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LYNN PERLMAN

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THE MANAGEMENT OF HOSTILITY IN
FEMALE LED VS. MALE LED SELF STUDY GROUPS:
THE FEAR OF WOMEN

by

LYNN PERLMAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
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Abstract

THE MANAGEMENT OF HOSTILITY
IN FEMALE LED VS. MALE LED
SELF-STUDY GROUPS:
THE FEAR OF WOMEN

by

Lynn Perlman

Adviser: Professor Laurence Gould

This study sought to explore the effects of the sex of the leader on hostility management of male and female members of self-study groups. Twenty-two women and seventeen men were assigned to four one day self-study groups; group size ranged from a low of 7 Ss to a high of 11 Ss. Two male and two female consultants conducted these groups.

Each group met for five sessions of one hour and fifteen minutes each. All the sessions were tape recorded. Seven five minute segments were taken from each session of each group and rated for covert and overt hostility according to a rating system developed by the experimenter.

Either all or part of the four hypotheses were supported by the data. In all groups, regardless of the sex of the consultant, there was more covert than overt hostility directed toward the consultant. There was a

greater incidence of overt hostility directed toward male consultants and a greater intensity of covert hostility directed toward female consultants. Of the covert hostility directed toward the consultants, more fell under the categories of being protective and of implying that the consultant was inadequate in female led groups than in male led groups.

These findings are explained as resulting from the group's fear of a powerful woman. The notion of the fear of woman is then explored from an intrapsychic (psychoanalytic) and cultural perspective.

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I've heard of an oriental notion that if you save a person's life, you then become responsible for that life. The analogy may be a bit loose, but I'd like to thank Dr. Laurence Gould for sparking my interest in group process when I was an undergraduate, helping me get into graduate school, being available for me as teacher and supporter throughout the process of graduate school, and, finally, continuing to be teacher, guide, and supporter through the last step of that process--this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Hostility is an important component in all relationships. Whenever people come together in groups of two or more, the management of hostility is an issue; in families, institutions, business, organizations, government, etc. The management of hostility plays a major role in determining the degree of effectiveness and satisfaction attained within a relationship. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of hostility is important whenever one wishes to facilitate the working together of people. When one is trained to facilitate people in their relationships, and accepts the responsibility of this position, one becomes an authority. It then becomes important to understand the dynamics of hostility with respect to authority figures.

In the fields of clinical psychology and psychiatry, there has been a great influx of women practitioners. In addition, in the past five years there has been a substantial increase in the number of patients requesting female therapists. An understanding of the dynamics of hostility with respect to women in authority is vital to women in their work with patients. In fact, as the number

of women in positions of responsibility increases in all fields, it becomes increasingly important to understand the dynamics of hostility with respect to women in authority.

The self study group is a technique that has been developed to teach people about group dynamics in an experiential manner. The contractual task of the group is to study its own behavior. One of the main themes that evolves in this form of study is the group's relationship with the authority figure. The role of the consultant (remaining "outside" the group except when making process interpretations of group behavior) quickly mobilizes members' conflicts with authority and a great deal of hostility emerges. Therefore, this technique provides us with an excellent tool for studying issues around authority, including how hostility is managed with respect to authority figures.

A review of the literature shows that very little has been done to see how the sex of an authority figure effects the management of hostility. Research on sex of the consultant and hostility management as variables in self study groups will contribute to the understanding of the differential responses that may exist in heterosexual groups to female and male authority figures. This understanding will help in enhancing the effectiveness of women working with groups and hopefully will be generalizable to the experiences of women in roles of authority in other settings.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the study of small groups, one of the most common characteristics found is the hostility that is directed toward the consultant by the group members. Freud (1921), Bion (1959), Mills (1964), Slater (1966) and others have investigated and analyzed group processes and the hostility that arises in these processes.

The role of the consultant in group processes or group dynamic groups is of an impersonal voice who interacts with the group only to make process interpretations of group behavior. Individual dynamics are not interpreted and the consultant is non-directive. The consultant's remarks are optimally value free. Their sole function is to elucidate the process of the group in the here and now.

The behavior of the consultant mobilizes conflicts around authority issues. The lack of structure and specific directions provided by the consultant aggravates the group's dependency needs. It is assumed that the relatively impersonal stance of the consultant facilitates transference feelings from earlier parental images. It is generally thought that within this setting (of aggravated dependency needs) the hostility in the group is a response to the feelings of abandonment by parental

figures generated in the group by the consultant's passive role and disregard of individual personalities. (Bennis & Sheppard, 1966; Bion, 1959; Mann, 1966, 1967; Mills, 1964; Semrad & Arsenian, 1962; Slater, 1966).

According to Freud (1960/1921) the force that binds a group together, that defines its "groupness" is the libidinal tie between the leader and the members. The role behavior of the group dynamics consultant calls this tie into question. This causes the group to feel threatened. According to Freud, "The loss of the leader is in some sense or other, the birth of misgivings about him, brings on the outbreak of panic." (p. 38)

The anxiety provoked by the experienced loss of the leader, then generates feelings of hostility toward the abandoning one. The ability to express its hostility for the group leader becomes essential for the group. Mills (1964) suggests that by discharging its hostile feelings against the leader, the group frees its tender feelings towards itself (the members). In this way the group leader serves a specialized function for the group; (s)he is the target for hostility. The group is able to discharge its tension by attacking the leader and is thereby able to continue its work, part of which is increasing group solidarity. ". . . effective working relations between group members is, in part, a function of directing hostility toward the person in authority . . ." (Mills, 1964, p. 95)

Although Mills does not go into it, I feel that it should be understood that this specialized function of the leader as a target for attack and discharge of negative feelings is not an arbitrary one. The consultant's behavior is what initially mobilizes the conflictual feelings around authority issues and so it is her/his specific behavior (or lack of it) that is the source of the tension. "The group leader is a source of irritation and anxiety to the group and his removal is sought simply to preserve the group from being overwhelmed with disturbing and disruptive tension." (Slater, 1966, p. 55).

Mills suggests that an additional function of attacking the leader is to make it possible for the group to identify with the leader and by so doing incorporate the positive aspects of him/her. Mills feels that aggression leads to (and is a necessary prerequisite for) identification with the person towards whom the aggression is directed.

Slater (1966) suggests that this process is the group's way of dealing with its ambivalence; the group is both attracted to and repelled by the leader. By attacking the consultant, the group expresses its repulsion and at the same time takes in the desired characteristics. This is consistent with Freud, who tells us, "Identification, in fact, is ambivalent from the very first; it can turn into an expression of tenderness as easily as into a wish for someone's removal." (Freud, 1960/1921, p. 47).

An additional explanation of this process can be offered in terms of ego boundaries. The group is attracted to the leader, but fears that in identification, it will lose its "self." Attack reinforces these boundaries, increasing the sense of "self" of the group, thus making it possible to identify with and incorporate the desired characteristics without threat of permanent loss of self.

Expressing hostility toward the group leader therefore is an important dynamic in groups and serves multiple functions; it is a direct expression of the group's feeling, it keeps the group from being overwhelmed with tension, it promotes group solidarity and it increases the group's competence by enabling identification with the consultant. In fact, Slater feels there is a positive correlation between the extent to which a group is able to confront its leader with negative feelings and the extent it succeeds in resolving its conflicts around authority issues.

The majority of theoretical work that has been done on small groups has had males as consultants (Mann, 1967; O'Day, 1974; Slater, 1966). The examination of the group's hostility toward the consultant and the subsequent analysis of this phenomenon is likewise limited to the particular case of a group with a male leader. It seems likely that hostility would be an important element in all groups, regardless of the sex of the leader. However, it

also seems quite possible that the sex of the leader would have an effect on the hostility management within the group.

In recent years two people have examined the variable of sex of the consultant, Mills (1964) and Wright (1972). Mills was concerned with the development of hostility toward authority and the way in which such hostility interacts with solidarity among group members. He felt that more non-reciprocating leaders (referring to the reciprocation of both affection and anger) are most effective in inducing hostility towards the leader, and, likewise, solidarity within the group. As mentioned previously, in taking a passive, non-reciprocating role, the leader mobilizes hostility and at the same time presents herself/himself as the target for such hostility. According to Mills, this non-reciprocating stance frustrates the wishes of the members to have an exclusive relationship with the leader. The feelings of rejection that the members have are experienced as threatening and they react with hostility. By her/his non-reciprocating posture the leader has demonstrated that (s)he will not attack members and so is a safe (and appropriate) target on which they may vent their hostile feelings. At the same time the consultant presents the group task as a substitute goal to be worked toward rather than an exclusive relationship with her/him. In venting their hostile feelings on her/him they enable themselves to then identify with the consultant and channel

their energy into pursuing the group task. Mills feels that this sequence of events will occur only when the consultant and members are of the same sex. He reasons that if they are "cross sexed" the consultant, as well as the members will have a desire for an exclusive relationship which would interfere with the consultant's representation of the collective goal. Additionally, members will be less likely to attack the consultant due to their intensified wish for an exclusive relationship. This inhibited expression of hostility decreases the solidarity experienced among the members and makes it less possible for members to identify with the consultant as one working for the group goal. Mills set up an experiment to study these hypotheses. He used twelve groups with one consultant and two members in each group. He found that congeniality between members increased in same sexed groups and decreased in cross sexed ones and that an increase of negative feelings towards the instructor correlated with an increase of positive feelings towards peers.

