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A SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE ROLE OF SCAPEGOAT IN SMALL GROUPS

by

JEFFREY EAGLE

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Psychology
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1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract**A SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE ROLE OF SCAPEGOAT IN SMALL GROUPS**

by

Jeffrey Eagle**Adviser: Professor David Ricks**

The purpose of this study was twofold. It was an attempt to increase our understanding of scapegoating in small groups. In addition, the author hoped to demonstrate the utility of a sociopsychological approach to the study of social phenomena.

In order to achieve these ends the author videotaped the first three sessions of four small groups. The groups were part of a weekend long Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference. Three observers were asked to watch the videotapes and to record scapegoating incidents, if any, and the person toward whom this process was directed. These observations were found to be in agreement 80% of the time. Scapegoats were identified as those people about whom there was 100% agreement (9 incidents).

The author then conducted interviews with the Director of the Conference and four other staff members.

These were aimed at gathering information about aspects of the Tavistock conference organization which might have influenced the small groups. In addition, the investigator studied the videotape in an attempt to detail the culture and social process of each group, the process of scapegoating, and any other phenomena that might enhance our understanding of scapegoating. Finally, an attempt was made to integrate the various findings from a socio-psychological point of view and to relate them to existing theory and research concerning scapegoating.

The author found that scapegoating involves the creation of a specialized role. The function of this role for the group is to increase the solidification of norms, group identity and cohesiveness. This is accomplished by projection of impulses, which conflict with norms, into the person associated with the role. This person serves as specialist in and symbol of these impulses.

The individual selected to fill this role is chosen on the basis of distinctive personal characteristics which are associated with the conflict the group is attempting to resolve. This person is perceived by other group members to be unidimensional with regard to the conflict and is encouraged to act in ways which are appropriate to his function as symbol. The scapegoat appears to collaborate in this process by behaving in ways which are associated with the symbolization and are different from other members.

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Thank you,

Jeffrey Eagle

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The purposes of the present study were twofold. It was an attempt to increase our understanding of a particular social phenomenon, scapegoating. In addition, we hoped to further the development of a comprehensive theoretical framework for the analysis of social phenomena in general. This first section will provide a background by describing the current state of the literature on scapegoating as well as the particular theoretical approach out of which the study grew.

Background

Scapegoating is a widely known phenomenon. Cited most frequently as the prototype of this process is a ritual noted in the Old Testament. The people selected a goat, upon whom all the sins of the community were heaped, symbolized by a necklace. This goat was led to the desert amid the shouts and curses of the people, and left to face its fate at the hands of the demonic god, Azazel. The purpose of this event was the expiation of the sins of the community.

Much has been written explaining prejudice, treatment

of criminals, the development and treatment of mental illness and family disturbances by invoking the concept of scapegoating (Allport, 1954; Bell and Vogel, 1964; Bermann, 1973; Cornwell, 1967; Erikson, 1966; Schick, 1971; Szasz, 1970). The most common explanation of this process is that the scapegoated person or group serves as a receptacle for projections of unacceptable impulses and blame. This relieves guilt and tension due to intrapsychic conflict as well as justifying displaced aggression (Bion, 1961; Ringwald, 1974; Slater, 1966; Veltfort and Lee, 1943).

A number of authors (Dunphy, 1968; Mann, 1967; Ringwald, 1974) have further suggested that the scapegoat is one of a number of nonrational role specialists (i.e. hero, sex idol) who serve the purpose of externally representing individual intrapsychic conflicts. It is through these people that conflicts are worked out by group members. The process is seen as being related to phases in the group's development and the conflicts which are focal at the moment.

This point of view clearly emphasizes the psychodynamic aspects of group life, while tending to ignore social structural elements of the situation. Some authors (Durkheim, 1960; Erikson, 1966; Szasz, 1970; Tumin, 1950) have taken a different perspective. They contend that scapegoats and deviants are created and maintained in the

role for the purpose of increasing group cohesiveness, identity and the solidification of norms.

The above notions relate primarily to the function of scapegoating for the group from either a psychodynamic or sociological point of view and reflect the current state of the literature on this topic. There is little in the way of serious attempts to combine the two perspectives (psychodynamic and sociological). The bulk of this literature utilizes the concept of scapegoating as an explanatory principle combined with attempts to understand its causes. However, there has been little empirical work aimed at detailing the process itself.

Shulman (1967), a social worker, points out that scapegoating is usually conceptualized as a one-way transaction, from the group to the individual. The scapegoat is viewed as the innocent victim, who is a passive recipient of projections. This attitude has led to analyses in which the specific behavior of the scapegoat are largely ignored. Consonant with this orientation is the fact that the most common characteristic associated with the target is psychological or physical weakness (Bell and Vogel, 1964; Cornwell, 1967; Schick, 1971). Some authors have indicated that these people have traits which make them more appropriate than others for the role (Bell and Vogel, 1964, Schick, 1971; Slater, 1966; Tumin, 1950). These traits are related to the group conflict in ways that

facilitate projection, i.e. the person with the most obvious conflicts regarding sexual adequacy becomes the receptacle of projected feelings of inadequacy from the rest of the group.

Schulman (1967) disagrees with the notion that the scapegoat is a passive victim. He notes that in his experience working with neighborhood youth groups, the scapegoat is often quite provocative, actively participating in the process. He further states that the only way to make an effective intervention in a scapegoating situation is to understand and deal with both sides of the transaction. Because the "passive victim" point of view is the most widely held, questions such as what attracts a person to the role and how the scapegoat participates in the process have received little attention.

There appear to be several factors which contribute to the lack of understanding and empirical work with regard to the phenomenon of scapegoating. First, professional and theoretical biases have led to analyses which emphasize and reduce the phenomenon to either "sociological" or "psychological" characteristics. These studies offer limited understanding at best. Further, they reinforce the notion that scapegoating is a well understood phenomenon which does not merit further study, despite the fact that there has been very little empirical work in the area. It is clear that, as with all social phenomena, actually look-

ing at the process in all its various aspects would make this simplification problematic at least and probably untenable, conceptually.

Second, most studies of actual scapegoating phenomena have taken place either at the climax of an event or retrospectively (Schick, 1971; Veltfort and Lee, 1943). This makes the accurate documentation of the development of the process most difficult. This is related to the third factor which interferes with attempts to understand this phenomenon. This is the attitude that one can study social phenomena as isolated events, without taking into account the group and organizational context in which they occur. This results in ignoring questions regarding the environment, past history of the group and the structural characteristics of the situation.

Perhaps the most important factor limiting our understanding is an assumption which can only be maintained by reductionism. Simply stated, it is the belief that scapegoating is an "evil" or "abnormality" with the problem residing in the scapegoaters. The surrounding people, groups, organizations and certainly the victims are not responsible. An example of this type of thinking is the idea that only Nazis were responsible for the mass murder of the Jews during World War II. This notion leaves out the sociohistorical factors within Germany and its environment which stimulated and allowed for the genocide which occurred. A few examples

of these types of contextual determinants might be: immigration quotas in other countries which prevented the escape of Jews; the hardships imposed on the German people as a result of the Treaty of Versailles; economic depression; worldwide antisemitism; denial by Jews of the impending disaster.

Rather than being an explanation, the above belief appears to supply the rationale for yet another act of scapegoating. Because of the intense emotional and moral currents surrounding this phenomenon, exploration and understanding are difficult. What is insidious about this problem is that through simplification and blaming by interpretation, the possibility of an understanding which could lead to preventive intervention is compromised.

Theoretical Orientation

One of the aims of this study was to demonstrate the usefulness of a sociopsychological approach to the understanding of scapegoating. Our point of view assumes that social phenomena are complex by nature, resulting from the interaction of numerous forces. This being the case, they cannot be understood by reduction to a single level of analysis or to a few of the influences involved. We therefore attempt to take into account both "sociological" and "psychodynamic" variables in our exploration of scapegoating. The following, outlines this general approach as it

relates to the present study. It relies heavily on the work of Miller and Rice (1967), Newton and Levinson (1973) and Newton (1973).

In order to understand the work group as a social system it is necessary to take into account the following properties: its task, social structure, culture and social process. The work group is created by the organization to carry out some part of the larger system's work. The task(s) of the work group is the reason for its existence. It is the aim toward which work within the group is directed. While this may appear to be superficially clear, the definition and method of accomplishing the task are frequently quite ambiguous. In addition, the work group may have (and the organization typically has) more than one major task. This often leads to conflicts regarding task compatibility and task priority.

Clear definition of task is important if the group is to perform effectively. In the simplest case the task is defined in such a way as to leave no room for interpretation on the part of workers which would allow for different members working at cross purposes. Secondly, the task should be defined so as to directly imply criterion which can be used to determine task achievement.

This last point is often not given the attention it deserves. Even if the first condition, agreement on a clear

definition, is met, multiple problems will occur if the second condition is not met. If there are not agreed upon criterion for evaluation of performance, the organization will never have any coherent idea of how effective it is. This may lead to a number of consequences. First, decisions regarding how the work of the organization should be done will be made on the basis of factors other than task achievement (i.e. favoritism, value systems). Second, those who engage in the work of the system may not have a secure sense of competence since they will not know whether they are doing a good job or not. There will be several competing notions about competence and correct methods based on speculations regarding success.

Since these two conditions may lead to a good deal of derisiveness, conflict, and feelings of inadequacy, there is the possibility that the major task will be substituted for by another task which lends itself more readily to evaluation. Miller and Rice (1967), in an organizational analysis of a research institution, provide the following example about the task of research to demonstrate this point:

The dependence of research work on a different activity with a different import-conversion-export process is perhaps an inevitable concomitant of obtaining support for institutions whose success depends on exporting the results of originality and creativity. Creativity is neither readily assessed nor easily regulated. Nor can its results often be judged by measurable criteria within any time-span that is useful for investment decisionmaking. The implicit assumption appears to be that research work

should be supported by the users of its results. Nevertheless, except in industrial and some government research work, the connection between research finding and consumer use is frequently difficult to discern. In these circumstances, both the sponsors of research work and research workers appear to go into collusion to find some other criterion for measuring success. Of recent years, both in the United Kingdom and in America, "publication" may have assumed this role. We cannot help feeling that publication is in danger of becoming valued for its own sake, with perhaps too little regard for the intrinsic merits of the contents. Among the plethora of scientific publications are some — perhaps this is one of them — that merit, at most, the status of scientific pot-boilers. The ability to write in such a way that editors will publish often seems to be more important than what is written about, and finding something to write about more important than the findings. (Miller and Rice, 1967, p. 176)

Thus, publication, which was originally a means to the end of consumer use becomes a substitute end which is more easily assessable. This occurs at the expense of the original goal. Merton (1967) calls this phenomenon the "displacement of goals." In his study of bureaucracy he states that it occurs when "... adherence to rules, originally conceived of as means, becomes transformed into an end in itself. Discipline becomes an immediate value. The very devices which increase the probability of conformance lead to over-concern with strict adherence." (Merton, 1949, p. 154) However, Merton never develops this concept further.

Social structure is defined as the relatively enduring arrangements which govern the workings of the group. These arrangements may be formal or informal. Three major components of the social structure are the division of labor,

the division of authority and boundaries. The division of labor refers to the carrying out of different parts of the total work of the group by different members. This is observable in the formal or informal designation of positions within the group. These positions are more or less permanent, not depending on individuals, but rather on the organizational structure.

The term role is reserved for the functions and activities an individual in a given position engages in. Following Levinson (1959), there is a distinction made here between position and role; position refers to structure, role to function. Role performance is the result of an interaction between the requirements accompanying a given position and the personal attributes of the individual occupying the position.

Within this framework, authority is the legitimate power to initiate or influence activity and to command resources. Within the organization, authority is delegated from above and usually resides in positions rather than individuals. The division of authority is the patterning of responsibility and subordination within the system. When this pattern is ambiguous there are likely to be conflicts regarding who has the right to make a decision or take action, and responsibility is diffuse. Even when this pattern is stated clearly and explicitly there can be strong forces which act to create confusion with regard to dif-

ferences in legitimate power and responsibility.

In this regard it is important to ask whether a position has the authority necessary to carry out the responsibilities associated with it. If this is not the case, the result may be a lower level of task achievement and frustration for the positionholder. The person occupying the position may then resort to non-legitimate means to fulfill his responsibilities.

Boundaries are a major aspect of an open systems theory of organizations.

An open system exists, and can only exist, by exchanging materials with its environment. It imports materials, transforms them by means of conversion processes, consumes some of the products of conversion for internal maintenance and exports the rest. Directly or indirectly, it exchanges its outputs for further intakes, including further resources to maintain itself. (Miller and Rice, 1967, p.3)

Boundaries are the regions within which this exchange takes place. They are located between the system and environment (external boundaries) as well as between separate segments of the organization (internal boundaries). It is because of this aspect of groups and organizations, their openness, that they can be influenced by as well as effect their environments. Thus environmental factors become crucial in the analysis of these enterprises.

