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Cultural identity and intergroup relations

Walker, Martin, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

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CULTURAL IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

by

MARTIN WALKER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree on Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1993

c 1993

Martin Walker

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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.

10/21/92
Date

Laurence J. Gould
Chair of the Examining Committee

1/15/93
Date

Herbert D. Seltzstein
Executive Officer

Laurence J. Gould, Ph.D.

Kenneth Eisold, Ph.D.

William King, Ph.D.
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

by

Martin Walker

Sponsor: Professor Laurence J. Gould

The dissertation examines the interaction of African American, Latino and White groups engaged in an experimental organizational system. Using methodology which arises from the intergroup behavior literature of Tajfel, Doise, etc. and open systems theories developed by Rice, Miller, etc. at the Tavistock Institute, I develop an experiential learning conference which examines cultural identity and group dynamics by way of its structure, literature, and the participation of a multi-ethnic membership and staff. The format of this experiential learning workshop on group and intergroup processes also allows for data collection and offers participants valuable opportunities for learning about cultural identity and intergroup processes.

Using the open systems and socio-psychological approaches to intergroup relations, the dissertation examines differences in group boundaries, representation, and authority relations.

The method for this is observation and data gathering during a group relations conference attended by 32 professionals and students, both graduate and undergraduate. Time-series domain data on leadership, representation, and the management of group boundaries, is recorded live using paper and pencil instruments. Observers also tape record descriptions after each group event for later transcription and qualitative analysis of narrative data. Collection of data by these two methods allows empirical cross checking of narrative data and provides descriptions of both group and intergroup processes, as well as group profiles. These are then used to generate hypotheses about how group cultural identity affects collaboration within multi-ethnic systems of organization.

Initial analysis of the data confirms the impression which arose during the conference that collaboration across cultural and ethnic boundaries is extremely difficult when issues of ethnicity which are not normally addressed in institutions are made conscious and openly addressed. This study does not attempt to address notions of culturally specific ethnic group behaviors, but rather examines the manner in which intergroup dynamics such as differentiation, competition, projection, and projective-identification manifest themselves in a multi-ethnic system.

The results throw light on how the perception of ethnic differences is socially constructed and strongly supports an alternative view to race or genetically based theories of ethnic differences. The data confirms Harold and Bridger's observation that emotional qualities are differentially distributed across the different groups in an intergroup event. The meaning of these differences are then examined in relation to other group variables and suggest that intergroup dynamics can serve as a convenient "confirmation" of stereotypes. Differences in sentience around ethnic categories are found to account for different styles of leadership and subsequent addressing of tasks.

This study concludes with a detailed examination of the projective processes which coincide with stereotyping behaviors, and elaborates on Bion's model to explain them. Future research should examine these same processes using different ethnic categories and should address the absence of Bion's basic assumption pairing in multi-ethnic settings.

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This project came to fruition only as a result of a great deal of collaboration among and within many groups in the real world.

First there are the group relations "elders" associated with the City College Clinical Psychology program and the New York Center of the A.K. Rice Institute and spearheaded by Laurence Gould and Kenneth Eisold. Interspersed with them were the providers of inspiration and/or technical advice such as Anderson J. Franklin, William King, Zeborah Schachtel, Kathy White and Rose Washington.

The various groups represented by some of these individuals provided a backdrop to the efforts the group which staffed the group relations conference and which was headed by Stanley Deloach. Stanley's unstinting dedication to truth and clarity of purpose permeates both the theoretical and practical aspects of this dissertation.

Beryl Fox, Ilene Greene, Shelley Hooe, Sarah Marsh, and Dave Rawlins formed the group of researchers whose

dedication to the task provided the operations and the concrete data which forms the core of this study.

Beryl's ubiquitous support has been an essential part of my development as both a researcher and a psychologist.

Naturally, the participants in this study represent the one group without whom this work could never have been completed. If each received even one hundredth of what I was provided by their dedication to understanding the personally painful subject of this study, then all the efforts to that end were worthwhile.

Less obvious, yet equally essential to my own capacity to bring this project to fruition is the role of my family group, every member of which has contributed something to me personally. To my mother and father I dedicate this work and to my children, Aura and Auro-Free, I owe the debt of understanding.

I am profoundly grateful to Regina Quintero who stood by and supported me during most difficult parts of this long process. And, specially, for keeping the lines of communication open to the Latino parts of myself. Finally, I must acknowledge Dr. Sue Shapiro, without whom I would not have grown sufficiently as a person to bring this about.

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I. INTRODUCTION.

I once had the opportunity to spend a year and a half in an international, intercultural community in the South of India which at one point was almost overcome by internal strife. There were substantial manifest reasons for the infighting, but none of these seemed to be as important as the fact that the participants, all of whom came from a wide variety of nations and cultural backgrounds, assumed that because they spoke a common language that they were able to understand one another. In fact, there seemed to be powerful unacknowledged forces which interfered with communications across cultural, ethnic, and nation of origin boundaries.

This project is an exploration of the nature of some of these forces, whose operation are currently being seen in the renewed attention being given to relations between different racial and ethnic groups in American society today.

The central issue examined in this study is how to understand the impact of cultural and ethnic identity on intergroup relationships in the real world. To that end I will examine theories of intergroup relations and how ethnicity and culture may impact these, and then present a methodology to measure these processes in vivo, i.e. when they are occurring. In order to lay the groundwork for this endeavor I will review a variety of literatures which touch on these processes.

First I will describe social psychology theories of intergroup relations in order to explain what is known about the relations between groups as social categories. I will then focus on the open systems socio-psychological approach to group relations which brings with it a framework for describing the role of individual personality, group, and intergroup dynamics in group behavior. I will end this review with a discussion of "imbedded" intergroup theory, one which utilizes the two theoretical perspectives mentioned above to guide organizational diagnoses and interventions.

Following this review, and prior to presenting a formal methodology for a study of culture and intergroup dynamics, I will discuss a current perspective on the problems inherent in psychological research on racial differences and present a conceptual model for understanding culture and ethnicity in organizational systems. Also, I will present a discussion of indigenous psychologies of individuality as a possible framework for relating culture to interpersonal and intergroup dynamics before proposing a set of hypotheses generating variables which will guide my study. I hope by that time to have explained my own social constructionist view of culture, ethnicity and race, and the reasons for which I explicitly reject genetic theories of racial or ethnic differences along with their pernicious social and political consequences.

II. A Review of the Literature

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO INTERGROUP PHENOMENA.

Introduction:

Social psychology's approach to group relations draws its strength from extensive field work and rigorous experimentation. As will be described below, the way in which this area of study has evolved makes it almost naturally cross-cultural, since so many intergroup relations in the world take place across ethnic and cultural boundaries.

This review starts with a look at how the phenomena described at the intergroup level have been seen as unique to that level of analysis and how this has contributed to the understanding of ethnocentrism and the effects of social status differentials among different groups. After this I will take a detailed look at the functions of stereotyping behavior, emphasizing the importance of group stereotyping for maintaining differentiation between groups, and describe social categorization theory. Finally, a critique will be offered of the work in this area to date, and questions are asked as to where to go from there in terms of applying this level of analysis to intercultural intergroup phenomena.

Intergroup Relations as a Distinct Area of Study:

One of the earliest phenomena examined by social psychologists was prejudice, in the sense of holding derogatory attitudes about a particular social group. Previous theories about prejudice which had focused on individual personality dynamics, such as the development of an authoritarian personality, had ignored socio-cultural factors which could explain such things as the uniformity of prejudice and the form in which it is represented within particular societies and subcultures. (Brown, 1988) In short, they didn't consider phenomena which was occurring on a group level, that which also supersedes interpersonal interaction.

An early finding in experiments which compared individual relationships with intergroup relationships showed that interpersonal friendships between individuals can be washed out by subsequent membership in competing groups. (Sherif and Sherif, 1953) There is also a great deal of subsequent experimental evidence which shows that "the effects of group membership can overwhelm the unfolding of interpersonal relations." (Tajfel, 1982, p.15)

Thus, in an attempt to focus exclusively on intergroup phenomena, social psychologists have gone from examining the relationship of individual processes to intergroup phenomena to looking at the effects of group membership itself. The latter has often taken the form

of an examination of ethnicity and intergroup processes because ethnicity as a form of group membership has traditionally been the most salient point of departure for thinking about intergroup phenomena in American society. Individual differences are also seen as relatively insignificant to this analysis because it has been assumed that when looking at a variety of groups, their effects will largely balance each other out. It is also possible that early intergroup researchers were somewhat awed by the strength and resilience of the intergroup effects which they uncovered, and for awhile have focused on that exclusively.

Tajfel (1978) distinguished between interpersonal and intergroup phenomena by describing interpersonal behavior as that which arises out of unique personal characteristics while intergroup behavior being that which had its origin in group membership and wherein one was acting as a group member. In this model all behavior can be placed somewhere on a continuum between the two poles of interpersonal and intergroup with the criteria for the location of any particular behavior being determined by the presence or absence of implied social categories like race and gender, the uniformity or idiosyncrasy of the behavior, and the degree of uniformity in revealed attitudes towards members of another group. With this in mind, theories of intergroup behavior would focus on the social relations

of individuals as group members which are characterized by a high degree of uniformity both within the group and in regards to the way in which members of another group are perceived.

The ubiquity of uniform perceptions in intergroup settings is clearly seen in the strength of stereotypical images, both toward outgroups and toward ingroups themselves. This very pervasive character of intergroup interactions has been seen as determined almost exclusively by group membership rather than personal relations or individual characteristics. It has also been repeatedly observed that behaviors and attitudes towards members of outgroups tend to be uniform and that an "undifferentiation" process occurs in the representation of others. This refers to a process whereby perceptions of the behavior and characteristics of outgroup members show a tremendous decrease in variability leading to those persons becoming part of a largely undifferentiated social category. (Tajfel, 1982) Thus there arises a situation which can be characterized as moving from the notion of "they all look alike" to increasingly, "they" are all alike. "The endpoint of this process in the 'depersonalization' and 'dehumanization' of the outgroup which often occurs in situations of acute intergroup tensions." (p.21) The ingroup version of this process of uniformity and homogenization is most easily seen in the positive sense

of identity that is often engendered by the words "we are one." The importance of this should not be underestimated, and has been highlighted by the fact that minority groups achieve the highest degree of influence in any confrontation with the majority group through the presentation of a viewpoint which is characterized by an unwavering consistency. (Moscovi,1976)

Ethnocentrism and Social Status:

One of the early issues of most interest to social psychologists looking at intergroup phenomena has been ethnocentrism, or the holding of stereotypical attitudes towards the members of another ethnic group, and the effects of social status differentials on intergroup relations. Ethnocentrism has been shown to exist merely as a function of group membership in studies done in Indonesia, a nation which includes over 300 different ethnic groups. These have shown a greater degree of ingroup favoritism and increased outgroup discrimination in Jakarta, where many different groups exist in close contact to one another, than in the provinces where different ethnic groups are far more spread apart.(Jaspars and Warnaen, 1982)

Status differential in itself is responsible for remarkably consistent intergroup effects. Examples of the fact that higher status groups try to minimize attention to status differentials whereas lower status

groups try to magnify them has been demonstrated experimentally in Britain, Switzerland, and Italy. (Tajfel 1982, for review) Another phenomenon is what Katz and Glass (1979) describe as the ambivalence amplification theory toward the stigmatized. They suggest that the ambivalence which American Whites feel over the discrepancies between their general values and the treatment of racial minorities becomes a threat to their self esteem in situations of close contact with those minorities. Therefore, one of the results of contact is a polarization of beliefs and reactions toward minorities that comes about in response to *increased* information about them. In order to resolve the ambivalence of American Whites in one direction or the other, Katz suggest that there is a paradoxical increase in stereotyping, -either positive or negative- as a result of contacts between Whites and racial minorities.

The earliest studies of ethnocentrism focus on its origins in early childhood in terms of the effects of social status differentials on the development of a positive self identity. Experiments conducted in many different countries have shown that children in underprivileged groups consistently show outgroup preference in terms of the dolls they select and those which they describe as being "good." This phenomena of showing preference for dolls which represent the higher status groups indicate that children assimilate social

value systems about groups at a very early age. (Tajfel, 1982, for review) The degree of their sensitivity to group social status has been further demonstrated by the fact that positive change in a groups social status over time decreases the instances of outgroup doll preference among its children. (Vaughn, 1978) Other studies indicate that individuals look toward their ingroup for a positive self image and that in the case of lower status groups, a positive self image can be maintained and increased if that group has strong positive social and cultural characteristics. That the strength of a group's cultural, familial, linguistic, and social identity has something to do with the development of a positive social identity is indicated by a comparative study of West Indian and East Indian communities in Britain. Although children of both groups show outgroup preference in choice of dolls, East Indian children do so less frequently, and comparatively that community is the one which maintains a separate identity more vigorously. That children do in fact suffer from being in an outgroup milieu is indicated by studies of the performance of American Black children in newly desegregated schools which indicate that their performance and expectations were lower than that which is revealed from an independent assessment of their abilities. (Katz, 1973)

The Social Functions of Stereotyping Behavior:

A more general analysis of stereotyping behaviors indicates that there are three basic patterns or types of group stereotypes which are identifiable by the social functions they serve. These would be functions which come about as a result of real historical contexts and which are shared by many members of an ingroup. One is the instance in which an outgroup is chosen as a scapegoat to explain large social disasters which due to their complexity cannot be easily explained in other ways. Another is as a justification for actions planned against an outgroup, and the third simply for the purpose of differentiating ones' particular group from other groups. (Tajfel, 1981) It is this last function that has been most extensively demonstrated experimentally and which is perhaps social psychology's most unique contribution to an understanding of intergroup phenomena because it describes a situation which comes about in an intergroup setting regardless of the cultural or social context.