Fred Wright (1972) elaborated on Mills' work and ran a study of eight groups averaging 10 Ss per group. He used consultant style (reciprocating--"R" vs. non-reciprocating--"N-R" and sex as variables). The finding of his that most interests me is that "the peer ratings on the Semantic Differentials show that when consultants were N-R and female, both male and female Ss were much less positive toward peers than were Ss in other groups for the

most part, particularly in comparison to the N-R male consultant groups." (Wright, 1972, p. 88) (The Semantic Differential is a modified form of Osgood's Semantic Differential questionnaire. In it subjects are asked to rate their consultants and fellow group members according to pairs of bipolar adjectives on a seven point scale, e.g., active-----passive.)

However, in contrast to Mills' finding that negative feelings towards the instructor correlated with positive feelings towards peers, Wright found that N-R female consultants were rated lower on the Semantic Differential than N-R male consultants. Also in a Towards-Against Authority measure, Wright found that the composite mean score for all female consultants was lower than that for male consultants. (A higher score indicating more "towards" feelings and a lower score indicating more "against" authority feelings.)

To quote Wright, "The question arises as to why female consultants evoke these patterns and not male consultants, and, as the Semantic Differential peer ratings show, why are Ss less positive toward each other when the consultant is N-R and female? If the notion that male authority figures (e.g., fathers) in our culture are expected to be more impersonal and less nurturant than female authority figures (e.g., mothers) is accepted, than it stands to reason that Ss, male and female alike, would feel more deprived by exclusively task oriented female authority figures like N-R female consultants than

exclusively task oriented male authority figures like N-R male consultants, and, as a result of the deprivation or frustration, would act out their hostility. According to the Semantic Differential ratings it appears to have been displaced onto peers as reasoned earlier in this discussion." (Wright, 1972, pp. 88-89) The earlier reasoning referred to is as follows: ". . . if the agent responsible for the frustration is inaccessible as an object of attack (as an authority figure well might be) due to conflicting response tendencies, then the hostility will be directed onto another more accessible object. It seems that this is the process that occurred with the Ss in this experiment, with the qualification that it happened more intensely to females than to males, and was due to females more intense affiliation needs and consequent greater sense of frustration in the N-R condition." (Wright, 1972, p. 86)

As stated earlier in this paper, all non-reciprocating leaders are experienced as frustrating dependency needs and this results in feelings of frustration and hostility towards the depriving figure. Even if N-R female leaders are experienced as more depriving than N-R male leaders and more hostility is therefore generated in members towards them, what is the explanation for the displacement of this hostility onto peers, that does not seem to be the case in groups led by N-R males?

Quoting Wright again we note the phrase, ". . . if the agent responsible is inaccessible as an object of attack (as an authority figure well might be) . . . " (1972, p. 86) However, Mills has said that N-R leaders by their posture have demonstrated that they will not attack members (in retaliation or otherwise) and so provide a safe target on which members may vent their hostile feelings. In other words N-R leaders are specifically set up to be accessible objects of attack. The problem remains that N-R male consultants appear to be seen as accessible objects of attack, while N-R female consultants appear not to be seen as accessible objects of attack. Mills gives us a clue as to why this may be so when he says that N-R leaders are safe targets for hostility because they have demonstrated that they will not attack members. They then become unsafe targets if, for whatever reasons, the members fear being attacked by the consultant.

Sandidge and Friedland (1973) did a study investigating the aggressive behavior of children in which children were given cartoons of a child in an aggressive (verbal) encounter with another child. The subjects were directed to respond in the manner they thought that the child in the cartoon would respond. Both boys and girls retaliated more strongly if the aggressor in the cartoon was a boy. In addition, both boys and girls responded more aggressively if they were responding for a girl. Maccoby explains this behavior with the interpretation that "since girls are not

supposed to be attacked, when they are attacked, they are seen as justified in retaliating as strongly as possible." (Maccoby, 1974, p. 238)

This study is consistent with the idea that group members would more strongly fear retaliation by a female consultant than by a male consultant. In addition, if there were to be retaliation, they would be likely to fear that the retaliation on the part of the female consultant would be more intense.

It is my belief that women, especially women such as the N-R female consultant, are not seen as accessible objects to attack because the group is (unconsciously) afraid that if they demonstrate hostility towards her, she will retaliate. There has been an interesting advertisement on television that is consistent with this thinking. A woman dressed as "Mother Nature" is offered some margarine to taste. She tastes it and says it is her own natural butter. A voice replies "Fooled you, Mother Nature" and says it is margarine that she has tasted and mistaken for butter. She responds "It's not nice to fool Mother Nature" and causes a violent blizzard (in what was a lovely summer scene)..

Lederer makes an extensive case to support the idea of fear of women. (The Fear of Women, 1968) He also notes the paucity of research done in this area. He notes that the Psychoanalytic Index shows three listings under "Women, fear of" from its inception until his writing in 1968.

The Psychological Abstracts have two items. (Lederer, 1968) From 1968 until the present there have been no additional listings in either the Psychoanalytic Index or the Psychological Abstracts under "Women, fear of." In the Psychological Abstracts until 1973 there was no regular subcategory in the subject index dealing with women. As of 1973, there is a standard category for "Womens Liberation Movement." It is only now with the rejuvenation of the women's movement and the fundamental questioning about our notions of female inferiority, do we begin on a more mass scale, to notice man's (and woman's) fear of women. We begin to understand the possibility that the institutionalized belief in our culture of female inferiority was a reaction to our fear of women. The massive devaluation of woman may be understood as a defensive attempt to bind our fear of her.

Because women have been regarded as inferior beings in our society, such a notion (fear of her) is very difficult to accept. To accept the idea of fear of a woman, one must also acknowledge the experience of her as a powerful person. In her thesis "The Family and the Work Group: Dilemmas for Women in Authority," Carol Beauvais gives a comprehensive description of the cultural devaluation of women and women's roles (the denial of woman as powerful person) based on the individual's experience within the family. "Our wider cultural values, like the value represented by the Oedipal father exalts that which is farthest away

from early personality development. As a culture we believe that childhood should be left behind, or separated from in order to become adult. By association, the one who cares for children must also represent those childhood associated qualities, etc., which must be left behind and separated from. As long as the one who cares for children is woman, woman too comes to represent qualities that are devalued and left behind." (Beauvais, 1976, p. 31)

The qualities that are "left behind" pertain to the emotional aspects of people. Beauvais bases many of her ideas on the work of Parsons and Bales. They understand the family to be organized along two basic axes, one of power, and the other of instrumental-expressive functioning. "Instrumentality is described as specific, affectively neutral, universalistic, and achievement oriented. It is a 'rational' attitude towards the external situation and an inhibition of emotions towards other members of the system. It is performance oriented. Expressiveness is defined as concerned with the internal affairs of the system, the maintenance of integrative relations between the members and the regulation of tension levels. It is described as responsive, supportive, harmonizing, pleasurable, and in general relational." (Beauvais, 1976, pp. 16-17)

According to Parsons and Bales (1955), the parents have superior power along the power axis, while children have inferior power. The males (father and son) are more within the instrumental category along the instrumental-

expressive axis, and the females (mother and daughter) are more within the expressive mode. Beauvais makes an additional differentiation of power between the parents. She feels that although both parents have more power than the children, the father has more power than the mother. This is because the father is primarily instrumental and the mother is primarily expressive. Since the culture values the instrumental and devalues the expressive, the father is more valued (and has more power) than the mother. Since, as already stated, our culture believes that childhood should be "left behind" the mother and the expressive mode must be devalued. It once again becomes difficult to accept the idea of fear of a woman, because to do so would be to re-experience her as powerful person. It is exactly this experience (woman as powerful person) that the system described above functions to distance us from. It is this need that drives the system. Childhood must be left behind because in childhood woman was experienced as powerful person and identified with emotional reactions that did not fit into a logical order. To be adult in our world is to deny the realm of the Mothers, the emotional aspects of life. To be adult is to be male, to be instrumental, and to be in control. To be adult in our culture is to make the world logical, ordered, rational and controllable. To be adult is to deny the fear of woman and all that she represents.

To return to our original point, it is necessary for a group to be able to express its hostility openly towards its leader. However, both men and women bring to the group a residual fear of woman that is not acknowledged. The fear of woman is intensely difficult to acknowledge and experience. In part, the difficulty in experiencing the fear of woman is due to the fact that it takes us back to a very primitive level. It takes us back to our individual beginnings when we were absolutely dependent on another person for our very survival. It recreates time of complete helplessness. To re-experience this fear, especially in a context where dependency feelings are being frustrated, is exceedingly difficult. Or perhaps, to put it the other way around, having a female authority frustrate dependency wishes has the potential of reawakening those primitive feelings of complete helplessness and intense rage. In addition to our individual defenses that are used to bind such intense affect, our society reinforces attempts to defend against such feelings. It raises to a cultural norm the devaluation of women. Since our fear of woman is so well defended against on both these levels, it is difficult to acknowledge the fear and the concomitant hostility. Therefore, whatever hostility is mobilized in the group will have trouble being acknowledged openly because to do so would be to once again recognize the woman as powerful. Thus, in groups run by women, although the hostility will exist, it would be

unlikely that much of it would be able to be expressed directly. It would be expected that the hostility would instead be manifested in covert ways. In this fashion the group would be able to maintain its defenses and not experience the extent of its own fears of helplessness and rage towards women.