External boundaries establish what is inside the system and what is not, distinguishing between the system

and its environment. It is here that the flow of material, energy and information in and out of the system occurs and is regulated. In a system with any degree of differentiation (division of labor), there are also internal boundaries which differentiate and define relations between units and positions within the organization. In this situation the level of task performance will be effected by the system's ability to integrate the work of various components. Integration results from the regulation of internal boundaries to ensure that necessary and constructive transactions take place between components.

All boundaries range on a continuum of control. If they are too permeable, there is fusion, chaos and disorganization. On the other hand, extremely rigid boundaries result in entropy and death by not allowing the exchange necessary for growth and survival. To insure the proper operation of boundaries, there is the need for some form of monitoring. It is up to leadership at the level where the boundary occurs to supply regulation. Thus, external boundary control is usually the responsibility of top level management with the responsibility for internal boundaries delegated to subordinates (i.e. middle and lower level management). Newton and Levinson (1973) relate the three components of social structure to each other in this way,

"The division of labor defines boundaries and the division of authority locates responsibility for regulating them." (Newton and Levinson, 1973, pp. 129-130)

The culture of a group is "the enduring pattern of core values, assumptions and beliefs that provides a framework for group development and action" (Newton and Levinson, 1973, p. 117). We would like to emphasize that this would include ideas concerning the methodology to be used in achieving the task. Understanding the culture of a system is not a simple matter. Frequently there are competing and conflicting value systems within the same group. In addition, the values, assumptions and beliefs which are openly expressed are not always the same as those which are privately agreed to and acted upon. A clear understanding of the social structure is helpful here since it usually reflects underlying cultural values. This is so because the social structure is the vehicle through which these values will be realized.

What actually happens in a group, how it sets about to do its work, including rational as well as nonrational and irrational aspects, we will call social process. The interaction of these forces results in group themes which are expressions of recurring concerns in the life of the group. In much of the previous work on group dynamics (Bion, 1961; Slater, 1966), investigators have focused exclusively on the nonrational and irrational forces in

the group when attempting to understand group process. We believe that these analyses are limited and possibly misleading and hope to demonstrate the major influence that task, social structure and culture exert on the social process of which scapegoating is a part.

In order to fully understand these groups, two other areas merit analysis. As we have said, work groups exist within, and are created by a larger organization for the purpose of carrying out some specific tasks which will further its aims. Therefore we must attend to those aspects of the task(s), social structure, culture and social process of the larger organization which have an effect on the work groups with regard to scapegoating. Finally, because these are human systems, it is necessary to examine the effects and meanings of the system components for the individual in the groups. This will facilitate our understanding of the psychodynamic forces at work.

Chapter 2

Setting and Method

There were four groups studied which were part of a weekend-long Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference. This conference was held at a University in connection with two of its courses on group dynamics. The first was an undergraduate course given in the Psychology Department, while the second was a graduate seminar sponsored jointly by the departments of Psychology and Psychiatry. The two Psychologists responsible for the undergraduate course also functioned with a third Psychologist as faculty for the graduate seminar. These plus three other Psychologists and one Social Worker served as the consulting staff for the conference. The total conference staff also included an administrator and a group of researchers (see table of organization in appendix). The membership of the conference was drawn exclusively from the two courses on a voluntary basis (70% graduate, 58% male, 91% white).

The conference, which followed the Tavistock method of group relations training outlined by Bion, 1961; Rice, 1965, and Astrachan, in press, utilized three types of exercises: small group, intergroup and large group. We chose to study the first three sessions (out of 7 total)

of the small group exercise for two major reasons. First, because we wanted to focus on the development of the scapegoat role. In addition, these sessions took place before members participated in the other two exercises. This allowed us to forego the lengthy analysis of the other exercises which would be necessary in understanding their influence on the small groups.

For the small (study) group exercise of this conference, members were assigned to groups on the basis of level of education, sex, race and amount of previous experience, in an attempt to balance for these factors. Each of the four groups was composed of a staff consultant (2 male, 2 female) and 8-10 members (8, 8, 9, 10). There was a fifth small group which could not be studied because of an equipment failure.

The research staff (not for the present study, which was decided on after the conference occurred) of the conference was headed by a Psychologist (Postdoctoral Fellow) who was responsible to the conference director. It was composed of graduate and undergraduate students in psychology. In addition to videotaping all exercises, the researchers observed the groups and staff (one in each room) and administered paper and pencil measures. Prior to the beginning of the exercises, all members were asked to fill out the Embedded Figures Test and a Personal Characteristics questionnaire. After each session of all exercises,

members completed an Individual Reactions form.

The Small Group

The following is a description of the small group exercise which is intended to aid the reader in understanding the statements about task, social structure and culture which will follow. It is taken from "The Tavistock Method of Laboratory Training" by Boris Astrachan (in press).

The Tavistock method of group training has its intellectual roots in the psychoanalytical work of Melanie Klein and W. R. Bion. A psychoanalytical approach makes the assumption that certain fundamental human behaviors may be examined and understood by carefully observing individuals in settings in which physical comfort is assured, boundaries (e.g. membership, time span, use of space, etc.) are clearly identified and the person in authority: clinician, analyst, consultant or experimenter, behaves in a manner that is work relevant, but socially deviant. That is, expectations that the authority will provide direction or will satisfy individuals' wishes for emotional gratification are not met. The primary stress is placed on understanding behavior (and the influence of structure) rather than upon the development or change-oriented strategies.

The first meeting is of the entire membership and staff. This conference opening is primarily devoted to restating the tasks of the conference and making appropriate announcements. During this meeting all staff are present. They are identified as having as their primary task the facilitation of member learning. They model certain behaviors, but insist on no specific member behavior. Staff arrive promptly, they attend carefully to their work, they speak only when they believe they can further the attempts of the members to work upon the specified tasks. Staff are identified as consultants to indicate that their role in the work is more of an educative than a leadership nature. At the conclusion

of this meeting the import process as it relates to the members is completed. Insofar as is possible, the boundary between conference and community is established.

The study group consists of nine to thirteen members and one consultant meeting together to explore group behavior in the "here and now." Prior to the group meeting the room is set up. A circle of chairs is formed, with exactly enough chairs to accommodate all members and the consultant. If staff observers are to be present, their chairs will be located outside the circle. At precisely the time noted for the beginning of the session, the consultant arrives. In this and other ways, the behavior of the consultant continually demonstrates his awareness of the boundaries of the exercise. The consultant accepts the boundaries because he has contracted to do so, and because he believes that his focus on the task of the group, the study of its internal life, will be highlighted by the group's constant exploration of his behavior and its exploration of group boundaries. The consultant's punctuality is the least intrusive "leadership" behavior. If he is early or late his real behavior can become a focus for the group, and he can too easily become more or less loving, more or less manipulable and far less available as a receptacle for the projections of the group and less available to concentrate on his work. By working to establish a clear boundary he allows for the exploration of phenomenae within the boundary, and he can clearly note when the group attempts to do work beyond its boundaries. Other common boundary issues involve questions about the conditions for group membership, normative behavior and the control of deviance, and the legitimacy of discussing outside events from the larger conference within the study group. The consultant will identify such issues when they become problematic for the group yet he will give no advice and will respond to no questions. He only comments when he believes that his comments further the work of the group. (Astrachan, in press, pp. 2, 8-10)

Task

The major task of the study groups was to learn about small group dynamics by studying themselves. Secondly,

they were to provide data for research by being video-taped and filling out questionnaires. Both these tasks were known to members prior to signing up for the conference. In addition, they were restated by the Conference Director in the conference opening.

Social Structure

Division of Labor

There were three distinct positions in the social structure of the study group in this conference: consultant, researcher and member.

The Position of Consultant

In the Tavistock conference the study group consultant's position is similar to that of lower level management. It is in this position that primary responsibility lies for the work within the group. This responsibility is delegated to the consultant by the director. The position involves two types of work: managerial and facilitative.

The consultant is charged with primary responsibility for the maintenance of conditions which provide opportunities for learning (i.e. physical comfort, space, time) and do not violate prevailing legal sanctions. In essence this is responsibility for functions which are supportive of the primary task of learning, including maintenance of the role requirements of member and researcher.

In addition, the consultant carries primary responsi-

bility for the facilitation of learning. He is to act as expert in such a way as to further the learning of members. This includes the job of integrating his management and expert work in such a way as to further the primary task of member learning.

The Position of Researcher

This position carried the responsibility of collecting research data on the small group.

The Position of Member

Members had the responsibility for providing data for learning and research, and for studying the data and learning.

Division of Authority

Authority of the Consultant

The position of consultant carries with it primary authority in the study group. The director delegates to this position the authority to run the study group in such a way as will provide for learning opportunities within the bounds of the Tavistock Method. Performance is monitored by the director who receives reports regarding the small groups following each meeting. There are two aspects of the consultant's authority.

Managerial Authority. The consultant is delegated the authority to carry out his responsibility for maintaining conditions which meet legal requirements and provide an

opportunity for learning. His position is the only one in the study group which is associated with the legitimate power to make a member leave, stop the group, or make the researcher change his behavior.

Facilitative (Expert) Authority. A second source of the consultant's authority comes from his expert status. That is, he is delegated the legitimate right to act as expert and to use his expert knowledge to facilitate member learning. Although it will be discussed later under roles, it should be noted here that the exercise of these two types of authority is restricted by the role requirements of the consultant role.

Authority of Researcher

This position entails the right to implement the research, including videotaping, observation of the group and questionnaires. It is subordinate to both the director of research and the consultant who is responsible for making sure that the behavior of the researcher does not interfere with the task of learning.

Authority of Member

The position of member is the one with the least authority in the conference. He does have the right to choose his own behavior within the boundaries of the exercise and prevailing legal sanctions. In addition, he has the right to withdraw from the group.

Roles

Consultant Role Behavior

There are two separable constellations of role behavior related to the position of consultant — a managerial role and a facilitating or helping role. One requirement of both roles is "He only comments when he believes that his comments further the work of the group" (Astrachan, in press). This is similar to what Newton (1973) notes as "the requirement for abstinence" which attends the role of therapist.

To state it crudely, the psychotherapist is not free to act on his wish to be loving or hateful towards the patient simply because it would feel good, or because it would satisfy his value on openness or the like. The therapist's behavior must be determined by the momentary and changing psychological state of his patient, the long range requirements of the task, and the psychotherapy system created to achieve it . . . whether such behavior feels good or not. (Newton, 1973, p. 500)

Managerial Role. The consultant is primarily responsible for managing the boundaries of the study group. This includes regulating transactions across the external boundary with the larger organization to insure conditions necessary for work. He reports to the director after each session, and brings information to the group regarding administrative decisions made during the conference (i.e., schedule change). Although the physical environment is planned and set up before members arrive, the consultant

is responsible for maintenance of proper conditions during the exercise. These conditions include quiet, privacy and comfort (enough chairs, temperature, etc.).

The consultant attempts to manage the boundary between the research task and the learning task in the small group to ensure the predominance of the latter. In addition, he has primary responsibility for managing the internal boundary between himself and the group. Here he must work to allow certain transactions which would further the learning such as the exchange of data and observations. At the same time he must not allow the occurrence of other transactions such as satisfaction of individual's wishes for his approval.

Facilitative Role. Astrachan (in press) provides the following descriptions of the facilitative behavior requirements.

. . . the person in authority, consultant, behaves in a manner that is work relevant, but socially deviant. That is, expectations that the authority will provide direction or will satisfy individual's wishes for emotional gratification are not met. The primary stress is placed on understanding behavior rather than upon the development of change oriented strategies. By clearly establishing boundaries and carefully controlling transactions across them while minimizing emotional gratification, psychological projections about leadership and group are facilitated and the relationship of members to the group, to each other and to authority can be studied.

They (the consultants) model certain behaviors but insist on no specific member behavior. Staff arrive promptly, they attend carefully to their work,

they speak only when they believe they can further the attempts of the members to work upon the specified tasks.

The consultant accepts the boundaries because he has contracted to do so, and because he believes that his focus on the task of the group, the study of its internal life, will be highlighted by the group's constant exploration of group boundaries.

The consultant will identify such issues (group issues) when they become problematic for the group, yet he will give no advice and respond to no questions. He only comments when he believes that his comments further the work of the group.

...their role in the work is more of an educative than a leadership nature. (Astrachan, in press pp. 2, 8-10)

Thus, the major characteristics of this role are boundary acceptance, abstinence and commenting on issues which are problematic for the group.

An important aspect of the consultant's position is that it involves two roles which are distinct and may at times be conflicting. Therefore, the person in the position needs to be aware of this distinction, and attempt to integrate them in a way which furthers learning.

Research Role Behavior

This role requires the positionholder to abstain from any contact with the group other than videotaping, observing from outside the group, and the exchange necessary to distribute and collect the questionnaires at the end of each session.