This phenomena, which Tajfel refers to as the "differentiation function" (p.22) relates to the search for positive group distinctiveness and is described by an approach referred to as social categorization-social identity-social comparison. It turns out that although the presence of intergroup conflicts and competition can readily be seen as a cause of intergroup discrimination,

those conditions are not even necessary for bringing about discrimination. It has been shown in numerous experiments, from the early finding that boys divided up into two groups begin to exhibit competitive intergroup tendencies even before any structured competitive activities are suggested (Sherif, et al, 1961), to the division of groups by such neutral activities as the simple toss of a coin, that the mere existence of social categories is enough to stimulate bias in favor of the ingroup. (Tajfel, 1982)

Social Categorization Theory:

"Social categorization entails much more than the cognitive classification of events, objects, or people. It is a process impregnated by values, culture, and social representations." (p.144) In particular, the role of social identity is a key factor in the development of social categories. Individuals tend to grasp any salient basis for categorization in a multifaceted social milieu and incorporate those features into their own social identity. This in turn leads them to behave in such a way as to maximize these aspects of their identity so as to further the distinctions between different social categories. The end result is a process which enhances social competition between groups and accentuates social category salience.

This process of differentiation in favor of the ingroup occurs as a crucial part of one's social identity and usually overrides other aspects of intergroup relations, at least in experimental settings. (Brewer and Kramer, 1985) It has been shown to hold up even in the joint effort of two social groups to reach a superordinate goal if there is no way available for each group to hold on to their ingroup distinctiveness. In other words, when groups must collaborate using the same methods, this leads to an increase in ingroup bias following the achievement of the cooperative effort. However, when two groups are given a cooperative task, each utilizing noncomparable, differentiated, roles to perform, there is a decrease in positive ingroup bias. (Deschamps and Brown, 1983)

Current Critique of Social Categorization:

In a general analysis of the current state of the social psychology of intergroup behavior, Doise (1988) points out that most of the intergroup research which has grown out of Tajfel's work on social categorization focuses exclusively on the deductive aspects of categorization, i.e. the consequences of membership in a particular social group. Left out has been a closer look at inductive processes, or that which enables an individual to think of themselves as a member of a particular group in terms of how he or she defines

themselves. One of the issues being examined here is how much the outcome of social psychology experiments on intergroup behavior are predetermined by the rigid structures of the experiments themselves. For instance, in many experiments subjects are not able to communicate freely between groups.

Rabbie has concluded (in Rabbie and Horowitz, 1988) that "the random division of individuals in two distinct groups by a prestigious authority providing them with arbitrary names and labels seems sufficient to produce perceptions of belongingness to a 'we' rather than a 'they' group, triggering responses that lead to a more positive evaluation of the ingroup members than of outgroup members."(p.130) It seems likely that the variety of variables affecting intergroup interaction in the real world may be too great to fit this phenomena into one single theory, or at least into the theories developed thus far. Not included in experiments of intergroup behavior to date are the interactive effects of such things as the presence or type of authority of a group leader, the ability of one group to negatively affect another, group size as it relates to intergroup conflict, the motivation and strategies for communication that groups have, their time perspective, the amount of information they have about each other in times of conflict, each one's bargaining strength, and whether they are in a collaborative or conflictive relation.

By manipulating different aspects of these variables one can come up with different results than have been seen thus far. A recent experiment indicates that group members will actually favor an outgroup when they believe that their own beneficial outcome depends on a positive allocation of resources by that outgroup. This shows that one can predetermine either ingroup or outgroup favoritism by manipulating the perceived interdependence of different groups. (Rabie and Horowitz, 1988) This points to an important role for the way in which attributions that groups make about each other will effect their relations. Groups do not respond to an outgroup merely as a category, but also as an "acting and reacting entity." (p.121)

Questions must thus be raised about the effects of attribution on intergroup relations and, furthermore, how these are these are understood within the complexities of intercultural communication. How do different cultural groups go about understanding each others' intentions, and how do these groups communicate their intentions to one another? The social psychology of intergroup relations is not yet at the point of answering these questions and is still struggling with developing a framework for asking them. These are just some of the important issues affecting the field which are being grappled with at this time.

A current dilemma is how to develop an understanding of the way in which our notions of social identity are currently affected by culture and gender linked modes of thinking. More attention needs to be paid to the gender linked assumptions which guide ways of thinking about intergroup phenomena in ways which have not been sufficiently examined. Social identity theory emphasizes processes of differentiation and social comparison more closely associated with masculine modes of relating than the communal and affiliative aspects which have been associated with feminine social functioning. (Gilligan, 1983)

Without going into a detailed analysis of these issues here, it is still worthwhile making the observation that the effects of sex and gender has been neglected in intergroup literature and that an in depth examination of these would likely lead to new ways of looking at intergroup phenomena. (Williams, 1984, for review) An examination of intercultural group relations can only benefit from such an endeavor, because there is little doubt that ... "Self-images are socially produced. It is now commonsense to add that Western culture has its own representation of individual personality. [It] reflects social, economical, and juridical relationships and it intervenes constantly in shaping these relations as well as in our scientific investigations, especially in the field of psychology." (Doise, 1988, p.107)

Coming to the end of this part of our review, it is worth recalling the way in which social psychological explanations of intergroup behavior endeavored at first to move away from intra-and inter-personal phenomena as a way to come to grips with the effects of group membership. This, however, has given rise to criticisms which in part can be subsumed under the failure to pay enough attention to the inductive aspects of group membership. As it turns out, there has been another approach to groups and intergroup relations which has looked farther afield, and beyond the simplicity of social categorization.

The next section will review the open systems socio-psychological approach which integrates individual psychological processes, arising from an understanding of personal psychodynamics, with more sociological analyses of group and intergroup phenomena. After describing what this approach has to offer to an examination of group interactions, I will return to some of the questions regarding the effects of gender and culture-linked thinking by looking at a variety of integrative frameworks which have attempted to elucidate this tremendously complex area of human relations.

THE OPEN SYSTEMS APPROACH TO GROUP PHENOMENA.

Introduction:

The applications of open system theory to organizational life attributed to A.K. Rice(1969) point to a possible framework for the task of examining the relationships between cultural identity and group behaviors because they integrate personality dynamics and social structures in explaining the behaviors of groups in relation to each other. They do this by looking to the interaction of task systems, or those things which groups must do in order to survive, and sentient systems -that aspect of groups towards which individuals feel a sense of belonging based on shared needs, fantasies, or patterns of identification. For this part of my review, I will begin with a brief introduction to the theoretical background of this approach and then describe the importance of boundary functions to the interaction of task and sentient systems. I will then follow with a description of how the focus on boundary functions is applied to larger social systems as well as to individual personality dynamics within those systems. First, however, we need to look at Wilfred Bion's approach to group-as-a-whole phenomena because that is where the conceptual stage for this kind of analysis is set.

The Group-As-A-Whole Approach:

Bion's theory of group behavior arose in large part as a result of his experiences as a psychoanalyst assigned to the management of a wartime mental hospital in England. As a result of organizing the inmates into groups with particular tasks, he was able to examine the interaction of task related activities with the unconscious processes that occur in groups. Later, in working with groups whose task was psychotherapy and in observing groups in society he developed a theory of group as a whole phenomena. This type of theory is unique in that it recognizes that a group is more than the sum of its parts. It is a way of studying the collective identity of groups such that the group itself is the focal point and the individual members are in the background.

Bion divides group as a whole phenomena into two categories, "work group" and "basic assumption group" activities. Although he used this terminology, he is not referring to different groups but to different types of group functioning which almost always coexist in any particular group. "The work group is that aspect of group functioning that has to do with the real task of the group..., it tests its conclusions in a scientific spirit. It learns from experience, and constantly questions how it may best achieve its goal."(Rioch, 1975,p.23)

The basic assumption group denotes a very different way of functioning, so named because it describes behaviors that occur "as if" the group were operating under a specifiable set of implicit assumptions. These assumptions can be deduced from the emotional state within the group and from group behaviors that cluster around three distinct categories which Bion named basic assumption dependency, basic assumption fight-flight, and basic assumption pairing.

Just as there is no such thing as a pure work group, there are no pure basic assumption groups. Instead, any actual group will exhibit different permutations of these basic assumptions with one being the most prevalent at any given moment. The prevalent mode will be the one most easily identifiable, while the others will be present in different degrees of obscurity in the background. This is a crucial aspect of Bion's theory which is often ignored, but which is essential for an understanding of projective processes within and between groups. (To be discussed later)

The open systems theory of groups and organizations is an outgrowth of Bion's work, in part by way of A.K. Rice having been a member of Bion's training groups at the Tavistock Clinic. (Rice, 1965) Out of these experiences, and in collaboration with others working in this area, there developed a series of group relation conferences whose purpose was to the study the group

behaviors "en vivo," or while they behaviors are taking place. Out of these conferences, and through the application of this type of learning to the study of organizations, there developed the group as a whole approach with the following basic premises:

- The primary task of any group is what it must do in order to survive.
- The group has a life of its own only as a consequence of the fantasies and projections of its members.
- The group uses its members in the service of the primary task.
- The behavior of any group member at any moment is the expression of his own needs, history, and behavior patterns, and the needs, history, and behavior patterns of the group.
- Whatever the group is doing, or talking about, the group is always talking about itself, reflecting itself.
- Understanding the group process provides the members with heightened awareness and the ability to make previously unavailable choices about their identity and function in a group setting."(Banet and Hayden, 1977,p.157)

Open Systems:

"Any enterprise may be seen as an open system which has characteristics in common with a biological organism. An open system exists, and can only exist, by exchanging materials with its environment. It imports materials, transforms them by way of conversion process, 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. These import-conversion-export processes are the work the enterprise has to do in order to survive."(Miller and Rice, 1965, p.3)

Another important aspect of import-conversion-export processes is that they differentiate one organization from another. Also, the total measure of any organizations work can be seen in the difference between its imports and its exports. Moving to the level of structure, one of the most useful aspect of the open systems view is its major focus on boundaries. First, there is a boundary between the organization and the environment which is defined by the nature of the import-export-conversion processes, but each of these processes is a subsystem with its own distinct tasks and a boundary which separates it from the rest of the system just as the organization is separated from its environment. Actually, a myriad of boundaries define any

system and its subsystems. The workings of boundaries for space, technologies, time, and tasks can be seen in the operation of an enterprise such as a school. A building and classrooms define the space boundary, lecturing, books and computers are the technological boundaries, program schedules etc. define the time boundaries, and teaching reading and writing is the task boundary. (Gertler, 1975)

Boundaries are also essential to describing the functioning of individuals and groups. Seen simply in terms of functioning within organizations, the individual must manage the boundary between his internal world and the external environment. The boundary between the person and his role must be managed in such a way that personal needs can be satisfied, and so that effective task performance is enhanced rather than disrupted by internal psychic life. Individuals may also take on a variety of tasks and roles, each with their own respective task and role boundaries to be managed. All of these considerations also apply to groups in that they also exist through an exchange process with the environment, and groups also must manage the boundary between emotional life and task orientation in order to be effective. (Gertler, 1975, for review)

The Role of Boundaries in Intergroup, Intergroup, and Individual Processes:

"The effectiveness of every intergroup relationship is determined, so far as its overt purposes are concerned, by the extent to which the groups involved have to defend themselves against uncertainty about the integrity of their boundaries."(Rice, 1976,p.25) With this statement Rice lays out the implicit tensions in intergroup relationships. He also believes that all relationships, whether interpersonal or between groups, have the characteristics of an intergroup relationship and that the making of these relationships brings up the possibility of a breakdown in authority, and thus a fear of the ensuing chaos. The relationship between intergroup relations and the boundary functions of an organization are illustrated by the operation of what Rice refers to as "transactional task systems."(p.32)

Transactional task systems are those involving the parts of of a social unit which engage in transactions with the environment across the boundary of the enterprise as a whole. These task systems have their own boundary which in turn cuts across the enterprise boundary and which cannot be totally controlled by the enterprise if it is involved in any type of two-way transaction with the environment. In the real world, the boundary of a transactional task system also encompasses some part of another enterprise with which the

aforementioned enterprise is interacting. Thus, for example, an organizations public relations department will encompass important relationships with newspapers and other important opinion makers in society. The net result is a host of boundary relationships to be negotiated and controlled.

First an enterprise selects a subgroup to represent it in its transactions with another enterprise, via its "representative" sub-group. Each representative cannot be identical to its "home" enterprise, but neither can it sever all connections without loosing representative function. For instance, a salesman for company "A" must develop a good relationship with the buyer of company "B" and at the same time not favor the buyer's interests so as to compromise his loyalty to company "A". Similarly the buyer cannot try to make the relationship with the salesman benefit the two of them over his own company without getting fired when he gets caught.

Negotiations involving representative groups rather than individuals are that much more complicated. "Negotiations between groups acting on behalf of institutions, or even nations, may not only create uncertainty about control of the boundaries of the institutions they represent, but different opinions between the delegates of the negotiating groups about the task they are engaged on can threaten the whole transaction"(p.33) An enterprise is at all times forming

and disbanding representative teams according to its particular transactional requirements. These teams must operate with the authority of the enterprise, but their existence also implicitly tests the integrity of the enterprise boundary and the team boundaries, as well as the enterprises' capacity to exert control over its negotiating teams.

At any given time a team may act with less, more, or exactly the amount authority given to it, and thus each transaction can have the effect of changing the nature and strength of the enterprises' controls. The only absolute defense against uncertainty is to create a rigid set of controls over the representative team, but this in turn limits task performance in any situation which is not completely static.

An individual, like an enterprise, can be seen as an open system in that he can only exist through exchange processes with the environment. Because of the tremendous increment in the complexity that people -over enterprises- bring to their exchange processes, individuals can mobilize simultaneously many different types of activity systems, only some of which may be relevant to any particular task. The myriad of activity systems which a person engages in are a function of not only biological inheritance, but learned skills and those crucial experiences of infancy and childhood, as well as of subsequent development.

