough work to get by with a “B” and who cares what the rest of the class thinks. Maybe I’ll feel differently later, but I doubt it! . . . Speaking of morale, mine is at rock bottom. . . . At first I was interested in personnel but now I am wondering whether all these people aren’t just a bunch of happy-boy idealists. (Red)

When Red could stand it no longer, he literally “blew his cork.” He attacked the class as a “bunch of hypocrites,” and accused the members of not saying what they meant while putting their inner thoughts into their diaries.

I knew this was going to happen because our small-project group discussed withholding personal feelings with Irv when we met with him last Tuesday afternoon. . . . Red “blew the cap off the class” by saying that we were all a bunch of hypocrites, that he felt we were getting nothing out of this, and that he was sick and tired of writing things in his diary. He challenged us, saying it was time our true personal feelings came to light. . . . I immediately backed Red for two reasons. First, I was sick of pussyfooting around, and second, even though Red had said everything I felt like saying, I knew it was necessary to back him and not to leave him hanging. (Bob)

Red finally took off this morning, telling us . . . that the class stunk. I thought to myself—here was a fellow who finally was saying what he felt—this could lead to some good! Several other people lauded Red’s “guts” and seemed to be pleased. . . . Later I found out that the only reason Red had blown his cork was because he had heard a guy in Tannenbaum’s class had done the same and got an A for his effort. This really proves what a bunch of jerks this class contains. This whole business makes me disgusted. Just a few more meetings till the end of “the comedy hour.” Thank God! (Hank)

Today we had a real good session. Many things were brought into the open which needed to be said *and* we accepted them and worked with them. It was great that no one felt a need to hop on Red’s back, yelling: “No, we aren’t hypocrites!” Many less dramatic things have been said about us and we have whistled and screamed, no! No! No! Today we took up Red’s opinion and used it. . . . This shows real growth. . . . (Beverly)

Permissiveness is getting better every day. Personal objectives are now getting to be compatible with class objectives. . . . I admire Irv more and more—his handling has improved. (Maurice)

This was the most disgusting meeting we ever had! As the semester progressed, it became obvious to me that we have in our midst a few with very negative attitudes. They seem to think that this class is a joke. I really don't know why they took the course. This negative attitude seemed to spread until now it is held by the majority. . . . I personally am so disgusted I don't know what to do. Irv seems incapable of coping with the situation. Morale is at an all time low. . . . I admire Al for saying that it was the responsibility of the individual to aid rather than to hinder the group. If everyone felt this way, we could make some real progress. . . . I see some people just waiting for the course to end so they can go on their merry way. At first I thought they were merely ignorant but now there is definite antagonism. (Lew)

As a result of Red's outburst, the group began to speculate on the difference between "feedback" and "criticism." It became clear that the issue was not whether people were telling each other exactly how they felt, but rather what the intent was in offering this type of communication.

From my experience, out-and-out criticism is seldom appreciated. It creates antagonism, ill feelings, and strains, and is not likely to produce the desired changes. Helping another individual—if he wants help—is quite a different matter. Bob and Bill were trying to help when they calmly and tactfully told Maurice what they thought about his communication skills, how his speaking affected them, and what he might do to improve himself. Maurice was aware of his ineffectiveness, wanted help, and took their comments well. . . . Interestingly, a little later, when someone else told Bill that he was doing the same thing he objected to in Maurice, Bill was pretty thoroughly stopped and had little to say for the rest of the period. Evidently what is good and acceptable for one person isn't for another. Here is proof that personalities do vary—people must be considered and handled individually—not on a mass basis. (Frances)

Once again many admitted their fear of being criticized. Some people were afraid primarily for themselves, some for others. Those who were now able to express their true feelings shared a sense of real accomplishment, whereas the rest appeared confused and angry.

It was interesting that half of our group had the "we" feeling today. These were the people who could function effectively if it were not for the rest of the eight-balls in our class. I really don't see how they can feel as free as they do, with so many antagonistic people in the group. . . . They may be the golden-haired boys and girls of the group as of now, but they can't stay blind to the feelings of those others. (Lew)

I really almost wanted to weep when Duke told us that his mind was closed, especially once we started talking about defenses, motives, and the like. . . . I bet that within twenty-five years every university student will be required to have a similar experience during his first two years of college. . . . I should talk to Irv about this. . . . Perhaps it will help me gain perspective. (Beverly)

Observer: This meeting highlights the intense ambivalence rampant in the group. A counterpoint of emotionality played throughout. Moments of quietude contrasted with outbursts of feeling, and friendliness alternated with animosity. Harmonious moments in which sensitivity and acceptance predominated gave way to a cacophony of accusation and despair. Red's blowup emphasized the feeling of schism in the group.

Underneath it all is the perpetual and crucial problem that members of all groups must face: is membership in the group inhibiting the aims of the individual? Much of the activity reflected efforts to help individuals maintain their personal integrity in the group. Some of the devices used to protect individuals from the painful inroads of tension were examined. Some of the antipathies in the group were identified as scare efforts, thereby preventing retaliation. The group was struggling for a "we" feeling in order to determine whether individual rights and goals would be sacrificed in the process. It was trying to develop a *modus operandi* by means of which the expression of feelings could be seen as positive and constructive.

Despite its variability this was a warm and rewarding hour for many. It provided catharsis for the moment, although the anxiety-laden grading problem lay immediately ahead. In one sense, this meeting revealed the group in its true character. The quality of the interaction revealed on one hand a tremendous potential for deep understanding and acceptance, and on the other, a disruptive blindness.

April 17 (Twentieth Meeting): The Long Break

Daily volume = 3.7% (high)

E.I. = 2.9 (very high)

S.I. = .4 (low)

For a number of sessions the storm had been brewing. Another crisis was at last at hand. Numerous unresolved issues were affecting the group, whether people wanted to admit it or not. Some of these had to be dealt with, if the group wanted to survive as a psychological entity.

At the beginning of the meeting, I used a tape recorder to play back

a portion of the last session and tried to summarize the complaints made by group members, as I heard them: First, we don't have any particular goals; second, even if we did, we wouldn't know how to attain them; third, the instructor is inadequate; fourth, we are looking for an ideal instead of reality—life is not “a bowl of cherries”; fifth, we don't use the readings which are designed to help point the way; sixth, there is a general lack of motivation; seventh, too many of us are trying to be amateur psychologists; and finally, we have cliques operating which hurt the group.

The usual feeble attempts to try to come to grips with these problems met with no success. . . . Very little enthusiasm was shown, and only a few participated. (Ben)

My morale has fallen very rapidly in these last two meetings. . . . I should really go for this course, but now I am just getting mad at it. What's more, there seems to be no relief in sight. . . . I noticed Mike was absent today. So was Fred. They probably figured they wouldn't miss anything. . . . Right now I am about to start blaming Irv again. I've read the trainer often gets to be the scapegoat. No wonder! (Lew)

We fell apart today! We reached a crisis and it darn near broke us up. A few of us are ready to give up and quit right now. Some seem to think it's the instructor's fault, others don't, and still others don't know. (Dick)

We are really suffering these days. Throughout practically the whole meeting, my feelings and opinions were all negative. . . . I couldn't see any particular point in participating and I didn't. . . . Something in the way of realization is beginning to creep up on me. . . . I thought a person could shut himself off from the rest of the class, after having been fairly active, much as I was. . . . Obviously I was wrong. . . . I also thought it would be possible to go all out for just one person—myself—but the particular circumstances of this class make that impossible. . . . Apparently the only real way to get something out of this is to get involved to the extent that you work up a set of ulcers. . . . Then what happens to your other classes? It's really a vicious circle. (Red)

Some people began to experience intense dislike for each other.

Today I really formed some reactions. If I listed my gripes about certain members of this group, I would fill volumes. . . . Beverly with her up-in-the-clouds attitude is a real gripe; Robin is a pain, with her I-don't-care attitude, when really she cares as much as anyone; the same with Bill, and his “I don't care what grade I get,” or with Marie and her psychology approach which falls as flat as anything I've ever seen. If Bill is so damned interested in learning, why doesn't he come more often! He missed exactly half of our meetings. If he is interested in learning, my name is George Washington! . . . I think we all have these feelings toward each other. True—a lot of what these people say is good, but they hide it with such a cover of B.S. it's hard to see. (Art)

At one point in the proceedings, with the atmosphere chilled as ice, Robin suggested that the group have a party at her house, sometime in the near future. This suggestion was received with mixed emotions. Much time was spent discovering the best date when most people would be free to get together. Monday evening, April 29, was finally decided upon.

Robin's proposal for a party—even though it may have been meant temporarily to relieve tension—came at a rather inopportune time. In the first place, it cut sharply into the thoughts of those members who were struggling to do something about the “hidden agenda” and, secondly, it conveniently gave those who balk at looking at personal problems too good an excuse to sidestep the issue all over again. . . . I would like to see the group get together socially—maybe it would bring us closer together—but right now I wonder. . . . Interestingly enough it was Robin, who had indicated she cared least what happened to us, who offered her house for the party. (Frances)

As far as Robin is concerned, she took a definite step toward making herself integrated into the group. I admired her greatly for it. I was happy to see that she was losing her air of detachment. (Jean)

The party discussion was followed by the “long break”—twenty-two minutes, as someone timed it. A few left for the co-op to get coffee, but most stood around, talking in small groups and wondering what was to happen next. For some, these small informal groupings were conducive to conversation. Here, at least, they found attention to what they had to say. Here they were not left dangling, as happened so frequently in the large group.

When we finally reassembled, someone observed how nice it was to get together in little groups and just talk. This was kicked around for a while, but really not much else was happening.

Once again I felt the urge to “insert the needle.” I was concerned that we weren't getting any place fast. I was also angry. My own need to see results proved overwhelming. I was unable to contain my impatience, at least with some of our members.

I believe sincerely that most groups are strong enough to work out their own destinies, but I often subconsciously do not rely on my own prescriptions. This time I again confronted the group with a request to look at itself and further hinted darkly that unless some of the blockers were dealt with, this “train would surely head for derailment.”

The immediate reaction to my comments was strong and unequivocal. First Max, then Duke and Lew demanded to know whom I had in mind as “blockers” and also insisted that I too stop pussyfooting.

When we get specific, either Irv doesn't want to get involved or several of the group members do not want to get specific. . . . I don't understand what's going on. . . . Everyone gets mad because we don't get down to brass tacks. But nobody wants to mention names—they want to speak in general about the specific. Beverly said that we “just have to believe”—she reminded me of a preacher. In some ways this course is beginning to be like religion, being forced upon us for our own good! (Lew)

Today we asked Irv to back up some of the vague statements he keeps making about mysterious problems we are evading and elusive persons who are “blockers.” He refused to answer. . . . I don't feel Irv is a member of the group, but if he makes reference to “blockers” he should go ahead and tell who they are or else keep quiet! . . . He shouldn't make any more references to this subject if he has to be vague. I really felt boiling about this, although I think it is a waste of time to get worked up. . . . (Hank)

My sentiment for the whole day is crap! . . . When we played back the tape it seemed that our voices were partially omitted. I don't know if this was on purpose or not. . . . I really got teed off when Irv laid down his trump card. He mentioned “blockers” again and I got the feeling it was us, Hank and I, whom he was talking about. I asked him to mention who they were and he reneged. . . . I got pretty worked up about it, especially as Irv seemed to wallow in indecision. If the period had lasted a little longer I think I could have gotten him to say what he felt. By now I am almost positive Irv is down on Hank and me. (Duke)

What to do with my own feelings—the controversial issue of “counter-transference” which group trainers and therapists have to face. My lack of desire or ability to become “just another member of the group” clearly revealed one of my own blind spots which eventually I shall have to deal with.

The only interesting part of today's meeting occurred when Dr. Weschler got angry. He was vague—our class members usually are vague unless they are blunt—and this precipitated a crisis. . . . He talked about the “blockers” but did not mention them by name, as Max and others wanted him to do. . . . I think the group should grow up. What good would it have done for Dr. Weschler to name names? These people would have had an outlet for any petty gripe by merely stating that Dr. Weschler didn't like them, was prejudiced against them, etc. . . . The final excuse would have been directed toward their grade, with which they ended the semester. It would have been a gross tactical error for Dr. Weschler to name these people. It surprised me that so few people realized it. . . . (Robin)

When Irv refused to name names, the discussion became very heated. Several students came to Irv's defense. Those who wanted him to pin down the “blockers” accused his defenders of “simply working for a grade.” But the attackers failed. . . . Irv got pretty mad at the attempt to corner him. He did not name those he felt were problems to the group. . . . I feel he was right. His

opinion would have had too great an impact on the people he would have mentioned. It may be all right for us to criticize one another, but Irv's opinion means much more than the opinions of the rest of us. This was evidenced by the clamor to hear his views. Let's face it—Irv is not now nor will he ever be a member of this group. (Bill)

At the height of the debate, Al again made a plea for a change in our attitudes.

I can't get over what another outstanding speech Al made. He really pinpointed our problems. The change of attitude requested was well put. He is a thinker, with lots of insight. I hope his morale is built up by now. (Beverly)

Al made a terrific contribution. . . . On the whole, I think his comments are true. Those who accuse others of being amateur psychologists use this as a defense in order not to have to look at themselves. . . . They also resent anyone else's attempt at self-improvement. . . . Max's, Duke's, and Lew's aggressive attacks and criticism of Irv, I felt, were totally uncalled for. Why do they delight in putting him on the spot? Why don't they give him a chance to speak? Why don't they listen to what he has to say instead of bombarding him with repeated pointed questions? . . . He doesn't have the answer. It's up to the group to find it. . . . Don't they think or care that he has feelings too? (Frances)

What we did to Irv today shouldn't happen to the grubbiest worm. I think it was good that he didn't show how strongly he really felt about things. At least it shocked some of us into realizing that he has feelings too and is almost as human as the rest of us. . . . I am sure Duke's motives and those of a couple of others are so far off in demanding Irv name names that here I am on the soap box again! . . . Duke did not want to know for any constructive reason if he was a "blocker." He wanted to have something to ridicule (more ammunition for his premise that this is all good for nothing) or get the satisfaction of knowing just what Irv (as teacher) thinks of him. . . . I think it was really too bad that Max broached the subject the way he did. He appeared sincere and wanted to know for understanding's sake. How much better it would have been if he had asked Irv whether he was one of the blockers, rather than asking for all the others to be named! (Beverly)

The bell rang just as things were going "hot and heavy."