Member Role Behavior

Members are expected to want to learn and to allow their

activity in this regard to be researched. More specifically they must act as a member of a group to provide data for learning and research and attempt to learn from this data. Other than the suggestion that the group study itself in the "here and now," the member is given no further idea or requirements regarding the way in which he is to accomplish these tasks (with the exception of limits placed by law).

Boundaries

External

The task of the small group is to study the group in the "here and now". The conference director defines the external boundary of the group in such a way as to facilitate the achievement of this task. Work should take place inside the group's room during the times specified for the small group exercise. Only those people designated by the director as consultant, researcher and member of the specific group are included in the intragroup environment. In addition, work should be limited only to activity and relationships in the study group.

The director delegates to the consultant the responsibility and authority for the regulation of the external boundary. The consultant, by his behavior, indicates that his work with the group takes place only within these boundaries. Examples of this type of behavior are extreme

limitation of interaction with members outside the group or asking a nonmember to leave the group.

Internal

The major internal boundary of the study group is that between consultant and members. This boundary serves to differentiate between the position of consultant and member, their respective roles in the work (division of labor) and as a region of exchange which is necessary for task achievement. Ideally this boundary will allow for certain interactions which further the task and be prohibitive of those which would diminish task achievement. An example of the selectivity involved is that the consultant will interpret group problems but typically will not interpret individual problems or answer questions.

Culture Associated with the Tavistock Method of Group Relations Training

The culture of the study group is heavily influenced by the assumptions and values associated with the Tavistock method. As was indicated earlier, this method is Psychoanalytic in its approach, being a direct outgrowth of the work of Bion and Klein (Astrachan, in press). This orientation assumes that in an atmosphere where physical comfort is maintained and needs for emotional gratification are not met (frustration), there will be a facilitation of the emergence of underlying psychological processes

(such as regression and transference) which occur in all groups but go unnoticed because of the structured and gratifying nature of these groups. Bion (1961) uses the phrase "basic assumption life" to describe these processes. It is further assumed that the best way to learn about these processes is to experience and observe them directly. Frustration, regression and transference then are seen as necessary conditions for this learning to take place.

In part because of the clinical origins of the Tavistock method of group relations training, aspects of the culture of psychotherapy (cf., Newton, 1973) enter into and characterize the culture of the Tavistock group. The relationship between the consultant and the group is used and examined for the benefit of the group. Members' feelings and other psychological states are believed to be of great importance. The consultant is non-directive, and encourages autonomy, responsibility and self-determination in the group. It is assumed that as a result of his abstinence and non-directiveness, the phenomena which occur in the group come largely from forces within the group and its individual members.

Within this context, the ideal consultant does not exploit the group. The exercise is designed and conducted for the benefit of the group members. The only legitimate rewards for the consultant are financial remunera-

tion, increased learning and skill, and the professional satisfaction of doing a good job for the group (Newton (1973) cites this to be the case in psychotherapy).

Much of what we have said thus far could be stated about the culture of Psychoanalytic group therapy. What then differentiates the Tavistock group from group therapy? The goal of the Tavistock group is member learning about group behavior, whereas in the therapy group it is the patients' understanding and cure of their individual psychological problems. Thus the consultant's comments are limited to group processes. He never comments on or interprets individual behavior as an aspect of individual psychological problems. If he comments on individual behavior at all, which is an extremely rare occurrence, it is as an aspect of the group process. The focus is on the group as a whole and the shared group phenomena that occur. The consultant is not concerned with, nor does he focus on or discriminate between individual reactions.

Methodology

The present is a naturalistic study whose aim was a more complete description and understanding of the process of scapegoating. Toward this end the following steps were taken.

Without being given a prior definition, three observers (graduate students in psychology) were asked to watch videotapes of the 12 small group sessions (4 groups, 3

sessions each), recording scapegoating incidents, if any, and the person toward whom this process was directed. These observations were found to be in agreement 80% of the time. Scapegoats were identified as those people about whom there was 100% agreement.

Next, interviews were conducted (by the investigator) after the conference. These were aimed at gathering information about aspects of the conference organization which might have influenced the small groups. The following people were interviewed once: the director of the conference and two other staff consultants who together (3) served as faculty for the two courses; the research director; and the graduate researcher whose task was the observation of the consulting staff during the entire conference.

Following these procedures, the investigator studied the videotapes in an attempt to detail the culture and social process of each group, the process of scapegoating, and any other phenomena that might enhance our understanding of scapegoating. Finally, an attempt was made to integrate the various findings from a sociopsychological point of view and relate them to existing theory and research.

Chapter 3

Observations

This chapter is devoted to the presentation of observational data gathered in the present study as it relates to the process of scapegoating. We first present the actual records of the eight incidents on which there was 100% agreement by the observers. We will also summarize one additional incident which was not recorded on tape, but was referred to on subsequent tapes and was reported to the author after the conference by two members of the group in which it occurred.

Next we will present a detailed description of scapegoating as it occurred in the groups which were studied. This will be followed by a description of the context in which these incidents took place, the characteristics and behavior of the scapegoats, and the process of interaction between group and scapegoat leading up to the actual attack.

Scapegoating Incidents

In this section we present the verbatim accounts of the nine scapegoating events. The incidents are reported in the sequence in which they occurred in each group. Preceding each incident is an introduction which should give the reader some idea of the context in which the scapegoat-

ing occurred.

Group 10

Incident 1

Group 10 was composed of eight members (5 White males, 1 Black male, 1 Black female and 1 White female) and a female consultant. In the following incident, which occurred at 56 minutes of the first session, the scapegoat (White, male, undergraduate) is denoted by the letter R. The incident was preceded by a discussion of the differences between the group and the consultant. This discussion occurred after there was some agreement that members should talk about their feelings. Regarding the consultant, the group had agreed that they expected her to be "cold and withdrawn," but that the group should be warm and open.

Consultant: There is a need for authority toward the task. The issue is dependency.

O: That's a critical comment.

R: We're supposed to be talking about that — exploring what forces are at work — leadership, followership. Maybe we can't start right off. Maybe we need more time to get to know each other.

J: Most of us felt anxious when we came in without an authority.

B: I can't understand what the consultant means when she talks.

R: It's the whole idea of listening and not hearing.

With this statement all eyes turn toward R. He seems to have said something terribly wrong.

- U: R, you're going to be a great teacher some day — really we've had a number of interactions and he throws out some principle. I'm not saying it's good or bad. . .
- R: We're supposed to be learning; I'm interested in understanding the content.
- U: You changed the level — B was on the feeling level — you're very didactic!
- M: You're panicked about not learning!
- R: Maybe I should shut up.
- S: Supposed to be, you're only worried about what's supposed to be!
- The consultant: The group is avoiding the task.
- S: Let's deal with R.
- M: We're in the bag of dumping everything into one person— D is taking notes.
- J: Three of us are in a course together; R is just too hung up on learning right away.
- R: I agree with you— I'm goal oriented, that's my purpose for being here.

Later

- R: Are group processes going on— it's my search for principles. If we are perceptive and analytic enough about it we can see things.
- J: We have had personal interactions. R is just analytic about it. He's got justification for what he's done, but if we let R talk too much we'll become too academic.
- S: (to R) Why don't you take notes?
- R: Notebooks are a barrier.
- S: You have your own barriers in your head— your intellectualization.

Incident 2

The second scapegoating incident occurs at 46 minutes of the second session. The scapegoat is a White, female, graduate student who is denoted by the letter S. At the beginning of this session, the consultant is isolated from

the group by an empty seat on either side of her. The group is preoccupied with the consultant and members express a good deal of anger at her. Someone suggests the possibility of excluding the consultant. S agrees and says the consultant should be put outside the group so that she doesn't interfere. The mood of the group apparently changes and members state that the action suggested by S would amount to avoidance and would not make them feel more comfortable. S says she feels out of the group and closed in and then moves her seat out of the circle. At first, the group ignores this and continues discussing the consultant. However, they soon turn their attention to S.

Consultant: What I'm hearing is noninterest in hearing what S has to say.

M: (to S) When you backed out of the group, you said you were uncomfortable.

S: I am distressed by the fact that the group is not a group because of the consultant—I feel alienated, not interested—I don't feel groupy.

J: Do we want to bring S back into the group—should we and exclude the consultant?

R: We can't exclude the consultant.

S: I'm uncomfortable with the choice. How much are you willing to give up for one member? I don't want to take the responsibility. I can be dictator of the group.

J: I don't think S is outside the group.

R: Is there anyone who does not feel part of the group?

S: I don't feel like I'm not part of the group, but I'm unhappy with the intruder.

At this point the group seems to be losing patience with S.

- R: I don't feel that way-- the consultant is useful.
- U: S gave an ultimatum!
- M: Now it's our responsibility.
- S: I apologize for withdrawing, I feel in the group but not completely in because of the consultant.
- Consultant: S feels uncomfortable and has been set up to enact a power struggle with the consultant.
- J: Most people concerned with S are men.
- S: I do feel competitive with her (the consultant).
- U: S is manipulative.
- J: I felt she was condescending.
- S: I am competitive with women.

The group then discusses the issue of competition between women. In the third session the group discusses this incident and S's position again. Their feelings are apparently summed up by J who says "She didn't accomplish what she wanted. She got power, but the consultant is still here."

Incident 3

The third scapegoating incident occurs at 61 minutes of the third session. The scapegoat (same as Incident 1) is denoted by the letter R. At the beginning of this session the consultant's seat is taken by a member. There is some additional conversation about S (scapegoat in session 2) which is followed by discussion about competition for leadership in the group. It has been noted that R and U had competed for leadership in the first session. U, who is in a leadership position, is talking about members' participation and says:

U: R is intellectual and gets attacked for teaching.

R: That bothers me but I don't mean to teach.

J: R is being intellectual and defensive.

U: (angrily to R) We can only get to you by ideas.

R: I'm just trying to learn.

Consultant: There is need for evaluation— did we do good or bad?

The group begins to discuss this issue.

Group 13

Incident 1

Group 13 was composed of nine members (6 White females, 1 Black male and 2 White males) and a female consultant. The first scapegoating incident occurs at 50 minutes of the first session. The scapegoat (White, female, graduate student) is denoted by the letter C. Just prior to this event the group has been discussing the consultant's role, their anger with it, and the differences between the consultant and group members.

B: If someone in the group acted like that (like the consultant) it would be considered weird.

G: (to C) You make consultant like comments— like an outside observer. You're not here (in an accusatory tone).

R: While you're saying that she (C) is still acting like a consultant— making consultantlike comments.

O: We killed one leader, then asked the consultant to lead. The males stepped aside to let the females struggle.

A: Leadership has negative associations.

C: I feel like you're asking me not to feel comfortable with analyzing.

G: It could be, but I was not faulting your comments, but that was all you were doing.

Incident 2

This incident occurs at 57 minutes of the second session. The scapegoat is a Black, male, graduate student denoted by the letter W. At this point the group is talking about male and female roles. The consultant has said that this conversation reflects some concern with her. Women are dominating the discussion. W, who had said that he was bored with this line of discussion, but was ignored, now takes out a newspaper and begins reading.

- A: (to W) You don't give a shit about the group!
- T: That's two men who think it was a worthless conversation.
- A: Why not change the topic?
- B: It is valuable to discuss sexist roles in this group.
- A: I think W was aggressive (others nod their heads).
- H: I wanted to untie his shoelaces (W puts paper away).
- R: Why not have a male group for five minutes.
- B: (to O) Is all the conversation worthless?
- O: No, in listening, it's clear that it's not healthy to be a man and dominant.
- W: I have better ways to spend a Friday night.
- R: There's something in the behavior W exhibited, nonparticipation, that's like C (scapegoat in previous session).
- W: I was under the impression that we would do an exercise.
- G: (angrily) Why don't you think this is interesting?
- W: I haven't heard anything I couldn't think of myself.
- B: Would you?
- W: Probably not, I don't believe in it.
- G: Don't you think we're talking about experiencing right now? You thought we were boring and we thought you were rebellious or outside the group. There's nothing closer to us than that.
- W: I agree.

Incident 3

This incident occurs at 16 minutes of the third session. The scapegoat is a White, male, graduate student denoted by the letter T. The beginning of this session is marked by a female leader (A) taking the consultant's seat. In discussing this event the following topics are raised: anxiety, the seat change as an attack on the consultant, the phantasy of every member as consultant. Toward the end of this discussion the following takes place.

- A: I think the group is very productive— a lot has gone on.
- B: It's not nearly as intense and uncomfortable as it was.
- R: We pulled ourselves up by the bootstraps.
- T: As a group we've grown but not in productivity toward the goals of the task.
- A: Your task is not the same as ours. T needs structure.
- T: I'm not asking for structure, but insight into group dynamics.
- G: I can't believe you don't think we've been talking about that.
- T: If I were to evaluate this group on some scale, it would be low. Other groups are probably better (groans by the other members).

With this statement members seem ready to converge on T. All attention is focused in his direction. Members are sitting on the edges of their seats and the level of tension and anger are very high.