This study will attempt to describe and measure the ways hostility towards the female consultant gets expressed in groups in contrast to the ways hostility is expressed in male led groups. Since it is expected that the hostility will go "underground" the next question is what will it look like? How will it be manifested? Let us return to the group process group to try and answer these questions.

It is a fairly common phenomenon in groups that a scapegoat is sometimes used as a substitute object for attack in place of the leader. "The phenomenon of scapegoat formation is . . . a manifestation of the displacement of aggressive impulses upon an individual or a group. It occurs most often when the expression of these impulses against the substitute object seems fraught with less imagined or real danger than their direct expression." (Scheidlinger, 1952, pp. 115-115) In his discussion of the scapegoat phenomenon Scheidlinger tells us what he understands the "imagined or real danger" to the group to be. ". . . the underlying factor was a fear of being attacked." (Scheidlinger, 1952, p. 117) Thus, once again

we see that when the group is afraid of retaliation by the consultant they will express their hostility in covert rather than overt forms. The form that we see here is that of displacement, which had previously been suggested by Wright. Since the scapegoat formation is a common phenomenon in groups, it is clear that all groups, regardless of the sex of the leader, have some fear of retaliation of hostile wishes which then forces them to express their hostility covertly. However, I would speculate that in male led groups this fear will be worked through more easily and the hostility will become more overt as the group progresses. Because the group, for the previously described reasons, will have a much stronger fear of retaliation for hostile impulses by a female leader, the hostility in a female led group would be expected to remain more covert.

Displacement is a standard defense mechanism described for us by psychoanalytic theory. Other such defense mechanisms are denial, projection and isolation and we would expect that these would also be used by the group to bind its hostility toward the leader, and serve as a compromise form of expressing the original impulse while protecting against the original danger (that of retaliation by the leader). It is highly likely that the group will express covert hostility in additional modes that are not so clearly accounted for by traditional defense mechanisms. The very fact that we are talking about covert expressions

of affect is where our problem lies. In order to describe, categorize and measure the behavior we are interested in, we must transform what is covert behavior into overt behavior. In an attempt to pick up more covert manifestations of hostility, let us return to Beauvais and her ideas about dilemmas for women in authority.

Beauvais tells us "The role of the consultant and the role of the Oedipal father both emphasize a denial of reciprocity, an affectively neutral attitude toward individual members of the system, the highest hierarchical power position of the group, and an emphasis on group rather than individual or interpersonal systems as well as an additional emphasis on work and authority." (Beauvais, 1976, p. 63) In these aspects the consultant's role is seen as male. However, the consultant focuses on self study and on the regressive aspect of group behavior and this falls within the definition of both the role of the pre-Oedipal and Oedipal mother. In this aspect the consultant's role is experienced as female. Because of these contradictions, there will be confusion in the group as to the sexual identity of the consultant according to standard cultural sex role identifications. These sex role identifications, (female as expressive, male as instrumental) were originally instituted as a means of distancing people from their childhoods, and of making women less powerful figures by devaluation of their roles. Such classifications were originally hostile to women. The contradic-

tions in the consultants' behavior (according to sex role identifications) challenge these classifications and the group will likely attempt to re-institute these classifications and push the consultants to behave in the "appropriate" manner. This behavior is seen as hostile since it implies that the consultant is sexually inadequate. Such behavior will also be seen as covert hostility since the original classifications are hostile to the value of women. "If the woman behaves according to the principals of ideal authority, she will be accused of abandoning her sex role and being masculine. If she behaves according to the principals of any female power positions, by her very femininity she will fall short of the male authority ideal. As a competent authority she cannot meet the ideals of womanhood; as a woman she cannot meet the ideals of esteemed authority." (Beauvais, 1976, p. 43)

The concepts of sexuality and competence are intimately related in this system. Woman must sacrifice one in order to be the other. The two are mutually exclusive. As the above quote indicates, when the consultant is a woman, she cannot, by definition be competent. Accordingly, the group will be hostile in that they will covertly challenge her competence. They may respond to her as if she were less than a full adult, they may refer to her as "girl," they may assume that she is inexperienced, etc.

When the group is more acknowledging of the sexuality of the female consultant, they will be, at the same time; covertly denying her competence. "Sexuality is a defense against regression for everyone, and for the men more so than the women. Men will often attempt to introduce sex into a work situation with a woman as a maneuver to symbolically restore their dominance over whether she is boss or not." (Beauvais, 1976, p. 55) Thus the group may be covertly hostile to the female consultant by acting sexually provocative towards her, discussing her physical characteristics, etc. All these moves are attempts to return her to her "proper" sex role and in so doing, deny her competence. If the group is more acknowledging of the competence of the female consultant, they will simultaneously be denying her sexuality. They will say that she is not sexually attractive to them and often indicate that she might be sexually attractive if she smiled more, was softer and more friendly, etc., all of which would make her less competent in her role as consultant.

If the group does not focus specifically on her sexuality, they may focus on her "feminine" qualities in the more general sense. She will be spoken of as soft, gentle, fragile, vulnerable, etc., and the group will be concerned with hurting her feelings. All this is understood to be covert hostility since these qualities are in direct contradiction with her defined role as consultant.

A further technique that a group might employ in an attempt to avoid direct confrontation with the consultant is to simply ignore the consultant, to not acknowledge the presence and the authority position of the consultant. In this way they would avoid having to deal with any hostile feelings they may have toward the consultant.

It is inevitable that our categories will not be fully inclusive, and that some of the group's more subtle covert expressions of hostility will escape our measures. This study is a first attempt to describe this phenomenon. Hopefully others will be done that will improve on these techniques. Nevertheless, this study will attempt to describe and measure some of the ways hostility towards the female consultant gets expressed in groups in contrast to the ways hostility is expressed in male led groups. It is our hope that in identifying these modes we can then take this information back to our groups and help them recognize, experience and express these emotions. In so doing, they will have taken a step on their way back from estrangement from their histories and from themselves.

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES

1. In all groups, regardless of sex of the consultant, there will be more covert hostility, as opposed to overt hostility, directed toward the consultant.
2. There will be more overt hostility directed toward male consultants than toward female consultants.
3. There will be more covert hostility directed towards female consultants than toward male consultants.
4. Of the covert hostility directed toward the consultants, more will fall under categories 5, 6, 7, and 8, for the female consultants than for the male consultants.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

Subjects

39 Ss were recruited from colleges in the New York City area. This was done by distributing posters and brochures which advertised a two day, self-study workshop on "male-female interactions in groups with an emphasis on authority, leadership and competence." In addition, the woman who was the administrator of the conference spoke to many classes, informing them about the conference.

The subjects were charged an \$8.00 fee to participate in the conference and agreed to participate in the research aspects of the workshop. The subjects were advised that the sessions would be tape recorded and the microphones were in plain sight, as were the tape recorders.

The membership was limited to people who had not previously participated in a Tavistock type group.

The data from the first day of the workshop was not used in this thesis. (These groups were single sexed groups, led by a leader of the opposite sex.) The data was collected from the second day of the workshop. Unfortunately, since it was the second day, some of the hostility the group members might experience toward the

consultant may have been worked through since the setting and the method were already known.

Procedures

Four people acted as consultants to the four groups from which the data was obtained for this thesis. All the consultants were college graduates and were enrolled in doctoral programs in psychology at the City University of New York. All had been students in the group process course, as well as participants in self-study groups on the model of the groups they consulted to for this workshop. All had a minimum of one semester's experience consulting, under supervision, to an undergraduate class. One leader had additional consulting experience.

All four consultants were white and in their late twenties. Two of the consultants were women and two of the consultants were men.

The subjects were divided by sex and then randomly assigned to one of the four groups, with an attempt to balance the number of people in each group and the sex ratio in each group. There was an average of eight members per group (See Table 1).

The four groups were run simultaneously. Each had five sessions. Each session ran for one hour and fifteen minutes. The sessions were taped and a non-participant observer was present in each group.

During the coffee and lunch breaks the members from the four groups were allowed to intermingle. However, the

consultants remained in a separate room that was assigned to the staff and were instructed not to interact with the group members.

In the actual running of the groups, all consultants operated in the Tavistock mode, remaining quiet except to make process interpretations that (s)he determined would facilitate the group in learning about group dynamics.

Measures

Tape Recordings

All five sessions of all four groups were recorded in their entirety. Seven five minute samples were extracted from each session. The first five minute segment of each group was not used; the second five minute segment was taken out for analysis; the third five minute segment was not used, the fourth five minute segment was taken out for analysis, and so forth. Thus, seven five minute segments spaced five minutes apart were taken from each group session.

The unit scored was defined as one complete interaction by one member; that is, one person speaking from the time they began an interaction until its completion. If they were interrupted and then continued speaking, this was regarded as a new unit. Any unit of interaction could be scored 1 for either or both covert and overt hostility. Thus a particular unit of interaction could receive a

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF SUBJECT AND SEX COMPOSITION BY GROUPS

Sex	Female Consultants		Male Consultants	
	C1	C2	C3	C4
Females	6	7	5	4
Males	5	5	4	3
Total	11	12	9	7

maximum of two scores; one for the presence of covert hostility and one for the presence of overt hostility. These ratings were totaled across each five minute sample to obtain one score for covert hostility and one score for overt hostility for each sample. Thus each five minute sample received two scores. One score was for the presence (indicated by a numeral denoting the specific number of unit instances of the behavior) or absence (indicated by 0) of covert hostility and one for the presence or absence of overt hostility.