Seems strange—the class's most hostile feelings and tense moments so often come out at the end of the period when there isn't time to work things out. . . . Is this significant or perhaps unconsciously deliberate? That is, do we feel safe to let go only when we are reasonably sure we won't be called on to account for our actions? Maybe it's a good thing the bell rang to allow everyone to simmer down. On the other hand, had there been more time, I wonder if we wouldn't have taken over and ironed out a few wrinkles or tossed out a few rocks (not meaning the members) that have been getting in the way? (Frances)

It is most frustrating to see how we never seem to get down to "cases" until the last few minutes of the period. . . . So many people are unable to face the re-

sponsibilities of this class. They are afraid to become serious when they know it will mean involvement for them. (Marie)

I finally realized it isn't Irv who is the cause of our failure, but everybody else's "hidden agenda" which they feel but push off to the back of their minds. . . . I don't know how we can solve this problem but it better be solved soon or else we will all hate each other so much we will never get anything done. (Art)

Observer: This session had a retrogressive quality. Tension-provoking issues, which had lain dormant, burst to the surface again.

The suggestion by Robin that the group have a social party represented a despairing reversion to maternalism as a panacea. It had worked before—why not again? The "long break" was another version of the earlier "walkout." The challenge to the trainer to "name names, to stop pussyfooting" paralleled the "railroading" episode. From another point of view, the group reflected the trainer's earlier power tactics in identifying the clique and in making the group aware of its avoidance techniques by now pointing out to him that turn-about was fair play. He now was in a position "to be treated just like everyone else."

Although, for the most part, group members need to see the trainer's behavior as based upon far superior insights, this projected omniscience must eventually be withdrawn if the group is to function on a reality basis. The breakup of this particular quasi-delusion is a major step in the development of an integrated, efficient group. One might say that as a group develops maturity, it gradually changes from the undifferentiated irreality of a primitive religious sect to that of a responsible, reality-oriented entity with rights of self-determination. This process seems characterized by the emergence of the creative capacity inherent in the individuals comprising the group.

As the trainer is allowed to become human, can he also become a full member of his group? The answer must be a qualified "no." To the degree that the group can be seen as a circle, the trainer can at best approach it, but rarely if ever join wholly in it. He is a member to the extent that he instigates, amplifies, and reflects processes taking place in the group. He cannot be a member for the obvious reason that he does not identify himself wholly with the group. Membership in a group requires commitment to its values, responsibility for upholding them, and maintenance of a full-scale identification with the total experience. The requirements of the trainer role demand a certain degree of objectivity and specifically unique behaviors that preclude his attainment of full membership. One way of characterizing the trainer position is to say that he is a participating nonmember. The effective

trainer seems to be one who can maintain a dual identity with consistency.

This meeting represents another genuine effort on the part of the group to resolve its difficulties over the trainer role. The trap of urging the trainer to "name names" is an effort fully to incorporate him into the group, but he attempts to maintain his position of being partly within and partly outside the group.

The situation is extremely difficult. To reiterate, this state of affairs is in some measure due to the trainer's own behavior and also to the nature of the group with which he has to deal. These issues are not yet resolved satisfactorily—will they ever be?

April 19 (Twenty-first Meeting): At Last—Naming Names

Daily volume = 4.0% (high)

E.I. = 2.1 (high)

S.I. = .8 (very high)

General nervousness and restlessness characterized the opening minutes. No one wanted to "face the music." The silence appeared so embarrassing that Robin felt the need to break in with "Well, good morning everybody," and Maurice tried to relieve the tension by offering "to sell tickets to the party."

I felt pretty scared, too, but was determined to see if we could get back where we left off last meeting. I asked the group if they would like Irv to play back the tape of the end of our last session. . . . Again silence reigned. . . . Then Beverly gathered her courage, leaped in, and launched us on a discussion of how others affected us. (Marie)

As the discussion became more and more personal, feelings of acceptance and good will increasingly pervaded the group.

At last, at last! We finally got down to naming names. We are beginning to tell how we affect each other. At last I am getting something out of this. . . . Max told me that I sometimes go on and on, and bore him. I can see his point. I have not been as effective as I would like to be. We are making progress. . . . We are getting down to what I wanted to do earlier in the semester. I wonder why it took so long to overcome the fears that many have about naming names. Is it that in trying to speed the process up, I in reality helped slow it down? . . . Unless something comes up that will block us in the future, I believe we will rapidly progress in our last few meetings—but there are so few meetings left now. (Lew)

Some people who were helped to speak felt exhilarated and grateful to those who made their contribution possible.

Today was *the* crowning day. I finally made my contribution, which is something I've been waiting to do for eleven weeks. . . . If I were asked what brought it about, I guess the only answer is that I was directly called on. . . . I still don't think that this is the most effective approach. Some people would feel more uncomfortable if they were put on the spot; as a result they might clam up even more. . . . In my case, the group wanted to know how I felt and I told them. I really feel most of the credit goes to Beverly who gave me the support I needed when she told the group to try to understand that this was the way I felt—that *I was expressing my own feelings*. . . . I wish this could be done for others beside myself. I think that I will be more at ease from here on in. (Larry)

As individual members found courage to have their say, they were appreciated for the value of their comments.

For the first time I noticed Pete today. When he spoke he had something valuable to say, and the class seemed to be very interested. He had their full attention; his remarks impressed the group so much that now—when he is going to speak—the group will surely take notice. The same thing happened to Larry and Hank. Maybe this will come to some good. I think it will. (Dick)

Once again a truly permissive climate was being felt.

We talk about permissiveness and acceptance. . . . I have read about it, have heard of it, have believed in it; but it is an entirely different story when you personally experience it. . . . At the beginning, when I made my first suggestion to start the group off, I was so scared I was actually shaking; it took all the courage I could muster just to get in. . . . Later, when the atmosphere changed and people were more friendly and accepting, I said and did things which previously would have taken a great amount of courage; I felt no apprehension and found I was excited about what was developing and no longer shaking. . . . It was wonderful. . . . I felt I was more effective than at any other time. . . . I again have complete faith in human nature to work out its own problems. I don't think there's anything that will destroy this feeling for me. . . . (Marie)

I was happy to see the group give Larry a chance to talk, to see them really listening to what he had to say. His comments were not all surprising to me—they merely confirmed what I had been thinking and feeling. . . . especially about the group's lack of consideration and disinterest in members as individuals. . . . At several points I could almost feel the adrenaline surge through my system as I got set to spout off on some thought which had popped into my mind, but before I could get it out, the appropriate moment had passed, the inner jitteriness died down, and I forgot what it was that I wanted to say. (Frances)

Red was asked how he felt when someone didn't support him or back a point which he tried to make. He didn't seem concerned about it. This surprised me. I sometimes get the feeling that Red isn't honest with us. . . . When Larry was next asked how he felt, I was interested because he has an inferiority complex

and a pessimistic attitude. He said he felt people didn't want to hear him. He also said he resented people like Red and me because we act "like gods." . . . This was interesting to me because Larry is in our small group, and for that matter, so is Red. . . . Perhaps I can do something to make Larry understand me better, and in doing so, perhaps I can understand him better also. . . . At the end of the hour we quizzed Hank and he said he felt completely negative about the class. I question this very much—why is he always in attendance? (Mike)

It was impressive to see how many members of the group were truly aware of each other and sensed the processes going on in the group as a whole. Beverly was largely responsible for providing support and directing the group in its progress. Although she was very active, her efforts appeared primarily group-oriented. What a difference between her behavior now and that during the "railroading" episode, many a meeting ago!

If we clocked the minutes I talked today in relation to my mathematical share, I should go into a shell for two weeks! . . . I thought that I controlled the group for almost the entire two hours, but I don't think it was too bad, or they wouldn't have kept on the track for so long. . . . I was really pleased with my participation. It all was so easy—I was so relaxed. . . . I hope we can have more days like this. . . . At times I felt I had the bull entirely too firmly by the horns. . . . Marie and I talked at length after class about the difference between manipulation and control. . . . With her help I saw that if I hadn't been meeting the needs of the group, they would not have accepted my control—shall we say, my guidance! . . . How can I be assured that what I did was not resented or that the group went along only to keep me happy? I don't really know if my contribution today was positive or negative, though I am leaning toward positive. . . . I am a little leery. . . . Did I guide the group toward my ends or toward their ends? (Beverly)

As a result of the discussion, Beverly gained an interesting insight.

I had a real awakening today. In the past I have been offended by some of the group questioning my sincerity. Today it dawned on me that they have been thinking I was working for a grade. How naive and blind could I be? It never once entered my mind that people were sitting back and saying, "what an apple polisher!"—therefore not hearing or caring what I said. It really hit me like a ton of bricks. It had never even entered into my subconscious! . . . Isn't it amazing what we learn if we just stick around? (Beverly)

My own expressions of dissatisfaction with my behavior at the previous meeting also contributed to the permissive atmosphere.

I think Irv did a terrific job today. . . . I'm sure that his comment, "I listened to the tape in my office and must say I'm not very pleased with what I said or the way I used the term 'blockers,'" had a very good effect on many people.

We were again able to see Irv as a human being, with feelings, and to realize that he has more interest in the group than just being the instructor. (Marie)

Irv finally came through—as if he knew what he was doing! His comments and encouragements were spontaneous (for the first time this semester). He spoke up at the right time and said the right things. (Lew)

When Irv mentioned to me that I should try saying what I want to say, it had a tremendous courage-producing and relaxing impact on me. . . . I also thought the way Irv handled himself was very good, as far as morale was concerned. Today he entered into the group and really helped us. I think the kids accepted him better for it. (Beverly)

For the first time in weeks, the group carried through without taking a break. As usual, some concern focused on the “big three.”

Our situation with Hank and Duke is more serious than I was able to comprehend before today's meeting. I had a hunch about this, but couldn't possibly believe it. . . . The fact is that Duke and Hank feel they have a more powerful status in this group than any other members. . . . Duke said after class, “We can do anything we want to this group, and you can't do a thing about it.” . . . He has terrific ability to see how he affects the group. His strategy depends on it. It's a shame that this talent cannot be turned to the benefit of the group. . . . At the end, Lew asked Hank if he felt he had made progress, and Hank answered “no.” Then he laughed and turned to Duke. I wondered why he laughed and asked him. Before he could speak, Duke answered for him. “Can't you see—he can't say anything else—if he did your whole world would collapse.” I think what Duke meant to say was that Hank's whole world would collapse—including Duke's. . . . Mike seemed to be aware of this when he told Hank, “Whatever you do—don't lose the protection of your castle.” (Marie)

I am ready to give up on Hank. I think we need to accept reality. He is not about to see our common problems and therefore we have to try to work without his interference. Al had another point about sending him home. Since that isn't practical, we must try to move in spite of him. . . . (Beverly)

The frequent focusing on the “big three” could be interpreted as one way the rest of the group could avoid looking at itself.

Today I was complaining to the class about using these three as scapegoats. Any time we are faced with a problem we don't want or know how to solve, we find it much easier to turn around and belittle these boys. . . . Why do we do it? Because we know that in the past these guys “have taken it.” In this way the class doesn't have to face up to the issues that need facing. I don't feel sorry for these boys. I feel sorry for the class because of what it needs to do to its individual members in order to protect itself. (Robin)

For some, the situation involving the “blockers” appeared hopeless.

Perhaps I am blind to the situation, but right now all I can see is a deep, bottomless pit which has no light at the opposite end to guide our way. Some

feelings and attitudes should be changed, but nothing that I have seen will do the changing. . . . Something is wrong; I can partially put my finger on what it is, but I certainly have no idea how to solve the problem. . . . I think I will purposely miss a meeting and see what will happen to my attitude. Perhaps I will feel differently—perhaps not. (Art)

By now, both Duke and Hank seemed trapped, partly by their own machinations and partly by the role which the group had assigned to them. Both had strongly ambivalent feelings—Duke enjoyed the sweet taste of power, whereas Hank got neurotic satisfaction from “acting out” the role of the disinterested, disgusted student.

I am getting frustrated more and more. . . . I find I have several roles to play I want to help the class, but I also feel I have to defend my friends when they are attacked. Things aren't helped when Hank blurts out his disgust with the group. I guess I will have to stick by Hank and give up on the class. . . . In my opinion Irv doesn't foster people who are individualists. . . . I think we, Hank and I, have the group where we want them. Irv realizes this. We'll see. . . . Everybody bitched about long breaks, so today we didn't have one. . . . I think everyone was afraid to move. I bet if Hank and I had gotten up, the class would have followed. What a bunch of sheep! (Duke)

Today I told the class what I really thought of them. . . . Irv was very astute in his observation of me. I do like to be in the limelight. . . . There are many things going on that I do believe to be worth while and interesting. I have, however, assumed the role of the disinterested, disgruntled student and I will be stuck with it for the rest of the semester. I shall have to tell the class the things that they have come to expect to hear from me. . . . I would like to know if Irv feels I am a blocker or if he is aware that I am overplaying the role I have taken up. At first, the role was not a conscious one, but of late I am working at appearing to be disinterested. If I didn't like the class somewhat, I would miss many more sessions than I have. (Hank)

Of the “big three,” only Ben was able to stand aside, without feeling isolated from the rest of the group.