- R: Wait a minute. How could we get into it (to T)?
- T: That's a difficult question.

- R: But I want an answer and I think the group does too (yeses).
- A: My reaction is (to T) you get angry when the group doesn't do what you want. If we did that we would be productive.
- C: That's why I don't want an answer.
- B: It's not a fair question.
- A: I think it's true.
- B: We could have gone further, but we're not tragic—other groups are worse.
- T: The group is not attending to individual points. There are interruptions and changes of topics. I'm not saying there should be one leader but. . .
- O: There are two kinds of leaders—A, sitting in the chair and you (T) doing all the talking!
- C: I don't think we've lost so much time from talking about group dynamics as since you (T) started talking.
- B: We're still doing it.
- T: Actually, I was very quiet last session and thought it was boring.
- A: You must feel that when you talk it's interesting and when you don't it's boring.
- T: No, I do find it interesting on many occasions.
- B: I have the feeling we're jumping on T again.
- O: I have the feeling I just led an attack on him.
- A: He opens himself for it. I respond negatively to him as others do. He's attacked the rest of us, he thinks he knows better than we do.
- O: I have the feeling he's trying to set himself up as leader.
- A: Yes
- T: I did admit that.

Group 12

Incident 1

Group 12 is composed of nine members (6 White males, 3 White females) and a male consultant. The first incident in this group is the one which was not recorded on tape, but

was reported to the author by two members of the group. It occurred at 37 minutes of the second session. The scapegoat was a White, male, graduate student (M).

M had been trying to lead the group to attend to the analytic aspects of the task and criticized the group's inability to do this. This was followed by an attack similar to the one on Scapegoat R in session 1 of group 10. M was accused of being too defensive, intellectualized and trying to set himself above the group. The attack was carried out by five people and led to M's temporary withdrawal. This event is noted at the end of the following session in the context of a discussion of leadership when M is encouraged to participate again.

Incident 2

This incident occurs at 40 minutes of the third session. The scapegoat is a White, female, graduate student (L). The sessions begins with the consultant's seat crowded out of the circle. The group spends a lot of this session "not doing what's expected of them," playing with a rubber ball. After this stops they discuss the fact that they actually feel powerless and dependent on the consultant. The consultant comments on this.

Consultant: There's the hope I have some power I'm not exercising.

Chorus: Yes, right on.

L: I wasn't feeling powerless.

- C: You had nothing important to say?
- L: I must resolve this once and for all— I don't have that expectation. That he has a power that he's not exercising.
- W: That's counterdependent! You've said that so many times— I don't believe that.
- C: I have to agree. Every time that's come up, you've (chopping motion with the hand indicating cutting off conversation). You feel it's necessary to tell us you don't feel that way.
- L: Because I don't like that category "we".
- H: Then he does have a power to make "we" apply to you.

This last comment seems to prove L guilty and the conversation moves to another topic.

Group 11

Incident 1

Group 11 is composed of eight members (5 White males, 1 Black female and 2 White females) and a male consultant. The first and only scapegoating incident occurs at 25 minutes of the second session. The scapegoat is a White, male, graduate student (P).

P, who has announced that he has had Tavistock experience, has been trying to get the group to be "independent" with regard to the consultant. The group has asked him numerous questions, had called him the leader and implied (one person) that he (P) would not let the group discuss the consultant. In the beginning of this session they have been discussing talking about feelings and the role of the consultant when the following takes place.

- P: I saw another person playing the consultant's role (hesitates) M. I was going to get back to you but . . .
- D: It's possible that we're all consultants.
- P: But that's not the way he's acting.
- M: I don't feel like a consultant—I have a willingness to share in what's going on. Why were you (P) reluctant to name me?
- P: I felt you knew.
- B: Did others have the same feeling?
- G: I felt that M was silent, but not that he was a plant.
- A: I thought P was a plant.
- D: I agree. You came in with a polished speech.
- P: Not as polished as I'd hoped.
- A: How?
- P: The thing you cleared up before.
- A: You didn't get it across. We don't know that he's (P) not.
- D: Or you.
- B: Do you mean it? How come that happened?
- P: I think they were taking my statement about M to mean that he was a plant. That's not what I meant.

Here it seems that P, sensing a possible attack has tried to focus attention on another member. This seems only to increase the tension in the group and the hostility which is now directed toward P.

- M: Part of why I was quiet for so long was—I had a weird reaction to your statement. It blew my mind that you came in here and sat down and said we're not supposed to pay attention to the way this thing is set up, because it's a pile of bullshit—which I think maybe at this point is not what you wanted to say, but at that point what you did want. You really didn't want to experience the frustration and I wondered why you came. I think you've changed. You came across weird.

- P: That could be why A and others said they didn't hear it the way I thought I was saying it. I could see where that was going on.
- A: Well it was a manipulative kind of thing to say (he talks about people in High School who act that way).
- B: Does that arouse hostility?
- A: No.
- B: You mean it doesn't bother you to have someone come in and say—I know what it's all about. Let's do it this way.
- D: (to P) I recall asking you why you came. My first reaction was it was manipulative, but then I decided differently.
- B: It was manipulative!
- P: It was, but I had a reason for doing it. I wanted to use the time constructively rather than spending time getting blown away every-time he (consultant) said anything. I thought it was valuable to work as a group and get something out of it.
- M: You want to go to another kind of group!
- P: That's not what I'm looking for—A said what I meant better. I want us to listen to the consultant, and talk about it if it's valid. If not we shouldn't talk about it. I want to make that a conscious process and do that rather than laughing. The reality is that the consultant is here to make statements, not to answer questions, not to interact.
- M: Do you think your initial statement helped us deal with the consultant's comments for the first one and a half hours?
- P: Not as well as I'd hoped.
- B: I didn't think it would, when you told me I looked askance, but I felt if you wanted to. . .
- P: I didn't think it would be difficult but that's what I tried to do. I don't think the only way to respond is to let it throw us completely. We should treat him (consultant) the way he's supposed to be.
- B: The way you think he should be treated!
- P: Yes.

This continues for a while until the topic is changed.

Description of Scapegoating Incidents

All cases involve a verbal attack, initiated by a leading or active member who is joined by 1-5 others (2-6 total), on one individual who is defended only by himself. When there is more than one incident in a group, the initiator is almost always the same person. The attacks usually follow immediately after some apparent precipitating act (verbal or behavioral) by the scapegoat.

The attacks are characteristically "you" statements which are accusations. These take the form of interpretations of behavior which ascribe negative motivation to it (i.e. manipulative, selfish, condescending, defensive). This negative motivation on the part of the scapegoat appears to provide the rationale for the attack. In addition, the statements about the scapegoat imply the following: 1) that he places himself above or outside of the group; 2) that the scapegoat is the only member guilty of such negatively motivated behavior; 3) that the scapegoat alone is to blame for the negative effects of his behavior on the group.

We believe that this last characteristic (3) deserves special attention. It is reflected in comments such as: "You did not let us talk about the consultant" and "You changed the level of conversation." What is striking about these statements is the power which is attributed

to the scapegoat. The groups apparently see the scapegoats as having the ability to make them do something without the cooperation of the other members. It seems a simple fact that no one member can change the topic of conversation without at least the passive cooperation of the other members. However, this fact is denied again and again with regard to the scapegoats. This denial appears to be in the service of placing responsibility for certain activity in the scapegoat. This "power," may in fact be one of the rewards for taking the scapegoat role. One of the scapegoats (S, group 10) comments after the attack on her that she feels very powerful.

The attackers rarely make direct reference to their own feelings toward the scapegoat, of which anger and frustration appear to be primary. Furthermore, during the attack it becomes clear that the attackers have been annoyed with the scapegoat for some time previously. In some cases this has been expressed indirectly (i.e. by ignoring the person) but in few cases has the hostility been openly expressed prior to the attack. In addition, there is no evidence of any previous attempt to stop or modify the irritating activity. The importance of this point will be discussed in our analysis of the role induction of the scapegoat.

It is assumed by everyone, including the scapegoat, that to be guilty of the motivation stated in the accusa-

tions is bad, although there has been no overt agreement in this regard. This indicates that certain norms have already been informally agreed upon. The scapegoat thus responds to the attack with "I" statements which attempt, in vain, to defend against the contents of the accusations and justify his behavior. A common defense is claiming to be misinterpreted. The scapegoat never responds with anger and rarely counterattacks or counterinterprets. In some cases there is even a partial apology or admission of guilt. The scapegoats almost never express the feeling that they have a right to do what they're doing without explanation or justification.

The incidents end in a number of ways: 1) admission of guilt by the scapegoat; 2) catching the scapegoat in an inconsistency which proves him guilty "beyond the shadow of a doubt"; 3) changing topics. There is never a rescinding of accusations, an apology, or an overt appeal to get the scapegoat to change, by the attackers. In addition, there is never any comment by the consultant to the effect that scapegoating is taking place. When viewing the tapes of the incidents, the author was reminded of a trial, where the jury began with the conviction that the defendant was guilty and where no amount of evidence could change this conviction.

Time and Frequency

There is at least one scapegoating incident per group

over the first three sessions. The range per group is 1-3 incidents for this three session period. Time of onset of the first incident varies from 50 minutes of the first session to 37 minutes of the second session (75 minute sessions). There is a higher frequency of incidents and earlier time of onset of the first attack in groups consulted to by females. No more than one incident occurs per session (the two female consultant groups have one each session). Of the first three sessions across all groups, the second session has the highest frequency of incidents.

With regard to individual sessions, most of the incidents occur in the latter half of each session (38-75 minutes) with the range being 17-69 minutes. Specific incidents last between three and fifteen minutes.

Development of the Scapegoat Role

Timing of attacks in relation to group developmental stages

The first scapegoating event in all groups, is always (almost immediately) preceded by a discussion of what the group should talk about and a differentiation between the consultant and the group. These discussions revolve around whether the group should structure itself or not and whether the group should analyze or talk about feelings. The distinction made between consultant and group is evidenced in the following examples:

- R: Would it bother you if we all talked the way the consultant does?
- M: She (the consultant) plays a role. I expect the group to be warm, caring and open-- I don't expect that from the consultant.
- J: Yeah, she (the consultant) is cold, like a building. There is a lack of reciprocity.

(Note that the expectations of the group are opposite to those of the consultant.)

In another group which is discussing the consultant's role:

- B: If anyone in the group acted like that (like the consultant) it would be considered weird.

Other group members nod their heads in agreement and then attack a member for acting like a consultant.

The scapegoats in the first incidents are associated with the defensive control of feelings. They are accused of intellectualizing, not letting the group talk about feelings, not giving their feelings and trying to structure to avoid feelings.

In the session following these events, the differentiation between consultant and group is made more obvious by the isolation of the consultant in the seating pattern. The importance of this occurrence for the group is illustrated by the following example from group 10.

The first session had ended with the first scapegoating incident. At the beginning of the second session the group was seated so that the consultant was separated from the group members by an empty seat on either side. When one member, noting this, attempted to sit in one of the empty chairs he was told "Get back in your place." He promptly returned to his original seat.

Following this differentiation, the groups appear to be concerned about issues and conflicts associated with dependent and counterdependent feelings and strategies regarding their relationship with the consultant. These concerns are reflected in discussions of the following topics: whether the group should play or work (work being associated with the consultant); should the group throw the consultant out because he or she interferes with the group cohesiveness (as a result of member dependence on him); whether the group should do what the consultant expects them to do. In all groups there is some statement to the effect that the group would fall apart without the consultant.

It is during the time that the group is discussing these issues that the second scapegoating occurs. This scapegoat is linked directly with counterdependence (i.e. "You are rebellious," "You are competitive with the consultant," "You are counterdependent"). In the three groups where this second event occurred, it is followed by discussions regarding the group's ability to control itself (rather than being controlled by the consultant). These discussions include issues such as internal differentiation and competition for leadership.

There were two groups which had three scapegoating incidents (female consultants). In these groups, the second incident occurred toward the end of the second

session. It is followed, in the third session, by a member sitting in the seat that the consultant had occupied in previous sessions. This act is noted by members in both groups. It apparently leads to some discomfort and discussions regarding evaluation of the group and competition for leadership. The third scapegoating incident occurs during these discussions and appears to be related to the issue of competition. The following accusations are leveled at the scapegoat: "You want to be the only leader," "You think you're better than us," "You want to be the teacher." In the one group (13) where this occurs early in the third session, it is followed by discussions regarding the notion that different people lead at different times and individuality versus the group.

As the reader may already have noted from the above description, it appears that the different scapegoating events are correlated with a sequence of group developmental stages. The different scapegoating events occur in the same order in all groups where they are observed. It seems that group developmental stages and concomitant scapegoating events follow the same sequence in all groups, but differ as to the time it takes to pass through the various stages. By a sequence of developmental stages we mean the different issues and conflicts become salient for the group in a particular order. While we will describe these stages in more

detail under Social Process, it is mentioned here because we feel it is crucially related to the differences in scapegoating rates between groups consulted to by males and females.