The scored units of covert hostility were then placed in one of the categories defined under covert hostility. The categories of overt and covert hostility are defined on the following pages.

This rating scale for hostility was developed after an examination of the group process literature demonstrated that there were no previous existing rating scales that specifically differentiated between types of hostility.

Covert Hostility Categories

1. Displacement--Member(s) or theoretical person or previous consultant attacked for having attributes that are "consultant like" or for behaving in a way that is "consultant like."
 - A. Cool and aloof attitude, doesn't give enough, doesn't make self equally vulnerable, observes but does not participate, is judgmental.
 - B. Is silent.
 - C. Won't make eye contact, keeps eyes focused on floor.

- D. Is paternalistic/maternalistic.
 - E. Intellectualizes as opposed to sharing feelings.
 - F. Manipulates the group.
 - G. Consultant of previous group attacked.
 - H. Member directly attacked for acting like the consultant.
2. Denial--Denying aspects of the external reality.
- A. Assumption that the consultant has changed role.
 - B. Assumption that the consultant manipulates or controls the behavior of the group.
3. Projection--Angry feelings are projected on the consultant.
4. Isolation--Angry feelings toward the consultant are isolated.
- A. If we felt . . .
 - B. Acknowledging that they are not getting what is wanted from the consultant without any concomitant affect.
 - C. Intellectual understanding of their hostility without being able to feel it.
 - D. Denying that they have any feelings at all toward the consultant.
5. Ignoring--Not acknowledging presence and authority position of consultant.
- A. Ignoring consultant.
 - B. Not recognizing who the consultant is.
 - C. Calling consultant by wrong name or title.
 - D. Talking louder so that consultant has difficulty being heard.
 - E. Forgetting consultant's name.

- F. Ignoring interpretations (Let's not deal with that, etc.).
 - G. Stating that the consultant's presence is not an issue for the group.
6. Being protective towards the consultant--The group assumption is that the consultant is not strong enough (competent) to work with the group.
- A. Suggest consultant is fragile, gentle, soft, vulnerable.
 - B. Focus on "personness" of consultant (who can be hurt).
 - C. Demonstrate concern about hurting consultant's feelings.
 - D. Acting as if consultant has been hurt, wounded, offended.
7. Using sexuality to try to get consultant to break role and to attack consultant.
- A. Being sexually provocative towards the consultant.
 - B. Being negative about the consultant's sexuality (You don't turn me on, etc.).
 - C. Denying consultant's sexuality.
 - 1. Counting number of men and women in the group and not including consultant.
 - 2. Stating the consultant is not sexual.
 - D. Trying to bribe the consultant (I could respond to you sexually if you were . . .)
 - E. Acting as if the consultant had in some way been seduced.
8. Implication of Inadequacy
- A. Innuendos of language--(anybody could sit in that chair, etc.).

- B. Referring to the consultant as less than an adult
 - 1. Calling them "girl" or "boy."
 - 2. Using diminutive of their names.
- C. Assuming lack of experience (references to beginner).
- D. Expecting consultant of opposite sex or couple.
- E. Acting as if consultant could be or has been manipulated.

Overt Hostility Categories

- 1. Directly Critical.-- Consultant accused of making things bad, not being helpful, being inadequate, incorrect, trite.
- 2. Angry Feelings Expressed--Group expresses resentment, frustration, wish to make consultant angry, wish to hurt or provoke the consultant.
- 3. Abusive Language--Group curses the consultant, yells at the consultant, calls the consultant a robot, an animal, a machine, etc.

The categories were devised both theoretically and clinically. Tapes of other groups were studied in order to observe ways covert hostility was expressed. On the theoretical side, categories 1 through 4 are standard psychoanalytic concepts of defense mechanisms. These are understood to be defensive maneuvers used by the ego to deal with conflictual and anxiety provoking impulses or affects. The manner in which these are dealt with are determined by the general mode the ego had adopted. By expressing the affect in a covert style we think of the group

ego as operating in a passive aggressive character style.

Passive aggressive personality is defined as follows:

A personality disorder characterized by aggressive behavior manifested in passive ways, such as obstructionism, pouting, procrastination, intentional inefficiency, or stubbornness. The aggression often arises from resentment at failing to find gratification in a relationship with an individual or institution upon which the individual is over-dependent. (Frazier, S. H. et al. (ed.) A Psychiatric Glossary, pp. 72-73).

In addition to being a standard psychoanalytic concept of defense, category 1, Displacement, was mentioned (see Chapter I) by various analytic theorists in their understanding of how hostility toward the leader is defended against in group situations.

Categories 5 through 8 were developed theoretically as an extension of Beauvais' speculations (1976) about how society relates to women in authority.

All categories refer to explicit verbal interactions. For example, under category 5, Ignoring, an interaction would be rated only if the members in the group talked about ignoring the consultant. It was not scored if the rater merely believed that the group was ignoring the consultant. This was done because although it would be possible for a clinically acute rater to make such judgments, it would complicate the scoring and make reliability much harder to obtain. It was also felt that the behavior existed in enough force to be scored and found significant on the basis of pure verbal interaction.

Two raters were used to score the samples. One rater scored every sample and one rater scored half of the samples. These data were used to obtain reliability measures. The raters were trained in using the scale on pilot group segments. These segments were all of Tavistock style groups. One male rater and one female rater was used to control for possible effects due to the sex of the rater.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Analyses of the Tape Recorded Proceedings of the Group Meetings

t-tests were performed on all non zero instances of overt hostility and of covert hostility to compare intensity of hostility directed toward female as opposed to male consultants. F tests were performed to compare the amounts of variance in the covert and overt hostility responses according to the sex of the consultant. Chi squares were performed on the instances of overt hostility directed toward female as compared to male consultants, of covert hostility directed toward female as compared to male consultants, and a final chi square was done comparing incidence of covert hostility toward the consultant as compared with overt hostility across all groups.

Chi squares were performed on the data of covert hostility falling into categories 5, 6, 7, and 8 on the covert hostility measure, to compare frequencies of categories used according to sex of the consultant.

Correlations were run to determine inter-rater reliability for judging overt and covert hostility.

Summary of the Results

Two initial Pearson product moment correlations were calculated between scores for judges on overt hostility, which came out to be .971 and on covert hostility which came out to be .983. These high correlations might be a reflection of the number of paired zeros in the data. That is, a high number of instances in which both raters agreed there was no behavior to be rated. Therefore, new correlations were done in which all instances of paired zeros were eliminated. In other words, they were correlations of instances when at least one of the raters felt that rateable behavior was occurring. These new correlations were .947 for covert hostility (based on 35 instances) and .953 for overt hostility (based on 8 instances).

The hypotheses stated that more covert hostility would be directed toward all consultants than overt hostility, that more covert hostility would be directed toward female consultants than male consultants, and more overt hostility would be directed toward male consultants than female consultants.

In the analyses of the data, two aspects of "more" were examined, incidence and intensity. 35 segments were scored for each group for overt hostility and for covert hostility. These segments were examined first on the basis of being either zero or more than zero. When they were zero it was considered to be an incident of no hostility. When they were more than zero (regardless of the actual

numerical figure) they were considered to be an incident of hostility. The chi square analyses of this data demonstrated that, as hypothesized, a significantly greater incidence of covert hostility was directed toward all consultants as compared with overt hostility, and a greater incidence of overt hostility was directed toward male consultants than toward female consultants. However, there was not a significantly greater incidence of covert hostility directed toward female as opposed to male consultants.

In analyzing the data for intensity of hostility, all zero cases were discarded. When a particular non zero segment would, for example, receive a score of 6, that 6 was obtained by counting the number of observed units of hostility in that five minute time segment. A greater number of actual incidents during the sample (for example, 6 as opposed to 1) was understood to reflect a greater intensity of hostility during the segment with the higher scores.

The t-test analysis of the data demonstrated that, as hypothesized, when covert hostility did occur, there was a greater intensity of covert hostility directed toward female consultants than toward male consultants. However, there was not a significantly greater intensity of overt hostility directed toward male consultants than toward female consultants. This was not statistically significant in spite of the fact that the mean for overt hostility directed toward male consultants was twice that of the

mean of overt hostility directed toward female consultants. (See Table 4) It was not statistically significant due to the very high standard deviation figure for overt hostility toward male consultants. F tests performed on this data demonstrated that there was a significantly greater variance in the overt hostile responses to male as opposed to female consultants. Also, there was a significantly greater variance of covert hostile responses toward female as opposed to male consultants. Therefore, the analysis of the means (for intensity) should be taken as a conservative judgment.

The chi square analyses of the data separated into the categories of covert hostility demonstrated that, as hypothesized, of the covert hostility directed toward the consultants, more of category 6 and 8 type hostility was directed toward female as opposed to male consultants. (Category 6 was "Being Protective toward the Consultant" and Category 8 was "Implication of Inadequacy.") However, there was not a significantly greater amount of category 5 or 7 type covert hostility directed toward female as opposed to male consultants. (Category 5 was "Ignoring" and category 7 was "Using Sexuality.")