In terms of interactional experiences there is first the total dependence on mother which gradually assimilates father and others. There develop patterns of relationships within the nuclear family group, as well as with extended family and members of the community. Finally, in going to school the child encounters the first prototype of many institutions to which he must contribute to as a member of society. It is his or her first working environment. "The hopes and fears that govern the individual's expectations of how he will be treated by other, and the beliefs and attitudes on which he bases his code of conduct derive from these relationships and are built into the pattern that becomes his personality. They form part of his internal world. Besides the skills and capabilities he develops, this contains his primitive inborn impulses and the primitive controls over them that derive from his earliest relations with authority, together with the modifications and adaptations he incorporates as he grows up." (p.35)

At the level of the individual the "leadership role can be seen as the ego function which exercises "management" control in mediating the relationships between what constitutes the inner world and the outer world. It must define the boundary between the inner and the outer and control the transactions between them. It controls what is to be introjected from the outer world and, conversely, what is projected onto it. "It uses

senses as instruments of the import system; thinking, feeling and other processes to convert the intakes; then action, speech or other means of expression to export the outputs."(p.35)

In using this type of diagrammatic representation of the individual, it is important not to lose sight of the tremendously complex boundary mediation which must take place. Boundary mediation takes place not only between the inner and the outer, but also between the different parts of the inner world which at any given moment may or may not be relevant to the role in which the person is engaged. Any given role involves a bounded activity and task system set up to achieve a particular purpose. Its success is, in large part, dependent on the capacity of the internal boundary control to allow the temporary engagement of appropriate activity system and the disengagement of activity systems which are irrelevant to the task at hand. Internal boundary controls can be thought of as operating in a manner analogous to the external boundary functions of selecting and filtering the multitude of impulses which strike the sensory organs at any given moment, but are more clearly a result of previous experiences codified as built in attitudes and beliefs. These attitudes and beliefs are divided by Rice into two categories for the purpose of understanding their impact on roles and activity systems. Under the rubric of 'sentience' he places these attitudes and

beliefs based on needs, fantasies, and patterns of identification, as opposed to 'task oriented' skills and beliefs based on an understanding of formal structures.

Returning to the level of group processes, Rice uses 'task group' activity in precisely the same manner as Bion(above) and juxtaposes those type of activities with that of "sentient," or identity groups, which in this case do not correspond exactly to "basic assumption" groups, but to inherent groups based on shared needs, fantasies and patterns of identification. These types of groups would include, but not be limited to, cultural groups and ethnic groups that shared particular identifying features or values.

In order to function adequately, indeed to survive in any given environment, groups must manifest the same types of internal and external boundary controls as apply to individuals and to enterprises. Intergroup processes are -by definition- transaction systems involving groups as as a whole and representatives, implying a large number of boundary controls between groups and sub-groups as well as between sentient and task systems. In short, a highly complex set of authority relations which not only control all the transactions, but also define what is to occur. "The appointment of a representative is never just a simple matter of representing a task system to carry out a task directed transaction with the environment, ...representatives are invariably chosen not

only to carry on a specific task, but also to convey the mood of the group about itself and about its representative, and its attitude, not only to the specific part of the environment with which the interaction is intended but to the rest of it as well. And not all the 'messages' are explicit and overt; many, if not most of them, are implicit and covert."(Rice, 1976,p.43)

Intergroup Phenomena:

An important step forward in applying an understanding of group-as-a-whole phenomena to larger systems took place with the development of an experiential exercise designed to examine the interactions between groups, which became known as the "intergroup event."(Higgins and Bridger, 1965) This event was introduced at the second annual group relations training conference conducted by the Tavistock Institute for Human Relations, in collaboration with the University of Leicester, in 1959 to augment the range of possibilities for learning about groups that could occur in this type of training. The core experience of the first conference had been "study groups" whose task was studying their own behavior in the here and now, and their development over the life of the conference. Although conference members felt they had benefited a great deal from the examination of powerful unconscious

forces -both creative and destructive- which arise in groups, they were frustrated by its seeming lack of relevance to their real life experiences in the organizations where they worked. Although there were some sessions to discuss theory and others to discuss the application of their small group experiences to life outside the conference, it was felt that a gap existed between the very powerfully emotional experiences of the study groups and the abstract discussions which followed.

"The ideal training experience...would, of course, be analysis and reflection on the group processes involved in actual situations of people in their real life jobs. This, however, is not possible in a training situation. At the other end of the scale of this type of training is case-study, role playing activity within a laboratory setting. The Intergroup Exercise was an attempt to find an experience somewhere between these two extremes." (p.394)

In their study of this intergroup exercise, Higgins and Bridger observed that within minutes of coming into existence there developed in each of three groups a distinct sense of what differentiated them from the other two groups, even though the method for selecting the members of each group was, for practical purposes, arbitrary. It was further observed that when a group inadvertently allocated a sense of preoccupation with the emotional issues present on to a subset of its members

the remaining members were more able to carry on formal discussion and effective decision making processes. Also, it turned out that two of the three groups were, as a whole, more task effective than the other remaining one because of projective processes which lead to basic assumption behaviors being overrepresented in the "emotional" group and thus less prevalent in the other two.

These events led to the beginnings of a suggested theory for how unconscious anxieties and defenses operate between -and within- groups and between a bounded set of groups and the larger environment. Higgins and Bridger determined that apart from mobilizing appropriate task oriented capacities, a group must contain or appropriately direct unconscious activities and defenses. "We suggest a mechanism of projection and introjection as being the means whereby groups within a bounded set achieved this division of labor in working towards a common objective" (p.393)

Projective Processes in Intergroup Behavior:

Because this phenomena is periodically noted in both applied and theoretical open systems studies of intergroup behavior, it is important to say more about it as a way of considering its possible relevance to a study of culture and intergroup behavior. Originally arising from the psychoanalytic developmental theories of Melanie

Klein(1946) and extensively documented in clinical settings by Grotstein(1981), the psychological concepts of splitting, projection, and projective identification may be adaptable to certain types of intergroup behaviors which have resisted explanation by other methods. The Kleinian view of mother-infant interaction suggests that the infant, unable to perceive the mother as the source of both good and bad feelings, "splits" the bad aspects, "parts," of the mother off and projects them onto other things in the environment in order to keep the mother as "all good."

Projective identification has already been employed to describe interpersonal processes within groups.(see Wells,1990, for review) In these settings, it is assumed that adult individuals project parts of themselves onto others in order to defend against anxiety caused by internal conflicts. The "other," in turn, is seen as having some aspect of self which is congruent with the potential projections arising from others in order for them to "stick." Thus, the projective process always includes some kind of identification, albeit unconscious, between two individuals.

"Individual group members elicit, introject, and collude with particular kinds of projections ascribed to them. The group members' valence bonds, or tendency to respond to certain types of projections and to adopt

special roles, are analogous to the propensity that elements have to combine as in a chemical reaction(Bion, 1961). By definition, projective identification between individuals (subject and object) involves unconscious collusion. This collusion is based on a person's valency bonds and his or her relation to the group."(Wells, 1990, p.65) Another key observation about this group process is that an individuals propensity to receive certain types of projections is a function of not only their psychological makeup but also the particular stereotypical attributions they are subject to as a function of their identity based on demographic characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, race, and socioeconomic status.(Wells,1990)

Tsiu(1988) has used these phenomena to explain the dynamics in culturally homogeneous psychotherapy groups in the United States with only one Asian outgroup member. He suggests that majority Caucasian groups re-enact the power relations of American society at large in that the majority share a common set of beliefs and values and try to "assimilate the minority member into what they see as a therapeutic milieu."(p.137) Feeling that pressure and also finding it hard to accept the therapist's role because it is so different from the expected parental behavior of an authority figure, the Asian member will often take on a silent posture. The silence then facilitates a process whereby the group selects this

member as the repository of the unwanted projected parts of their own selves. The silent posture also makes this member the target of choice for feelings of rage which have been displaced from their original target. In a therapy group, unexamined processes of splitting, displacement and projection then lead to a widening gulf between the majority members and the minority member as minority members experiences themselves as increasingly under attack. In an Asian member this may lead to more silence, exacerbating the projective process, and increasing an "us versus" them feeling.(Tsiu, 1988)

While Tsiu does not address the interpersonal part of this projective process which includes the valency of the Asian member for receiving those particular types of projections, one could speculate that the silence of Asians in these particular contexts suggests a basic assumption group valency towards Bion's(1961) dependency or flight.

Shifting to the intergroup level of analysis, "splitting" would refer to groups' tendencies to react to the often polarizing effects of environmental ambiguity by uniting around one side of an issue and locating the other side outside of the group. The concept of splitting provides a theoretical explanation for the ingroup favoritism and outgroup discrimination noted by social psychological studies of intergroup behavior(Tajfel,1978,for review) because it correctly

predicts that polarization will typically take the form of the inside being experienced as good and the outside being experienced as bad. Furthermore, this theory adopts the psychoanalytic concept of projection in order to explain what happens to "bad," or anxiety producing, parts that a group is unwilling to acknowledge as its own by positing that a group unconsciously projects these parts into another group, the outgroup, or the environment, in order to *experience* those bad parts as if they were coming from the outside.

Groups involved in an intergroup relationship will at times identify with projections coming from other groups and in the process behave in a manner consistent with those projections. Since this is implicitly understood to be an interactive process, it is assumed that a group's propensity to take on the projected parts of other groups may reflect something about its own emotional valencies. In addition, this propensity would also be affected by stereotypical cultural attributions that may exist towards groups of easily identifiable demographic characteristics.

The preceding discussion has laid out the basic principles of the open systems, socio-psychological approach to intergroup relations, in terms of instrumental behaviors, sentience factors, the functioning of boundaries, and projective processes. In it I have presented a framework for examining intergroup

relations in a manner which addresses some of the limitations to the social psychological approach and suggests some directions to follow in exploring the effects of culture on group behaviors in a multicultural setting. I will end this review examining an applied version of this body of work.

Imbedded Intergroup Theory:

This elaboration of intergroup theories takes its intellectual descent directly from Rice's (1967, 1969) pioneering efforts at explaining the interdependence among individual, group, and intergroup processes. Clayton Alderfer articulated his "imbedded" intergroup theory following extensive action research ranging from the way management development is affected by generational struggles (1971, 1977a), by labor-management cooperation (1977b) and race relations in management (1980, et al 1983). Interestingly, it has also been applied to the intergroup dynamics affecting social scientists, teachers, and investigators as they interact with institutional phenomena (1970, 1971). (See 1986, for review)

Alderfer suggests that all intergroup theories have in common, either explicitly or implicitly, the following four dimensions. A specifiable level of analysis ranging from the individual all the way up to society at large. That groups are seen as either imbedded

or isolated from their contexts. An attitude towards research which postulates the involvement or detachment of an observer involved in an intergroup process. And finally, whether or not researchers take into consideration their own perspectives and group memberships in relation to the groups they study.

His particular theory of imbedded intergroup relations takes the group itself as the primary level of analysis and emphasizes their imbeddedness in social systems. Its research orientation which is clinical, or applied, and it strives to elaborate on the ways in which researchers are themselves an imbedded group engaged in an intergroup relationship with those they study.

His theory also states that there five essential properties of intergroup relations, regardless of the nature of the groups themselves, or the setting where these relations take place. These are: 1) The regulation of boundaries. 2) Power differences caused by differential access to resources, which leads to discrepancies in boundary permeability between groups. 3) Affective patterns; also having an impact on the permeability of boundaries as a function of the degree to which group members split their feelings by associating the positive with themselves and projecting negative feelings onto other groups. 4) Cognitive formations (or distortions) occurring as a function of power differences

and affective feelings whereby groups develop idiosyncratic languages capable of conditioning members perceptions of subjective and objective phenomena. 5) Leadership behavior: "The behavior of group leaders and of members representing a group reflects the boundary permeability, power differences, affective patterns, and cognitive formations of their group in relation to other groups. The behavior of group representatives, including formally designated leaders, is both cause and effect of the total pattern of intergroup behavior in a particular situation." (1986, p.204)

Alderfer adopts Rice's (1976) concept of sentient groups and task groups, referring to them as identity groups and organizational groups, to make the crucial observation that intergroup activities in organizations cannot be fully explained unless one takes into account the fact that membership in organizational groups and identity groups are often highly related. There exists therefore a common tendency for members of particular identity groups, differentiated by ethnicity, gender, age, etc., to be clustered in certain organizational groups differentiated by levels of hierarchy, trade, etc..

Because the five properties of intergroups mentioned above apply to both identity and organizational groups, Alderfer has been able to predict a complex sets of intergroup relationships. For instance, members of

identity groups are highly interdependent on each other because of their common historical experiences and members of organizational groups are likewise due to common work experiences. Members of both identity groups and organizational groups can usually easily identify other members, but their capacity to do so varies significantly depending on the permeability of group boundaries and on the extent of overlapping memberships. Perhaps the most significant thing being explained by Alderfer is the fact that individuals are seen to represent something about their own groups, but because they have several overlapping identity and organizational group memberships the particular group identity which is most salient at any given moment depends on the group or interpersonal context in which they find themselves. To summarize: nobody in an intergroup setting is simply themselves as apart from their various group memberships and who they represent shifts according to the group memberships of those with whom they interact.

Shifting from intergroup identities to behavior, organizational group behaviors are often driven by the structural characteristics of the organizations itself, while identity groups bring into the organization a myriad of considerations from the outside world which interact with organizational characteristics in many potentially conflictual ways. In the case of ethnicity,

the "... potential for conflict among ethnic groups is present as long as access to resources is understood to be inequitably distributed and group members believe that their ethnic identity is the basis for their losing or not receiving access to resources.(P.205) In addition, different ethnic groups utilize their own current experiences as well as cultural traditions to develop their own particular theories about what happens to themselves as well as to others. One of the effects of social group dominance is a tendency for the dominant group to see its theories as correct, viewing nondominant group theories as incorrect or simply non-existent. Less dominant groups are usually aware of both their own and the dominant group theories. As they expect their own theories to be ignored or discredited, they may often attempt to push them into dominance.(Billig,M., 1976) Since organizations characteristically cluster different ethnic groups in different hierarchical and work areas there are many possible consequences for the interaction of identity groups and organizational groups.

The Social Construction of Culture.