Today Marie told us how uneasy she feels when Duke makes side remarks to either Hank or me while she is speaking. She thinks that we are talking about her. . . . Hank gave out with his usual negative attitude of utter disgust; at least he is frank about it. There are probably a few others who feel this way, but don't express it. . . . It was brought out that this might be his way of attracting attention to himself, but I don't go along with this. I believe he is just so disillusioned and disgusted that he has closed his mind. I don't believe he'll ever change! . . . I noticed we didn't take a break today, and no one called for one. What does this mean? (Ben)

Observer: By this time, it was apparent that this was not to be a “happy-ending” group. Not only was time running against the members and the

trainer, but the divergence of private interests would not permit smooth and satisfying resolutions. The purpose and methods of training were a continuing source of ambiguity, and the network of interpersonal relationships had become so complex that focused and discriminating analysis of the underlying conflicts was well-nigh impossible. All of this had become by now abundantly clear.

Despite waves of dissatisfaction that tended to sweep over the group, honesty and integrity were nonetheless visible as individual members tried to face up to the sources of conflict. The fact that the group did not take a break reflects the intensity of their need to cope with one another. Although intragroup conflicts were sharp, there was a strong undertone of cohesiveness.

Like many of the recent sessions, this meeting had moments both of warmth and of anger. At this stage, the members were much like a large scrappy family, often engaged in violent civil war, but quick to unite in the face of any threat from the outside. Slugging it out with one another, while attempting to accept feelings and attitudes, was now part and parcel of this group's way of life. The shifting of mood, the lability of emotion, the egocentric meanderings all had hysterical overtones.

Much as the group was annoyed by its own behavior, it also enjoyed it. For example, the handling of the "clique" was as much motivated by a desire to maintain it as it was by a desire to permit it to dissolve. The clique became a symptom of the group's differences rather than their cause. As far as the "big three" were concerned, the fires of hell couldn't rend them asunder. Visibly upset and disgruntled, this subgroup had a unique individuality which gained it a great deal of gratifying attention. Were it not for Duke, the other members of the clique might have suffered the fate of anonymity. Now their union gave them notoriety. In exchange for this "popularity," they remained resolute and unchangeable, offering both the group and the trainer a persistent touchstone for getting into areas of interpersonal process.

Unquestionably this group has a unique character of its own. It may not be operating according to certain idealized training conceptions, but there is no doubt that it engages its members in vigorous and vital interaction.

April 24 (Twenty-second Meeting): Hank's Peace Offering

Daily volume = 3.0% (low)
E.I. = 1.9 (average)
S.I. = .8 (very high)

What an amazing surprise! Hank, perhaps the group's most negative member, passed out cigars and candy after becoming the father of a baby boy. A greater peace offering seemed hardly possible.

For the first time, Hank really thought of our group. . . . When people offered him their sincere congratulations, I believe he felt the group had a personal interest in him rather than in "Hank, the Blocker," as I believe he has been classified. (Bob)

Hank came through today—as he has not all semester. It was just last Thursday when I wrote, "Dear Diary, I give up on Hank." How can anyone not have faith in people when between 75 to 95 per cent of the time they will come through, if we just give them the opportunity to do it in their own way and at their own speed. . . . Duke, too, was a good influence today. He had a point, and he made it well. . . . Duke's insight is too good for his motives. Those people frighten me! (Beverly)

The discussion continued where it had left off at the last meeting—that is, with a searching analysis of feelings. Duke noted that by labeling certain people we fixed them deeper into their role. As he saw it, when they spoke they were expected to say certain things because they had to remain true to their role.

As I sat and listened, I thought to myself what fools some of these people are! I mean, why do they continue to put people into pigeonholes? If I tell a person that he is a "blocker," even if he isn't, after a while he will begin to believe it and assume the role which has been created for him. (Max)

When people expressed amazement at Hank's action, he felt free to say that we really had had a few pretty good meetings—but he would "never admit it again."

Today Hank felt free to say that he had enjoyed and gained a lot from our last meetings. This is surely an important step for him. . . . The news of his new baby boy, I felt, had something to do with it. . . . It proved to me that he really thinks more of the group than he lets on. After all, he passed out cigars and candy in our class rather than in another of his classes. . . . He did not have to share this important news with us. . . . (Marie)

Today Hank was a proud father (for the second time it turns out). . . . He passed out cigars and candy. Yes! Hank *does* care about the class. I am begin-

ning to see Duke's point now. He said that Hank acts like he does because people expect it of him. . . . (Lew)

I remained fairly inactive during the discussion.

Today Irv died in the first hour. Last meeting I thought him to be so effective! Today he hardly said or did anything. Perhaps I am leaning on him a bit hard. . . . But Irv is the man with experience—why shouldn't we use it? In the second period, Irv gave it the old college try, and he was fairly effective. (Lew)

In spite of the permissive atmosphere, some people still felt unable to understand and accept the goals of this experience.

Today we had a permissive atmosphere in our group, but I still feel as if something is wrong. I can't put my finger on it. I am not motivated to join in; maybe it's working with intangibles all the time—I just don't know. This problem has come up again and again with me, and just when I have it licked, here it is all over again. I can't figure it out. . . . I am interested, but I don't know quite what to say, where to go, or what to do. I am not motivated to speak; this in particular is a new experience for me as I have always been an active member in every other group I have ever belonged to. (Art)

Showing *genuine* interest in other people involves more than just "playing by the rules of the game."

Today Russ said we should ask Dorothy and Frances to help us because they obviously have lots of insight. . . . It was funny to watch Russ because he was obviously just giving us "lip service." . . . First, he cut off Dorothy before she was through speaking, and second, he didn't have to point to Frances' insight—all he had to do was to make room for her to talk. (Mike)

This class has the damndest capacity to put me in a bad mood. . . . I just don't feel like putting any effort into it any more. . . . Hell, I am emotionally washed out. . . . Actually, the reason I am having so much trouble may be because I would be admitting my own shortcomings in not being able to help. . . . (Red)

We now have a much clearer understanding of what we should do to improve our interaction. Why then are we constantly violating what we know to be right? We want to hear from the nonparticipants, but instead of the "talkers" keeping silent and giving the hesitant members a chance, some "talker" will always speak up. . . . We have to show those who feel suppressed by the group that we really mean what we say. If we cannot do this, we will fall back into our old habit. . . . I think Hank, Duke, Larry, and others need encouragement and support. (Marie)

Once again, Red contributed to the development of one of the "critical events" of our group's life, when he explored his difficulties in working with or under women.

Here at last was the woman question. . . . Why hasn't it been brought up until now? Damn! I felt as if I had walked into a hornets' nest. . . . The girls are set

apart by their rapport and support among themselves. They know they can rely on each other; therefore the sex boundary is clearly established. . . . At times, the fellows feel edgy about the girls. . . . Until recently, I couldn't even remember Jean's, Marie's, Dorothy's or Frances' names, but Robin and Beverly are real individualists. . . . Funny—I feel more on the girls' side because of their calmness and their humane treatment of people. I worry about our male faction of "cut throats." . . . When I left class, I was struck by a terrible thought—had we set up another clique and thereby cut them out from the rest of the class? I was thinking about it and had to call Irv at his office. He resolved those fears for me. . . . After my conversation with him I am happy again and ready to face "the brighter world." (Maurice)

It was most interesting to hear Red say he didn't like Beverly to get the upper hand in class. I believe what he means is that he wouldn't like anyone to get ahead of him in the struggle for leadership, but then this is just my own biased opinion. (Lew)

Red said he hated to work under a woman. He also mentioned that I controlled the class. I found this most interesting. I assume he was referring to last week, to the day I had such apprehension about. . . . Red tried to soften his comments, but I believe his choice of the word "control" was significant. . . . As usual, the bell rang just as we were getting to dig into its meaning. . . . Perhaps I did "control" the class toward "my ends." I'm getting more and more convinced that the semester is not nearly long enough to get over the hump in this game. . . . I have started on a most interesting path. (Beverly)

Observer: Hank's distribution of cigars and Red's statement of his feeling about women were the key events of this session. These occurrences were interrelated.

Hank's gesture was telling because it forced a reorganization of the way in which he was perceived by the members of the group. Hank, the bitter and negativistic one, a father? A human being? The answer was "yes" on both counts! The collapse of the Hank stereotype was loud enough to be heard.

There ensued a warm exchange of tender feelings. The women in the group gave Hank the warmest reception. Their expression of affection and acceptance came easy—they had behaved in a similar way in response to Irv's masculine act earlier. Red, however, was rubbed the wrong way. The author of "to hell with Irv" and "the group stinks," he had heretofore attained recognition as the emotional Vesuvius in the group. Emotionality, especially of the violent and eruptive kind, was his sole domain. He had showed himself fearless in the expression of feelings. Like others who get a sense of power through using their arsenal of hostile barbs, Red felt threatened by more tender emotions. Sensing

gentleness in the trainer earlier, he had distorted it into weakness and attacked; sensing it again in Hank, he was perhaps even more disturbed. He had to find somebody to attack. Hank's gesture evidently signified for him the dissolution of the clique which heretofore could safely be lambasted. Turning on the women, he created a new clique and vigorously attacked it. In doing so, he broached still another area of conflict within the group and created new difficulties which demanded resolution—a resolution which was not to come.

April 26 (Twenty-third Meeting): The Great Laughing Jag

Daily volume = 3.6% (average)

E.I. = 2.2 (high)

S.I. = .3 (very low)

This was the "Day of the Great Laughing Jag." The meeting started innocently enough. I told the group about an incident that had occurred the night before in the "Sensitivity Training for Managers" workshop. It seems I had prepared over nine hundred individual feedback sheets, which the group had refused to use. I offered them to our class, indicating that it was a great shame to waste so many valuable "sheets of paper." At first, everyone laughed with me, but before too long things got out of hand and any attempt to do serious work was frustrated by joking, banter, and raucous laughter.

This was truly the funniest meeting of the semester. For the first time I saw a near-perfect attitude within the class. We simply shared a feeling for "do nothing." A few wanted to go ahead with the discussion, but every topic bogged down. (Bob)

Today we had a regular joke-fest! Boy, was the atmosphere relaxed! We spent the first forty-five minutes laughing, and some very sharp wits were displayed. Much of the laughing was done at the expense of others. Many of the "chops" were out-of-place sarcasm. Once we were going, it became impossible for anyone to gain attention to start a serious discussion. Eventually most of us were afraid to try to get in. (Bill)

I felt a little guilty that we wasted so much time just being silly. Still, it was a relief just to sit and relax instead of getting down to serious thought and emotion-draining discussions. I enjoyed the free and easy atmosphere, barbed though some of the quips may have been, partly because it was so unusual for the majority of the group to want to do the same thing at the same time. (Frances)

Some recognized the banter for what it was—a thinly veiled outburst

of hostility. Others saw it as flight behavior which prevented the group from dealing with the issues before it.

What a mess! We enjoyed our giggle this morning so much that we didn't stop; consequently we were heading for what some felt to be disaster. . . . Diabolically enough, I enjoyed watching the group floundering while each proposition for discussion was eliminated by one or two negative voices—with few ever coming to the aid of the affirmative. Terrible as it may seem, I like to see people who are too ego-centered get the wind knocked out of their sails every so often, when they get too huffy. (Robin)

I have seen useless groups before but ours today was the topper! . . . I don't know how we got into this frame of mind but it sure was a nasty one. . . . I've said before my interest couldn't sink any lower, but today there I was. Maybe I am not sharp on the upgrade, but I fail to see what form of training I received out of today's session. (Max)

Today's session was so sickening I won't write much about it. We had the "oh, what-a-good-time-I'm-having" attitude where few, if anybody, wanted to accomplish anything. . . . We have numerous problems to attend to, and yet we're unable to deal with these issues. . . . Perhaps we want to wait until the pressure is really upon us to see if we can handle something. The grading problem was presented, some wanted to know about the next quiz, a few wanted to talk about what we did last time, some were for breaking into small groups—but nothing could get started. (Art)

Throughout the "laughing episode," the struggle for leadership continued.

We sure did a nice job of pussyfooting around this morning. A little bit of horsing around is okay, but enough is enough! . . . All attempts to start the ball rolling were quickly blocked. I know I tried, but only got smashed for my efforts—as was everyone else! This group seems to resent any attempt at influencing it. (Red)

At one time, someone said that we were looking for a leader, and yet had we found one, we undoubtedly would have cut his throat. How true! The atmosphere was miserable! I now feel that I can't endure many more sessions like this. . . . Before class I had been in to see Irv in his office. In spite of his encouragement, I could not get up enough intestinal fortitude or steam to do anything. Call it cowardice or whatever—I just fell down on the job completely. (Jean)

If there was ever anything wrong, it was today! It seems everything we did went wrong. We couldn't decide on anything to talk about. We just laughed and laughed, and when I said "we laughed" I mean I laughed too. But it was a forced laugh—one just to try to relieve the tension. . . . It didn't help. The tension seemed to mount higher and higher. I, like too many others, became very frustrated. I didn't know what to do. I made one feeble attempt to bring the group around, but was told in so many words to go to hell. So I did—that

is, I was through. . . . Maybe my action was not excusable. I should have stayed in there and kept trying to bring the group around. (Dick)

Toward the end of the first period, Don indicated that he "had had enough" and "preached" to the group about their misguided behavior. He was obviously very much wrought up, and succeeded in making at least some of the members feel "like a bunch of heels."