TABLE 2

FREQUENCIES OF RATINGS FOR COVERT AND OVERT HOSTILITY

	Female		Male		χ^2	p
	non zero	zero	non zero	zero		
Covert	26	9	26	9	0.08	ns
Overt	7	28	18	17	7.53***	.01

TABLE 3

FREQUENCIES OF RATINGS FOR COVERT AND OVERT HOSTILITY
REGARDLESS OF SEX OF CONSULTANT

	Overt		Covert		X ²	p
	non zero	zero	non zero	zero		
Hostility	25	45	52	18	21.04***	.001

TABLE 4

SCORES FOR INTENSITY OF HOSTILITY

	df	Female		Male		t	p
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Overt Hostility	23	1.4285	0.7867	2.9722	2.5637	1.5467	ns
Covert Hostility	50	5.9038	4.9071	3.4423	1.8938	2.3862*	.05

All tests are two-tailed.

TABLE 5

F TEST ON VARIANCE OF HOSTILITY SCORES

	Female			Male			F	p
	n	df	SD	n	df	SD		
Covert Hostility	25	24	4.9071	25	24	1.8938	6.69***	.01
Overt Hostility	7	6	0.7867	18	17	2.5637	10.58***	.01

TABLE 6

FREQUENCIES OF RATINGS FOR CATEGORIES OF COVERT HOSTILITY

Category	Female		Male		χ^2	p
	Present (Non Zero)	Absent (Zero)	Present (Non Zero)	Absent (Zero)		
5. Ignoring	26	123	13	71	0.29	ns
6. Being Protective	11	138	0	88	5.25*	.05
7. Using Sexuality	11	138	2	86	1.89	ns
8. Inadequacy	22	127	3	85	6.41**	.02

TABLE 7
RAW SCORES OF OVERT HOSTILITY

Group #	Female Leaders		Male Leaders	
	1	2	3	4
Session 1				
1	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	1	0
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	3	0	1.5
6	0	2	0	0
7	0	0	7	0
Session 2				
8	0	0	2	0
9	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	1	4.5
12	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0
Session 3				
15	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	1
17	1	0	0	2
18	1	0	0	1
19	0	0	0	3
20	0	0	2	0
21 5	0	0	0	5
Session 4				
22	0	1	0	0
23	0	0	6	4
24	0	1	5	0
25	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	1	0
27	0	0	0	1
28	0	0	0	0
Session 5				
29	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	2
31	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0.5
34	0	0	3	0
35	1	0	0	0

TABLE 8

RAW SCORES OF COVERT HOSTILITY

Group #	Female Leaders		Male Leaders	
	1	2	3	4
Session 1				
1	5.5	0	4	1
2	3.5	3	5	0
3	8.5	2	0	0
4	7	6	0	0
5	8	8	1	1.5
6	2.5	3	4	0
7	0	0	2	3
Session 2				
8	3	1	1	1.5
9	1	0	2	0
10	0	2	0	3
11	1	0	0	7
12	0	0	0	0
13	2	8	0	2
14	0	1	0	2
Session 3				
15	0	0	0	0
16	0	3	0	2
17	9	5.5	2	0
18	0	0	1	5
19	0	0	3.5	2
20	0	0	8	0
21	3	0	0	5
Session 4				
22	5.5	9	0	3
23	0	3	2	1
24	0.5	5	4	0
25	1.5	2	0	2
26	5.5	0	0	2
27	0	1	0	0
28	13	1	0	0
Session 5				
29	0	0	0	0
30	1	0	0	1
31	3	1	0	3
32	0	3	1	0
33	0	0	1	0
34	0	0	0	0
35	2	0	0	0

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

All hypotheses were found, at least in part, to be significant. However, the limitations of this study (different number of Ss in each group, different proportion of men and women in the groups, the time limited nature of the workshop) should be kept in mind when seeking to generalize from these findings. Hypothesis 1, which predicted that regardless of sex of the consultant, there would be more covert, as opposed to overt, hostility directed toward the consultant, was significant.

Hypothesis 2 stated that there would be more overt hostility directed toward male consultants than toward female consultants. This was found to be partially correct. There was a greater incidence of overt hostility directed toward male consultants, however, even though there was twice as much mean intensity of overt hostility directed toward male consultants this was not statistically significant. The problem here was that there was a high variation in responses and a low number of cases. This low number of cases of overt hostility fits in with our understanding of the difficulty that people have in expressing their hostility toward authority figures in a direct and

forthright manner. Although this is consistent with our theoretical position, it makes measurement a problem. The data used in this thesis was taken from the second day of a two day workshop in group relations. The first day the workshop was composed of single sexed groups which are often experienced as very depriving. Therefore, there might be a greater than usual need to preserve harmony in the less depriving situation of a mixed sex group, in order to compensate for the previous day's deprivation.

It is possible that by the second day, the groups were somewhat "cooled out." As mentioned above, the data for this thesis comes from the second day of the workshop. In fact, it was not only the second day of the workshop, but the last day. On the last day of workshops groups invariably experience the need to make reparations, smooth over conflicts and end on a friendly note. These factors might decrease the presence of overt hostility.

There is an interesting reversal of findings in Hypotheses 2 and 3. In Hypothesis 2 we found that there is a greater incidence of overt hostility toward male consultants than toward female consultants (taking into account that there is a generally low incidence of overt hostility) but there is not a greater intensity of overt hostility directed toward male than toward female consultants.

In Hypothesis 3 we found that the opposite was true. There was a greater intensity of covert hostility directed

toward female consultants. However, it should be kept in mind that as indicated in Hypothesis 1, there was more covert than overt hostility directed toward consultants, regardless of sex. Generally speaking, there was a high incidence of covert hostility and a low incidence of overt hostility. If the incidence of a particular kind of hostility is understood to be indicative of the relative ability of the groups to express hostility in that mode, then it would seem likely that where there was a higher incidence there would also be a higher intensity, and vice versa. This was in fact what was found. There was a higher incidence of covert hostility toward all consultants, and although there was no difference in incidence of overt hostility according to sex of the consultant, there was a higher intensity of covert hostility directed toward female as opposed to male consultants. There was a lower incidence of overt hostility toward all consultants, and although there was not a greater intensity of overt hostility directed toward male consultants, there was a greater incidence of overt hostility directed toward male consultants than toward female consultants.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that of the covert hostility directed toward the consultants, more would fall under categories 5, 6, 7, and 8 for the female consultants than for the male consultants. Although category 5 ("Ignoring") was the second most frequently used form of covert hostility (see table) it did not distinguish between male and female consultants.

Category 7 ("Using Sexuality") also did not distinguish between male and female consultants. Perhaps this was due to the type of groups and format of the workshop from which the data was collected. The workshop was advertised as one focusing on "male-female interactions in groups with an emphasis on authority, leadership and competence." The groups seemed to confine their explorations of their sexual feelings by and large to group members, while feelings around authority, leadership and competence clearly involved the consultants.

As discussed in Chapter I, the role behavior of the consultants combines behaviors that are stereotypically thought of as male and behaviors that are typically thought of as female. This may confuse the members, on an emotional level, as to the sexual identity of the consultant, and may make exploration of sexual feelings toward the consultant more difficult. In addition, the groups we observed met only for one day. Perhaps if they had had a longer life span which would have given them the opportunity to develop a greater feeling of group solidarity and competence they may have been able to focus on the issue of sexuality with respect to the consultant.

If we look at the categories of overt hostility in a hierarchical fashion it can be noted that although all categories allow for the covert expression of hostility, some involve behavior that is farther away from direct involvement with the consultant than others. The two most frequently used categories, 1 and 5 (see table) are also the

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
CATEGORIES OF COVERT HOSTILITY

	Percent of Total Covert Hostility	
	Female	Male
1. Displacement	41.6%	64.7%
2. Denial	4.0	2.3
3. Projection	2.7	2.3
4. Isolation	4.7	10.2
5. Ignoring	17.4	14.8
6. Protective	7.4	0.0
7. Sexuality	7.4	2.3
8. Inadequacy	<u>14.8</u>	<u>3.4</u>
	100.0	100.0

Total Incidents of Covert Hostility Toward Consultants:

Male: 88

Female: 149

categories that refer to behavior that is farthest away from interaction with the consultant (1 is displacement and 5 is ignoring). Category 7 (Using Sexuality) although still a covert form of hostility, involves much more interaction with the consultant, and appears to have a higher aggressive component. It also reveals information about the sexuality of the person doing the (covert) attacking. This being the case, it may well be a more frightening way of expressing covert hostility. Once again, perhaps if the group had been an ongoing one, with a greater lifespan that allowed for more building of group strength, they would have been more able to use more threatening modes of behavior.

Category 6 (Being Protective to the Consultant) and Category 8 (Implication of Inadequacy) were both significant in the direction of female consultants more often than male consultants being the object of such remarks. Both of these categories refer to the competence of the consultant. In Category 8 it is implied that the consultant is inadequate. In Category 6 the group assumes that the consultant is not strong enough to work with the group (contain the intense feelings of the group) and must be protected. The emotional experience of a powerful woman is, for whatever the reasons, experienced as threatening to the group, and so they try to turn her into the opposite. That is, they try to see her as someone who is not powerful. In fact, they attempt not only to see her as one who is not

powerful, but as one who is so weak that she needs them to protect her. The group did not do this with male consultants. O'Day's findings are in agreement with ours. He tells us "The members rarely questioned the adequacy of the trainers' personal strengths to withstand the tensions of the unstructured group situation. It was too anxiety-provoking for the members to accuse their trainer of lacking the necessary strengths to lead the group, because that analysis would place them in the uncomfortable position of being the blind led by the blind." (O'Day, 1974, p. 401) O'Day's trainers were male. In groups with female leaders, it appears to be more anxiety provoking to acknowledge her power than to be in the position of being led by the blind.