Induction of the individual into the scapegoat role

At first glance, the scapegoating events begin and end with the attack. However, upon careful analysis one cannot escape the conclusion that the attack is the culmination of a process which begins much earlier. In the attacks themselves one hears the following types of statements: "We've had a number of interactions around feelings and each time he (the scapegoat) throws out a principle — you changed the level of conversation." "You did not let us talk about the consultant"; while attacking a person for withdrawing in the second session, "I noticed that he didn't say much in the first session"; "Every time that's come up (speaker makes a chopping motion indicating cutting off conversation). You feel it's necessary to tell us you don't feel that way."

The group apparently feels that the scapegoat's particular type of behavior is destructive in some way. Yet there is no attempt to get these people to act differently in the process prior to the attack. On the contrary, there is evidence that the group acts selectively toward the scapegoat in ways that encourage these people to behave the way they do. The following examples should illustrate this

point.

In group 13, W is attacked for withdrawal, nonparticipation and rebelliousness in the second session. During the first session he is, in fact, the most quiet member. He makes only one statement regarding the individual's rights to do what he wants. While there are attempts to solicit the participation of other less active members, this is not done with regard to W.

In the second session, shortly before the attack, W says he is bored by the discussion but is ignored by the group which continues with the same discussion. After a while he takes out a newspaper and begins reading. At this point he is attacked for "not giving a shit about the group."

Perhaps the most glaring example of this process occurs in group 11. In this case P is attacked at the beginning of the second session for not letting the group talk about the consultant, for manipulating the group, and for attempting to interfere with the group's experience of frustration and confusion, which is deemed necessary to group development. In examining the session prior to the attack (session 1) one finds that P announces that he has had experience in Tavistock groups. This is followed by the group asking P numerous questions about what's supposed to happen. The group responds to almost every comment P makes. At one point P is acknowledged as the leader of the group.

If we look, then, at the groups prior to the scapegoating incident, we find that the scapegoat had become differentiated at a time prior to the attack. The scapegoat apparently chooses a particular style of behaving toward the group and is actively encouraged or at least not discouraged by the group with regard to this behavior. The sequence of events appears to be: 1) the differentiation of an individual who is associated with a particular style of behavior or function; 2) attacking the person with regard to this behavior.

It is apparent that these events could not take place without the collaboration of both the group and the individual who is eventually attacked. By collaboration we do not mean that the individual wants to be attacked, but rather that the interaction between the individual and the group results in behavior for which the individual is attacked.

Differences between groups consulted to
by males and females

The data indicates that there is more scapegoating, with earlier time of onset in the groups consulted to by females (groups 10 and 13). There are a total of 6 scapegoating incidents in the female consultant groups (3, 3) as compared to 3 (2, 1) in the male consultant groups. Whereas the first incidents occur in the first session of the female consultant groups, they do not occur until the second session of the male consultant groups.

As noted earlier, the different scapegoating events are apparently related to different stages in the group's development. The data indicates that the increased amount of scapegoating in the female consultant groups is associated with faster development in terms of these stages and higher levels of cohesiveness. Groups 10 and 13 (female consultant, 3 scapegoats each) reach the third stage by the beginning of the third session. That is, they apparently resolve issues related to dependency and counterdependency

and deal with internal control, evaluation and competition in the third session. Group 12 (male consultant, 2 scapegoats) begins to deal with these latter issues at the very end of the third session, after the second scapegoating. Group 11 (male consultant, 1 scapegoat) appears to be stuck and unable to deal successfully with dependence and counter-dependence at the end of the third session.

The relationship between number of scapegoating incidents, passage through stages and group cohesiveness can be illustrated by a brief comparison between group 13 (female consultant) and group 11 (male consultant).

In group 13, the first session is devoted to discussions related to getting to know each other, what the group should talk about (feelings vs. analysis), the role of the consultant and the first scapegoating incident. This scapegoat is accused of acting like a consultant and not talking about her feelings.

In the second session, the consultant is isolated in the seating in the beginning of the session by an empty seat on either side. The major topics of conversation are nurturance, frustration, withdrawal and the second scapegoat who is seen as being rebellious. The third session is marked by someone sitting in the consultant's seat. There are discussions related to this event, to phantasies of group members being in the consultant's role, to leadership and competition and to the third scapegoating incident (related to competition). In the course of this session there are a number of positive statements about the group: "We are a good group"; "We have accomplished a lot"; "We are a lot closer."

In contrast, let us look at group 11 (male consultant) which had the least number of scapegoating incidents. The group begins by finding out who the people are. P and B tell the group that they have had Tavistock experience. The group then discusses

what they should talk about and how they should operate. This discussion is marked by asking P a number of questions, and conflicts between P and the rest of the group regarding the role of the consultant. At one point P is acknowledged as the leader of the group.

At the beginning of the second session P is attacked for not allowing the group to talk about their feelings toward the consultant and for manipulating the group. This interaction with P continues for almost the entire session and is mixed with attempts to get the consultant to break role (i.e. getting him to laugh).

The third session is marked by feelings of frustration, despair, helplessness and incompetence combined with difficulty in discussing these issues which appear to be related to dependence on the consultant. There is the beginning of the appearance of counterdependence symbolized by discussions of how Tavistock is a farce, and the Psychoanalytic model is inappropriate to understanding groups. Toward the end of the session there is a discussion of what would happen if the consultant were not present. The prevailing attitude is that the group would fall apart. This is followed by some members saying they are thinking of leaving the group, and a general sense of failure.

In sum, the female consultant is apparently associated with more scapegoating, faster and more complete development in terms of the stages outlined in this paper and higher levels of group cohesiveness. We will leave a possible explanation of these results for the following chapter.

Scapegoat Characteristics

Since an in depth study of the individual scapegoats was beyond the scope of this study, the following description is based on the observations made of these people as they participated in the groups studied. Eight scapegoats

were observed. Each group had at least one with the upper limit being three (1, 2, 2, 3). Of the eight, there were 5 males, 3 females; 7 graduate seminar participants, 1 undergraduate; 7 White, 1 Black.

Six out of eight attempt or express a desire to be leaders. These attempts usually involve criticism of some aspect of group activity combined with the suggestion of an alternative (i.e. "The group is not a group because of the consultant. Let's sit her outside.") All scapegoats express less dependence on the consultant and are more critical of the group and its accomplishments than other members. In addition, the scapegoats appear to be more isolated, less responsive to pressures toward conformity and more deviant than the rest of the group. Their deviant behavior appears to be associated with frustration regarding some aspect of the group's activity (i.e. moving one's seat out of the circle because the group is too dependent on the consultant). They view this frustration as stemming from some problem in the group, but seem unable to take enough distance to see how they are contributing to the problem or are reacting defensively. In these groups, there appear to be two types of scapegoats: the controllers and the counterdependents.

The Controllers

This group is composed of four men and one woman who were the scapegoats in the first and third scapegoating incidents described previously (all White, 4 graduate, 1 undergraduate male). The four men attempt to assert leader-

ship early by intellectual attention to the task. Their techniques include trying to organize, structure and analyze combined with degrading the importance of emotional gratification. Without exception they maintain that their only reason for coming to the weekend is to learn and that all else is secondary. They frequently criticize the group for not attending to the task implying that the group's attempts to gratify impulses (especially dependency needs) are infantile, non-task oriented and defensive. They appear unable to take distance from their own style and consider the defensiveness of their own approach. The one woman in this group is less active than the men, does not attempt to be a leader, and uses comments on the group process as her primary form of interaction with the group.

These people appear to be competitive, intelligent and highly achievement oriented. They seem to make use of intellectualization and isolation of affect as major defenses against the anxiety stimulated by the chaotic nature of the group. While they are among the most active members of their respective groups, they rarely make statements about their feelings. More often they criticize the group's performance, ask questions about general issues, point out defenses and suggest possible structures. They never express the anger that other members do toward the consultant. Their frustration, they claim, is not with the consultant who is only playing a role that he is supposed to. The problem is the

group which is not doing the task adequately. One cannot escape the impression that the lack of structure in the situation stimulates in these people intense conflicts regarding control, and fear and guilt related to loss of control.

In general, the attacks on these people are longer, more hostile and involve more members than those involving the second type of scapegoats. The accusations appear to be a more blanket condemnation of their participation than they are for the second group. While the attacks on this type of scapegoat differ depending on whether they take place in the first stage or third stage, there are certain common accusations. All these people are seen as intellectualizing, lacking feeling and desiring too much control by the attackers.

These people generally respond to the attack by appealing to the task and/or claiming that they are being misinterpreted. All of them withdraw or say that they are thinking about doing this as a result of the attack, but are encouraged not to by the rest of the group. However, there is no attempt, as there is with the second type, to bring them back into the fold. They appear to be kept on the fringe of the group, to be used when necessary.

The Counterdependents

This type is composed of two White women and one Black man (all in graduate seminar) who serve as scapegoats in the

second scapegoating incidents. These incidents take place in the stage of group development which centers on conflicts regarding dependent and counterdependent feelings toward the consultant. The attacks on these people are shorter, less hostile and involve fewer attackers than those on the Controllers. The accusations seem to be less blanket condemnations than for the first type, apparently related to one type of behavior. The attacks center around the nonsupportive or counterdependent quality of the scapegoat's behavior (i.e. "You don't give a shit about the group"; "You are counterdependent"; "You are rebellious."). The attack ends with some attempt to make these people feel a part of the group again (i.e. "I don't think S is outside the group.").

The precipitating behavior in all these incidents is some act of defiance which appears to cause the group to feel frustrated by the individual. S moves her seat out of the circle, W begins reading a newspaper, L disagrees with the feelings of all the other members. These acts all involve an element of withdrawal from the group which causes discomfort among other group members and threatens the sense of group unity.

The Counterdependents seem less concerned with the task and less active than the Controllers. They express anger toward the consultant who they view as an interference with regard to having a "good" group experience.

Their major concern seems to be the maintenance of their independence and individuality. They express the feeling that they are ignored and isolated, and act as though the only way to get noticed as an individual is to highlight one's difference from the rest of the group. This is confirmed by the group which only pays attention to these individuals when they act in a deviant way. A few examples should illustrate this point:

In the second session of group 10, S finds out that other members of the group had dinner without her. She says that she feels bad about this, but is ignored. Later she moves her seat out of the circle saying that she does not feel like part of the group. At this point the group becomes concerned with S and attacks her for placing herself outside of the group and manipulating the group.

In the second session of group 13, W states that he is bored with the conversation and is ignored. When W takes out a newspaper and starts reading, he is attacked for not caring about the group. In the course of the attack it is suggested that perhaps the topic of conversation should be changed.

The reactions of the Counterdependents to the attacks differ markedly from those of the Controllers. They place the blame somewhere else (i.e. the consultant, the type of group it is). The half-hearted attempts to reform these people take the form of "you are" or "you should be like everyone else" and seem to reinforce the idea that the only way to maintain one's individuality is by acting in a deviant manner. S remarked during the group's attempt at therapizing her, "I feel great, very powerful." This was the

same woman who had said earlier that she was hurt because she had not been included at dinner and was ignored.

We would like to note here that the groups appear to selectively reinforce the scapegoats' problem behavior. In the case of the Counterdependents, we have just seen that the only way they are able to elicit an acknowledgment of their feelings by the group is to act in a deviant manner. With regard to the Controllers, their attempts to limit threatening feelings meet with great success. The groups will almost always respond to their comments by engaging in an intellectual discussion of the issues. On the other hand, the rare expression of feelings by one of these scapegoats is met by little, negative or no response.

In sum, based on the observations presented, scapegoating appears to be an unconscious process occurring in groups. This process involves the splitting of a conflict and the projection of one aspect, which is viewed negatively, into a particular individual. This person will then symbolize these shared feelings for the group.

The individual selected is chosen on the basis of distinctive characteristics which are associated with the feeling involved. In this study, the feelings associated with the three types of incidents were: the desire to control feelings, counterdependence and the desire to be the

only leader. The scapegoat is perceived by members to be unidimensional with regard to the conflict and is encouraged to act in ways which are appropriate to his function as symbol. The scapegoat appears to collaborate in this process by behaving in ways which are associated with the symbolization and are different from other members.

The scapegoat is then attacked for this behavior which is viewed as stemming solely from within the individual. This involves a denial of the groups' participation as described above. The attack occurs at a time after the group has made some resolution regarding the conflict made possible by projection. The apparent goal of this attack is the control of the impulse symbolized by the scapegoat.

We have found that the scapegoating in these groups is associated with the reduction of conflicts and problems which occur in developmental sequence. In this regard, groups with female consultants demonstrate more scapegoating, faster passage through the sequence and higher levels of cohesiveness than those consulted to by males.