Wow! What a day! At least for me. At one point I wanted to stand up when I talked. And I did talk. . . . At first I tried to show subtly my disgust for the "goings-on"—without much success. I borrowed a textbook and started reading in it. . . . Then I read it out loud. . . . And when this didn't work, I finally gave my speech. Indeed, it was a speech! . . . It did have some effect on the group, as things quieted down. I felt it was a strong effort; it took quite a bit out of me. I sure hit home with some; others were on my side. . . . There are always some people you can't reach—ever! (Don)

When Don finally got desperate and brought the group to order, I felt greatly relieved. (Dick)

Don tried to make us feel like bums for what we had done. He probably succeeded with quite a few. After his outburst, the atmosphere got so thick you could cut it with a knife. (Ben)

When Mike tried to focus the discussion on the grading problem, I unwittingly blocked it by asking whether I should now "keep time." I meant to indicate that there was only one hour of discussion left for the grading problem, but my remark was interpreted differently. Duke especially appeared upset and pointed his "accusing finger."

Today Irv finally showed his true colors. He has done it in the past, but not quite so obviously as today. . . . He used Don to tell the class his dislike for their actions. . . . Don reveled in this support. Irv had finally found an ally. I wonder if he really knew what he was doing. . . . I told the group about Irv. I pointed out his power. But I can't fight City Hall by myself. . . . Right now, I might be killing my grade, but I will keep speaking until someone shuts me up. (Duke)

The discussion of my power as well as how I use it produced some contradictory views. One thing that came out clearly was the fact that each individual interpreted the situation differently.

I think Duke's antagonism toward Irv and other influential members of the group is due to fear that they are stronger than he is. (Marie)

Irv has a role in this class. To some people he is a force which they can't fight. Although he doesn't act wrong, his very presence is bad for some members. (Art)

Duke stated that Irv was supporting some members of the group against others. I believe Duke has a poor attitude about Irv's role and power. . . . (Lew)

When Duke brought up his very good point about Irv's authority and power, Maurice tried to tell us that he wasn't aware of it, that it really didn't bother him. . . . I believe anyone who can say this about Irv's power, or that of any instructor for that matter, is a liar! (Ben)

During one interchange, Duke admitted how much he enjoyed being a problem to the group.

Duke today had a field day in trying to make himself look important. He made some good statements, but I am concerned about some of his others. One was that he did his blocking as a jest. . . . Well, he did, but somehow his admission took him down a notch in my view. I don't care whether he really meant what he was saying. I doubt that he will get by with it again. Red called him a "nasty so-and-so" and I was in full concurrence. (Don)

At one time, Duke said he thought it was funny that no one had the "guts" to challenge him about his refusal to go along with the group. He did not recognize that Beverly did in fact challenge him as to his reasons. When he was finally pinned down, he innocently answered, "Oh, I just don't feel up to it today!" He persisted in rationalizing his feelings and behavior and blamed everything either on Irv or on the group. He accused Irv of playing favorites, manipulating people, and making speeches. . . . This is a direct reversal of the remark he made a few weeks ago—"I am the strongest person here. I can do anything I want to and no one can stop me." (Marie)

While Duke, high on his horse, was fighting real or imaginary windmills, Hank, his Sancho Panza, was wistfully wishing to be accepted by the group.

I wish the class knew how much I like the group at times. . . . If I didn't like it I wouldn't show up for every meeting as I do. I think Irv can see how I feel. . . . Still I wonder, will we ever get our problems solved? I really doubt it very much. (Hank)

As a result of having felt pushed around too often in the past, one of the "nonparticipants" decided to change his role.

My biggest problem from now on is to be powerful, and not to give the impression of a namby-pamby who can be walked over. . . . Once this is accomplished I'll be in very good shape—both in class and outside. . . . In the past I have made myself vulnerable and paid the price. No more—if I can help it. (Maurice)

Observer: For all its atmosphere of conflict and frustration, this meeting was remarkable in its resonant quality. The trainees showed exceptional alertness and sensitivity to process. They used not only their capacity for perceiving the interpersonal activities taking place within the group, but also their genuine ability to reflect and interpret behavior to one another.

The outbursts of raucous and gleeful laughter served both to reduce tension and to mask hostility. Yet, there was more to it. The laughter was also a manifestation of the way in which the group reconciled some of its differences with the trainer.

If ever a training session was a direct reflection and vindication of a trainer's conception regarding appropriate group behavior, this was it. As a person with a high degree of emotional responsiveness, the trainer has a great need to elicit affect from the group. For him, evidence of emotionality serves as confirmation of the fact that the training vaccine is "taking." His conception of training is such that emotional learning takes precedence over cognitive learning.

The question now arises as to whether this group is efficient. If by efficiency we mean the ability of the group to meet its "socio" or task needs, its efficiency leaves much to be desired. On the other hand, whether the members are consciously aware of it or not, they are clearly a "psyche" or social group, adept in dealing effectively with one another in terms of interpersonal needs. Their ability to show insight is good. Their problems with one another and with the trainer are fit subjects for discussion. Hostility toward one another, as well as toward the trainer, is no longer repressed. Problems of authority, communication, and interpersonal relations are dealt with directly. The group is fully conscious of the role-aspects of behavior and enjoys working on these areas of concern. With the end of formal organization as a group in sight, the main source of annoyance is not so much the complexities of interpersonal behavior as it is a fear that adequate resolution of tensions may not be attainable.

The trainer problem has now a different quality. At the outset, the group related to him as an authoritarian figure who was failing to exercise his prerogatives. He thereby came to be seen in a variety of ways, mostly unsatisfactory. Given the right of self-determination under the trainer's aegis, the group went ahead trying to provide its own system of internal organization and procedure. In the course of this process, the trainer gradually lost some of his halo and became, more realistically, a potential resource person for the group.

At this point, the group's anxiety is based on the fear that he will not be able to provide closure for whatever residual difficulties remain as the training period comes to an end.

May 1 (Twenty-fourth Meeting): Pleading for Justice

Daily volume = 3.2% (average)
E.I. = 2.4 (very high)
S.I. = .3 (very low)

Considerable time was indirectly spent on the grading problem. The group actually did not tackle the task, but since a number of related process problems were dealt with, the session served a useful purpose. Once again my role, my power, and how I would use it were discussed. By now, some didn't give a hoot how the grading problem eventually turned out; others were concerned that the class might fail in achieving its goal; still others were worried that if the grading reverted back to me, I might use my power to their disadvantage.

Duke feels that Irv would not grade him fairly. I guess Irv would be more inclined to be harsh on Duke and me than on the other members of the group. I don't mean consciously, but then, he is human and subject to all of the failings of human beings. (Hank)

I don't really care if Irv does the grading, but I feel some of the others in the class would get the shaft. I may be wrong but Irv has a few trumps up his sleeve. . . . I don't think my ideas are off base, but they seem to conflict with the attitudes of the group. Why are they always afraid to try anything different or new? (Duke)

Some people seem unnecessarily worried about getting a fair shake. They are afraid of Irv—afraid that he will be prejudiced. . . . Duke thinks that Irv doesn't appreciate his progress—he draws his evidence from Irv's comments which he feels are a chastisement. . . . Irv should show a person what he is doing wrong and perhaps support him at the same time—that would make a person feel that Irv understands his problem and sincerely wants to help. The expression "you can get more out of a person by feeding him sugar instead of vinegar" holds in this case. . . . But there are points to both sides. (Maurice)

I don't think that our remarks were directed against Dr. Weschler's integrity per se. The reason some members don't want to have him do the grading is because he, being human, has formed attitudes, unconsciously or consciously, about certain people which will determine the grades he will give them. If his attitudes are unfavorable, those not favored will not get the grade they feel they deserve. (Robin)

Duke sees Irv as a menace of some sort. I think Duke is down grade points. He is really worked up about grades. He doesn't want Irv to determine them. . . . It was interesting to see Beverly and Al come to Irv's defense. . . . I also noticed Red sitting next to Irv. He wasn't even sitting at a table. I guess this was the only way to get close to Irv. How he seems to be struggling for power! (Lew)

The problem of grades seems to me to be the make-or-break issue. . . . Needless to say, I would love to be the one to "emit the stimuli, verbal, written or gestural, which would facilitate group action toward the common goal." Unfortunately the grading problem is quite personal to me. In other words, my participation would be the opposite of that required of an effective leader—that is, group-centered participation. (Red)

Somehow or other, Irv will have to help us. I am not looking to him as a crutch, yet some sort of indication as to what will be used in the final exam evaluation is needed by the group in order to clear up a few hazy minds and put the class at ease. . . . Frankly I am in favor of Irv's grading. I don't distrust his integrity. I think he will be able to see a lot more than meets the eye and in that way form a more comprehensive conclusion. . . . The fear that some people have of Irv's influence beats the hell out of me. I have never felt more at ease with anyone. . . . Why don't I say this in class? Maybe it's because I think the majority will feel I am kissing it up when actually I'm giving my honest feelings and opinions. (Larry)

Irv's reliability was questioned, as was his objectivity. Some felt that twenty-four opinions are better than one. This was the main point, but there were many others. I had the feeling that there are a number who concur with Duke in their fear of Irv. (Mike)

How interesting that today the discussion was led mainly by those who had similar feelings about Irv—his undue power, his inability or unwillingness to judge fairly and objectively. . . . As far as I am concerned, Irv is not trying to be a force in our group—threatening or otherwise. If he appears to be to some individuals, it is probably because of their attitude toward him or the way they interpret his role. . . . I feel he is as neutral and unbiased as any one person can be. He is deliberately nondirective to give the group a chance to work things out for themselves; and he is much more qualified to see and judge the over-all performance of the members than is any one individual, or even the group as a whole. . . . I am sure when it comes time for him to make his evaluation, he will do it in all fairness to everyone. Even if he has personal likes and dislikes or has been hurt by some of the cutting remarks that have been dished out, I think he will still take everything into consideration and come up with just conclusions. (Frances)

It is continually disturbing to me to learn how much resentment there is toward Irv. I have gained a clear understanding of why this should be, but this knowledge has done little to help me lose my resentment toward the people who use Irv to cover up their real difficulties. . . . My weakness is in not being able to accept this objectively. . . . It seems I can stand it just so long, and then resentment and disgust build up till I develop guilt feelings. . . . I should accept people for what they are and not for what I would like them to be. . . . Duke is the key figure in the group who builds up these feelings in me. . . . Duke is afraid because Irv is getting too close to home. He may be forced inadvertently to disprove some of his own tenacious arguments. . . . Right now, Duke is so scared about his grade he is practically frantic. At last it is finally coming to a

showdown—grades are here. Duke is not pleased with his own behavior because he now knows he can get nothing but a poor grade. He has apparently not been able to learn or try to apply some of the principles of working with others in a group. His only resource now is to build himself up higher and higher as a martyr so that when he gets his low grade, he can say: "I told you so. They didn't like me or understand me." When he gets his high grade, on the other hand, he'll come up with: "Ha ha—I can do anything in the group and they can't stop me. I didn't do anything required but they still couldn't help giving me an A." . . . As far as the grading problem is concerned, we may reach a superficial consensus but I am afraid we have too much individual horn-blowing really to do the job effectively. I hope I am wrong, but I am afraid it's just a little too late in the semester. (Marie)

Student contacts outside the class contributed greatly to the learning process. One such contact helped straighten out some communication difficulties between two members.

After class, I talked to Red and told him I had not been in a receiving mood when he talked. I also remarked that it seemed to me he was not perceptive to what I was saying. We had a long talk about it. I made an effort to draw him into a conversation to find out more about him. He is a likeable person, outside this element. I think from now on we will both be more receptive toward each other's contributions. (Maurice)

Outside the class, also, some two-faced attitudes became apparent which had their impact during the group's discussions.

I talked to five people after class today. They all told me that they were not interested in the grading problem. Three of the five said the class probably would run out of time; the grading would then fall to Irv. They seemed pleased that this might come about. The other two said even if the class did decide something, Irv would be the one to record the grades, so what difference would it make—"He'll give you whatever grade he wants anyhow." Now, with attitudes and feelings like these, no wonder we make little progress! Still, there is something I can't figure out. In class these five people did not state how they felt about this issue. As a matter of fact, their comments and actions somehow indicated the contrary. They wanted something done and something decided. Now I wonder which side of the fence they are really on. While outside of class, they think and say one thing. In class they act altogether different. This is not as it should be—this type of behavior will not aid group action. (Dick)

Observer: This meeting made it clear that the closure to be provided by the trainer would be a judgment in the form of grades. This remained a source of great anxiety for the members. How disillusioning to face the fact that the group's great struggle to be receptive and accepting of one another, in the highest equalitarian sense, would be resolved by an authoritarian act of the trainer! The struggle for independence and self-determination was just an illusion—all this effort would go to waste.

Dissatisfaction with themselves as a group, failures on their part properly to interact, defections from the stated aims of the trainer—all would be revealed in the form of a grade.

As has already been observed, the grading problem hit at one of their deepest areas of tension. In the limited time available, there was no real chance for working this problem through. All the group could possibly do was to warn, cajole, and placate the trainer. The grading problem was to be an empty charade played out at the behest of the trainer. They saw no other recourse but to plead for justice. They felt helpless and inadequate in dealing with forces over which they had no control.

As the pressure to act increased, the members had to come to some decision regarding the way in which their performance was to be rated. The fact that it all appeared meaningless anyhow engendered increased feelings of impotence and anger. For this particular group, the burden was to prove too heavy—an impulsive form of resolution was definitely in the cards!

May 3 (Twenty-fifth Meeting): No Preparation for Seduction

Daily volume = 2.0% (very low)

E.I. = 1.5 (low)

S.I. = .4 (low)

This was what one member called a “hodge-podge day.” The first hour was taken up with an examination, while during the second hour we spent some time on the grading problem and some time looking at process.