The literature reviewed till now has sketched the areas within the social psychology of intergroup behavior as well as open systems, psychoanalytic, and organizational approaches which can be applied to studying the impact of cultural identity on intergroup

relations. This section will end with a formal summary of the hypotheses to be examined in this study, and the following section will present the methodology by which these hypotheses will be examined. Before this I feel it is imperative that the problems inherent in research on racial differences be presented. In addition, I will propose a language for addressing cultural differences which underlies the assumptions of this study because I am fully in agreement with Mack's (1968) proposal that any researcher in this area should, in the first place, lay out explicitly the contextual and/or ideological reasons for establishing categories which can be related to race. Finally, before presenting my hypotheses I will propose that an indigenous psychology of the self model can usefully guide this particular exploration.

Marvin Zuckerman(1990) addresses the validity of most psychological research on racial differences by questioning its underlying assumptions. First noting that those who seek genetic racial explanations based on evolution ignore the lack of stability in racial categories over the last several thousand years, he goes on to review that various ways in which the question "what is race"? can be answered. Traditionally, biologists define race as a subspecies which differs from other subspecies in terms of distinguishable physical traits originally caused by inbreeding, originally due to the geographical isolation of a particular population,

but now due more to isolation caused by religious, cultural, and or political barriers. Contrary to physical differences, one can only speculate whether behavioral differences are caused by natural selection for certain genes or whether they are maintained by culture.

Since anthropologists agree that the species homo sapiens evolved only once, the distinctive features which are used to categorize groups of people would have arisen relatively recently. Since the skin color of the original human race is unknown, it is impossible to speculated as to which features evolved first, in response to which types of climactic conditions. In addition, there is so much variation in skin color within "races," that certain groups referred to as Caucasoid have a darker skin tone than some classified as Negroid. More relevant to contemporary society, the population referred to as Black in the United States represents a mixture of Black and White populations to such a degree that question of: "at what point is White Black or Black White"? is impossible to answer. The answers that have been provided in the past occur exclusively within legal or cultural frameworks which reveal tremendous discrepancies from one country to another. For instance, in the United States laws have existed which defined "Black" as having at least one ancestor 5 generations back, whereas in Brazil a person with any degree of Caucasian features could be considered White.

Zuckerman's strongest argument is against research which purports to show differences in temperament as a function of racial categorization in the United States, in which the criteria for racial categorization is almost always self report. He simply postulates that there is far too much diversity *within* definable racial categories to make any valid comparisons *between* them. The "Black" race in the United States is thought of as originating in Africa, where if one accepts the definition of race as "an inbreeding group of individuals with a specific geographic locus"(p. 1298) there would be literally hundreds of races. Among all these races the range of temperament related traits far outstrips the already vast range of phenotypes which determine physical differences such as the stature of the Watusi versus that of the Pygmy. Apart from the fact that the specific tribal ancestry of African Americans is normally unknown or unacknowledged, there is also the obvious confounding factor of an unknowable degree of admixture with Caucasian and Native American gene pools.

Generalizations about psychological data depend almost exclusively on sampling assumptions. Generalizations about behavioral traits are usually related to the traits themselves, such as predicting the relationships between extroversion and social behaviors. When physical features or other loosely defined cultural factors rather than behavioral traits are the criteria

for sample selection, the resulting behavioral data is not generalizable. In practice, most sampling decisions made in psychological research on behavior owes more to popular stereotypes than to biopsychological theory.

In addition to the observation that prevalent definitions of race make it virtually impossible to find a role for genetic mechanisms in racial differences, Zuckerman questions the scientific purpose of carrying out such research in the first place, asking whether there is any conceivable scientific purpose which is worth the potential harm of reinforcing stereotypes which are applied to individuals in the society. He points out that scientists who agree on the immorality of studies conducted on concentration camp victims, "...do not agree on the reprehensibility of theories that reinforce negative stereotypes of large segments of the human population and thereby foster racism in all of its more malignant aspects." (p.1301)

If one is to keep these issues in mind while undertaking the study of culturally based stereotypes, it seems useful to follow an approach to race, culture, and ethnicity in the social sciences outlined by Samuel Johnson (1985, 1989). Reviewing many of the arguments already mentioned, Johnson concludes that the use of race in psychology has little utility outside studies which address the phenomena of racism itself or which can illuminate in some way processes which could rectify

social injustices. Following a logical model for distinguishing between processes and structures in society (Bateson, 1972), Johnson points out that race in its original sense cannot be considered a process in contemporary American society because it is itself a cultural product; i.e. the determination of the social value of skin color within different contexts.

Thus it is the *meaning* of skin color that lends structural features to contemporary society, not race itself. The conditions under which races originally developed no longer exist and it is the multiracial character of society which determines its structural features. "Culture and ethnicity in contrast are both processes that have the capacity to give meaning to race and in large measure serve to define the contexts that contribute to the social meaning of race. ...As a consequence I suggest reserving the use of the race term for structural referents and using the terms culture and ethnicity to refer to the processes that operate on structural features like skin color variation to give them particular meaning." (1985, p.13)

In the interest of providing a model for looking at culture in interpersonal, intergroup, and organizational contexts, Johnson distinguishes between universal, particular, and individual-situational subsystems. Given that that "culture [simply] defines the *potential* for a system of dynamic relations between

categories of cultural representations;" (1989, p.11) one can begin to make sense of its operation by differentiating "macro" or universal culture, particular regional, community based or organizational cultures, and "micro" levels such as small groups, dyads, and individuals. Since culture as "a system of relations will define patterns that fit meaning over time" (p.11) one must specify not only the level which is being referred to but also the specific situational and time frame. Johnson provides the example of an African American's skin color having one situational cultural meaning at an all-black social event and a quite different one in an all-white professional group. And, that in the later case this meaning will shift over time.

The preceding discussion has elaborated on the author's understanding of the relevant uses of culture in a social scientific setting. To summarize, culture is understood here as a socially constructed phenomena whose purpose is to organize dynamic relationships into a meaningful construct, within particular contexts. In a manner analogous to the discussion of race above, it is the meanings attached to specific "cultures" which must be identified in order to understand the structural aspects of culture in an intercultural setting, keeping in mind that these meanings change over time and from place to place. The context for this particular study will be extensively described in the following section,

but it assumes that within that context there can exist differences between different cultural groups.

Although I argue that racial differences cannot be meaningfully discussed in psychological contexts, I will propose that cultural differences can be usefully examined. Thus one would begin by acknowledging that this study itself arises within the framework of a Western cultural perspective embodied by the theories reviewed thus far.

Indigenous Psychologies of Individualism:

A useful way to consider how a study of culture and intergroup processes can be developed is to consider the psychological perspective on cultural differences in individual identity referred to as indigenous psychologies of individualism. Sampson(1988) provides an extensive description of this perspective by building on two dimensional framework for looking at cultural difference. The first dimension describes that which is intrinsic and that which is extrinsic to the self. The second dimension relates to the locus of power and control and how cultures differ by the way in which mature adult functioning is characterized by either a high degree of internal -or personal- control, or a high degree of external control. Here, the nature of transactions within the person-other relationship allows different cultural versions of individuality to be

defined in terms of boundaries, locus of control and inclusiveness versus exclusiveness.(Heelas and Lock, 1981)

Briefly, firm boundary, high personal control cultures reflect an indigenous psychology which views the self as exclusionary, or "self contained" individualism. On the other hand the fluid boundary , strong field control, cultures reflect a view of individualism in which the region of the self includes other individuals as well. This Sampson(1988) refers to as "ensembled" individualism. Apart from the boundary, control, and exclusionary characteristics mentioned above, self contained individualism is marked by a high value being placed on self-reliance. This type of individualism is familiar in that it is the dominant cultural and psychological type indigenous to the United States and to the European countries from which its historically dominant ethnic groups draw their roots. Ensembled individualism is more dominant self contained individualism throughout the rest of the world, even though mainstream western psychology tends to be less familiar with it. In fact, only recently has mainstream psychology seriously considered that there could be culturally specific types of individualism.

In looking at the nature of cultural differences among groups it is imperative to first ask whether these exist at all by comparing the basic functions pertaining

to all groups. Where they exist, the actual nature of any differences can only be truly understood in the context of transactions which occur within group-other relationships. Issues surrounding locus of control can be explored by looking at the leadership within a group and how this is expressed in transactions with other groups. The permeability of boundaries can be observed and is particularly salient in the interactive field.

Inclusiveness and exclusiveness in the individual is not directly analogous to groups, but related dynamics can be discerned by analyzing both leadership and boundaries together. In addition, important group level dynamics described by basic assumption group activity may be compared as well in order to get a novel view of cultural differences among groups.

Conclusion of Literature Review:

From the social psychology literature on the effects of group identity, particularly its capacity to overshadow intrapersonal as well as interpersonal dynamics, we have seen the importance of looking at group identity in an intergroup context. Thus, any study which attempts to examine group identity closely should take place in such an environment and have as its primary purpose the elucidation of the transactional space between groups.

The depersonalization or "undifferentiation" which occurs within groups means that between group stereotyping and stereotypical behaviors are to be taken for granted as a functional aspect of intergroup relations whose function remains to be understood. Thus there is a need to suspend value judgements about stereotyping long enough for them to be examined. Likewise for stereotypical manifestations of social dominance. Finally, social categorization theory suggests that it is not artificial to tailor an examination of group differences around cultural categories even if those categories are arbitrary, since it has already been seen that individuals tend to grasp any salient basis for categorization in a multifaceted social milieu and incorporate those features into their own social identity. (Tajfel, 78)

The open systems socio-psychological approach brings up a different set of considerations, and also provides a model for examining group and intergroup dynamics as they occur within a temporary institution. Using the simple transformation of making this institution multicultural, one would then be able to examine group level cultural differences empirically. More specifically, there are several open systems contributions which can be brought to this task. Bion's basic assumption groups, particularly in their relation to the "sentience" factors of group membership, are a useful

window on cultural differences because they reflect implicit assumptions of a group rather than its explicit task. The nature of boundaries, which has already been mentioned as a significant cross cultural variable in theories of individuality, is also significant in describing both the style and the capacity of a group's handling of intergroup transactions. Last but not least, Higgins and Bridger's description of projective processes suggest a way in which cultural differences could effect the behaviors of various groups in a multicultural setting by looking at the attributions that groups make about each other.

Hypotheses:

Briefly, within a multicultural group relations conference organized under the auspices the City College of the City University of New York, I believe that there will exist identifiable differences between three or more groups formed according to ethnic and or cultural categories. These differences will show up in the following group variables: a)The style of leadership, in terms of the both the nature of the leaders themselves and the degree of differentiation within each group. b) The nature and permeability of boundaries, in terms of both physical factors and the involvement of each group in transactions with others.

c) The manner of representation across group boundaries.
And, d) The basic assumption group activities which predominate throughout a group's life.

It is important to emphasize that this study is exploratory. Its purpose is not so much to prove the above hypotheses as to provide a framework for their further development. It is the author's belief that although some or all of the above will be demonstrated at least in part, this study will reveal questions and areas of inquiry which could not be predicted at the outset because of the relative infancy of this field.

III. METHODOLOGY

Introduction:

In the following section I will present the methods through which information was collected regarding the hypotheses presented in the previous section. First, however, I will spend some time describing the group relations conference where the information gathering took place. Following this I will describe the data collection strategy and formally present the methods by which the data was be analyzed. In conclusion, I will provide a summary of the variables being considered along with a description of the sources of information which informed the hypotheses on each one.

The Conference:

The data collection for this research study of differences between cultural groups took place within a modified group relations conference which has been specifically designed to offer conference members opportunities to learn about cultural differences and their impact on group behaviors. This model is closely related to training events offered in the U.S. by the A.K. Rice Institute and in the U.K. by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. The conference design emphasizes the effects of cultural identity on the behavior of groups around authority relations,

boundaries, and representation. It does so by way of its structure, literature, and the use of a multi-ethnic staff trained as group relations consultants through various activities of the A.K. Rice Institute, and in the case of some, The Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. In the conference brochure, the primary task of the conference was described as:

To provide opportunities for members to examine through direct experience and analysis the effects of cultural identity on the exercise of authority and leadership in interpersonal, intergroup and organizational settings.

Furthermore, the aims and principles of this effort were outlined as follows:

The presence of cultural and ethnic diversity in contemporary institutions provides challenges in that it creates both conflicts and new opportunities for cooperation among individuals and within organizations. Traditional ways of interacting in institutions are being changed by the people who work in them and by the impact of shifting demographic characteristics of the society at large. These changes pose unforeseen problems and also highlight our interdependence, providing the occasion for - or preventing- increased creativity and more meaningful work relations. Issues of authority and leadership provide a useful vehicle for examining these issues in terms of institutional and social power structures. This conference is designed to provide an opportunity to learn by direct experience how the exercise of authority within and between groups is affected by cultural identity. The press of decisions and problems of the work day world are set aside so that members can study the group processes which affect their own and others' productivity. A special focus on boundaries, tasks, authority, and responsibility is provided by the conference design in order to emphasize interpersonal

experiences within small groups, intergroup relations between and among groups, and the experience of the individual in various roles within a multicultural institution .(Appendix A)

The conference structure was also arranged in such a way as to permit the carrying out of a research study via observation, as well as pencil and paper data gathering, by a team of research observers. The remainder of this section will be devoted to a detailed description of the conference, after which the data gathering strategies will be elucidated.

Recruitment.

Conference members were recruited among students of advanced standing at various colleges of the City University of New York, and among entry level professionals at several social service agencies in the New York area.

The first step in the recruitment of conference members was the production of a brochure which described both the philosophy and the structure of the conference.(see appendix A) Although the brochure was the primary recruitment tool and was distributed to several colleges and universities in New York City, much of the actual recruitment took place by word of mouth and through meetings with classes or student government and cultural groups at City College and New York University. Also, the directors of student activities at several City

University campuses were contacted by the author and encouraged to identify and recruit selected students who would be interested in this type of conference experience. Two of the conference administrators utilized their work associations with a large children's services agency in New York and an adolescent corrections agency, in order to recruit entry level staff who were interested in learning about organizational processes and cultural diversity.

Formal membership in the conference was requested by filling in the application form (appendix B) included in the brochure and by signing an accompanying research consent form. (appendix C) On the application, each applicant was asked to provide basic demographic information and check off one of five racial or ethnic categories which best described them. These were African American, Afro-Caribbean, Asian, Latino, White, and other. In addition, the applicant was also given the opportunity to provide information which would further describe their ethnicity, within those categories. This information was then used to form the culturally heterogeneous and homogeneous groups which are required by the conference design. There was a fifteen dollar fee required with the application and as a final step, applicants were contacted by one of the conference administrators to be notified as to whether their application had been accepted.