What are the reasons that cause a woman to be experienced in this way? It was suggested earlier in this paper that the reason this occurs is because people have a fear of women, especially powerful women. However, that is just another way of saying that the emotional experience of a powerful woman is threatening. Understanding that a powerful woman is experienced as threatening is an explanation for why the group behaves as it does. It does not speak to what this fear is about. What are its causes? Where does it stem from? In an attempt to investigate these questions, let us turn to Freud and other analytic writers.

In his essay, "Female Sexuality," Freud posits a

pre-Oedipus stage both in male and female development in which the love object of the child is the mother.

The first love object of the male is the mother, because it is she who feeds and tends him, and she remains his principle love object until she is replaced by another which resembles her or is derived from her. With the female too the mother must be the first object, for the primary conditions of object-choice are the same for all children. (Freud, 1966/1931, p. 91)

For the boy, Freud sees an intensification of this attachment during the Oedipal phase, a hatred toward his father as rival, and the discovery of the possibility of castration by the sight of the female genital. This possibility provokes a castration complex which is resolved by creation of the superego, an identification with the father and a relinquishing of the mother as love object.

According to Freud, "One residue of the castration complex in the man is a measure of disparagement in his attitude toward woman who he regards as having been castrated." (Freud, 1966/1931, p. 92) Horney puts an interesting twist to this idea and says " . . . we realize that masculine castration anxiety is very largely the ego's response to the wish to be a woman . . . " (Horney, 1967/1932, p. 144) The disparagement of women which is the residue of the castration complex is then seen as a defensive maneuver (by means of reaction formation) against his desire to be a woman.

Freud and Horney agree to the extent that they understand

negative feelings towards women from men are part of the vicissitudes of castration anxiety. Freud understands men to fear women as a symbol of what they could themselves become. Horney understands men to fear women as a symbol of what they wish to become. Thus far, we have some ideas about why men might fear women, but not about why women would fear women. Let us return again to Freud for further ideas.

In speaking of feminine development Freud refers to . . . the surprising, yet regular dread of being killed (devoured?) by the mother. It would seem plausible to conjecture that this anxiety corresponds to the hostility which the child develops towards her mother because of the manifold restrictions imposed by the latter in the process of training and physical care, and that the immaturity of the child's physical organization favors the mechanism of projection. (Freud, 1966/1931, p. 90)

Although in this quote he is referring specifically to females, Freud does, in a discussion of the factors involved in the girl's turning away from the mother-object, state "Amongst these factors are some which are conditioned by the circumstances of infantile sexuality in general and so hold good equally for the love relations of boys." (Freud, 1966/1931, p. 94) Boys, too, then would experience a dread of being killed by their mothers.

The factors mentioned in the turning away from the mother are jealousy, the feelings that she did not feed enough, that she both excited and prohibited the child's sexual activity and that childish love "has no real aim; it

is incapable of complete satisfaction and this is the principal reason why it is doomed to end in disappointment and to give place to a hostile attitude." (Freud, 1966/1931, p. 94) Freud adds an additional motive for the girl's hostility and turning away from the mother, namely "that she neglected to provide the little girl with the only proper genital organ" Freud, 1966/1931, p. 97) All the above mentioned factors, except the lack of a "proper" genital organ would be true for both sexes, and the hostility engendered in the infant, by projection, would lead to a fear and dread of women.

Freud then asks "How is it that boys succeed in keeping intact their attachment to the mother, which is not less strong than the girl's? The answer is: Because boys are able to deal with their ambivalent feelings towards her by transferring all their hostility to the father."

(Freud, 1966/1931, p. 98)

As reasoned above, the girl directs her hostility towards her mother and turns towards her father as a new object choice, while the boy retains mother as the object choice and projects hostility onto his father. This hostility is then repressed in the formation of the castration complex and the formation of the superego. It doesn't appear to me, as I have so often heard stated, that the little girl's task is more difficult than the little boy's, only different.

After citing the list of reasons for the girl's hostility towards her mother and her turning towards her father, Freud says he feels that the explanations "seem inadequate" and "Perhaps the real fact is that the attachment to the mother must inevitably perish just because it is the first and most intense . . . the love-relation probably comes to grief by reason of unavoidable disappointments and an accumulation of occasions for aggressions." (Freud, 1966/1931, p. 97) Freud is referring only to females here, but I would like to suggest that since this explanation is for Freud sufficient to explain the girl's giving up of her original love object, it could be considered that this would also be sufficient to explain the boy's giving up of his original love object. In any case, children of both sexes will in some way have to deal with the dread they feel towards their mother as a result of their projection of their own hostile feelings for her.

Horney offers some additional ideas about the dread of women. She feels that the male's dread of women stems from the young boy's feeling of inadequacy with regard to his genital which he perceives as not being big enough to please his mother.

The boy, on the other hand, feels or instinctively judges that his penis is much too small for his mother's genital and reacts with the dread of his own inadequacy of being rejected and derided . . . his original dread of women is not castration anxiety at all, but a reaction to the menace of his self respect. (Horney, 1967/1932, p. 142)

Furthermore, Horney posits the idea that men experience envy for women's capacity to bear children.

" woman has in motherhood, or in the capacity for motherhood, a quite indisputable and by no means negligible physiological superiority. This is most clearly reflected in the unconscious of the male psyche in the boy's intense envy of motherhood." (Horney, 1967/1926, p. 60)

Both Freud's concept of penis envy and Horney's of womb envy leave me slightly uneasy, in that they both posit as normal, developmental concepts which would seem to end in pathology. The idea that either sex should be regarded as fundamentally "inferior," resulting in a normal experience of intense envy and subsequent hostility and dread, I find untenable. That either should be somewhat desirous of parts and capacities they don't have seems logical, but in a normal developmental process, I would expect that both would find sufficient pleasures in their own bodies to satisfy them and therefore not be unduly desirous of being other than what they are. Of course, we must remember that developmental processes unfold in and are shaped by the environment in which they unfold. Living in a society which significantly devalued either sex would likely influence the outcome of such a process.

As described in Chapter I, our society devalues women. This is a societal phenomenon, and, therefore, in addition to being looked at from an intrapsychic point of view, must be understood from a social psychological and cultural

perspective. The fact that our unit of study is a group, as opposed to an individual, makes it even more important that we look at our problem from a social, in addition to an individual, perspective. All of us who work with groups have come to understand that there is a continual interaction between the individuals who comprise the group and the "group-as-a-whole."

Slater (1968) does an interesting examination of ancient Greek society, which was, in many ways parallel to our own society. His examination helps us understand the dynamics involved in our own cultural attitudes toward women. He highlights the dynamic cultural cycle involved with rigid sex roles and the subjugation of women. He describes the status of women in Athens as follows: "They were legal non-entities, excluded from political and intellectual life, uneducated, virtually imprisoned in the home, and appeared to be regarded with disdain by the principal male spokesman whose comments have survived." (Slater, 1968, p. 4) He tells us that "child exposure" of female children was common in Greece. (Child exposure euphemistically refers to the practice in which female children were abandoned in the countryside and left to die.) He notes that females had no religious significance and that female children were economic and social burdens.

With regard to the Greek man's attitude toward women, Slater tells us:

The Greek male's contempt for women was not only compatible with, but also indissolubly bound to, an intense fear of them, and to the underlying suspicion of male inferiority. Why else would such extreme measures be necessary? Customs such as the rule that a woman should not be older than her husband, or of higher social status, or more educated, or paid the same as a male for work, or be in a position of authority--betray an assumption that males are incapable of competing with females on an equal basis; the cards must first be stacked, the male given a handicap. Otherwise it is felt the male will simply be swallowed up, evaporate, lose his identity altogether. (Slater, 1968, p.8)

Slater indicates that the marriage relationship was generally unsatisfactory, which would be expected given the fear of women, and that men sought satisfaction primarily with hetairai and young boys. Thus the Greek woman was in a position of having been taught that she was markedly inferior to men, had little opportunity for developing any of her potentials, and, finally, was sexually frustrated. She turned all her interests, energies, hopes and desires on her sons, who were her only source of status and value. Her feelings toward them would necessarily have been on an ambivalent nature, having a strong hostile component due to the hatred she would feel for men because of her own feelings of inferiority.

For sex antagonism is a two edged sword, and if men could only feel secure in a heterosexual relationship in which they were unambiguously superior, the same was true of women. The male child was hers--under her control and subject to her whims, and it was here that her feelings could be given full expression within the limits of incest and murder laws. (Slater, 1968, p. 30)

Of course, female children were also "hers."

Slater stresses the ambivalent involvement of the mother with her son. It would seem likely that her involvement with her daughter would likewise be highly ambivalent. On the one hand she would devalue her as inferior and insignificant, yet she must also have identified with her. Slater tells us "the mother-daughter bond seems to have been the closest most affectionate and least conflicted of all familiar dyadic relationships, as is true in most sex segregated societies." (Slater, 1968, p. 29) Although this may be true, I find it curious that Slater seems to neglect the strong hostile component that must have been involved in the mother-daughter relationship. Talking about the mother-son involvement he notes:

. . . hence one might also hypothesize that wherever one finds a mother who by virtue of being a woman, is deprived in some way of self expression or forced to endure narcissistic wounds of various kinds, one may also expect to find a mother whose aspect is menacing to her male children. (Slater, 1968, p. 23)

Her aspect would also likely have been, at least in part, menacing to her female children. After all, she would inflict narcissistic wounds on her daughters by devaluing herself and them.