With regard to the exam, I tried to demonstrate my integrity by having the students use code numbers instead of names on their papers. I also softened my approach by allowing them to choose from among a number of questions.

Our test was good. . . . Irv softened his ways, first, by allowing us to choose our questions and, second, by having us code our papers. Life is pretty tough when one has to go to such lengths to prove (attempt to prove) one has honorable intentions. Still I think it helped. (Beverly)

Irv made progress trying to rectify the bitterness toward him by having us use numbers instead of names on our exam papers. Those who felt that Irv played favorites and could not be trusted had some of the wind taken out of their sails. (Marie)

Duke is afraid that Irv will grade him down. But on this exam there were no names, and perhaps Duke was satisfied. (Don)

This was one of the best tests I have ever taken. I'll know its success later by my grade. . . . Still, I didn't like the phony bit of assigning numbers to the papers because I think Irv will still be able to tell who wrote them. (Duke)

Whew—I must confess something! I had absolutely no motivation for studying for the test. My morale is shot. I couldn't see going through the work that would be necessary just to get a lousy B. . . . I was actually considering dropping this course in order to concentrate on other courses where I stand a much better chance. I was within a whisker of dropping, to tell the truth. . . . It's a crime I'm so worried about grades. I could probably be a much more effective group member if I were in Beverly's position. (Red)

During the discussion of the grading problem, it became obvious that many in the group were concerned about their own integrity.

We are worried and justly so that if the group takes it upon themselves to grade, some will grade themselves unfairly. . . . From the reaction [laughter] this seems indeed to be the case. At this point it was clear that we were not for the group but for the individuals who compose it. (Fred)

The suggestion that the members give themselves blanket A's caused considerable resentment.

Giving everyone a blanket A or C regardless of how much effort we put into the course or how much we got out of it is not fair and just—either to those who don't deserve it or to those who do. Think also of the zero value that it gives to the course! This is an issue of principle—it's not the grade! Giving blanket anything is contrary to everything I have ever been taught. In our society everyone is expected to work for what he gets. This is what I have been brought up to believe. Giving a reward when it isn't earned is apt to encourage undesirable loafing and parasitic habits instead of healthy work attitudes. (Frances)

Duke and Pete asked me why I wasn't going along with self-grading on class participation. Pete wanted to know if I felt I would lose status in the class. I didn't understand what he was saying and especially could not tie it in with what Duke had said. Finally, I interpreted—I would lose status if I deserved an A and if others got A's who did not deserve them. . . . I was most pleased about the discussion because I was able to handle the attack so much better than I would have at the beginning of the semester. I could take it more impersonally, probably because I could see why these fellows have to defend themselves. It was such a drastic measure. If it is truly what they believe, then they are more to be pitied than to be condemned. If I live to be a hundred, I will never be able to stand people who say, "Dishonesty is the best policy as long as you can get away with it." (Marie)

Observer: The major feature of the twenty-fifth session was the trainer's

effort to prove that he was a person of good will. His concessions with regard to the way in which the last quiz was to be administered were intended to relieve some of the anxiety caused by the grading problem. He deliberately attempted to gain affection from the group, but the group was not prepared to be seduced. It was simply too late! The complex of situation and emotional factors now at play served to make it only too clear that a tranquil storybook ending was not to be.

May 8 (Twenty-sixth Meeting): Resolution of the Grading Problem

Daily volume = 4.6% (very high)

E.I. = 2.5 (very high)

S.I. = .3 (very low)

Returning the examination papers, I indicated considerable satisfaction with the results and mentioned that if we could put into practice what we seemed to know intellectually we would have a most exceptional group. There were three A papers—Beverly, Red, and Maurice.

I wonder if Irv is not contributing to antagonism toward Beverly by publicly announcing that she again made an A. . . . She is a very astute, likeable woman and I realize that her outgoing personality plus her clever way of expressing herself all help to make her an effective individual. I know I have accepted her on that basis. I would like to know her better, but I feel that many members in the group are strongly against her. (Jean)

We got our quiz back today and I got a C. What disillusionment! Irv asked our opinion and we got graded down for it. Am I really mixed up? Ben and Hank got high grades. I am now resigned to a C in the class and will just have to forget Law School. Such injustice! (Duke)

I also remarked that I had decided not to give a final examination as participation in the diary and small-group projects was sufficient to make a thorough appraisal possible.

The grading problem had at last reached the point of no return. There were thirty minutes left. In three and one-half hours of wrangling, little had been decided with regard to either the criteria to be used or the percentages to be allotted to the various performances upon which the final grade would be based.

To me it was evident that if we were to get things done, we would have to "steam roller" the whole thing through. There was no more time to listen to long-winded say-nothings, or to head-in-cloud idealists. The grading problem was now the challenge. It was one of the few tangible things we had to deal with all semester. For me it would have meant complete defeat if the problem had to go back to Irv. (Art)

To most people's surprise, Max walked up to the board and with the help of a few confederates literally propelled the group toward a solution.

Assuming the role of authoritarian today, I was instrumental in getting the grading problem solved in 29 minutes—leaving one full minute of extra time. . . . At last it was finally settled. My decision to act was based on two factors—the night before I was nominated for president of my fraternity and lost by a margin of only four votes—with some dirty politics thrown in by my not-so-worthy opponent. Second, I got a B on my exam today and came through “smelling like a rose.” Both of these things gave me confidence to act. . . . To get back to the grading, with the help and support of Mike, Bob, Duke and Art, we pushed through the following standards: two quizzes, 10%; a blanket A gift, 10%; the small-group project, 37.5%; class participation, 30%; diary, 12.5%; total, 100%. (Max)

Max's leadership style reminded some people of the “cannon-ball express.” Although most agreed that drastic action was needed, not all were satisfied with Max's particular type of medicine.

I am glad it was Max who got up because he is strong. He assumed the leader role which was needed. . . . This class hates to recognize a leader and so there were objections. . . . The so-called “steam roller” started. Point after point was agreed. Some of our well-known bags-of-wind got stepped on when they brought up their irrelevant points. Two people walked out, although I think it was for show only. Still the grading problem was solved. . . . I think the end result was excellent—although the means to the end weren't exactly good. . . . Actually there was listening when someone had something important to say. If he was off the point, he was chopped off. This time we couldn't wait to listen to everyone. . . . In the end Max naturally got condemned, but anyone would have been who had been up there. A less strong person would have given up long ago. Fortunately Max didn't have to cut off anyone. It was usually done for him by others. (Art)

Today Max pushed the grading problem through. I supported him throughout by voicing agreement. Many, including Irv, did not like the way we reached consensus, but to me at least, it was important to get the job done. When it comes right down to it—I say to hell with anybody who gets in the way. I know this is not what the course teaches, but if you are going to succeed in business, you must produce! People should try to work together, if possible, because then a more satisfactory solution is likely to be reached. . . . Interestingly, Red was among the ones who didn't like to see Max take over. I guess he feels his power slipping away. (Lew)

Max's leadership was probably not the best, but I am sure he was sincere in his efforts. It takes a great deal of skill and courage to be a democratic leader—which is certainly not what he was. . . . Under the circumstances anyone who volunteered might have found himself pushing. (Dorothy)

During parts of the discussion, pandemonium reigned.

At certain times it seemed as if everyone was trying to get his ideas through at the same time. Bill was cut down at least three different times when he tried to speak. So was Maurice. After a while there were only a few who really tried to get the thing done, with the others sitting back and not caring. . . . If there were any negative attitudes, the members were either too scared to say anything or just didn't give a damn. . . . Tensions were running high. . . . With a minute to spare, the crippled bill passed the house. (Ben)

During the discussion, as more and more objections were by-passed and people got almost physically suppressed, Bill and Red got up and left the room. They returned only after the grading problem was settled.

Why these guys walked out was not obvious at the time. True—they did appear dissatisfied with something, but what it was I didn't know. For a while, they disturbed me greatly by talking to each other; they thus failed to contribute to the general good of the group. (Don)

I felt somewhat guilty when Bill and Red left the room because I hadn't opened my mouth throughout the whole meeting. I had let the group down, and Bill in particular, since he happens to be a member of my small-project group. My only rationalization now is that I couldn't have done anything useful anyway. I rather hoped the group would fail and that grading would revert back to Irv. (Al)

I felt as if a dash of cold water had been thrown in my face. My first reaction to the walkers was, "How infantile can you get?" What people will do for effect! (Dorothy)

Bill and Red probably walked out because they felt they had no influence. Red's influence has slipped and he gets peeved when he sees someone (girl or boy) take the spotlight away from him. (Fred)

After Bill and Red walked out, I was most uncomfortable for the rest of the hour. Bill is a member of my small group and Red had lunched with some of us following class. I feel I knew both of them well enough to comprehend their feelings. . . . I felt so utterly inept to handle the situation. (Jean)

Red showed a great deal of bitterness and resentment toward the group. I am sure the feeling is mutual. He seems to be cutting his own throat. Everything he has done has had his own interest in mind. For Red, everything is "hurrah for me" and "the hell with you." What a phony! (Ben)

We finally got the grading problem solved just as I had predicted—by jamming it down the throats of a number of people. . . . Those people should have stood up and fought if they thought they were being crapped on. All they could do was bitch about the way things were done. . . . I got a kick running over some of these people—if they let it be done, then to hell with them. (Hank)

I liked the businesslike way Max started out—disliked the ruthless manner in

which he pushed ahead, sweeping all dissension aside—was annoyed with Duke and Hank for refusing to give in on their points—became perturbed when Red and Bill got up and left the room—was both amazed and alarmed at the ridiculously childish and exaggerated way in which the percentages were divided into decimals, and now am vaguely dissatisfied with the final results as well as with the way in which they were obtained. (Frances)

Today I just heckled. Beverly called me on it and this just got me madder. . . . I showed this by abstaining from discussion. I really feel my ideas don't count any more. (Duke)

When it was all over, we again had a long break, with many small groups carrying on animated and sometimes obviously hostile discussions. Upon reconvening, we tried to discuss the process by which the grading problem was finally solved. Perhaps more than ever before, genuine feelings came out—even ran rampant. People yelled at each other, not in an accepting friendly way, but rather with considerable anger and hostility.

I finally told Red what I thought of him. He is a phony, a real fake, a big jerk! He and Bill both walked out as though they were disgusted. I think we all were disgusted with them. . . . I would have liked to tell Red a few more things but Mike sensibly put a stop to the name-calling. This is one of the few times that I have really got worked up in this damn class. I hope it's the last time. (Hank)

After the break, Max point-blank asked Red and Bill what the hell was wrong with them! He didn't wait for an answer but told them how utterly irritated and disgusted he was with them. In turn Red told Max he resented his trying to be "the big man." Red resents authority as he himself has suggested many times before. It seems Bill left for entirely different reasons—he had been cut off so many times that nobody cared what he said. He became resentful and quit by withdrawing. Max was accused of "railroading." He looked for support from Beverly, who said she had been happy with the way he had taken it upon himself to be the leader, but that his techniques were poor. (Ben)

I believe Beverly will be the first woman president of the United States. . . . I really respect her for her knowledge, but somehow she rubs me the wrong way. As for Red and Bill I am just fed up with them. They remind me of little kids who take home the bat and ball unless they are chosen to play pitcher or catcher. (Max)

My resentment toward Red subsided when I told him what I thought of him. He now knows approximately where he stands with me. . . . I appreciate he really needs the grade in here to get into Grad School. . . . At present he is in a poor position with the group, but no longer with me personally. . . . Actually I pity him. It's too bad he has been found out—although he has served a good purpose and his membership has been of value if for nothing else than to help the group evaluate his role. (Maurice)

For Red, the session had once more been traumatic.

Today was my birthday. . . . Also Art's. . . . We are exactly the same age. One would think that such an occasion should make a person happy. It did, at least until ten o'clock. By noon, I was fit to be tied. I'll be damned if I know how in the space of two hours a person can go from one extreme to the other. . . . What's all the hassle for? Is it for the idea of "an esthetic group feeling"? For some reason it all seems to go past me. (Red)

The latest free-for-all served as a stimulus for Frances to look at her own lack of effective participation, and she was able to gain some rather valuable insights.

I did nothing today to help the discussion. There were already enough people talking—those who needed a chance to blow off. . . . Still, why don't I speak up and support those whose views are similar to mine? It might be due to a combination of reasons. . . . If a person who is in hot water is one who I feel does not accept me, I am perverse enough to want to let him sweat it out alone (retaliation). . . . Also, to a person who doesn't accept me my support would not mean much, so I don't give it. . . . On the other hand, maybe I am not accepted because I don't let people know what I am thinking and therefore they don't know where I stand. They distrust me or figure my views as being of no value. . . . Sometimes I agree partly with people but I have no ready way to enlarge on or clarify what has been said. . . . I remain quiet rather than enrage those who abhor repetition, even though I may only want to contribute a statement of agreement. . . . At other times when the discussion is carried away toward a different topic, I hesitate to bring it back because people might get irritated at rehashing something they have no interest in or feel has been dealt with thoroughly enough. . . . I also don't want to be classed as a "yes-man" or part of a clique who always support some people and not others. . . . All in all, it doesn't add up to too valid an excuse, because in the past, had I spoken up, I think I would have given support to almost every member of the group. . . . What I am going to do in the future will depend on the situation, the individuals involved, and the mood I am in at the moment. . . . I guess I hate to make enemies, want to remain neutral, and would prefer to be anonymous rather than the target of unfavorable attacks. (Frances)

Observer: The dénouement! Precisely on time, red-balling through, the group resolved the grading problem in a manner that could hardly be called unexpected. Under pressure of time, and forced to make crucial decisions in an atmosphere of extreme tension, the group could do no more than regress and recapitulate its earlier experiences. In its own way, this session constituted a striking testimony to principles of mob behavior. Railroading tactics, a walkout, general emotional furor, all prevailed. Earlier these actions had produced results of the kind which led them to become incorporated into the mythology of the group. Now the group was living out its fate. The diary protocols of this hour are sufficient to render additional comments superfluous.