It is the author's view that scapegoating is the method used by these groups to deal with conflicts which are experienced in the attempt to define the role of group member. The three aspects of the member role which are associated with the conflicts occurring in developmental

sequence are relation to task, relation to authority, and relation to other members. We will devote the next chapter to an analysis of the organizational factors which provides the basis for this conclusion.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Discussion

In Chapter 1 we stated that a knowledge of the context in which a social phenomenon occurs is absolutely necessary if one is to understand the particular event. Chapter 3 has provided us with a description of scapegoating as it occurred in these small groups. In this chapter we will attempt to show how aspects of the organization influenced the scapegoating within it. We utilize the sociopsychological approach outlined in Chapter 1 to accomplish this.

Task

We stated in Chapter 2 that the task of the small group is member learning about group processes. Since the terms "group process" and "learning" are not clearly defined, it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of this enterprise. This is attested to by two facts. First, the author knows of no study which has dealt with the amount of member learning that occurs in any Tavistock Group Relations Training conference. Secondly, the staff of the conference, who are primarily responsible for task achievement, do not undertake any formal or systematic evaluation of the learning which takes place in the course of the conference. This is left to individual members.

The result of having this vaguely defined task which is difficult to assess is similar to what Miller and Rice (1967) state about research work (Chapter 1). Carrying out the Tavistock method (which is a means to member learning) becomes a substitute goal. This is associated with the belief that this method will lead to learning. The task becomes "to provide an opportunity for learning" rather than learning itself. The success of an organization in providing an opportunity for learning would, in part, be evaluated in terms of the learning that actually occurs. This change does not then resolve the problem of assessment unless one sees providing an opportunity for learning as being identical with following the Tavistock method correctly. It does appear as though the primary task of the Tavistock conference is to be a "good Tavistock conference" based on the idea that this is the most effective way of learning about groups. We make no judgment as to the validity of this idea. However, we would like to point out that the method is sustained by subjective experience rather than formal assessment and that task and method are not differentiated.

The above situation seems to have two important consequences. First, questioning of the method tends to be viewed as anti-task and is dealt with in such a way as to invalidate its realistic basis (i.e. interpreting disagreement with the method as the result of defense mechanisms).

Second, the responsibility for negative consequences in the process of using the Tavistock method to learn is placed outside of the method (i.e. nonlearning is due to the irrationality of the group or the consultant's not following his role correctly).

We would like to discuss two areas in which the displacement of task can be observed: evaluation of the consultant; and attitudes toward certain processes which occur in the small groups. The evaluation of the consultant's performance is supposedly related to what the group members gain from the experience. However, as we have seen, this is something which is difficult to discern. How then is the consultant's performance evaluated? There seem to be two factors involved. First, how well the consultant adheres to the role of the ideal Tavistock consultant. Second, how well the group goes, in terms of the emergence of underlying psychological processes which are supposed to make their appearance when the method is implemented correctly. The overriding importance of the first factor is evidenced by an issue which arose prior to the conference being studied. There was some question as to the competence of one of the consultants, on the part of the director. This doubt was not based on the knowledge of the person (who was writing a book on the work of Bion) or his experience working with self study groups (which was extensive), but rather it was felt that he was lacking in

the proper Tavistock experience. This same consultant's study group criticized him in the course of the conference for not playing the role of consultant appropriately enough (so that they could get angry at him). In other words, both the staff and membership questioned this consultant's ability to perform on the basis of role adherence, and not his ability to facilitate learning. This again is based on the unproven idea that this is the best way for a facilitator to act.

A second area where the displacement of task is observable is the small group's attitude toward certain phenomena. As already noted (according to Astrachan, in press) the consultant's comments are limited to group "problems." The group, in turn, tends to view these same phenomena as "problems." One would expect that in a group whose primary concern is learning, the predominant attitude toward these group phenomena would be one of exploration and a desire to understand. However, in observing the groups, one finds that the dominant attitude toward "problems" is the desire to reduce them.

By no means are these two goals (understanding and reduction of phenomena) mutually exclusive. However, Matza (1969) in arguing for the former orientation in studying social phenomena, points out some of the constraints placed on learning by the "phenomenon as problem" attitude. He notes that phenomena labeled as problems are usually accompanied by the attitude that they are bad and something to

to be gotten rid of. This may lead to an inability to note possible positive aspects of the phenomena.

Secondly, it is possible to reduce the occurrence of phenomena without understanding them. It follows, then, that it is quite possible to get rid of a "problem" without having learned much about it.

It is our contention that the orientation towards problems in the small group, wanting primarily to get rid of them, is related to the displacement of the learning task by the goal of being a good Tavistock group.

In a group whose goal is to be "good" (follow the method), problems (bad) are an interference, something to be removed. While it may be helpful to understand a problem in order to reduce it, this is by no means always necessary. Scapegoating is apparently one means of reducing a problem without understanding it.

Let us illustrate this point with an example from group 10. In the first session there is a discussion regarding what the group should talk about. In the course of this discussion the consultant notes and the group acknowledges that they are having difficulty because of anxiety related to a lack of structure. This is followed by some discussion of what to do about this and finally by the scapegoating of an individual who is said to be "panicked by the lack of structure." At the beginning of the next session the group agrees that they

feel more comfortable. There is never any discussion of why they felt anxious without structure; why they feel more comfortable now; and the topic is never returned to by the consultant or the group. Apparently there is no longer a "problem". While this is only one example, it is representative of how all the groups deal with issues such as dependency and counterdependency, and competition, which arise in the life of the groups.

Task has been emphasized for two major reasons. First, the author hopes to demonstrate that its displacement is crucial in understanding the conference and more specifically the scapegoating which occurs in the small groups. The scapegoats appear to represent feelings and conflicts which threaten not necessarily the task of learning but the task of being a good Tavistock study group. Second, while a number of authors, most notably Slater (1966), have observed the displacement of the learning task by the goal of being a good group, they imply that this is solely or primarily due to irrational needs on the part of the members for order. We believe we have been able to show that this displacement is in part related to the ambiguous nature of the task, has taken place before the members have even arrived (staff planning), and that its occurrence in the small group is primarily due to the group's internalization of

its task in the organization. While we do not rule out the interaction of individual needs for order and approval with the situational factors, we contend that this aspect of the organizational context (task system) creates an atmosphere where these individual psychological forces are called into play in the way that they are. Finally, we suggest that in organizations where this is true, the occurrence of scapegoating is endemic to the situation and cannot be understood merely by relying on such individual psychological mechanisms as displacement of aggression.

A final word about task displacement. It is not our contention that this will always occur where a group has a vaguely defined task. However, the probability of task displacement is increased if an organization is not aware of its limited knowledge or acts as though the task is clearly defined when it's not. This is particularly important since many institutions in our society, especially those involved with Mental Health, Education and Welfare, have vaguely defined tasks.

Culture

An aspect of the Tavistock culture which we feel deserves special attention, in regard to scapegoating, is the orientation toward the rational and irrational aspects of group life. These components are labeled "work group"

and "basic assumption group" by Bion (1961). The "work group" involves rational attempts at work while the "basic assumption group" is involved with nonrational attempts to gratify emotional needs. Difficulties experienced by groups are explained in terms of conflicts between the "work group" and "basic assumption group" or interference in "work group" activity by "basic assumption" activity.

While Bion holds that both aspects are coexistent, he treats them as distinct. He states that the optimum situation would be when there is a proper integration of the two components. This splitting of rational and irrational has important consequences. It associates problems with irrationality and emotionality while connecting task achievement with rationality and intellect.

It is important to note that Bion utilized these notions in attempting to account for certain phenomena that occurred in the course of doing Psychoanalytic group therapy. It is in part, a theory aimed at explaining group resistance in psychotherapy. That is, the theory indicates that this resistance stems from irrationality in the group. This irrationality interferes with the rational aim of getting better. In effect this idea rules out the influence of organizational structure or the consideration of the contribution of the particular method being used to problems in task achievement.

The study group exercise is designed to make "basic assumption" phenomena easily observable. It is thought that these processes occur in all groups and that the best way to learn about them is through direct experience. The key to accomplishing this is nondirectiveness or abstinence on the part of the authority, nongratification of emotional needs by the authority and an atmosphere which is fairly comfortable and secure. It is assumed that within this context what occurs in the group should be understood in terms of intra-group psychological forces. The relationship between consultant and group and the social system (conference) which contains it are not thought to cause or determine the group's behavior. It is also assumed that the expert authority behaves rationally and that if there is non-cooperation by the group, the explanation is sought in the group's inner irrationality. This type of thinking bears a striking resemblance to what Newton and Levinson (1973) call "blaming the subordinate," a variation on Ryan's (1971) "blaming the victim" ideology.

One implication of this orientation is that since resistance is the result of intragroup forces, reduction of resistance will necessitate a change on the part of the group. Astrachan (in press) states that the consultant will comment on issues when they become problematic for the group. These problems are believed to result from

irrational forces within the group. If the group wants to achieve the task, it follows then that they would deal with these irrational forces in some attempt to control their influence. Thus learning in a Tavistock group would depend on the controlled emergence of irrational group forces (basic assumption activity). We say controlled, because by definition these forces may interfere with the work group activity of studying them.

We are now faced with the question of how these aspects of culture influence the study group? There are several phenomena which reflect the split between rationality and emotion and the implications of this split as outlined above. The consultant does not express emotion as this would compromise the task. There are discussions about whether the group should analyze or express feelings, or whether the group should work or play. Work is associated with frustration and intellectual activity; emotional gratification is connected with comfort, defensiveness and resistance. Activities are seen as either rational or irrational. Consultants' comments focus on non-task oriented needs as the source of problems in working. The groups respond to comments with attempts to change the group so that the problem no longer exists. An example of this is that all groups respond to comments regarding dependency by trying to

become more independent with regard to the consultant.

The Tavistock culture is also directly related to the process of scapegoating as described in Chapter 3. The scapegoat's behavior is viewed as a problem. The source of the problem as interpreted by the group is irrational motivation on the part of the scapegoat. The scapegoats frequently attempt to defend themselves on the basis of work related aspects of their behavior. This is to no avail since problems are only the result of irrational forces. In viewing the problem, the groups never consider their relationship with the scapegoat or the context in which behavior occurs. The problem results from some intrapsychic forces within the scapegoat. The reader will note that this attitude is striking in its similarity to the way the consultant views and comments on "problems" in the group.

It was stated earlier that according to the Tavistock culture, learning about group dynamics necessitates the controlled emergence of basic assumption or nonrational phenomena. We have also seen, in the task section that the goal of learning has been displaced by the goal of being a good Tavistock group. Thus the controlled emergence of these phenomena has become a goal in itself. It is our contention that scapegoating is a method of controlling impulses that emerge and are felt to be threaten-

ing to the goal of being a good group. This control is accomplished by the projection of these shared impulses into the scapegoat who then symbolizes them and is controlled by the group. This method is consistent with the culture of the group. While this approach compromises the task of understanding these forces, it does help to achieve the goal of being a good Tavistock group which has become primary at this point.

Social Structure

Let us now address ourselves to two aspects of the social structure which appear to contribute to the selection of scapegoating as a means of control. First, the role of member is left mostly undefined. There is the expectation that the member wants to learn, and will allow himself to be researched. However, members can function in any way they please within legality and the external boundaries of the exercise. How they are to relate to the task of studying themselves in the here and now, how they will relate to the consultant (across the internal boundary), and how they will relate to each other in working are left undefined. The exercise is designed this way following the idea that nondirectiveness will lead to the emergence of certain phenomena whose source is within the group since members had the freedom to act as they pleased. We will

see, in the process section, that this lack of definition leads to a great deal of confusion and then to attempts to define a way of working.

A second related aspect of the social structure is the fact that no one (neither consultant nor group) is given the authority to define or enforce a definition of role for group members with regard to the work. Individuals have the right to do this for themselves. If the group is to come to a definition of how members will relate to the task, to the authority and to each other it will be based on the agreement of the individual members to this definition and to abide by it. In this context consensus becomes very important.

This situation presents a dilemma for the consultant. As we have noted previously, he is the person with primary responsibility for task achievement in the study group. He realizes the importance of internal integration with regard to this end. Yet his responsibility for internal group events far exceeds his capacity to control them. He can act decisively in relation to the external boundaries. Regarding internal events he can withdraw or demand and enforce a member's withdrawal from the group (this is rarely done and is usually done only in cases of violations of legality or where a member shows genuine decompensation). However, the consultant lacks managerial authority which is appropriate to the learning task.

This dilemma increases the possibility that the consultant will use his facilitative authority to gain control of the group. We believe that one way this is accomplished is by the consultant's only commenting on specific problems— those with the method or in relation to the consultant. This is combined with not commenting on the fact that the group uses these comments to lead them in the correction of problems when the correction is in line with the consultant's image of the good Tavistock group. Let me illustrate this point by describing an incident which occurred in the first session of group 13.

For the first 10 minutes of the session members were occupied with getting to know each other. At this point the group started to discuss how to proceed:

A: I'm eager to define a task because I feel uncomfortable with being in the group with nothing to do and no starting point. If I can find a task we can move— if that task is okay or some other one — we need a starting point.