To quote further,

The jealous neglected mother injures the narcissism of the young boy. He upon reaching adulthood selects, because of doubts about his adequacy with mature women, an immature inadequate wife whom he treats with contempt and neglect, thus ensuring a malignant disturbance in the mothering of his own sons, and so on. (Slater, 1968, p. 52)

What is implied within this system yet never directly stated by Slater is that the little girl's narcissism is also wounded by the mother, as well as by the father and by the society. She feels devalued and inadequate and would therefore tend to respond to men who would treat her with "contempt and neglect" and her feelings of herself would ensure a "malignant disturbance" in the mothering of her daughters, as well as of her sons.

Slater notes that in cross cultural studies it has been shown that there is a positive correlation between variables suggesting sexual arousal of the child by its mother and sexual anxieties and taboos. Also, that there is a relationship between high castration anxiety and severe menstrual taboos. It seems that there is again evidence that where we find dread of women that begins for each individual within an unsatisfactory mother-child relationship, we will find dread of women's genitalia and internal functioning.

. . . the vaginal orifice is (in fantasy, if not in reality) the threshold between life and non-life and therefore lends itself equally well to optimistic or pessimistic fantasies. Insofar as the child receives a healthy non-devouring love from his mother, he will regard the female genitalia as the source of life. But insofar as he fails to receive such love, or receives it only at the price of living solely for the satisfaction of maternal needs, he will regard the female genitalia as threatening his very existence. This threat may spring equally from his own insatiable desire for nurturance, security and quiescence, or from the fear that his mother will allow him to live only as a non-autonomous extension of herself. In this case, the vaginal orifice will have a seductive appeal which is not genital, but suicidal in nature, and hence will generate counter-cathexes which translate this seductiveness into fantasies of terrifying and

irresistible monsters which devour, envelope, entangle, smother and absorb. (Slater, 1968, p. 68)

Again, I suggest that this is true for all children, regardless of sex.

Slater attempts to identify the origins of this cycle of rigid separation of sex roles, intense derogation of women and the concomitant parent-child relationship that both produced and ensured the continuation of the dread of women.

He hypothesizes,

. . . that the constellation derived its impetus from the gradual evolution of patriarchy, or a sudden transition from matriarchy to patriarchy. The tradition of a patriarchal conquest of a matriarchal society is an ancient one in classical scholarship--based on the evidence of early matrilineal, matrilocal, goddess worshipping traditions being supplanted by their patriarchal counterparts. Indeed, some authors suggest an almost universal transition of this kind for civilized societies, and there is much supporting evidence. (cf. Briffault, 1959; Campbell, 1959, pp. 315ff; Neumann, 1955) This is difficult to evaluate, however, since so much is based on mythology and tradition, and the ontogenic experience of primeval matriarchy is universal, and may provide the source of much of this tradition. For the Greeks, at any rate, the evidence is real enough. Indeed, there seem to have been several invasions at various periods by patriarchal warriors, who, one can imagine, killed the indigenous males and took the females to wife. Since in all cases the women probably not only enjoyed a higher status in the older society, but also partook of a more advanced and sophisticated culture, one might expect to find here the ideal conditions for a brittle patriarchy, an anxious and hostile relationship between the sexes, and a transferring of libido by wife from husband to child. The repetition of this experience several times over a millenium would gradually evolve the kind of cycle I have described. (Slater, 1968, p. 72)

Slater's cultural and psychological descriptions point out that woman in patriarchal society is ultimately

set apart as unknown. Man chooses not to know of her internal functioning because such knowledge repulses him; it reminds him of his own humanity and mortality--it is linked with his origins. Later on all signs of such internal processes (such as menstruation) become taboo and harmful to man. They carry knowledge and/or power of the creation, of life and death, and are dangerous to the rational, logical order of patriarchal society.

We distinctly resent the idea of invisible and arbitrary forces, for it is not so long ago that we made our escape from the frightening world of dreams and superstitions, and constructed for ourselves a picture of the cosmos worthy of rational consciousness--the latest and greatest achievement of man. We are now surrounded by a world that is obedient to rational laws. (Jung, 1933, p.130)

Freida Fromm Reichmann, in her article "On the Denial of Women's Sexual Pleasure" uses a creation myth to illustrate the idea that to the extent that life and death are experienced as fearful, on some level women will be experienced as fearful due to their immediate involvement in this process.

. . . there is a Persian myth of the creation of the world which precedes the biblical one. In that myth a woman creates the world, and she creates it by the act of natural creativity which is hers and which cannot be duplicated by men. She gives birth to a great number of sons. The sons, greatly puzzled by this act which they cannot duplicate become frightened. They think, 'Who can tell us that if she can give life, she cannot also take life.' And so, because of their fear of this mysterious ability of woman, and of its reversible possibility, they kill her (Fromm-Reichman, p. 88)

In patriarchal society woman is transformed from something sacred and powerful into something infected and

weak. The psychic economy of this takeover is remarkable. Woman is still feared, but because of her debilities, rather than her strength. She is still taboo and set apart and it is necessary for man (the word used for "people" in a patriarchal world) that this remain so. It protects him from being reminded of her capacities which he does not have and of his subsequent terror. It distances his anxiety about birth and death. It eliminates the need for guilt since she is seen as the cause of her own downfall. (She is "contaminated.") It assuages his own feelings of powerlessness since he now has power over her. Reed (1975) and Zilboorg (1973) also agree that this was the beginning of private ownership of property.

" . . . property originated in the sadistic act of overcoming the free mother." (Zilboorg, 1973, p. 119)

We have our individual defenses that are used to protect us against our fear of woman, and our society reinforces attempts to defend against such feelings. It raises to a cultural norm the devaluation of women. It seems quite possible that matriarchal societies preceeded our patriarchal one and that our society came into existence by overthrowing the mothers. Thus, we carry our individual experiences of our dependence on our mothers and our concomitant rage and wish to kill her and finally our fear of her retaliation. We may also carry a cultural heritage in which the wish was acted out: The matriarchy was overthrown and replaced by patriarchy. This being so,

it would not be surprising that our societal defenses and our individual defenses against our fear of women so parallel each other.

Horney (1967/1932), Slater (1966), Weideger (1976), and Zilboorg (1973/1944), do an excellent job of elucidating the process by which the Mothers were overthrown, both on an intrapsychic and a societal level. The one mistake I feel they all make is that they still see man as the main actor and woman as victim. To see woman as victim is to once again deny her power. It is Evelyn Reed who offers the understanding that women have played an active part all along, including an active participation in the decline and eventual overturning of the matriarchal order and the establishment of the patriarchal order. It occurred as a step in the development of people and was brought about by women and men cooperatively.

A social system comes into existence out of specific needs of humanity at a given stage of history, and corresponds with the level of humanity's economic development. After these needs have been fulfilled the organization itself becomes outworn; it can only be a fetter upon further development. This was the case with the matriarchy.

The matriarchy was born in the struggle to elevate humanity above animalism and cannibalism. Once this mission had been accomplished, it gave way to new forms that responded to compelling new needs. Such were the reasons that the husband-wife partnership, combining sexual union with socio-economic union, had to prevail over segregation of the sexes and sister-brother partnership. In addition, the dichotomy between kin and stranger had to go; the time had come for the recognition of the father and of patrilineal kinship.

However, society progresses through protracted and painful struggles. The antagonism between

marriage and matriarchy grew into an irreconcilable conflict between the father-family and the patriarchy. Nothing less than a colossal social revolution could resolve it. (Reed, 1975, p. 333)

It is now, when women are rejecting their "scripts" that we see that these roles cannot be maintained without the consent of women. To have power is to accept responsibility. I think that for women this particular responsibility is a distasteful one to accept. Yet, if we do not accept our responsibility for creating and maintaining these roles, we deny our own power. By denying our responsibility we reaffirm the notion that men are superior, women inferior. By accepting our responsibility in the dynamic of sexism we take a step towards eliminating it.

The experimental portion of this study was an attempt to describe and measure the ways hostility is managed in female vs. male led groups. The dynamics we are discussing really go beyond that. We are trying to understand a very complex defensive structure that men and women have established together to help them satisfy their needs. We are discussing not only hostility, but intense primitive dependency, helplessness and rage. The structure that was set up for dealing with those emotions was perhaps the best our society could do at the time. Maybe now the time has come for a change in structure.

We, as clinical psychologists, are trained to facilitate people in their relationships. If we agree that sexism interferes with full human relationships, it becomes our responsibility as psychologists, whether we

be women or men, to understand and contain our own sexist notions and impulses and to point out the sexist assumptions and mythologies of the groups with which we work.

The implications of these ideas may be taken beyond the treatment setting to any area where there are women in authority positions. The core issue is that women in authority have the potential for mobilizing fears around dependency issues. The more difficulty people are having in their work, the more helpless they are feeling, the more they need assistance from an external authority, the more difficulty they will have in allowing a female authority to help. To reverse this cycle women must first recognize its existence. They have to be familiar with all its manifestations. For example, they must learn to recognize that when they are feeling "protected" by their own organizations, this may be a cue that their organizations need help. When they recognize and understand the dynamics of their groups, they will be in a better position to use their expertise to determine what the particular problems are and how they can best be resolved.