May 10 (Twenty-seventh Meeting): Warm-up for Local Debuts

Daily volume = 2.6% (low)

E.I. = 1.9 (average)

S.I. = .6 (average)

For many weeks, the trials and tribulations of the total group were mirrored, often in exaggerated form, in the activities of the small project groups. These five groups had a good deal to accomplish both task- and process-wise, and as they headed toward the wire, they experienced the strain of trying to bring their projects to a successful conclusion.

The first oral presentation by a small group was scheduled for the second hour, and the opening period merely served as warm-up for what was to be the local debut.

To me the course is now dying . . . as it has been for the last few meetings. We got started with the usual speeches. It seems more and more that the same people talk merely to impress Irv. The power strugglers were struggling. A few comments were made . . . but not much more. (Lew)

There was a lot of disinterest. Maybe the group is just plain tired of talking about certain things they don't find problems any more. People no longer want to look for motives for everything they do. . . . (Fred)

When a spokesman for the first project group requested an extra ten minutes of time, Hank objected. Rather than start an argument, the small group gave in, obviously disturbed at the hostile reception of its seemingly innocuous request.

Well, I screwed Red and his boys out of their extra ten minutes. I don't see why they should get more time than the rest of us—just because they are supposed to go first. If it had been someone else other than Red and Lew, I might have let it go through, but not with those two boys! I enjoyed using the tyranny of the minority—it made me feel good to screw them. . . . Now, I am afraid I'll watch them give us the shaft when our project comes up. I bet we'll all get straight C's from them. (Hank)

I was honestly ashamed and disgusted that we didn't give the project group the five extra minutes of time which they requested. What difference would it have made, as long as we had it to give? . . . It is so childish to be fearful that someone else might have an advantage in getting a better grade. . . . Competition among the small-project groups seems stronger than I had imagined. (Frances)

My faith in human nature is again beginning to dwindle as a result of this

incident. . . . I fear people will judge our group by their reactions to one particular member in the group. (Larry)

Just before the presentation of the first project, there was some bantering on how the grading sheets were to be used. A poorly timed remark on whether the grading sheets should be "filled out prior to the presentation" caused considerable concern.

When Pete made his comments, I wanted to hit him hard enough to blacken both his eyes. . . . On second thought, I wanted to take him by the hand and lead the poor, warped soul to safety where he could lie in the grass, near a babbling brook, and where no one would possibly be a threat to him. (Is he warped because he doesn't believe as I do—interesting thought, isn't it?) (Beverly)

The first group, consisting of Red, Bob, Mike, Larry, and Lew, had chosen as its topic the selection program for UCLA's "Project India." Although the presentation was well organized and moved right along, the content was fairly routine and the process report somewhat tedious. Still, in view of the personalities of the group, its achievement must be considered rather impressive.

By God, no matter what the class thinks, we had the best group project! Furthermore, I am willing to bet that we got far more out of analyzing our own group process than did the others. In short—it took us a long time to work up respect, trust, and admiration for each other, but when it came, it stuck! (Red)

When I think back on our project, I must say I gained respect for every member in our group. I know our presentation was superior (and I am not one to brag much). As for our written report, I am sure we are going to write a process section that will set the standard for the rest of the class. I feel our group could now manage any problem. (Lew)

Today I left the session feeling really good. I think the reason for this is that our project was so successful. . . . I was really pleased the way it worked out, not only because we presented a good project, but because we had the experience of working with four other fellows with whom we had little in common. (Larry)

When the project grade was finally tabulated and announced, it was obvious that, on the whole, the class had tried to be fair.

I don't think we are nearly as hostile and unobjective as we let on we are. . . . I am reminded of a junior high school kid who feels the need to display affection, but is embarrassed, and does it by pulling hair, flipping with a dish towel, etc. I bet most of us gave those kids in Group I the benefit of the doubt. (Beverly)

After our own small-group meeting last night, my mood was horrible today—depressed, hostile, and frustrated. I didn't dare say anything in class for fear

of letting all my pent-up emotions get out unfairly. For the same reason I couldn't concentrate adequately on the group's presentation or judge it fairly. . . . Still, I hope I didn't let my personal preoccupation or mood influence me too greatly when I graded them. (Frances)

I sure thought their project was rather boring, but I gave them a B+ anyway. We go on next Tuesday. I hope we won't get graded down too far. (Hank)

Observer: This meeting, as well as the next two, are anticlimactic. The presentation of the small-group projects did nothing to bind open wounds, and the healing power of a dispassionate atmosphere was not sufficient.

May 15 (Twenty-eighth Meeting): After India—Beer and Track

Daily volume = 1.1% (very low)

E.I. = 4.0 (very high)

S.I. = .7 (high)

During the first period the "big three," augmented by Fred and Maurice, presented their project. It dealt with the introduction of East-side Old Tap Lager Beer to the Southern California market. The topic was not particularly original nor was the presentation especially creative. But again, a lot of work had obviously gone into the project and much had been accomplished.

Today was our day. This was to be the climax of all the work we had put in. . . . To start things off, Maurice was five minutes late and held up the whole class. . . . Fred was to have brought a tape recorder, but didn't have it. . . . Once the project got started, it went along very well. I really felt we gave a very fine report, especially comparing it to the first group, which left me cold. (Ben)

Today did it! I am finished! All last night I didn't get any sleep. I came to class prepared for an interesting presentation by our group. Maurice and Fred couldn't get up quite enough interest to show up for a dress rehearsal. When we got to class, Fred promptly began alibying, Maurice was late, and it was only after much fooling around that we finally got started. All in all, things turned out pretty good. . . . After we were through, we began fighting among ourselves, amid some congratulations. (Duke)

Even though I was eager to get to class, I had a number of stops to make to pick up the bottle, the tape, and the poster for our project. I was sorry I was late. . . . It made for a poor initial impression which hurt our group. . . . When the presentation began, I really didn't hear much. Duke and Hank's speeches sounded like mumbo-jumbo, with big words and business jargon. I thought it would be okay, because I later planned to come in on the advertising aspect which was

quite fascinating and could "put out the fire." . . . We were ahead of schedule until Fred got up and talked, talked, and talked! He was so impersonal it was tragic! He kept going for twelve minutes. It really burned me up, especially since Duke had sent him a note to summarize. . . . When I finally got on, I had only five minutes left. I knew the audience needed to be loosened up. I tried to present what I had to say at an interesting personal level—even to singing the first commercial that Eastside had used. This was a help, as I now felt the class was really interested. Still, I didn't have enough time. I roared over my main topics at high speed. . . . I finally turned the meeting back to Duke. . . . When we had finished, I knew that we had done poorly in comparison to our potential. As a whole, our project was too impersonal and we could have simplified the content greatly. We needed the rehearsal which we didn't have. It would have been of gigantic benefit. (Maurice)

When all was said and done, the group received a B- for its efforts. Not bad, considering the quality of both the content and the presentation, and more important, the past reputation which the members of this small group had acquired in the class.

I was quite satisfied with our B-, but Duke, Hank, and Ben were boiling at it. . . . I see they are really worried about their grades. They had so little confidence about getting a fair shake. . . . I talked to them after class, and heard that they wanted to make an issue about the grade. I pity them. In doing this, they can only lower themselves in Irv's eyes. There is absolutely nothing to be gained, and they stand to lose a great deal. Surprisingly, Fred also joined in their chorus of yelps. I just cannot see how those fellows whom I admired and respected can act so contrary to the standard that I expected from them. . . . (Maurice)

When I saw our grade during the break, I sank to despair. First of all, Irv screwed us in the tally by giving us a B- instead of a B and added insult to injury by stating how good our project was. . . . I felt like slugging him. His views came through. What really got me was the way the class judged our group. . . . I don't know on what basis we got two C's and an E—but we did. . . . I felt a personal setback because I went to all the trouble to prepare the visual aids and most of the information which we provided. Such injustice has never been dished out before! Irv was basking in his "See, I told you so" look. What a sneaky, low-down way to get back at people you don't like! (Duke)

As I predicted, we were given the shaft today by our fair-minded friends who took out their resentment against us. Even that damn Irv gave us a B- instead of a B, as he should have done. . . . Well, it's just as we expected. What else can you get from this bunch of knot-heads. (Hank)

I know Duke, Hank, and I wouldn't win a personality contest, but I believe these feelings should have been kept out of it. I know no matter how much I dislike anyone, I try not to let it show in my grading. (Ben)

The third group, consisting of Max, Dick, Dorothy, and Art, discussed the leadership techniques employed by Coach Drake of the UCLA

track team, which had resulted in its rising to national prominence during recent years. Again, the topic was not particularly interesting, but the presentation clicked and was interspersed with considerable good humor.

Even though this presentation was weak on theory, I was tremendously interested in the report. . . . Max was just great. . . . He can really be an outstanding talker. I wonder if he knows his potential as a speaker? . . . Unfortunately, they gave Dorothy the summation part, which in itself is never especially interesting. With her poor communication I tuned right out when she spoke. . . . I feel guilty every time about getting distracted when Dorothy speaks, but I can't help it. (Maurice)

I really got burned up—the second group got a B+ for a talk that came from nowhere. I couldn't see where they showed how change had been effectively introduced. All they did was talk about the track team and Max cracked a few jokes. (Ben)

What really teed me off was that this group got a B+ for doing nothing. Max got his laughs, but so what! He is a "frat rat," so they got a B+. Some justice! (Hank)

May 17 (Twenty-ninth Meeting): A.A. and the City Council

Daily volume = 2.9% (low)

E.I. = 3.1 (very high)

S.I. = 1.2 (very high)

Two more project reports. The group consisting of Marie, Beverly, Frances, Russ, and Don demonstrated the inner workings of the Santa Monica City Council, whereas the final group, consisting of Robin, Bill, Jean, and Pete, presented an effective skit of a meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous. Both groups took considerable risks by using spontaneous teaching techniques. The City Council project utilized the total class in a giant role-playing demonstration; the second group regaled the class with a sensitively portrayed sketch of the problems of a typical alcoholic.

It is now clear that if we had acted as class clowns, sang, joked, and polished the old apple, we too would have gotten a better grade. This was to be expected though, so why try to fight it. Still, I must say I enjoyed some of these presentations. What did it prove? Nothing! (Hank)

The A.A. project was the best of the bunch and ranked tops with me. They deserved the A which they received. Once again, there were a few C's thrown into the grading, which seems almost unbelievable to me. (Max)

Our project on the Santa Monica City Council took a great deal more courage and ingenuity than a more formal presentation. Although there was room for improvement, I think we did very well for our first attempt. The response and cooperation of our class members was most gratifying. It was very interesting that the behavior of each person during the role-playing was so similar to what they displayed in past class sessions. . . . (Marie)

May 22 (Thirtieth Meeting): End without Ending

Daily volume = 4.4% (very high)

E.I. = 1.7 (average)

S.I. = .8 (very high)

Well, here it was—the final meeting. Almost everyone was in a good mood, there was a lot of joshing, and many seemed genuinely sorry that this was the end of the road.

This meeting was just a final get-together—to hand in the project reports and do nothing in particular. . . . Any serious discussion seemed rather anticlimactic or fruitless—sort of a meaningless gesture for the sake of appearing interested and studious. We couldn't hope to iron out all the difficulties we had failed to budge during the semester, nor did it seem worth while at this late date to hold a "confessional" to try to understand those individuals or acts about which we wondered. (Frances)

Most of the time, the discussion was fairly innocuous. We talked about a recent *Readers' Digest* article entitled "How's Your Empathy?" I reported on our efforts to evaluate the impact of sensitivity training and later suggested that we write on pieces of paper the biggest unresolved problem which we as a group had failed to face. This too provided no startling revelations. On one occasion, the discussion once again became rather heated, with a few people talking right past each other.

At times today, we carried on in our usual manner. It certainly was not fitting for our last meeting. If an outsider had come in to observe us and had been told we had been meeting for the last fifteen weeks to study and learn about group dynamics, I'm afraid he would have said we hadn't learned a thing. And he would almost be right! . . . It seems we have a whole series of problems left. Each of us has his own faults and shortcomings, but when we are together, these are magnified. Looking back, I feel that only a few have tried to do anything about these shortcomings. Many have done little to help themselves or the group, but, more important as I see it, some even refused to admit they had these faults. (Dick)

Communication skills were both talked about and practiced.

When Jean was talking and abruptly cut off, she immediately crawled into her

shell—which was her natural reaction. . . . When the group realized what had happened, they asked her to finish what she was saying. (Ben)

Irv played his most effective role today, when he again assumed some responsibility as a member of the group. He clarified, gave feedback, and helped to develop situations into real learning experiences. (Marie)

An excellent point was made by Beverly. She said because of the colder atmosphere, more verbal support was needed in the large group than in the small ones. This ties in with Irv's urging our small-group members to support each other in the large group. I never quite understood why, but Beverly explained it quite clearly. I now see something I never saw before. (Lew)

Before the break, Duke made a noticeable effort to return to the fold. He asked whether we wouldn't like to get coffee, and received a most positive response.

During the break, I finally got up to see Irv and talk over various problems. He still rates as a good individual, but his teaching abilities need to be expanded. . . . In retrospect, I think I really learned something—in spite of myself. Maybe thanks to Irv. (Duke)

The final stock-taking was at hand. We didn't sing "Auld Lang Syne" but some talked about meeting again, sometime after we had had a chance to think things over during the summer.