B: Our task is to learn about group dynamics. Is that what it is (asking others who say yes). Maybe we can do some exercise. I can't see sitting around communicating and analyzing— we'll be self conscious. We should do an exercise and examine it later.

Consultant: The group escapes from the task into the safety of the past or a pretend exercise. (Following this there are some questions which the consultant doesn't answer)

G: If we are escaping there must be something other than process.

BA: I don't think we should do an exercise.
Let's see what's happening here – what
people are feeling.

(Various people now speak about their feelings
about the current situation. Notice that the
consultant clearly derogates the idea of an
exercise by labeling it an escape and pretend.
In addition she never comments on the fact
that her comment may have been the sole reason
for rejecting the idea of doing an exercise.)

What does this situation contribute to the process
of scapegoating? You will notice, in this example, that
the consultant focuses only on the problematic, irrational
aspect of this behavior – as if escape and defensiveness
were the only motivation for the conversation. The use
of the words escape, safety and pretend imply that the
group has a clear idea of what it is supposed to do. The
alternatives being discussed are merely attempts to avoid
the task because of anxiety. She thus connects this pro-
blem (how to do it) solely to the group's desire to resist.
The group apparently accepts this interpretation and moves
in the desired direction. Comments of this type involve a
denial of the possibility that group members may be genu-
inely confused about how to proceed or that there may be
some legitimate grounds for the alternatives mentioned.
They imply that alternatives to the "here and now" proce-
dure are merely resistance.

It appears that one of the effects of this type of
interpretation is to deny the role of the Tavistock method
and structure in the confusion which is experienced.

It places all responsibility for this "problem" in the group. This seems to be functional in terms of getting the group to move in the right direction methodologically. It is also consistent with the cultural explanation of such phenomena. However, this approach clearly acts as a constraint on the group's ability to understand the phenomena in question and the part played by vague task and role definitions.

When one looks at the process of scapegoating it is evident that the same kind of analysis is being used. The group experiences a difficulty and places the responsibility and source of the difficulty in one individual. The interpretations which compose the attacks all deny the influence of situational and group factors in the scapegoat's behavior. This behavior is viewed as resulting only from negative, irrational motivation within the individual. Again this is functional in terms of the task of being a good group, in that it is associated with group movement in the desired direction. The projection of resistant impulses into the scapegoat allows other members to act appropriately.

One has to wonder why the consultants never comment on these activities as being an example of scapegoating despite the fact that scapegoating and projection are acknowledged as common phenomena in groups of this sort. We

feel the answer lies in the fact that the consultants share with the groups in the displacement of task. Scapegoating is apparently functional with regard to the group's movement in the direction of adhering to correct methods, even if somewhat dysfunctional in terms of understanding. Since one of the consultant's functions is to comment on issues that become problems, we must conclude that the consultants do not perceive these scapegoating incidents as importantly problematic. We suggest that this is the case because the scapegoating leads to movement in the direction of being a good group which has become equated with task-achievement in the consultant's mind.

Let us summarize what we have said thus far. The lack of definition of the role of member leads to some confusion about how to work. The role requirements of the consultant (nondirectiveness, incognito, neutrality) restrict him from telling the group what to do or making them "work" yet he has primary responsibility for the success of the enterprise. This state of affairs leads to the consultant using his facilitative role to try to control the group. From what we have observed this is demonstrated in making selective comments (about "problems") which imply that the causes of the problems are in the groups and may indicate directions for change.

If this interpretation of problems is accepted by the group it implies that a reduction of problems must result from a change in the group. Since no one has the legitimate authority to demand this, the change will depend on the consensual agreement of group members. Scapegoating appears to be a means of reducing conflict and facilitating consensual agreement regarding a particular movement by the group. This involves projecting a "problem" into a scapegoat. Perhaps this is why a number of authors have explained scapegoating as the projection of guilt. While we agree that this is involved, it appears to be only one aspect of the phenomenon.

At this point we would like to suggest that the Tavistock exercise is structured in a way that is reminiscent of the childhood experience of socialization. Socialization can be defined as teaching a child the role requirements of child (and later adult) in the particular family within a particular society. The parent delegated this responsibility by society, usually the mother, functions as both expert and manager.

The child, who has practically no authority, does not know how to function "correctly" in attempting to meet his or her needs. Therefore the parent must communicate the requirements and influence the child so that he abides by them. The parent must teach the child how to function in ways that are consonant with the culture.

At this juncture it may be argued that this analogy breaks down because of the fact that the Tavistock consultant does not have the managerial authority of the parent with regard to the enforcement of role requirements. However it has been demonstrated in numerous instances (Stone and Church, 1973), that it is not necessary to bring direct managerial sanctions against a child to influence him to fulfill these requirements. The withdrawal of love, approval, and guilt induction are alternate ways of accomplishing this end. In fact these alternatives may be more effective in accomplishing rigid adherence to requirements than the use of managerial sanctions (i.e. physical punishment, withdrawal of privileges, firm limit setting). It has also been shown that children whose parents do not utilize managerial authority to set limits but only tell the child when he does something wrong may develop very rigid self-control. These children frequently rely on defensive maneuvers to help them control themselves.

We would hold that the structural characteristics of the Tavistock small group exercise are similar to those of the family. Following Newton (1973), we suggest that this provides a structural basis for the occurrence of feelings, thoughts and behaviors characteristic of that earlier period (transference). We would further postulate that the early stages of the Tavistock group constitute a process of socialization with regard to the role of member. If transference

feelings are important for the occurrence of role socialization, it should follow that the ability of the consultant to stimulate these feelings would enhance this process. This idea seems to be borne out by our data.

We stated above that it is usually the mother who is given the responsibility for socialization. In Chapter 3 we noted that the groups seem to pass through a sequence of stages associated with different aspects of the role of member. Our observations also show that groups consulted to by females pass through these stages faster (accompanied by more scapegoating). In addition, the group which passes through the least number of phases is group 11. This is the only group, of the four, with a consultant who is known to the members in another context (teacher in the graduate seminar) — a factor which may interfere with transference.

We are now in a position to view scapegoating as a method by which group members control impulses which would interfere with adherence to the role requirements of the good group member. This comes about in the context of a particular socialization process. The authority does not set or enforce limits, but only comments on problems when they occur. These comments place the source of the problems in the group. The group then must rely on itself to control impulses which would conflict with becoming a good Tavistock group. This, in turn, depends on the agreement of

group members as to what the requirements are, and to abide by them.

Role socialization is facilitated by the development of a specialized role, scapegoat. The person associated with this role serves as the receptacle of projections of impulses which conflict with the requirements of good group member. Successful projection allows other members to agree to fulfill requirements. At the same time the scapegoat can also serve as an object for the projection of guilt due to nonfulfillment.

Social Process

Let us finally examine the social process as it relates to scapegoating. In our examination we will attempt to show the interaction of task, culture and social structure.

Displacement of Task

In the beginning of the group there is a great deal of disorder due to the ambiguous nature of the task and the lack of structure. There are apparently several different notions of what the task is specifically and how to approach it. The group soon comes to the conclusion that it must define the task and a way of working if they are to accomplish anything. In the course of these discussions it also becomes clear that the consultant will not direct the group, but will only comment on problems. Thus the

order which will result from the necessary definitions will be based on the group's ability to achieve consensus.

What is the consultant perceiving at this time? The consultant does not perceive or at least does not acknowledge that the task is ambiguous. He views this disorder as resulting from lack of knowledge of correct methods and/or defenses against certain feelings associated with the task (resistance). The group should be talking about their experiences in the here and now regarding such issues as anxiety about lack of structure. Thus as facilitator he sees this as a "problem" interfering with task achievement and comments on it as such (i.e., the group is avoiding the task). The effect of such a comment is to deny that in fact the task is ambiguous and to make the problem one of method. The difficulty is no longer with what the task is but how to do it correctly (how to be a good Tavistock group).

In all the groups we studied, the members come to the same conclusion. They come to view the confusion as resulting from resistance or not knowing how to do it correctly. There seem to be two reasons for viewing the consultant as the source of this information. First, while the consultant does not teach, he is designated as an expert in Tavistock groups by the conference organization. In addition, he behaves in ways that indicate that he does in fact know what should be done (commenting that certain methods are

avoidance). Furthermore, by indicating that the source of problems is in the group, he implies that their reduction depends on some change in the group.

This situation is enhanced by the development of transference feelings on the part of members. We noted that the Tavistock group is structured in a way which is reminiscent of the family in early childhood. Thus it stimulates feelings and ideas which are characteristic during that period. The consultant is seen as omniscient and members are desirous of gaining his approval. The consultant does not directly approve or disapprove but he does comment on problems. These statements are viewed as criticism (i.e., "The consultant has criticized us for being too dependent."). There is an attempt to avoid these criticisms by doing what it is felt that the consultant wants.

Role Socialization

The group now proceeds through the process of socialization mentioned under social structure. This process is aimed at defining and gaining adherence to the role of the Tavistock group member. It seems to take place in a sequence that is related to three stages of group development observed in these groups.

Stage 1: What is the work of the member

As we have stated previously learning involves the

production of data (Basic Assumption activity) and the analysis or study of this data. While members have an awareness that both are necessary, the two aspects are split and seen as conflicting. The groups view the production of data of underlying processes (feelings, thoughts, phantasies, images, memories) and studying (analysis) as conflicting or interfering with one another. This idea is consistent with the Tavistock culture as described previously. In addition, it conforms to the academic culture of which this conference is a part. In the academic culture objectivity (necessary for gaining knowledge) and feelings are viewed as separate and conflicting. Discussions in the groups center around intellect vs. feelings, control vs. lack of control and analysis vs. the production of data.

As the group is discussing this issue they are becoming aware of the consultant's style which is analytical and devoid of expressions of emotion. The consultant seems only to make "objective" comments about underlying processes. The group seems to conclude that it is their job to produce data (express feelings) and it's the consultant's job to analyze the data. Thus the differentiation of the consultant (noted in Chapter 3 as a precursor to scapegoating) is accompanied by an implicit division of labor. In group 10 the consultant states that "The group acts as if the consultant alone is responsible for learning."

This division of labor appears to be accompanied by two types of anxiety. Since members are at least vaguely aware that learning will not result from merely expressing feelings, there is the fear that the task will not be accomplished. Slater (1966) points out that this fear is commonly associated with a particular phantasy at this point in the group. This phantasy is that the consultant will tell the group all the answers at the end. There also appear to be fears concerning loss of control. The issues of trust, fear of getting hurt and fear that things will get out of hand arise at this point.

The first scapegoat appears to symbolize these fears and impulses to defend against them (intellectualization, isolation of affect, imposing structure for the purpose of control). The defenses are negative because they would interfere with the expression of feelings. The scapegoats are seen as intellectualizing, avoiding feelings, panicked and desirous of control. Prior to the attack they seem to be used by the group in the service of these defenses. In group 10 the scapegoat is told that he changes the level of conversation whenever the group talks about feelings. It is true that the scapegoat does introduce intellectual issues at certain points. However, the group always engages in a discussion of these issues with the scapegoat.

The attack seems to represent the culmination of the process of projection. In other words, at this point the

scapegoat is the only one experiencing these feelings. He is the one who needs to be controlled and is responsible for the consequences of these feelings.

Stage 2: How do members relate to the authority

The next major issue that the groups deal with is how to relate to the consultant. In the beginning of the session where this occurs the consultant is isolated in the seating. This would indicate that there is a somewhat rigid internal boundary in existence. A good illustration of this rigidity is an event that occurred in one of the groups. The consultant was isolated from the group by an empty seat on either side. A member attempted to sit in one of the seats and was told to get back in his place. He did this immediately.

All the groups experience themselves as being in conflict with the consultants. In group 12 a member says "I don't want to do what they want me to do." The group spends the next 15 minutes playing with a rubber ball which hits the consultant a number of times. This is accompanied by the expression of anger directly toward the consultant.

There seem to be two sources of this conflict. Because of the transference which has developed members are desirous of gratification of dependency needs from the consultant. Since members are oriented toward the consultant in this way there is a good deal of competition between them for his

approval. What he says is more important than what other members say. Members feel ignored in relation to the consultant. This state of affairs leads to difficulty in developing the cohesiveness desired by members at this point. However, the members do not acknowledge these dependency needs and thus experience the consultant as manipulating and interfering in cohesiveness.

A second source of the conflict is the division of labor which has occurred. The reader will recall that the group felt that analysis and expression of feelings were in conflict. Since the consultant is associated with analysis and the group with feelings, the conflict is now between the consultant and the group. The consultant is associated with work, analysis and the frustration of emotional needs. The group is identified with feelings, gratification and irrationality. This in effect makes the group dependent on the consultant for the accomplishment of learning.