Conference Structure.

Following a one hour registration period which took place on a Friday afternoon, the conference began with an Opening Plenary. (see conference schedule, appendix A) Precisely at the scheduled hour the staff filed in to the plenary room and sat, with the director in the middle, facing the membership whose chairs had been formally arranged in rows. The director opened the event with a formal statement outlining theoretical issues related to leadership and authority in the context experiential learning about cultural differences. After this, members had an opportunity to ask questions, which were answered by the director in such a way as to facilitate examining the process of joining a temporary institution of that type. The event ended with housekeeping type announcements by the conference administrators and a statement by the director indicating the official time by which all conference events would take place.

After a brief coffee break, the first experiential or "here and now" event began. This event is referred to as "small study groups." These were 7 to 12 member culturally heterogeneous groups set up to examine the effects of cultural identity on the dynamics of a small group. The members were preassigned to a group in such a way as to make each one as heterogeneous as

possible in terms of ethnicity, gender and age. Each group then met four times during the conference,

The small study groups began with a staff consultant entering the room at precisely the scheduled time and sitting, in silence, in one of the chairs which were prearranged in a circle. The role of the consultant is clearly proscribed, such that they do not speak or maintain eye contact with any individual in the room. Periodically they may speak to the group as a whole, making interpretations which are intended to facilitate the group's task of studying its own behavior. This is achieved drawing attention to group phenomena which the members have overlooked and by clarifying areas which are not well understood. In order to avoid "driving" the group's discussion, it is rare for a consultant to make more than three or four interpretations in a seventy five minute session.

The small study group structure is designed to highlight key authority and boundary features of groups, in order to facilitate their examination by the members. The ambiguous and non-directive role of the consultant highlights role boundaries by revealing to the groups its dependence on external sources of authority and thus contrasts the difference between wishes and realities in regards to leadership roles. Additionally, role boundaries are highlighted by the ways in which members' personal authority and group norms interact to determine

how leadership roles are taken up by the members themselves. The effects of time boundaries are highlighted by the consultant's rigid adherence to them. Finally, the distinctions between personal and role boundaries are both highlighted and confounded by the group's focus on cultural, ethnic, and racial differences.

Research observers were present during each group session, sitting outside of the circle and remaining as unobtrusive as possible. They recorded selected group variables using a rating sheet developed by the author and after each session narrated the group's activities onto a tape recorder for later transcription.

On the second day of the conference, after three consecutive small study group sessions, an event referred to as the Intergroup took place. (See conference schedule, Appendix A.) It began with an plenary meeting in which the conference director outlined the structure of the event and suggested a vocabulary for describing levels of representation in intergroup negotiations. After this brief introduction, the members divided into pre-assigned groups which corresponded to the cultural, ethnic, or racial categories by which they had identified themselves on the conference application. Here, the members were able to be divided into three groups of reasonably equal size. These were a Latino group, an African American group with a couple of Afro-Caribbean

members, and a White group. Each one of these groups met in a different room. The conference staff also met as a group, in "open" session, in a room of its own.

The task of the intergroup events is to study the relationships between the different groups, and between these and the administrative group. Consultants were available, on request, to facilitate the work of each group, particularly around the examination of authority, representation, and the problems inherent in drawing and crossing boundaries. An important aspect of this event is that the opportunity exists for meetings to take place between any or all the different groups, in a empty room designated as the intergroup room. Research observers carrying out recording tasks were present in each of the group rooms as well as in the room set aside for meetings between groups. There were sessions scheduled for the the rest of Saturday, with a break for dinner. On Sunday the Intergroup ended with a plenary discussion among all members and staff to examine together what had taken place during the entire event.

The final two events of the conference consisted of a conference discussion and a set of "application" groups. The conference discussion was set up in the same manner as the opening plenary and the intergroup discussion. This was an opportunity for all the conference participants to discuss the entire conference together with the view of making all of the

occurrence during the conference more comprehensible. Although it is not a "here and now" event, there is an attempt on the part of the staff to avoid coming up with a final answer or "solution" to the issues and problems raised. Rather, their task is to facilitate a process whereby the members can digest their experiences and begin to think about the relationship of the conference to the world outside. "Application" groups were the final event of the conference. In these the members met with a consultant in small groups composed of members with similar professional or academic interests and discussed the application of their conference learning to their jobs, their academic institutions, or any other roles on the outside which they chose to examine. Similarly to the discussion groups, these are not "here and now" events, but are designed to facilitate the transition out of the conference learning situation and back ones' day to day activities.

The Conference Staff.

The staff was composed of a director, an associate director, five consultants, and an administrator. Dr. Stanley DeLoach, president of El Instituto de Relaciones Grupales y Organizacionales, Mexico City, D.F., acted as the conference director. Three other persons trained as consultants through the activities of the A.K.Rice Institute also agreed to work

at the conference. The Director was a male Caucasian American expatriate living in Mexico City, and the three consultants were an African American female manager, a Latino male psychologist, and Jewish male psychologist who was originally from England. In addition there was a team of 5 research observers, qualified by virtue of having attended at least one group relations conference as members, who completed research protocols adapted specifically for this conference.

Data Gathering

As mentioned above, research observers were present during each group session and recorded the activities which occurred there in two ways. Using a time series coding system developed by the author, research observers collected information on the leadership and management of authority, the emotional climate, boundary management, and the style of representation of each group. This time series was formatted on a rating sheet which divided each session into 75 sequential events representing one minute of time each. Within each one minute segment the observer made a notation indication who was speaking, what the emotional quality of their statement was, whether the door was open or closed, who entered or left the room, and whether persons leaving to visit other groups were authorized to act as observers, delegates, or

plenipotentiaries. In addition, the observer occasionally wrote down key words of the discussion to help in the reconstruction of the group narrative at the end of the session.

In terms of emotional climate, individual statements were rated for the presence of anger, fear, dependency, or hopefulness following a method developed by Thelen(1957) to test Bion's (1967) basic assumption theories of small group behaviors. In order to make the observer task easier, and thus more accurate, this was be done for a 25 minute sample of each group session divided up into 5 minute segments which are distributed unevenly across the entire 75 minutes. A frequency distribution of the four emotional states, corresponding to four basic assumption modes of group functioning, was then established to describe the prevailing emotional climate of the group as a whole.

Since these variables required more personal judgement on the part of the observer than any other, it is worth mentioning in detail how these judgements were arrived at. Basic assumption dependency is characterized by feelings of insecurity and the need for a reliable leader. It is the most common of the three basic assumption activities to occur in group relations conference settings and predominates in the initial stages of group formation. The subsidiary emotions which can be present during basic assumption dependency are

symptoms of frustrated dependency needs such as helplessness, anger, and despair.

Following Thelen's rating system, the presence of basic assumption fight-flight was identified by labeling the emotional content of statements in the group as relating to either fight or flight. The rating of fight required that there be implied in the verbal statement something about an actual enemy, a concrete threat, or the "sense" of one on the part of the speaker and an accompanying feeling of anger. Flight, in turn, referred to a sense of wanting to get away that is not always overtly "away from here", but could also be expressed statements such as "get me to..." or "lets get to;" accompanied by fear. A guiding heuristic for determining these ratings is that the emotional predominance of anxiety, an overt manifestation of fight-flight, is not enough. There must be an act or the suggestion of an act specifying the nature of the implicit activity accompanying the anxiety.

As far as the identification of basic assumption pairing, this was seen as the least frequent of all basic assumption groups in group relations conferences and as seldom occurring during the initial phases of group formation. Pairing had to be with a person, not an idea, and its presence was characterized by passivity on the part of the "non-pairers" in the group. It was seen as characterized by the predominance of hopefulness,

with subsidiary emotions such as vagueness and vague optimism.

A boundary measure of the group was simply whether the group's door was open or closed. This information was be supplemented from the narrative text with details of what the member's attitudes were toward the group boundary as indicated by the feelings they expressed when it was crossed. An example of this would be whether they had felt accepting or violated while being visited by others, and the manner in which they authorized members of their own group to go out and visit others. Levels of authorization for each representative were simply noted and the frequency of each was tabulated for each group.

To create a narrative text for the experience, at the end of each session research observers summarized the proceedings into tape recorders for later transcription. The transcriptions were later reviewed and corrected by the author while listening to the original tapes. After this the names of the participants were changed and the text was edited to provide a narrative for all the group proceedings. Further textual analysis was then carried out to summarize group sessions by listing prominent themes and to determine the leadership in each group based on the number of times a person was mentioned by the observer and by their attempts to influence others. Then the

roles of each member were described and the attributions which each group had towards other groups as well as towards themselves were enumerated.

Research observers were trained over a period of 6 months during which they met with the author to view videotapes of groups engaged in self study and rate their activities according to the rating scales described above. Specifically, the researchers were asked to make a judgement about the emotional qualities of each statement presented on videotape and where there was disagreement, that particular statement was reviewed and discussed in terms of Thelen's adaptation of Bion's basic assumption group categories until there was a consensus among the observers. In addition, the observers had the opportunity to similarly rate the staff of the conference engaged in preconference staff meetings.

Data Analysis

This description of how the data was analyzed will follow the sequence of the hypotheses presented at the end of the previous section. First, a leadership profile was developed for each of the groups by presenting a frequencies distribution of the number of verbal utterances by each member. Group literature (McGraph, 1984) shows that the most robust measures of leadership in almost any type of group is who talks the most.

Thus, a frequencies distribution of the number of times each individual spoke over the 75 minutes of a session serves to identify the leader, or leaders, of a group and the degree to which each individual member was personally authorized to participate. By ordering this distribution beginning with most utterances and ending with least, a comparison between the distribution for each group enables one to see how centralized the leadership of each group was.

Second, a percentage was computed which describes the proportion of the each groups' overall duration that its door was maintained open. Also, a frequencies distribution was computed for the number of transactions which each group carried out with each of the other groups.

Thirdly, two frequencies distributions were computed for the instances of transactions across group boundaries. One describes the frequency of each of the three levels of representational authorization going out of the groups' and the other does the same to describe those coming in. Finally, the last set of frequencies distributions profiles the number of times in which each utterance of the samples taken for each group was rated as representing basic emotional qualities of fight, flight, dependency, or pairing.

A Group Relations Conference on Cultural Diversity.

Background:

The immediate inspiration for developing this project at City College was the tremendous ethnic diversity within the undergraduate college itself and observations of the intergroup effects of ethnic diversity in the Clinical Psychology Doctoral program to which I belonged. Speculating about these issues with Dr. Laurence Gould, the chair of this dissertation, and with fellow doctoral students eventually lead to the formulation of a study to examine an aspect of this cultural diversity.

One of the most salient manifestations of this diversity was the fact that the student run organizations on campus were predominantly ethnically and or culturally homogeneous. Organizations, such as the Korean Students Association, chartered explicitly to provide for the affiliation needs of specific national or ethnic groups existed for a least 30 different categories. Beyond that, the character of many of the non-ethnic based student groups such as the "Economics Club," or student parties vying for roles in the student government, was such that they tended to be made up predominantly of a particular ethnic or cultural group. Besides providing a clear example of the ingroup clustering tendency of sentient groups, this also lead to concerns on the part

of the administrator of student services that students were insufficiently sensitive to multicultural issues.

In the fall of 1988, after canvassing the university for a venue in which to conduct this research project, I found in the director of the student activities center a willing collaborator. I presented to him my interest in providing a weekend training seminar for students at the college to learn about the effects of cultural identity on the behavior of groups, in order to begin to address unacknowledged forces which interfered with communications across cultural, ethnic, and nation of origin boundaries. Specifically I proposed that this conference would explore issues of leadership and followership so as to help student groups function more effectively and find new ways to cooperate in the pluralistic environment at City College.

Once I demonstrated that the Tavistock group relations conference model was a useful way for individuals to learn about such issues first hand, The Director of the Finley Student Center of CCNY, Mr. Edward Evans agreed to co-sponsor the conference and provide logistical support. At the same time I approached all of the major ethnic student organizations on campus to interest them in participating. Arranging actual meetings with the leaders of these organizations took longer than I had expected, so even though arrangements had been made to conduct the conference at an off site

retreat center in April of '89, a decision was made to postpone the conference until October, '89, and to hold it on site at the City College campus.

By the Winter '88, I had found a director for the conference, Stanley Deloach, Ph.D. who had founded an institute for the group and organizations in Mexico City. From then on I collaborated with him in the recruitment of staff members and the implementation of the conference design. In an attempt to provide a staff that represented the major ethnic categories expected to be present at the conference I actively recruited a male Latino psychologist and family therapist, a female African American administrator of a large government agency, and a White male Jewish psychologist. As administrators for the conference, I recruited a male African American and a Latina, both managers in large city social service agencies, and a male Mexican business executive as assistant administrator. All of the staff had received various degrees of training in Tavistock group relations methodology through the activities of the A.K.Rice Institute and its different centers in the United States.

In the Fall of 1988 I had also began recruiting research observers to record the activities of the conference. I was able to gather together a team of four doctoral students in clinical psychology who had been to group relations conferences before and a Social Worker who also had conference experiences and was

planning to return to graduate school for a doctorate. Again, striving for the maximum degree of ethnic diversity, the team was composed of an African American woman, an Afro-Caribbean man, a Jewish woman, an Anglo woman, and myself, an Anglo man. We met once a month for a year under my direction and worked together to perfect the methodology which was eventually used to collect data for the conference. During this period I also received regular supervision from Dr. Kenneth Eisold which was immensely valuable in enabling me to fine tune the research design which had been developed in my meetings with Dr. Gould.