In evaluating the course, the reactions ranged from Red's "Oh, the hell with it!" to Max's "Without reservations—the best course I ever had at UCLA!"

I am sorry it's all over—for many a reason. For one, I have learned more about myself and others than through any other single experience in my 22 years. I am truly sorry that I have to break off relations with Irv. I consider him one of the most sincere and honest individuals I have come in contact with. It makes me feel bad to think what I have missed in the way of education by not having instructors like him during my schooling. I'm sorry that it is all over because I have made a number of friends whom I won't have a chance to see too often. . . . I have learned something that isn't written in the books—about myself, my fears, my actions, needs, and drives. As far as Irv is concerned, he is the best instructor I have had—merely for the reason that he made me think for myself. (Max)

At last the class is over! I won't forget it for some time. . . . I'm glad it's over with and finished! The last class session ran true to form—a lot of talk and not much accomplished. . . . There is no class where I am going to polish the apple to get a grade. . . . And here I'm not going to do anything that will make people think I am knuckling under to their will or to Irv's will. Maybe sometime in the future I can look back and say, "By God, I did get something out of this damn class." Only time will tell! (Hank)

How anyone can walk out of this class and not feel a sense of accomplishment and deep impression is beyond me. I think everyone feels a great contribution

has been made to his abilities. . . . I am happy because over the last few weeks people have listened to what I've had to say. This is what I have tried to accomplish. Almost everyone left, whether they knew it or not, with a more permissive attitude. (Maurice)

At the end, our discussions were loaded with just as much confusion, misunderstanding, frustration, and conflict as they were at the beginning. A good many individuals left the class with essentially the same attitudes and ways of thinking with which they had entered. There were some exceptions. People who didn't show immediate, outward improvement in behavior may have gained some inner benefits. For the most part, and perhaps more in line with its objectives, I think the course stimulated some real thinking and perhaps laid the basis for some for a positive future. . . . As for myself, I found I was making myself no better understood now than at the beginning. . . . I got no immediate help in overcoming my social or conversational reticence—I can no more comfortably blast my way into an already overcrowded conversation than I could before—but I think I was helped to realize that there are just as many insecure, frustrated individuals among the vocal, seemingly confident members as there are among us quiet inhibited ones. I was helped by realizing that in general people are more concerned with what they have to say and in being heard than they are in listening to others; that they remember more distinctly what concerns them personally than what primarily involves someone else; and that all people have a pretty basic need to belong, to be accepted, to be well thought of, liked, and encouraged. (Frances)

When I think of the uneasiness that existed at the beginning of the class, I realize what a great change has taken place. We have a great bunch of people—many of whom I would like to have as friends. . . . When I meet them on campus, we always stop to talk with really genuine warmth and friendliness. . . . The class has done a lot for me. . . . Some of it, I have already put to use at home, with friends, and especially in my job interviews. In class, my role improved tremendously—because toward the end I felt really accepted and could share our responsibilities. (Larry)

I still do not see how I was trained to be a leader. I can deal no more effectively with people now than I could before. Perhaps unknown benefits have accrued to me, but then perhaps, too, there may have been some disadvantages. Let's just chalk it up to experience, although I'm glad I took this course. (Robin)

It's hard to say what one gets out of a course like this—in the short run. I know I tried to apply some of the techniques in class and haven't been successful too often. Still, I've learned to become aware of the personal feelings and problems of individuals. After this awareness comes knowledge, and then perhaps action. . . . I wish I could take the same course over again with the same group—perhaps things would be different. In practicing some of these things outside of class, I have been more successful. (Mike)

For me it has been both fun and beneficial. . . . I now know how I would have acted if we had to do it all over again. I didn't get "in" enough times, but there is no use lamenting over it now. (Art)

Looking back there are some sessions which I enjoyed and from which I probably learned more than my actions show. . . . I have often been very bored, but still something seemed to soak in. . . . Most people have remained the same to me as before I knew them. Only a few such as Max, Red and Don have changed their stripes. I cut myself out of a good grade by my negative participation and by what has been said—but what the hell, it won't count ten years from now. It's been quite an experience, I must say! (Ben)

. . . and what I have to say next, Irv, applies to you personally. I hope you know how very much I gained from this class and how much I enjoyed it. You took more than anyone deserved to take in four semesters. Congratulations to your dedication and most of all to your personal security and perspective which enabled you to take the jabs without ever feeling the need to fight back. . . . I realize it's your work. I also realize what strength it takes. Along with my respect to you goes my respect to your family. They might have felt waves of mental telepathy some dinner hours this past semester. . . . I hope we can meet again. . . . (Beverly)

Observer: The ending proved to be an exercise in euphemisms. As a group, there was literally no place to go. Sentimental farewells were out of place and did not occur. This to the everlasting credit of the group! The weight of unresolved problems created mixed feelings. The members of the group looked back upon the experiences of the preceding fifteen weeks and seemed hard put to know whether they were reality or dream.

They had been through much together. They were a "group"—whether they knew it or not, whether they liked it or not. In one way or another, they all had changed. Those who had anticipated a lyrical experience were somewhat more sober. Those who had been openly doubtful and even derisive about the value of this training continued to maintain their attitudes, but one got the impression that they too could not deny having been strongly affected.

Most of the individuals in the group seemed aware, as their diary entries indicate, that a process had been started, a process of sensitization to interpersonal relations that would not stop with the termination of the group's life. Only the most encapsulated individual could have gone through it all without being touched in some manner.

Like many situations which leave a feeling of incompleteness, this last meeting had a taste of bittersweet. But the encouraging thing taking place in the group was its look toward the future. For all its varied moments, its fluctuations, the group seemed to be saying—and for once with the kind of consensus unknown to it during its lifetime—that the end was only apparent; more than likely it was really a beginning.

Three Years Later

A new group of trainees is now meeting in the same room where only three short years ago Duke, Beverly, and their colleagues embarked on a course of thirty meetings. Once more, the formally stated objectives are identical to those which brought the original class together.

At this writing we have passed our fourth meeting, and the issues we are considering are much like those which have provoked discussion and arguments in many other training groups. We are concerned about whether to introduce ourselves and how to go about it. We are debating whether to organize the group, how to elect a chairman, and whether to have formal agenda for each session. We are wondering whether even when floundering we will somehow reach the "hidden goals." We are beginning to look at "process" and asking ourselves how personal we should get in our observations of each other and of the group.

Some things have changed over the last few years, but I wonder if these changes are really very significant. On campus, we now have four separate laboratory sections, each with its own trainer. We meet jointly once a week for a lecture presentation (theory session or demonstration) which is intended to provide a "cognitive map" to what is going on. The four trainers alternate in these presentations. The small project groups are made up of representatives from the four laboratory sections, and the examinations are also administered for the total lecture group. Thus, by taking the grading problem out of the laboratory sections and by reducing our expert role, we have tried to remove from the trainer most, if not all, of his evaluation authority. In theory, at least, we are now in a better position to help implement the group's training goals and to facilitate the progress of its members toward personal growth and development.

THE SEARCH FOR GUIDEPOSTS

Every trainer has to face most of the problems whose drama we tried to capture in this report. By providing a day-by-day run-down of these problems, we hoped to involve the reader vicariously at the point of decision, to have him confront specific situations as they arose and, in his own mind, choose between alternative interventions, all of which

could have yielded different results from those that actually occurred.

The problems that any trainer faces permit discussion along a number of meaningful dimensions. Although some have been described (see references, especially Blake, Bradford, and Miles), a brief review here seems in order:

1) What are appropriate training objectives? What, for example, is the proper balance between emphasis on individual development and emphasis on group development?

2) How can trainer interventions be optimized? Should they be frequent or infrequent? Should they be primarily observational—reflective of meanings and feelings, supportive, interpretive, guiding, or challenging?

3) How much structure should the trainer provide? Should he help find appropriate topics for discussion or introduce “gadgets”—“who-am-I?” tests, sociometric devices, films, tapes, records, role-playing exercises?

4) How deeply should the trainer become personally involved? Should he permit himself to be exposed, to have his “blind spots” looked at, to be personally and frankly discussed? Should he share his own feelings with the group? Under what circumstances? And with regard to what subject matter?

5) Should the trainer participate in the outside activities of the group? Should he get enmeshed in individual conferences, in after-meeting huddles and discussions, or should he be guided by the often heard training maxim, “If it’s worth discussing, it’s worth discussing inside the group”?

These questions represent a cross section of problems that may or may not pose difficulties for any given trainer. Those of us who work within the framework of the sensitivity training approach find them to be constantly recurring. For us, the search for guideposts continues. No easy answers exist and each person who engages in the training task will have to find his own.

WORKING WITH A NEW GROUP

As a trainer faces a new group, he has to consider carefully the way he wants initially to be perceived. At no point are his answers to the above questions more significant, for they help establish his role and thereby his “place in the sun” for many a day to come.

I approach each training experience with excited anticipation. Though I am well aware of the processes that are about to unfold,

there is still enough of the unknown left to make each new sensitivity training experience an adventure. Regardless of the training technique to be used, success, though likely, is by no means foreordained.

In joining a new group, every trainer brings with him the total of his personality, his "self," molded through time by countless expectations and experiences. In this regard, he may not be much different from the other participants coming together for the first time, for all have something of themselves to contribute.

A trainer, however, is likely to feel a special sense of responsibility. The welfare of his group depends on his competence to focus on the enriching elements of the training experience and to minimize or keep in check those pathological excesses that can lead to abnormal psychological disturbances. He knows that most worth-while learning experiences involve pain, but pain for its own sake is to be avoided.

Each trainer has his own style, his unique way of doing things, best identified and described by the kinds of interventions he does or does not make. Style is trainership in action—it reflects the composite of personality, experience, expertness, expectations, refined elegance and blustering crudeness, split-second timing and fumbling guesswork, deep personal involvement and icy aloofness, strength and weakness, boldness and hesitancy.

As already stated, few group meetings are as important for a trainer as the first. The ways in which he establishes his role, how he permits his group to see him, how he indicates the attitudes and values which are important to him and which, through his behavior, he models as potential norms for the group to consider—all are likely to have great impact on his group.

The choices for initial interventions are almost unlimited. They range from a lecture on training objectives and methods, to conducting a "problem-census" whereby the individual members explore and state their initial personal goals, to seemingly doing nothing—remaining "quiet, calm and collected," just waiting for developments.

I have experimented with these and other openings, and feel certain that each has its own peculiar impact on the initial phases of group development. Currently, my personal preference is to be as inactive as possible at the beginning in order to encourage the early development of so-called critical incidents which almost inevitably occur when a leadership vacuum is created. My first interventions are likely to be "innocent questions," designed to raise speculations as to the causes for the group's apparent lack of progress. These comments are usually

group-oriented, that is, they deal with such variables as communications, climate, leadership, participation, and the like. After a few meetings, however, I tend to focus on individual interactions, that is, to raise questions on how the behavior of one person or another affected either the group as a whole or specific members within it.

Throughout the initial phases of training, I try to be particularly attentive to the problems of the "weak." As a matter of course, I pay special attention to the feelings of those who find themselves stereotyped in a minority status. Within a given group, the "pecking order" can be recognized with reference to a variety of dimensions: physical appearance and bearing, sex, age, education, nationality, religion, and social class are the characteristics most frequently used to separate the "haves" from the "have-nots." I openly encourage these "outsiders" to enter into the discussion and, by helping them to express their feelings of inadequacy or oppression, create situations in which the importance of feelings and the role of "active listening" can be highlighted.

My decision on how to behave during the crucial first meetings is influenced by a number of variables. I am likely to be more active and directive when time is limited, when the group is relatively large and inexperienced, and when the members are completely unfamiliar with this type of training. I am likely to be less active when the organizational setting permits experimentation and potential failure, when I am personally prepared to take bigger chances, when I feel free to give of myself in terms of exposure and vulnerability, and when I am motivated actually to believe some of the more commonly held shibboleths of sensitivity training, namely, "It doesn't matter what happens—it's all grist for the mill," "If we wait long enough, someone in the group will do the right thing," or "No need to worry—the group invariably protects its own."

OBSERVER: BECOMING A TRAINER—A SHIFTING POINT OF VIEW

This quondam observer has recently metamorphosed into a practicing trainer. Moving into the main stream of the training experience has not only proved to be challenging and illuminating, but has also served to intensify the often paradoxical, always problematic aspects of the trainer role. Let it be said in retrospect that it is far easier to observe than to train, to theorize than to practice, to speculate than to act.

As observer, I enjoyed a relatively vicarious experience of the train-

ing process. The words "relatively vicarious" are used advisedly, because the impulse to participate, especially in the more tense moments of the group activities, was felt more than once. That this impulse should have occurred at all says much about the difficulty often encountered by the observer in his efforts to maintain objectivity. It also says much about the turbulent emotionality generated in a sensitivity training group.

The thoughts that follow represent some views of the training task, as now another trainer addresses himself to already identified common problems (see page 121).

1. *What is the proper balance between emphasis on individual development and emphasis on group development?*

This question is essentially one of training philosophy. The manner in which it is answered depends to a great extent on the kind of training techniques which will be employed. I subscribe to the view that it takes effective individuals to make effective groups, that skill and sensitivity in interpersonal relationships are a complex function of inherent personal capacity and its placement in a given cultural environment. Unless the individual has some sense of himself, some rootedness in time and space relative to others, his ability to contribute creatively to the effectiveness of the group is at best questionable. To say, however, that the focus on individual development is given major importance does not mean that group development is neglected. Both are given attention in a fashion that permits flexible shifting of orientation.

The essence of this point of view is that it inculcates in the individual an awareness of his own individuality without making him individualistic. He does not become submerged in the group, a blank-faced automaton with nothing more than a membership tag. In effect the trainee learns that he can have the sense of "We" without loss of his separate "I."