APPENDIX A

SUBJECT RECRUITMENT FLYER

A Weekend Workshop
To Explore

MALE-FEMALE INTERACTIONS
in
GROUPS

With Special Emphasis On
Authority, Leadership, and Competence

Psychological Center
City College of New York
3332 Broadway
New York, New York 10031

April 20-21 and April 27-28, 1974

BACKGROUND

The principles and methods of this workshop are derived from a tradition developed at the Centre for Applied Social Research of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations of London under the leadership of A. K. Rice. The Washington School of Psychiatry and the Department of Psychiatry of Yale University introduced these principles and methods into the United States in 1965.

The Psychological Center of the City College of New York has sponsored several of these workshops in the past under the directorship of L. J. Gould, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Psychology, City College of the City University of New York. This workshop will be sponsored by the Psychological Center under the administrative coordination of Carol Beauvais and Dr. Laurence Gould.

MEN AND WOMEN IN GROUPS

A great deal has been said about the "inherent" difference between men and women. More recently the

immutability of these differences has been questioned. Instead, masculinity and femininity are seen from the standpoint of sex-role behaviors learned by each of us as we develop within our familial and cultural groups.

As adults we participate in an ever-widening number of groups, including families, communities, institutions and organizations. Attempts to collaborate with each other in these groups can be affected by sex-linked expectations, fantasies, and attitudes we hold toward ourselves and others. In particular, sex-role behaviors learned in our earlier groups continue to function in our here-and-now groups. Also they are likely to function outside our awareness.

The aim of this workshop is to raise these covert, sex-linked behaviors and attitudes to consciousness, and to evaluate how they further or hinder our ability to work together in our present groups. From this standpoint the workshop may be seen as offering an opportunity to explore one's own sex-based assumptions towards oneself and others within two group settings. The first will be in groups with members of one's own sex. The second will be in groups with members of both sexes.

In the same-sex groups each participant will have the opportunity to explore attitudes, fantasies, and behaviors specific to his/her own sex as they participate in group life. Some of the questions that might occur are: what kind of position will one's own sex take toward leadership, responsibility and competency? What functions have the opposite-sex members served, if any? Will one sex handle work and group life differently without the other present?

The second day each participant will meet in mixed-sex groups. The participant will then have the opportunity to further elaborate on his/her sex-linked associations and behaviors to own and opposite sex as well. Some of the questions that might be asked are: How will the presence of both sexes affect the distribution of responsibility and leadership? Secondly, a comparison can be made between the same and mixed sex groups. How does each participant's behavior persist or change across the two group experiences? Is it true that a man is a man is a man? Is it true that a woman is a woman is a woman?

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

These workshops traditionally consider the ways in which authority is vested in individuals and in groups, the

ways in which responsibility is assumed, and the problems encountered in the exercise of authority and responsibility. This workshop, too, will consider these issues. However, the special focus will be on exploring how relations between and among both sexes are influenced by issues of authority, responsibility and leadership.

Traditionally, these workshops also require a shift in perspective from the individual and the pair to the group and the organization viewed as an open system. Thus the workshops are opportunities for intensive learning about groups; they are not geared toward providing a therapeutic experience. This emphasis is one of the principle differences between these workshops and T-groups and encounter groups. Consistent with this aim, masculinity and femininity will be considered in interaction with the group process, not simply as individual characteristics.

Throughout the workshop special attention is paid to the covert processes that occur. Unspoken attitudes and behavior patterns may hinder or further group tasks outside the awareness of those concerned. It is hoped that more heightened awareness of such processes can lead to more effective participation for both men and women in groups.

Finally, participants study what happens in groups in the here and now, as these processes are actually happening. The aim is to bring together direct experience and thought, emotion and intellect, without neglecting one for the other.

THE PRIMARY TASK

The primary task of this workshop, therefore, is to explore in the here and now how men and women in groups interact, in covert ways, around issues of authority and responsibility.

EVENTS

The day begins with a brief paper and pencil research session. Following this all members meet in an introductory session and then go on to participate in the events as outlined below.

Day 1

Each member will be assigned to a study group, consisting of 10-14 members of his/her own sex. Each group will meet for five sessions. The task of the group will be to study its own behavior in the here and now.

A consultant will be available to intervene only when the consultant believes he/she can facilitate the work of the group. They will consider individual members only in relation to the group as a total system.

Day II

On the second day each member will be reassigned to a study group which will differ from the previous day in that it will be made up of members of both sexes. Each group will meet for five sessions.

At the end of the second day an application and review session will be held. In this session all members will come together to consider the relevance of the workshop learning to the participants' own life and work settings.

MEMBERSHIP

The workshop is being offered only to those who have had no previous Tavistock-modeled study group experience. Anyone having had other group experiences such as T-group, encounter and therapy are eligible. Students will be given first priority.

This kind of event is often felt to be a stressful experience. Individuals who are going through a period of personal difficulty or who are in ill health should not attend. The workshop is not designed to be of therapeutic help.

TIME

Each workshop will be held from 9:00 A.M. - 9:30 P.M. on Saturday, and will continue from 9:00 A.M.-8:30 P.M. on Sunday.

PLACE

The workshop will be held at The Psychological Center, City College of New York, 3332 Broadway between 134th and 135th Streets, New York, New York 10031.

DATES

The workshop will be given twice, once on April 20-21, and again on April 27-28, 1974.

MEALS

Lunch and dinner will not be included. Participants

can either bring their own food and eat at the Center or can go to restaurants nearby. Coffee and refreshments will be provided.

FEES

The fee for each weekend workshop is \$8.00. This fee should accompany the application. Checks should be made payable to The Psychological Center.

FEE DISSERTATION PARTICIPATION EXCHANGE

In the past we have offered these workshops for fees ranging from \$35.00-\$100.00. However, we are offering this workshop for a fee of \$8.00. We are able to do this because we wish to have the workshop serve the dual purpose of providing an important workshop experience for the participants and also of contributing to the dissertation research being done by students from CUNY and The New School for Social Research. The lowered fee of \$8.00 will be in exchange for approximately one and one-half hours of paper and pencil research and your permission to tape the group sessions and to allow a student member of the dissertation staff to be present as a non-participant observer.

Individual anonymity and privacy will be guaranteed in that researchers are only interested in group effects. We would like to stress that none of these procedures will interfere with the experience. Neither will the weekend involve any hidden or experimental manipulation. It will be conducted in exactly the same manner as previous workshops.

APPLICATION

An application blank accompanies this brochure. Additional blanks can be obtained from Dr. Gould, Carol Beauvais, or Jeanne Safer (see INQUIRIES below). Payment of the fee must accompany the application, and all applications must be received by April 15, 1974. Completed applications should be sent to The Psychological Center.

On receiving your application fee, a letter of acceptance will be sent to you. Also further information on the time schedule, transportation, and nearby eating facilities will be included.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Even though \$8.00 is a minimal fee, we feel that it might present an impossibility for some students. A very small scholarship fund is available to prevent economic

discrimination against anyone wishing to attend this workshop. To apply for a scholarship a letter should accompany the application stating the financial situations which leads you to apply for a full or partial fee waiver.

REFUNDS

The total amount paid by an applicant will be refunded if his/her application cannot be accepted or if the application is withdrawn before April 15, 1974.

INQUIRIES

Inquiries should be made to:

Carol Beauvais, Administrative Coordinator
Telephone: (212) 874-4612

Lawrence Gould, Ph.D., Administrative Coordinator
Telephone: (212) 621-2604

both at:
The Psychological Center, City College of New York
3332 Broadway
New York, New York 10031

or to:
Jeanne Safer, Research Coordinator
Telephone: MU 9-7700 X813
348-9290

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

A Workshop On Male-Female Interactions in Groups
Sponsored by the Psychological Center
CUNY

April 20-21 and April 27-28, 1974

NAME: _____ SEX: _____ AGE: _____

ADDRESS: _____ ZIP: _____ TEL: _____

SCHOOL: _____ YEAR: _____ MAJOR: _____

I want to attend the weekend of April _____ I have no
preference _____

I have carefully read the brochure for this workshop and I hereby apply for membership. I understand that the brochure constitutes the contract between myself and the sponsoring institutions, and that my application authorizes the sponsoring institution to conduct the workshop and research in the manner described.

Please return this application with your check of \$8.00 made payable to the Psychological Center to: Dr. Laurence Gould, Psychological Center of CCNY, 3332 Broadway, N.Y.C. 10031. Applications may be delivered to Dr. Gould's mailboxes at the Psych. Center or the Psych. Dept. in Finley. New School students may leave them in Dr. Weitzman's mailbox c/o Jeanne Safer.

SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: _____

APPENDIX B
WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

SATURDAY

9:00-9:30 a.m.
Workshop Opening

9:30-10:30 a.m.
research

10:30-11:45 a.m.
Session 1

11:45 a.m. lunch

1:00-2:15 p.m.
Session 2

2:15 p.m. coffee

2:45-4:00 p.m.
Session 3

4:00 p.m. coffee

4:30-5:45 p.m.
Session 4

5:45-6:15 p.m.
research

6:15 p.m. dinner

7:30-8:45 p.m.
Session 5

SUNDAY

9:00-9:15 a.m.
Opening

9:15-10:30 a.m.
Session 6

10:30 a.m. coffee

11:00-12:15 a.m.
Session 7

12:15 p.m. lunch

1:30-2:45 p.m.
Session 8

2:45 p.m. coffee

3:15-4:30 p.m.
Session 9

4:30 p.m. dinner

5:45-7:00 p.m.
Session 10

7:00-7:30 p.m.
research

7:30 p.m. coffee

7:45-8:45 p.m.
Workshop Review

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