Most of the time taken up in the research team training session was spent viewing videotapes of a small multi-ethnic Tavistock self study group. The most complex variables being coded were Bion's(1961) basic assumption groups operationalized by Thelen(1957). Learning to code group behaviors according to their basic assumption group activities involved reaching agreement on the team as to which one was present at any given moment in the group being viewed. Using video playback the researchers would review every utterance until they were able to fit it into Bion's conceptual framework. This led to prolonged and productive discussions which usually resulted in consensus as to how to apply Thelen's methodology. The process of reaching consensus went like this: Whenever there was

disagreement about a particular utterance, the tape was played back to review the group context over and over again until the research team was able to agree on the basic assumption group which was present and exactly at which point it shifted from one basic assumption to another.

As a result of these activities we developed a cohesive set of guidelines for understanding basic assumption activities in groups based on the idea that all basic assumption groups are ways of binding anxiety, so an observer should go "behind" the present emotion of a speaker in order to identify them. Also, since they occur in relation to a leader within the group one can track basic assumptions by constantly identifying who the functional leader of the group is from moment to moment.

Beginning in the of Spring of 1989 I also began to recruit the participants for this conference. I wrote to all the deans of student activities in the City University system and also to the University's vice president for public affairs. This individual sent out a press release to student newspapers at all the City University campuses. Concentrating on the City College campus, I was eventually able to arrange appointments with the leaders of the largest student organizations and the student government and interest them in attending by stressing the value of this kind of experience in developing group leadership skills.

By September of '89, the staff had been chosen for the conference so the ones who lived in the New York area also got involved in recruiting within their own institutions. In addition I visited classes in organizational behavior at the Tisch School of Business at New York University and spoke to graduate students about the conference as a way of interesting them in attending. Other recruiting efforts were carried out by members of the research teams, some of who taught undergraduate classes at City College or had jobs which brought them into contact with students there in other ways. By the end of September it was clear that there would indeed be enough of a membership to hold the conference as scheduled in October.

Another aspect of the preparation was staff meetings in order for those working in the conference to get to know each other and to explore their own feelings about the ethnic differences on the staff as a way of setting the stage for managing an event for others to learn about this. Two full staff meetings were held prior to the conference and the first one was videotaped and used by the research team to further refine their rating skills.

The Conference and its membership:

The Conference opened on a Friday afternoon. Once the opening conference plenary began, it became apparent that the conference had succeeded in attracting an ethnically diverse membership and a review of demographic information contained in the participants application forms bears this out. Ten of the members were born outside of the United States and 8 of the remaining 14 individuals were born outside of the New York area. The variability in ages was also quite high, ranging from 21 to 66 with a mean of 33.3. Eliminating from this calculation the two individuals in their 60's who represented outliers in this age variability, the mean of 31.3 years revealed the presence an older sample than that which had been expected by virtue of the college setting where the conference was held.

During the opening plenary the staff was introduced and the director made a few statements about the conference's structure and task followed by questions from the conference membership. After the directors statements a White Dutch woman commented unfavorably on the formality exhibited by the staff and an African American woman questioned the design of the upcoming study groups and wondered out loud why the membership didn't simply go ahead and form their own groups. After a brief coffee break, the first experiential "small study groups" set up to examine the effects of cultural

identity on the dynamics within small groups began and continued for three consecutive sessions. (See conference schedule, Appendix A.) Members had been preassigned to these groups according to information contained on their application forms in such a way as to make each one as heterogeneous as possible.

During Saturday afternoon the Intergroup began with an plenary meeting in which the conference director outlined the structure of the event and proposed a common vocabulary for describing the types of representatives which may be engaged in intergroup contacts. These corresponded to the classifications of plenipotentiary, delegate, and observer described in the methodology section. He also announced that the staff group would at all times during this event be open to observation. After this brief introduction, the members joined three pre-assigned groups which corresponded to the ethnic, or racial categories by which they had identified themselves on their applications. (See Application forms, Appendix B.)

Specifically, the membership was divided into an African American group, a Latino group and a White group. Each group, including the staff, met in rooms on the same floor and a separate "intergroup" room was set aside for any meetings between the different groups. Research observers recording the information which comprises the data for the study were present in each of

the group rooms as well as in the room set aside for meetings. It should be noted that where possible the research observers appeared matched to the groups they were observing in terms of the visible attributes of race and ethnicity. Therefore, the Afro-Caribbean researcher was assigned to the African American group, the Anglo researcher to the White group, and of the two remaining researchers, a Jewish woman who had the more "Mediterranean" appearance was assigned to the Latin group. As it turned out, this group did not realize that their research observer wasn't a Latina until the end of the event. Before recounting the what occurred during this event, I will describe the different member groups and provide some details about the individual participants so as to aid the reader in following the narrative as it unfolds. These will be composite descriptions of members with their names and other identifying information changed, grouped by gender in an arbitrary order, and listed in alphabetical order.

The African American group was composed of seven women and two men. Of three members who were naturalized Americans, one was born in Africa, and the other two in the Caribbean. Three of the other six members were born in the South and the remainder in the Northeast of the United States. While all the participants spoke English as a first language, two also spoke Spanish and one spoke French. About half the group

were undergraduate students, and the rest worked in various social service capacities. One of the group members was married, five were single and two were divorced.

The women in the group represented a variety of ages. Jamela A. was a 38 year old American who was involved in post-graduate training to be a psychotherapist. Alicia J., age 36, worked as a "sociotherapist" in a special education setting. Collette J. was 23 year student leader who was active in a state wide student organization. Denise M., age 29, was born in the South and presently working as a sociotherapist trainee. Anne Marie N. was 22 year student government leader who was originally from the West Indies. Millicent S. was a 34 year social worker who had also grown up in the West Indies. Finally, Tadia V., age 33, grew up in Africa and worked at another college of the City University system.

As noted above, there were only two men in this group. Julian P., age 35, was a Political Science student who was originally from Louisiana. The other, Richard T., was a 31 year old student who provided no other identifying information on his application.

The Latino group consisted of five women and three men, five of whom claimed English as their primary language. One was born in Colombia, one in Chile and one in Puerto Rico, while the remainder were born in the

Northeast. Only one was married and approximately half were currently students. Of the men, Luis F., age 21, was the youngest person in the group. A self proclaimed "New yo-Rican" male, he majored in Sociology and English and spoke the least Spanish of anyone in the group. Juan R., age 33, was born in Mayaguez, P.R., and spoke the least English. Juan T., a 26 year old Puerto Rican student, was born in Manhattan .

Of the women, Carmen A. was a 22 year old Latin American student had lived in the U.S. for 10 years and was at the time majoring in English and Education. Patricia B., the other Latin American, was 23 year old and had lived in U.S.A. 18 years. She had recently graduated with a major in Psychology and also spoke Italian. Lena P. was a 40 year old Puerto Rican who was born and in the Bronx and worked in a NYC government agency. Maria R. was a 21 year of "Hispanic and Irish-American" descent who was majoring in Psychology. Elsa P. was a social worker, age 39 and born in N.Y.C., who claimed both Puerto Rican and Afro-Caribbean heritage.

The White group contained the most variability in ages and nationalities. There were five men and eight women ranging in age from twenty two to sixty six years and five were born outside of the United States. All but three had English as their primary language and the other languages spoken were Greek, Dutch, Spanish, Hebrew, Rumanian, French, Italian, and Norwegian.

Only three of the group members were married, two of them to each other.

The women were particularly varied in their ethnic backgrounds. Caroline B., age 37, described herself as having Norwegian, Irish and Scottish descent. Jane B. was a 31 year old who was born in Georgia and resided in Brooklyn. Margaret B. was the 60 year old wife of Robert B., both of whom were Jewish. Jean F., age 36, a "Humanist," of eastern European Jewish descent was a Clinical Psychology Doctoral student. Bella G. was 42 year old Italian American who worked in Psychiatric nursing. Caroline G., age 26, was a French student who had come to N.Y. to study Human Resources and Management three years earlier. Tanya L., was a 30 year old Dutch woman who had come to the U.S. 2 years earlier to study Political Science. Finally, Lydia V., age 28, was Clinical Psychology Doctoral student who had recently come from Greece to go to graduate school.

The men were less diverse. Robert B. was 66 years old and was married man to Margaret B.. Tim E. was a 47 year Probation Officer who had studied social work. Gary G., age 22, was born in Rumania and lived in U.S.A. for 12 years, currently studying Psychology as an undergraduate. Mark J. was 26 year old and had recently graduated with a psychology degree. Nathan U., a 25 year old, had also studied psychology and, like Mark, was Jewish.

The following will summarize narrative description of the events in each group throughout the intergroup event, based on the observations of the research observers. In reading these events, the reader should keep in mind that the focus of this narrative is on leadership activities. What will be noted is not only who takes on leadership roles and what they do with those roles, but also those activities which implicitly involve the exercise of authority both on the part of individuals and on the part of groups. To facilitate the reader being able to follow the identity of the different players throughout this narrative each reference to an individual temporarily out of their own group will be accompanied by a notation denoting their group of origin (i.e., AA,Wh., or La.).

The Intergroup Exercise.

First Intergroup Session:

The first session of the African American group began with discussion comparing each others' study groups from the earlier half of the conference and soon developed into an intense competition between Anne Marie --who had been in the same study group as Richard and Julian-- and Tadia, who came in alone. Much of the rest of the discussion was about the White group, with Julian and Jamela trying to structure events so as to allow for

contact with other groups. The leaders who are ascendant at the end, Tadia and Julian, seemed to be representing a wish to fight with the White group.

The first session in the Latino group began with a discussion of whether or not to request a consultant to help resolve the problem of what to do. An interpretation made by the Latino consultant in one of the earlier study groups about an "African mind" lead to a conflict in the group surrounding the issue of whom suffered more from oppression, African Americans or Latinos. Even though Luis F. was almost alone in insisting that African Americans suffered more, he was eventually voted plenipotentiary to examine this question with the A.A. group. He also voiced the idea that all ethnic groups were naturally in conflict with each other and early on seemed to wield a great deal of power in the group. With a comment on her own ethnic pride, Lena P. lead the group into a discussion the difficulties face in maintaining a "Hispanic" identity in the United States. This was generalized to include the group's feelings of difficulty in maintaining its distinctiveness within the conference.

This session ended with a call for some structure by Elsa P. which was followed by a purposeful and rapid selection of representatives to visit the African American group. Luis F. was chosen as a plenipotentiary, Lena P. as a delegate and Patricia B.as

an observer. A high spirited ending gave the impression of an efficient group, confident and proud of itself, under leadership of Luis F..

The White group began its first session with expressions of surprise and disappointment that all its members were White. A proposal to challenge this breakdown of the groups was stifled with the claim that "research" would be compromised. Some then denigrated the staff consultants while others wished that one of the consultants could be present to help them. After this some members began to observe that they actually felt comfortable to be in an all W. group. Discussions of how to work with what they had learned led to a proposal to "spy" on other groups by sending observers. Several suggestions for intergroup interactions which followed, ranging from sending someone to ask others how they were doing to meeting with the other groups as a whole, floundered on their inability to define themselves as a group. The notion on the part of some that they as White group members were not of an identifiable culture was countered by the idea that social dominance itself could define them as a "culture." The group ended discussing the fear that being perceived as dominant would lead them to be victims of "reverse discrimination" in this conference event. During this session no individual clearly emerged in a leadership role.

Second Intergroup Session:

In the African American group this session began with Jamela and Anne Marie, as delegate and observer respectively, being sent to the W. group to ask whether Whites feel intimidated around African Americans. After this the team of representatives from the Latino group arrived discuss whether African American and Latino experiences of oppression were different and caused a furor by giving the impression that they believed African Americans had less of a "culture." Tadia(AA) fought primarily with Lena(La) even though the question and subsequent impression came from the plenipotentiary, Luis(La). Julian(AA) acted as a mediator to try and calm things down, as did Jamela(AA) on her return from the White group. Anne Marie came back from her visit to that group conveying that she had become angry at the Whites. Both she and Jamela felt dissatisfied by that interaction.

In the Latino group itself, only Lena, Maria R. and Juan R. were present at the beginning of the second session. Speaking in Spanish, the three of them came to the conclusion that the research observer was Hispanic. The remainder of the sessions were conducted in both Spanish and English. Some members were more active in Spanish than English and vice versa, but Spanish predominated when there was more emotionality present and when Luis and Lena were out of the room. There was always

a lot of physical movement, particularly hanging out around the doorway when the representatives were out of the room. An initial suggestion by Luis that being grouped as L.s did not really give these members anything in common was met by apathy. Lena sought to counter this by initiating a process by which the group sought inherent grounds for cohesion by mentioning possible points of commonality such as being first born, etc.

When Patricia reported back from their visit to the African American group that Luis and Lena had gotten them into serious trouble with that group, the others became angry at their representatives and consulted the brochure in an effort to resolve their feeling of crisis. Although the representatives were strongly criticized on their return, they were quickly forgiven. Meanwhile, the representatives maintained the position that the Latino group really believed that African Americans had less culture than Latinos did. The group ended with the three representatives being sent to the staff for information while the rest of the group drafted a message for the African American group seeking reconciliation. On the way back from the staff group, Luis and another representative made a brief visit to the W. group on their own initiative and not under their group's authorization.

Meanwhile, in the White group during this second session Margaret B. tried at the beginning to bring the group to order as she began to compete with Jean F. and Jane B. for leadership roles. Once gain, the group's initial concern was that the other groups were more cohesive, happier without them and probably criticizing the Whites. Eventually Jamela(AA) arrive to ask the whether Whites felt they had to be careful around African Americans, and each individual member responded in their own way. Individual statements that race could be related to the issues being discussed were actively discounted by Margaret B.. When Jamela left, the discussion turned to what the L. group may doing. A proposal to send a delegate out was vetoed by Jean's insistence that White group had not yet formed as a group.

Soon after another delegation from the African American group arrived, this time lead by Anne Marie. This visit was far more tense than the previous one. The group was asked whether Whites "being careful" around African Americans is designed to hide their racism. Also, whether they felt that press reports of violence were treated differently depending on the race of the victims and perpetrators. Members of the White group responded by speaking in generalities about society and social classes. They avoided references to race and down played their emotions. The group was united in not

responding to a question about which of them had earlier expressed fears about security in Harlem and together they challenged the suggestion that this feeling was racist in and of itself. This caused Anne Marie(AA) to back off a little from her confrontational stance. As Anne Marie left, Margaret asked her to have the African American group send information to teach the White group how not to be racist. For this she was later accused by the White group as being patronizing.