The inability to act independently is viewed as a problem by both consultant and group. While the consultant feels this is due to dependency needs and the group sees it as due to manipulation, both agree that the issue is how the group can be more independent. The two sources of conflict mentioned above are fused in discussions of whether the group should work or play, the consultants vs. the

groups, whether the group should throw the consultant out and dependence vs. counterdependence.

Internalization of control by the group (independence) presents a problem at this point because of the conflict due to division of labor mentioned above. Since the consultant is associated with the task, internalization of control might mean the destruction of the task. In group 10 it is suggested that the group remove or ignore the consultant. Other members respond by saying that this would not be dealing with the issue, there would be no learning and that the group might fall apart.

In order to become more independent the group has to come to terms with their dependency needs toward the consultant. This in fact is what the consultants comment on at this time. However the conflict between the group and the consultant interferes with the consideration of these issues. This is seen as another attempt by the consultant to manipulate the group and interfere. Thus the group must reduce the conflict between the consultant and the group if it is to internalize control.

Anger at the consultant and the notions that the consultant is manipulating the group, that gratification is more important than being a good group and that the consultant is interfering in this are lumped under the heading of counterdependence. Counterdependence is then viewed as a defense which interferes with attempts to deal

with dependency needs so that the group can achieve independence. The second scapegoats serve as symbols of counterdependence. While the groups engage in counterdependent activity with these people they are viewed as the only members having these feelings and responsible for these activities.

In group 10, S wants to remove the consultant who she says interferes with cohesiveness. The group does not like the idea. S moves her seat out of the circle. The group, which has been discussing feelings about the consultant, now engages in a long discussion with S about her feelings. During this discussion, the consultant and anything she says are ignored. The consultant finally comments that S has been set up to engage in a power struggle with the consultant. A few minutes later S is attacked for manipulating the group, being counterdependent and competing with the consultant.

After this projective process is accomplished, the groups talk about dependency feelings and the fact that they are really responsible for what is going on. They have apparently internalized control and identified with the consultant to some extent. The culmination of this phase is seen in the taking of the consultant's seat by a member in the following session. In group 13 this is followed by a discussion of leadership and the phantasy of different group members acting as consultant.

Stage 3: How do members relate to each other

This stage seems to revolve around the issue of competition for leadership within the group. Having internalized control, the issue is how do we run ourselves? It will be remembered that the Tavistock group is structured so that members have equal authority (no hierarchy). Members do not have the authority to change this structure. Second, since the goal is to become a good Tavistock group, a solution would be needed which adapts to this structure. Third, as we have noted previously, effective decisions will have to be based on consensus. Discussions at this time are concerned with: the rights of individuals vs. the rights of the group; control vs. lack of control; hierarchy vs. equality. Both groups that pass through this stage come to cooperation and consensus of equals as a solution.

Competitiveness and defense against disorder through hierarchical structure are seen as negative since they would interfere in this solution. These feelings are projected into the third scapegoats. They symbolize competitiveness stimulated by the internalization of control of the group. When the consultant was viewed as in control there was no question of internal leadership. These people are also associated with the desire to control the disorder which might result from independence, through the imposition of a hierarchical structure.

These scapegoats are accused of wanting to be the only

leader, the teacher and of thinking they are better than everyone else. They are also blamed for the competition which has taken place. Again these people have taken part in competition, but others have done so as well. The attack, once more, appears to represent the culmination of the projective process. It is followed by discussions of how different people lead at different times, and how the group has developed with people feeling closer and more cohesive.

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusions

We have seen that scapegoating is a method of controlling certain conflicts by projection. It aids members in functioning in ways that further the task of being a good Tavistock group. The conflicts involved are intimately related to the task, social structure and culture of the group. Those people selected to serve this function (as symbol) occupy positions low in the social structure and behave in ways that make them appropriate objects of projection. This behavior is the result of an interaction between the group and the individual, but is perceived to stem only from within the individual. The attacks on the scapegoat represent the culmination of a process of projection and an attempt to control those impulses that the scapegoat now symbolizes.

The method used to achieve these ends (role induction) involves stimulation of a particular behavior on the part of an individual, who is then told that only his underlying motivation is responsible for this behavior. This is similar to the way the consultant interacts with the group. That is, the design of the exercise and the consultant act in ways that interact with the personalities of members to

result in consequences that conflict with the method. These consequences are seen as "problems" whose source is in the irrationality of the group.

The particular way in which the conflicts are resolved and the characteristics and values associated with the scapegoat are consonant with the culture of the group. This is also true of the way the group understands the "problem" behavior.

The question we are now left with is why does the group choose this method of resolving conflicts. We feel that the answer lies in two factors: 1) the fact that neither the consultant nor the group has the authority to define and enforce the role requirements of member; 2) task displacement. We have pointed out that any effective decision regarding role requirements of members has to involve consensual agreement. While the group could use majority vote, this would be meaningless because no one has the authority to enforce the decision. If the majority took it upon themselves to do this it would be at the risk of the minority deciding to leave, thus jeopardizing the group. Therefore, consensus has the advantage of decisions which people will voluntarily adhere to.

Ideally, consensus on method (role requirements being related to method) would be based on information regarding task achievement within cultural bounds. In other words,

role requirements would be based on the most effective way of achieving the task. If task is vague or difficult to assess, consensus will have to be reached on other grounds. Uniformity of belief, values, speculations or feelings might serve as the basis for consensus. Scapegoating seems to be a way of achieving this uniformity.

There is an additional factor. Where the task is displaced by the method it becomes more important to be good (follow the method) than to be effective (task achievement). If the consequences of the method itself interfere with task achievement, scapegoating will preserve the idea that the method is good (by placing the fault outside of the method). This will also preserve consensus, around method, but will clearly not correct the problem with regard to the achievement of the original task. Thus the possibility of scapegoating being sustained by a system is increased where the task is displaced by the method as was the case in the groups we studied.

We would now like to discuss our findings in relation to existing research and theory on the phenomenon of scapegoating. The results of this study indicate an interaction between the psychodynamic and sociological aspects of the phenomenon discussed in Chapter 1. We find that scapegoating involves the creation of a specialized role. The function of this role for the group is the furtherance of solidification of norms, group identity and cohesiveness. This

is accomplished by projection of impulses, which conflict with norms, into the person associated with the role. This person serves as specialist in and symbol of these impulses. This is supported in previous research done by psycho-dynamicists (Dunphy, 1968; Mann, 1967; Ringwald, 1974), and those with a sociological orientation (Dentler and Erikson, 1959; Erikson, 1966; Szasz, 1970; Tumin, 1950).

What does the demonstration of this interaction add to our understanding? If the psychodynamic perspective is taken alone, we are left with the question of why certain conflicts are handled in this way (projection) and others are not? We now see that those conflicts which interfere with cohesiveness will be dealt with in this way. On the other hand, if the sociological perspective were taken alone we would not understand how or why scapegoating leads to an increase in solidarity. Given the interaction, we can say that scapegoating is used when shared group conflicts interfere with the solidification and maintenance of norms necessary for group identity and solidarity.

Even if we understand this interaction, we must still ask ourselves why these particular conflicts arise, are an interference and are handled in this way (scapegoating)? We believe that we have been able to demonstrate the utility of a sociopsychological model in attempting to answer these questions. We have shown, in Chapter 4, that the conflicts

which arose were intimately related to the nature of the task, social structure and culture of the groups studied. In addition, we have seen that the probability of using scapegoating as a method of conflict reduction is increased by certain organizational factors. In the present study these factors were: 1) the displacement of the original task by the methodology used to achieve it; 2) the dependence on group consensus for adherence to methodological norms; 3) the presence, in the culture, of an ideology well suited for use in scapegoating.

In this study, we found that the task of learning was displaced by the task of being a good Tavistock group. To achieve the latter it was necessary that members follow the rules alone. However, adherence to the rules was based on consensual agreement (social structure). To the extent that shared conflicts interfered with this, they were bad and had to be removed to become a good group. Scapegoating served to allow for consensus through the reduction of these conflicts by projection. It had the additional advantage of placing the blame for negative consequences (conflicts) outside of the method. This served to further the idea that the method was good and in line with the task.

Let us now address ourselves to the results regarding the characteristics of the scapegoat. We have found that the characteristics of the people selected as scapegoats

were related to the characteristics of the conflicts and role they were associated with (i.e. intellectualizer, counterdependent, competitor). This is supported by a number of other studies (Bell and Vogel, 1964; Dunphy, 1968; Mann, 1967; Ringwald, 1974). We have also seen that the people who function as scapegoats are often subtly encouraged by the group in the activity for which they are attacked. This has also been found to be the case in studies relating scapegoating to the family (Bell and Vogel, 1964; Bermann, 1973), delinquency (Johnson, 1949), mental illness (Cornwell, 1967), and crime (Erikson, 1966).

Our results seem to contradict those authors who indicate that the scapegoat is a passive victim whose chief characteristic is weakness (Cornwell, 1967, Schick, 1971). We found that the scapegoat interacts in the process, although his goal is not to get himself scapegoated. In fact the scapegoats appear to be attempting to work at the same task as the rest of the group. Due to the interaction of their own personality and the group, they do this in ways which make them appropriate objects of projection.

We believe that the attribution of weakness to the scapegoat is due to two factors. In this and the previous studies the scapegoats occupy a low position in the social structure — a position which carries lower authority and status. Examples from previous studies are children in the

family (Bell and Vogel, 1964; Cornwell, 1967; Johnson, 1949), Negroes (Allport, 1954), Jews (Schick, 1971). Secondly, since the scapegoat role has been seen as being imposed on the individual by the group, the thinking has been that only a weak person could have this done to him. It is our belief, with regard to this study, that the scapegoats' personalities led them to react in a particular, somewhat extreme fashion to shared group conflicts. This was met by subtle reinforcement from the group and resulted in the scapegoats' specialization in and symbolization of certain impulses.

We would now like to turn to one of the most important implications of this study. It was found that scapegoating involves the creation of a role (aspect of social structure) in the service of conflict reduction. We have seen that the nature and occurrence of the conflicts and the choice of scapegoating as a method of reducing them are intimately related to the task, social structure and culture of the group. It follows then that while the selection of the role performer is the result of an interaction between the group and the individual, the role itself and its enactment at any given time are determined by group forces. Thus we may prevent a particular individual from being scapegoated by changing his interaction with the group, but this probably will not prevent scapegoating in the system. Bell and Vogel (1964) found that a family that needs a scapegoat

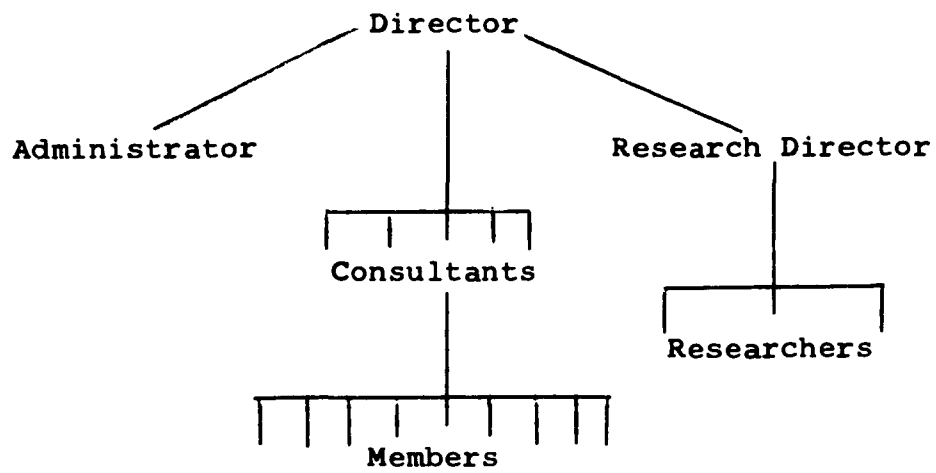
will scapegoat. Even if the child does not have the characteristics to make him an ideal target, he will be scapegoated nonetheless, if there is no one better to play the role.

If this conclusion is correct, interventions aimed at preventing the phenomenon of scapegoating must be made at the group or organizational level. This has far reaching implications for the way we deal with phenomena such as prejudice, mental illness, crime and poverty. At present most of our treatments are aimed at the individuals who exhibit these problems. This may be the reason why we seem to be ineffective at reducing the incidence of these social problems. Several authors have, in fact, suggested that the only way to effectively deal with problems of this type are by changes in the system which is their source (Erikson, 1966; Ryan, 1971).

In conclusion, we believe we have accomplished the two aims set forth in the beginning of this paper. We feel we have extended our knowledge of scapegoating and have demonstrated the utility of a sociopsychological model in studying social phenomena. At the very least we have provided the first detailed description of the scapegoating phenomenon to date. We hope this can serve as the basis for further research of scapegoating in other contexts. We feel this would facilitate the possibility and effectiveness of more controlled studies aimed at manipulating the phenomenon.

Appendix

TABLE OF ORGANIZATION FOR TAVISTOCK GROUP
RELATIONS TRAINING CONFERENCE



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