If the trainer holds to this view, which, incidentally, represents a broad general philosophy, obviously there will be times when he will find it advantageous to deal with individuals and times when he will find it useful to intervene for purposes of illuminating some issue relevant to the total group. The task of maintaining a shifting viewpoint puts considerable pressure on the trainer to act with resourcefulness and understanding.

Ideally, the trainer should be able to exert his sensitivity and skill to their maximum at every intervention. If the trainer's goal on the one hand is to sensitize the individual to his role in the group, while

on the other it is to provide the group with an awareness of the pressures that it can generate as an entity, then the best barometer of "proper balance" is the trainer's own personal equation of sensitivity and skill. In a way, the more the trainer approaches his task with the view of an artist, the less likely he is to lose himself in the rigidity of theoretical expectations. As long as he remains free to innovate, the closer he is likely to be to the socio-psychological reality of the group, and the greater his prospects for being effective.

2. How can trainer interventions be optimized?

If the group generates momentum that is consonant with the goals of training, and the individuals comprising the group seem for the most part capable of behavior that the trainer sees as necessary for training success, then his interventions will occur less often. If the group is of the kind that is prone to run wild at the one extreme or to vegetate at the other, then a more active role seems desirable.

With regard to trainer interventions, no "cookbook" can be prepared. At times, the trainer may feel it necessary to work close to the surface—to pay attention to the content of what is being said. He may "tune in" on the public pronouncements and concentrate more on the ideas expressed than on the underlying feelings. At other times, he may decide to probe more deeply—to respond primarily to non-verbal cues and to help the group focus on the "hidden agenda" in its operation. Once in a while, he may gamble on drastic measures to "rock the boat," to provide the kind of shock experience that will propel the group out of a state of apathy and complacency and force it to look at itself more analytically.

Whatever the trainer's interventions, the ultimate criterion of their utility is that they facilitate movement toward the increase of insights, toward the resolution of group conflict, and toward opening the way to creative social behavior.

3. How much structure should the trainer provide?

One might say, almost axiomatically, that too much structure enmeshes and too little structure makes for lack of containment. Either extreme tends to produce inordinate tensions.

In the case of too much structure, the group is weighted down by busy work and formality. The trainer given to the indiscriminate employment of adjunctive devices and exercises is implicitly authoritarian and creates the problem for the group of whether it should rebel or submit. The experience of the group is likely to be characterized by a struggle in the sphere of dependency-independency needs.

In the case of the trainer who provides too little structure, the assumption seems to be that the drive toward anarchy will out in the end. Such a trainer may harbor the fantasy of the rescuer-knight who has the infinite capacity to save any fair damsel in distress. (This is a frequent problem of those who approach training with a therapeutic bias.) Too little structure probably creates more tension than excessive structure, since lack of it is contrary to the expectations of most of those who go into training. A total lack of structure tends to generate anxiety, confusion, and a generalized aimlessness. "Runaway" groups are likely to be found under these conditions.

The amount of structure necessary in any given group varies, and the trainer's skill will show itself in the artful ways in which he is able to time the introduction of suggested activities. One might say that as long as the trainer has no absolutist philosophy along these lines, he will quickly find some modal level of structure appropriate for each group which is facilitating rather than inhibiting.

4. *How deeply should the trainer become personally involved?*

The trainer should recognize that the group will generally place him on a pedestal irrespective of his wishes to be there. By dint of his given position in the group he tends to be invested with powers of knowledge, foresight, and omnipotence. These qualities are projected onto him at the outset, and his goal might rightly be to use the course of training as a means of slowly and inevitably shedding this burden by attempting to approximate, as much as possible, a relationship of equal status.

Because the trainer exerts certain pressures on the group members to expose themselves in ways that are likely to create tension or even great personal anxieties, it is questionable whether these demands can be met fruitfully without a willingness on his part also to open himself for personal evaluation. Even though the trainer is not practicing group psychotherapy, the nature of his activities often has a pronounced therapeutic flavor.

In view of his role, the trainer can never completely become a peer of the group members, nor is it likely that they wish him to do so. He finds himself provided with status and responsibilities of which he is unable—even with the best intentions—totally to divest himself. The trainer who wants to be "just a good Joe" to his group plays ostrich with reality.

The group probably wants the trainer to be himself—a person who can experience his own kinds of success and failure—in other words,

a human being. As such, he has his prerogatives as to what he wishes to discuss and what he does not wish to discuss. Yet, in contrast to all other members of his group, he is not participating primarily for his own development (except as a trainer), and any excessive personal involvement on his part that conflicts with training objectives would appear improper. Within this limitation, he should feel free to give as much as is consonant with his own personality. If, however, he fears involvement, the group will sense it and push him. If on the other hand he becomes too involved, the group will become aware of this also and probably adopt a counter-attitude of detachment and avoidance.

5. *Should the trainer participate in the outside activities of the group?*

The major prerequisite for the trainer is that he be fully aware of the implications of his involvement with members outside the group. If his activities serve to facilitate movement within the total group, then they are worth while; if, however, they drain off material that would be of value there, then he becomes a private consultant to the individual members and the meaningfulness of group participation is gradually diminished.

Once again, no blanket answer is possible. If the trainer finds himself drawn into the outside activities of the group, he may well question to what extent dependency dominates the membership or whether his own aloofness is creating an expressed need for his participation. I believe that the trainer should be available to the members, perhaps on some formal basis, such as by private appointment, especially if he feels that he can be of help with problems which a trainee (for any number of reasons) will not want to bring into the group. Should additional counseling be necessary, the trainer is in a position to facilitate the appropriate referrals for further exploration of the trainee's personal problems.

An Over-all Perspective

After committing ourselves to the stream of activities of one specific sensitivity training group, we have at last emerged—somewhat bloodied, somewhat more experienced, somewhat wiser.

Curiously enough, assessment of some of the problems that at least one trainer faced provides no determinate solutions. To some readers, it may be eminently agreeable to find that there are no cut-and-dried answers; in the case of others, the lack of definitive solutions to these thorny issues may only add to their sense of inquietude.

We wish there were clearly reliable, inviolate training procedures which could be set down in some systematic fashion. All the available information about the practices of experts in the field of human relations—whether they be psychotherapists, trainers, or counselors—tends to indicate that effectiveness is more a question of individual capacity, maturity, skill, appropriate academic background, and a sense of ethical values than a matter of theoretical predilection.

In the long run it may be the trainer's capacity for personal growth that provides the resolution of his work problems. As far as we know, each new training effort brings new dilemmas. This leads to the rather paradoxical conclusion that the existence of problems, at least on some level, is a necessary prerequisite for performing the training task with vigor and insight. At this point we are willing, momentarily, to let the matter rest.

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presenting the theoretical framework and experiences of various staff members of the National Training Laboratories in Group Development. In addition to Bradford, contributors include Kenneth D. Benne, Warren G. Bennis, Robert R. Blake, Jack R. Gibb, Murray Horwitz, Herbert A. Shepard, Roy Whitman, Jerome D. Frank, and Dorothy Stock. A good summary of research conducted on training groups is included.

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A comprehensive book bringing together what is known about helping people to learn better in groups. The chapters on specific training activities, problems in assuming the trainer role, and difficulties inherent in the evaluation process are especially interesting.

MOUSTAKAS, CLARK E. "Self-Explorations of Teachers in a Seminar in Inter-Personal Relations," *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 13 (May, 1957), 72-93.

Description of a training course for teachers using a group-oriented approach.

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORY IN GROUP DEVELOPMENT. *Explorations in Human Relations Training: An Assessment of Experience, 1947-1953*. Washington: National Education Association, 1953.

Reports on the major accomplishments in research, training, and

consultation of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development during its first six years of existence.

ROGERS, CARL R. *Client-Centered Therapy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

An outstanding presentation of the nondirective point of view in counseling, therapy, teaching, and administration, with an analysis of its implications for psychological theory.

SHEPARD, HERBERT A. and WARREN G. BENNIS. "A Theory of Training by Group Methods," *Human Relations*, 9 (1956), 403-414.

An attempt to apply the theoretical formulations of Sullivan and Lewin to human relations training. Includes a comparative analysis of group therapy and group process.

STOCK, DOROTHY and HERBERT A. THELEN. *Emotional Dynamics and Group Culture*. NEA Publications. New York: New York University Press, 1958.

Reports on numerous research projects carried out at the summer session of the National Training Laboratory at Bethel and at the Human Dynamics Laboratory of the University of Chicago. Contributes knowledge as well as methodology about the study of group interaction.

TANNENBAUM, ROBERT, VERNE KALLEJIAN, and IRVING R. WESCHLER. "Training Managers for Leadership," *Personnel*, 30 (January, 1954), 254-260.

One of the first discussions of sensitivity training. After pointing out some limitations of conventional training programs it describes the nature of the sensitivity training process, the role of the trainer, and sources of resistance to the introduction of the program. The article emphasizes the advantages of training vertically structured groups.

THELEN, H. *The Dynamics of Groups at Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

A major work which analyzes concepts useful in group activity regardless of its social purposes or particular membership. The author illustrates the practical application of these concepts in such areas as citizen participation, classroom teaching, in-service professional training, administration and management, human relations training, and public meetings.

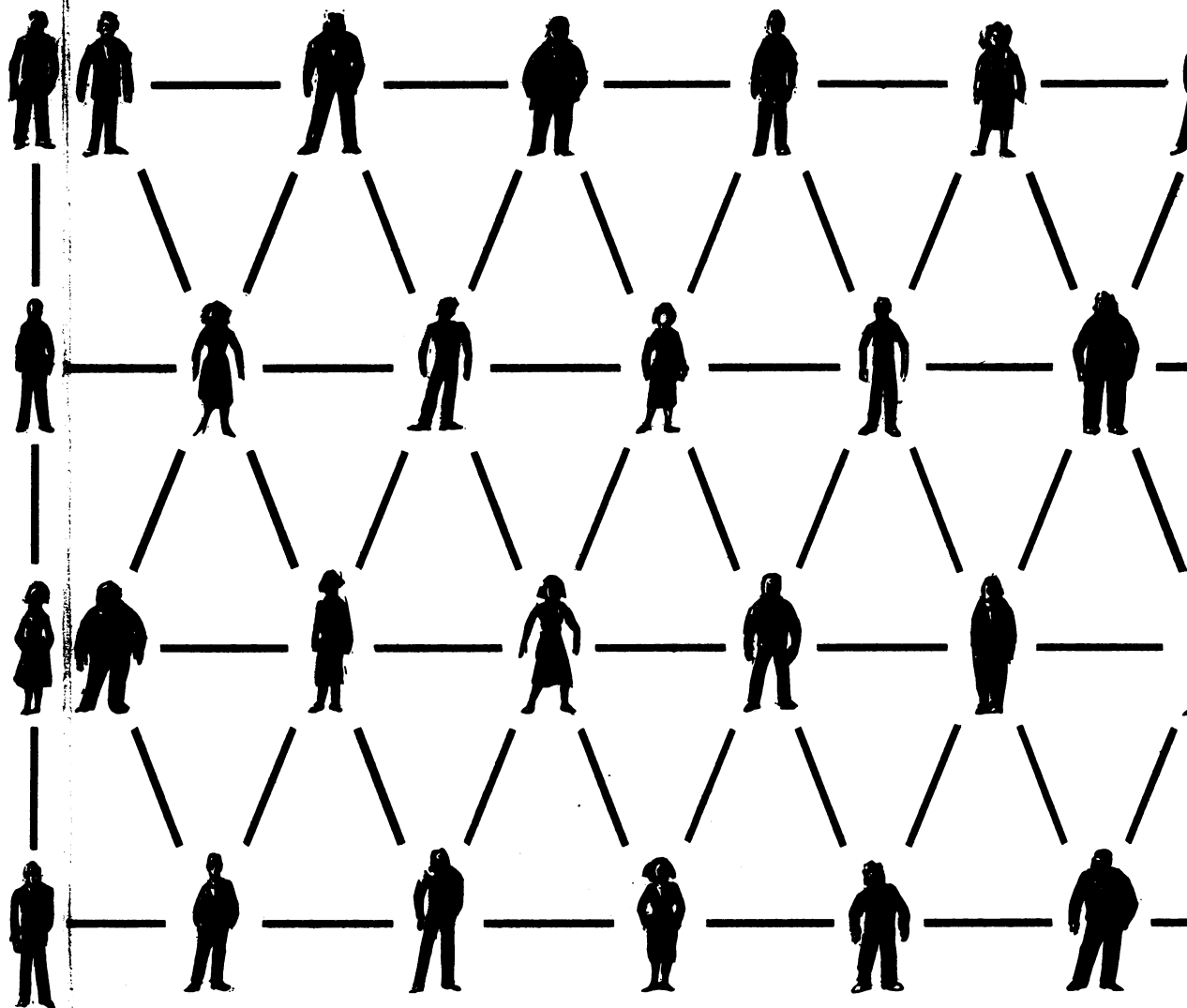
WESCHLER, IRVING R., M. KLEMES, and CLOVIS SHEPHERD. "A New Focus in Executive Training," *Advanced Management*, 20 (May, 1955), 19-22.

Another statement concerning the sensitivity training process, with

particular emphasis on the aims of sensitivity training and specific expressions of resistance to the training process.

WESCHLER, IRVING R., ROBERT TANNENBAUM, and JOHN H. ZENGER. *Yardsticks for Human Relations Training*. Adult Education Association Monograph No. 2. Chicago, Adult Education Association, 1957.

A monograph which discusses in detail the problems involved in evaluating human relations programs in general and sensitivity training in particular. Emphasis is given to the setting of objectives, to a description of the training process itself, and to an analysis of the factors entering into the evaluation program.



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