In other intergroup contacts, two Latino observers had dropped in during the interchange with Anne Marie(AA) but were largely ignored in the shuffle. Later, as the session ended, Luis and another Latino representative came in and joked around with the group. They were asked to come back next session and a proposal was made to invite a staff member to observe during the following session was declined.

Third Intergroup Session:

The third session began in the African American group with a decision to seek consultation from the staff over the increasing difficult relations between Julian P. and Tadia V. The presence of two White observers who arrived at the beginning of the session caused some resentment as well paranoid feelings, even though the group had not considered controlling its boundaries by not letting them in. Eventually Tadia was

delegated --alone at first and then with Julian-- to carry out negotiations with the staff for a consultant to resolve their difficulties. The negotiation was not fruitful because the staff consultant would not agree to let them control the time boundaries of the consultation. In the staff room, the consultation request had had taken the the form of asking for help in getting to know each other in their(AA) group. The staff agreed that this was a reasonable task to have a consultant for, but the White consultant who had been chosen for this role disagreed with the stipulation made by Tadia that her group decide when the consultant should leave, saying: " we need to set our own time boundaries and not have that set by the members." Though an appointed plenipotentiary, Tadia insisted that she has to go back to her group and see if this is okay with them. After Tadia and Julian returned, the mood in the African American group was very low. Julian insisted, and the others eventually agreed, that they were better off without a consultant in the first place. Tadia then began an extended monologue about her life and explained that she had recently been unfairly fired from her job because of her "Blackness" and rising fast in the hierarchy. An extensive sharing of personal experiences went on for the rest of the third session. Following Tadia, Anne Marie, Julian, and Richard did most of the talking and as a result a much greater sense of cohesiveness developed among everyone in the group..

Meanwhile, in the Latino group the "message of reconciliation" for the African American group took up most of the third session. Elsa P. took the leadership of this process and a great deal of energy was expended, accompanied by a fear that an imperfect message could cause even more greater problems. To avoid that eventuality the door to the room was closed for the first time and the blackboard was later erased in order to guarantee confidentiality and make sure the "wrong impression" didn't leak out. Luis continued to insist that he had honestly reflected the group's previous attitude towards the African American group. They eventually discussed the possibility of forming a coalition with the African American group as a way of healing the conflict, since the African Americans might accept them as fellow "minorities."

The Latino group received a delegation of two visitors from the White Group towards the middle of the session. They responded very warmly, inviting them to sit together in the circle. Towards the end of the session they started addressing their feelings about White people in general, expressing a vague sense that that's where all power in society was. Also, after a visit to the White group later, the Latina representative reported back that the Whites acted "polite but stupid." Nonetheless, The Latino group expressed pleasure and feelings of affirmation from a communication that the

White group liked them, and thought that they were the most "cohesive" group.. This was somewhat in contrast to strong feelings of antagonism towards both African Americans and Whites expressed by Lena P. This session also saw the first and only serious consideration of individual differences and possible racial prejudices within their own group.

The third session began for the White group with a suggestion by one of the members that they needed to develop an identity as a group rather than to just react to others on an ad hoc basis. This was followed by a discussion of the various ethnic group identities present amongst them. The group eventually developed a greater sense of urgency about actually interacting with other groups and six members were chaotically designated to go out in pairs and engage in unspecified tasks with each of the other three groups. The seven who remained got deeper into the exploration of individual identities and every time the issue of White guilt came up, Margaret B. tried to dispel it. When the delegates whom had been sent out returned to the group they were ignored, as the exploration and sharing of personal experiences continued. Also, a Latina observer who arrived during this discussion was similarly ignored.

Eventually, as Jane B. spoke of her feelings of hurt at the experience of having African American childhood friends in Atlanta not wanting to socialize

with her Nathan broke in. Having just been to the African American group, he reported that he had encountered hostility towards him in his visit to that group. His description of the group was that two females were fighting for leadership and that the group itself was refreshing compared to the overly intellectualized climate of the White group. Lydia V., who had accompanied him, was angry about hearing the White group misrepresented there by Anne Marie(AA), who had recently visited them. Jean F. reported that she observed the Latino group working on a statement of "solidarity" with the African American Group. She also stated that she envied the Latino group's cohesiveness and would like to be part of such a group. The delegates to the staff group reported that the staff was discussing how the conference members seemed stuck in their "officially" designated groups and that the members had not considered other ways to re-configure themselves.

All of these reports seemed to make the group more anxious and aware of its relative isolation from the other groups. Desperate to find ways to connect with them, the group considered sending a message out to declare themselves an oppressed group also. They also considered their own past failures, like not deciding to send a Spanish speaking representative to the Latino group. They also considered disbanding the group and

joining the other two, but were afraid that they might not be accepted. The session ended on a note of dejected dependency.

Fourth Intergroup Session:

This session took place after dinner on Saturday evening. In the African American it opened with a continuing examination of personal experiences in which the the whole group had an opportunity to discuss something about their individual lives. The group became quite intimate as people discussed where they were in their lives and where they felt they were going. There was one particularly touching moment in which Anne Marie, who had done a lot of competing for leadership previously, acknowledged feelings of admiration towards the others who had already contributed more than she to society, by virtue of their being older and farther along in their lives.

Towards the end of the session they decide that they wanted to send a plenipotentiary to Latino group, with whom they had had no contacts since the conflictual visit during the first session. After a suggestion that they go all together as a group, they argued about whether it would be "against the rules" to do so. After it was reported that the staff had been overheard expressing wonder that the members had up until then been staying in their originally designated groups,

they agreed to send a Julian P. to suggest a meeting with the Latino group and convinced them to form a "coalition."

After this the rest of the group went to the room set aside for intergroup meetings. When they got there they noticed that all the chairs were still set up facing the front of the room, as they had been for the Intergroup event opening plenary. While trying to decide whether to move the chairs, one of them said: "If we want to obey the law we should stay in here or if we want to be rebels we'll go next door," and at that point they went next door to the room designated as a member's lounge. The last person leaving suggested to the research observer in the intergroup room that he could come and observe them next door, but the observer replied that his job was to observe what happened in the intergroup room itself. Ten minutes later, Denise M.(AA) passed by the intergroup room and said sympathetically to the observer: "you're all alone."

During this fourth session the Latino group started off quite differently because only Juan R. and Juan T. were in their room for the first twenty five minutes. As the others drifted back from dinner, most of them spoke of having eaten with members of the White group. Following a discussion of how much they enjoyed and learned from their dinner conversations, Elsa P. and others wondered out loud about establishing some kind of

solidarity with the White group. Juan R.'s description of his dinner with a member of the African American group was discounted as a meaningful contact with the African American group because the two of them were friends from outside the conference. These expressions of a desire for solidarity with the White group continued as the group struggled to complete the statement of reconciliation with the African American group that they spent the previous session on. The group was split between those who wanted to leave it until the following, and final, session of the intergroup event which was to take the next day and those who felt strongly that the issue had to be addressed right away.

Half way through this session Julian P.(AA) arrived and in sat in the circle, setting off ripples of anxiety in the group. After he was aggressively challenged to identify himself by by Lena P. he proposed their two groups(AA and La) meet in the room designated as a member's lounge. Using a double entendre which drew on that room having been used for refreshments, he stated "we'll use the punch room in more that one way." This generated some anxiety in the Latino group, but once he explained that the purpose was to develop a coalition between the African American and Latino groups within the conference and take "authority" onto themselves, the whole group got up and followed him out the door. As they departed, one of them mischievously flicked the

light switch on the way out as a gesture towards the research observer. They also went first to the intergroup room, but seeing that no one else was there they left again to go to the lounge. Once they joined the African American group which was already there the conversation became very excited and animated, seemingly focused on several issues at the same time. When some of the individuals(AA) who had been observing the staff during this session came to the room, there seemed to be a lot of running and laughter going on. The research observer in the next room was able to overhear the statement;"The Blacks and Hispanics are rebelling against the Whites." Following this there developed a fairly vociferous argument about having further contact with the staff at that time. the outcome of this argument was expressed with the words:"If they [the staff] want to observe [us], let them come to [our]... door ."

Most of the talk which ensued in the members' lounge was about the cohesion which was felt to be present between "people of color." In was noted that there were more of them than there were White people and that they could get together because they shared the experience of having been oppressed. In spite of the talk of cohesiveness, the group became more and more as serious disagreements arose, but the anxiety was reduced when someone pointed out that they had observed the staff group having trouble organizing its work.

Eventually, just before the end of the session, there was a vote to provide information to the White group on what had occurred between the newly formed "coalition" and the staff.

In the meantime, the White group had began this fourth session with only half its members in the room. The other half were still eating dinner with members of the Latino group. Those who were present joked about whether any of the absent ones had come to represent "casualties" of the group process or whether their lateness represented something about their ethnicity. A request for an explanation of the Bensonhurst incident* by Caroline B. was misunderstood by Margaret B as referring to an incident where Jews were killed. Caroline B. also described how uncomfortable being in a minority position had felt for her when she had visited the African American group. There were several proposals to disband as a group, but Jean F. strongly insisted that the group did in fact represent something by virtue of its being white and that the group was avoiding what it could learn from this.

* An incident of racial violence which had recently occurred in which an African American youth was shot and killed by a group of White youth in a predominantly Italian American neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York.

At that point the rest arrived and the group split over the issue of disbursing out into the others and trying to understand what they represented as a group. Jean prepared a statement appealing to the other two groups to help the White group make a connection with them and three representatives went out to deliver it. They returned almost immediately to report that the other two groups were meeting together and that the White delegation had been given only three minutes to discuss their message before being told that the other two groups were busy with their own work and would maybe get back to the White group later.

Hearing this, the White group became agitated and struggled to calm its anxiety in a variety of ways. They came up with the rationalization that maybe this was good because they wouldn't feel guilty any more since they had become the minority. There were also statements to the effect that the other two groups must have been scarred of them all along, and that now they were more powerful than the White group. They also derived some satisfaction from the idea that the other two groups were breaking the rules by meeting in the lounge. Primarily, however, they felt rejected, increasingly vulnerable, and began to show signs of disintegration. During this time the group seemed incapable of making a decision. Margaret B., without being authorized, went to the other groups again and opened their door uninvited only to have

"not now," shouted at her. When a White consultant came to the door to ask them what they were doing about the task of the intergroup, the group reacted with total disarray and were unable to answer. After the consultant left, the rest of the time was spent deciding to ask for a consultant for the final session and a vote was taken at the last moment to do so.

The Fifth Intergroup Session:

During the final session of the intergroup event, which began at 8:30 P.M., the members of all three groups met in the members' lounge. Some of their activities were overheard by the research observer who was next door in the room designated for intergroup meetings and their transactions with the staff group were recorded by the research observer who was there.

The session began with the members discussing whether or not to include the White group in what had previously been a coalition between the African American and the Latino groups. After about ten minutes of the "coalition" took a vote to accept the White group. At this time, three members left the lounge to go and observe the staff group. As they left, the others inside shouted: "remember, you are only observers." The large group that remained in the room discussed whether or not to invite a researcher in so that their activities would be noted as data for the research at the conference.

At 8:55 P.M., Luis F. (La.) went to the intergroup room next door with several other members and said to the research observer there: "We'd like to have an observer in the 'student coalition' room." Almost simultaneously he proposed to those still in the lounge that they could all just move the chairs in the intergroup room to accommodate them, saying: "Well, maybe we should just move these chairs in here." Following the researcher's statement that his task was to observe the events in the intergroup room, there were arguments at the door as to which room the whole group should use. They finally decided that the chairs are not set up the way they would like and that they didn't want to move them. At that point they returned to the lounge, but left their door open for the first time, as if they wanted to at least be heard by the research observer.

When the three members arrived at the Staff room they claimed they had been authorized as observers from the African American group in room #325, from the Latino group in #314, and from the White group in #329. Later, another White member came to the staff room as an observer and said he was from room #327, the lounge, precipitating a discussion with the African American administrator over whether that space had been authorized by the staff for use during the intergroup sessions. A little later an African American member came in saying he was as an observer from room #325. During this time

these members witnessed the staff discussing whether the membership was disagreeing with the research task by going where there were no research observers and whether there were any in this consequences for the learning tasks of the conference.

In the meantime, the researcher who was next door to the lounge could hear that there was a lot of loud discussion and laughter. There was also an argument going on in between the people who wanted to relate to the staff of the conference and those who felt that to do was to acknowledge that the staff had "too much power." The discussion was at times quite frenetic and the two positions that developed could be summarized as follows: One side took the position that conference members had power as research subjects since the conference staff needed them in order to collect data and therefore the members should use that as leverage to get what they wanted from the staff. The other side argued that since the members had agreed to be in a research project, they should meet in the intergroup room or at least invite the staff to observe what was going on in the members' lounge.

The view which eventually prevailed was that if they moved their meeting into the intergroup room, they would have given up everything they had gained by "rebellious" in the first place. During that time they seemed to have accepted, without formally deciding, that

one of them, an African American male, would moderate the discussion. They they eventually voted to send a delegation to the staff so as to negotiate having some of the staff come and observe the entire group.

When the members' delegation arrived at the door of the staff room they reported their wish to carry out a negotiation with the staff, as delegates from room #327, but the administrator responded that the staff wouldn't recognize them because the group they now represent was meeting in an unauthorized space. Hearing this, the three members stayed at the door trying to negotiate with the administrator. One of the members went back to the room first, and the other two stayed to make a request that the staff come and observe them anyway, because they felt that important research data was being lost.

Meanwhile, when the delegate who left the staff room earlier got back to the members' lounge, he closed the door and his report was met with a lot of hooting, laughing and running around in the room. Not long after that someone left the lounge, leaving the door open again. At that point its clear that most of the discussion is about the members' being involved in a power struggle with the staff. Statements are made such as: "We've stopped the research, so now let them come to us," and "We should tell them that's it's a whole new situation and have them do something."

V. Quantitative Measures of Intergroup Relations.

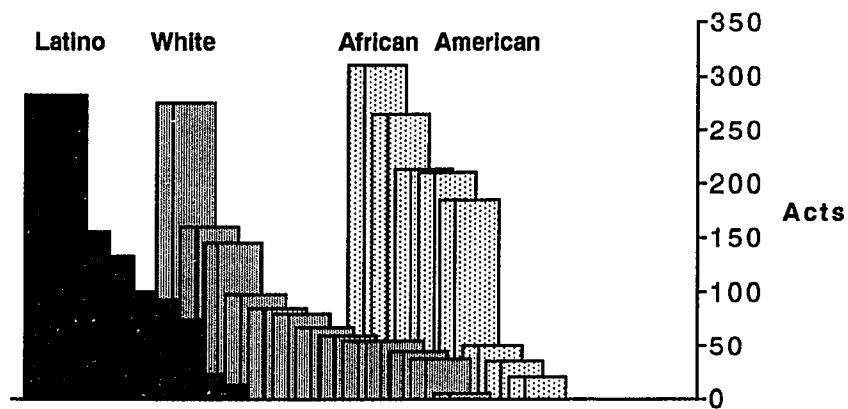
Group Profiles and Differences:

This section will describe the activities in each of the three groups as these relate to leadership, basic assumption group activities, boundaries, and representation. The data presented here is derived not only from quantitative, time-series measures of these variables, but also from an analysis of narrative descriptions provided by the researchers who observed each of the groups. At the outset, leadership styles in all three group will be compared and then the development of leadership in each group will be examined in depth. After this, the prevailing basic assumption activities for each group will be outlined, along with a description of the attributions that each group made towards others as well as towards themselves. Finally, the boundaries and representational systems for all three groups will be presented together.

Figure 1. represents the data collected on the leadership in each group. Separated by group, the columns represent an individuals, and height the number of utterances over the life of the groups. Comparing the profiles represented by each set of columns provides a profile of the leadership which developed in each of the groups. The most striking similarity here is between the Latino and White groups in that both groups had one

primary leader who spoke almost twice as often as the next most active member. This contrasts with the the profile of the African American group which indicates five very active members and three less active ones.

Figure 1. LEADERSHIP PROFILES.
Three way comparison of the number of acts per member, by group.



A look at the development of leadership in each group helps to explain how these different profiles actually came about. It was possible to discern the key players with a fair degree of accuracy by the descriptions provided in the narrative and by simply counting the number of times each group member is mentioned by name. Also, this method of identifying the leaders was in most cases confirmed by the quantitative data collection method described above. In the few instances where the two counts did not agree, the time-series method was always considered the more accurate.

Leadership and Basic Assumptions in the African American Group:

In the African American group Tadia V. and Anne Marie N. were the first to differentiate themselves as leaders, simply by fighting with each other. Both of them then continued to predominate through most of the history of the group. Tadia established her strength early on as a fight leader by engaging forcefully with anybody, in or out of the group. Anne Marie took on authority by talking extensively and demonstrated her strength as a fight leader in negotiations with the White group by being provocative. In terms of the quantitative measures, their status in the group is reflected in table 2. below.

Of the other three, Julian P. gained authority initially by challenging others within the group and later by leading efforts to get out and interact with other groups. He also predominates as a fight leader and in the narrative is eventually perceived as the group co-leader with Tadia. Interestingly, he both initiates the "coalition" with the Latino group and eventually takes on the role of moderator in the final joint meeting of all three member groups. While Richard T. appeared relatively absent in the narrative description of this group, the quantitative data reveals that he was as active as was Julian. Jamela A. was the

first to explicitly take up the the intergroup task of meeting with others and became the first delegate in taking a message to the White group. That the other three members were relatively passive is reflected in the narrative and in figure 2., below.

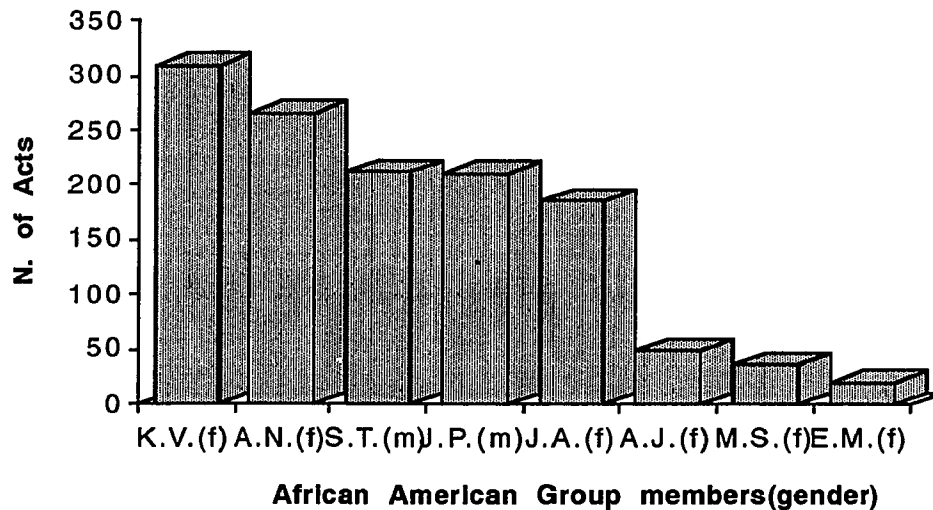
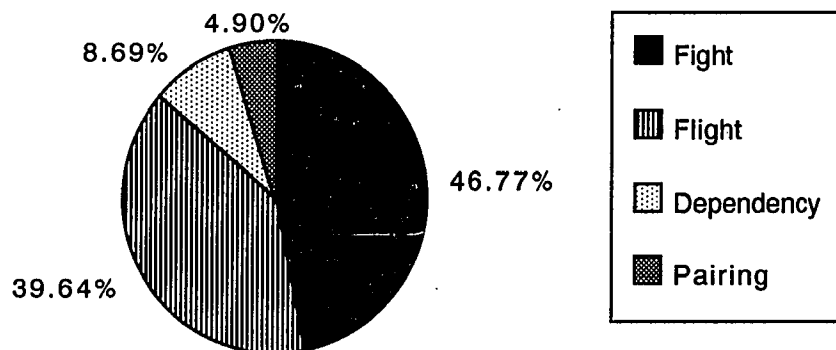


Figure 2.

The tally of basic assumption activities which were rated for this group can be seen in figure 1. Complementing this data, the prevailing emotional states noted in the narrative description of the group's activities also provides a picture of the prevailing basic assumptions. What the narrative tells us is that two females took the initial leadership in the group by fighting with each other. The one who expressed the most anger eventually wins the power struggle and then assumes a co-leader position with a male who has both the capacity to mediate her anger and to creatively structure

hostility in the group. She then becomes the in-house leader while he leads in the intergroup tasks. By the third session these two primary fight leaders are fighting with each other so much that the group sought a consultation from the staff. However, this is a relatively short lived setback in the overall task of examining the intergroup relations because the group is able to rally and initiate a meeting with the Latino group. Thus, at the same time that basic assumption fight-flight has predominated, this group has been very effective in engaging with others and eventually provides some leadership for the entire membership. Seen in Figure 1. below, the quantitative distribution of basic assumption group activities also reflects a predominance of fight-flight, evenly distributed between fight and flight ratings.

Figure 3.
African Am. group B.A. activities.



In terms of boundary management and representational systems, both the narrative and quantitative data show a great deal of openness at the boundary of the group and a high degree of authorization for representatives to other groups. The African American group never closed the door to its meeting room during all of their proceedings, and in fact did so only in "coalition" with the Latino group. The group was highly versatile in the development and execution of transactional task systems, a key factor in its direct influence on the other two groups. Table & on page && presents the quantitative boundary and representational data for all three groups together.

One of the richest aspects of the narrative data was in an area not quantifiable by the methods adopted for this study. This has to do with the presence of attributional processes which indicate stereotypical attitudes, both towards other groups and towards ones own group. Apart from basic assumption activities, these stereotypes are seen here as the next best way to get a handle on projective processes taking place in this type of intergroup process. In the African American group, attributions towards their own group were mostly positive. Specifically, they saw themselves as cohesive, proud, self sufficient, fearsome, and reliable in defending their own interests. The other qualities which the group attributed to itself were more ambivalent and,

at times, even perceived as negative. These were isolated, cautious, unpunctual, prejudiced towards each other, and negatively predisposed towards Whites.

Attributions within the African American group towards the Latino group indicated a profound ambivalence reflected in an initial inability to define them as friends or foes. The only attributions towards them arose from actual contacts with the Latino group. This suggested that at the outset at least, the overriding intergroup concerns that were present were directed exclusively towards the White group. The most frequent attributions --that the Latino group was hostile, conflictive, abandoning, and seeking to put down the African Americans-- arose in direct response to that initial conflictual contact with the Latino group. Later, as the conflict was resolved, the Latino group was seen as representing a potential ally, reaching out for common ground in the struggle with White "oppressors."

There were twice as many attributions mentioned towards the White group as there were towards the Latino group, indicating a far greater sense of concern. This fact is not easily interpretable within the intergroup event, however, because it is not always clear whether these attributions refer to the present White group, to perceptions about individual White members encountered during the conference, or to the general category of White dominated society.

The most frequent attributions to Whites were that they are vaguely and inherently racist. Within this, several qualities which were explicitly identified as deriving from racism were; anger towards African Americans, hiding their true negative feelings about African Americans, and fear of mugging. Other attributions which were primarily negative were about Whites as the enemy, hypocritical, avoidant, and devious. There were also neutral attributions such as that Whites were uncomprehending, indifferent, intimidated, hated, and scared. One positive attribution mentioned was around the idea that Whites could be genuinely concerned about not causing offense, when they were perceived as being "careful" around African Americans.

Leadership and Basic Assumptions in the Latino Group:

The development of leadership in the Latino group occurred in a very different manner in that one leader who was ascendent at the outset was soon replaced by another leader for the duration of the group. Luis F. was clearly the leader at the outset of the group, even though he took positions which were at variance with the rest of the group. He also stood out from the group in that he was the youngest male, the most fair skinned, and only non-Spanish speaking individual. He was also the most focused on the task of interacting with other groups. Lena P., the oldest in the group, also took on

an influential role at the outset as she strongly affirmed her "Hispanic" identity as a Bronx based Puerto Rican. She was fully bilingual and emphasized the cohesive aspects of the group, serving as a bridge between the Spanish dominant and English dominant group members.

Elsa P., the second oldest female, soon took over from both Luis and Lena by forcefully confronting the anxiety around the first ill fated negotiation with the African American group. She did this primarily by taking a strong leadership position in the face the panic which the group was experiencing. She then worked hard with the group to heal the rift. First by affirming African American culture and then by directing the process of writing a message of reconciliation in such a way as to allow each individual to make a contribution.

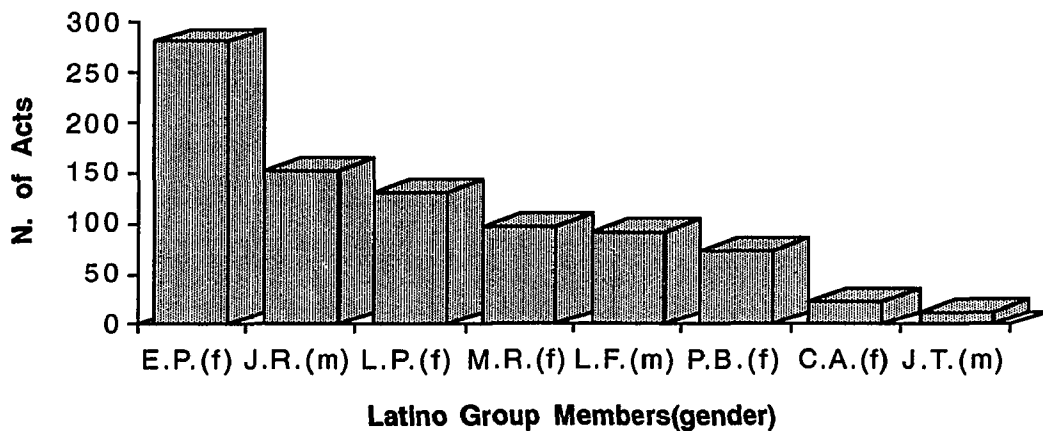


Figure 4.

The narrative description of this group suggests that all the other members were far less involved with influencing the events which took place. As seen by the profile shown in Table 3., the narrative did not adequately reflect the leadership role of Juan R.. This discrepancy is significant because it points to the fact that when the group spoke primarily in Spanish, the research observer was less able to accurately reflect the narrative which was present at those times. Thus we don't really know Juan R.'s leadership developed. Also, although the group was initially unaware that the researcher did not speak Spanish, its decisions as to when to switch languages may have been related to a wish to converse outside researchers purview.

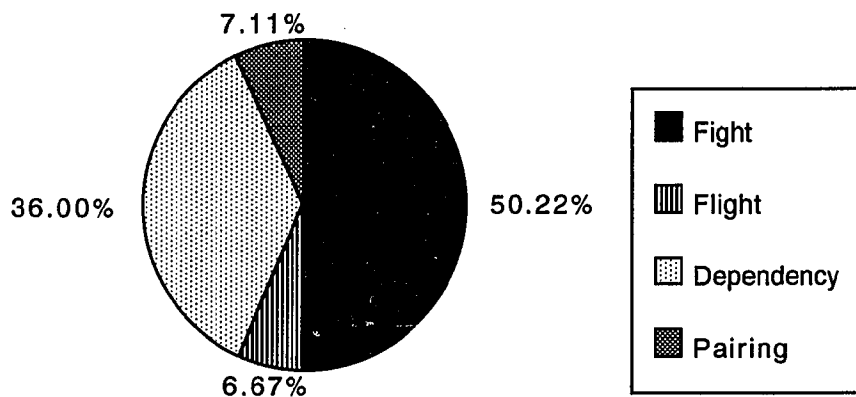
A unique aspect of the leadership of the Latino group wasn't identifiable from the quantitative measures, but was amply elucidated by the narrative descriptions. This was the role of cultural assimilation, or biculturality seen as well as the ability to span different cultural groups, as a criteria for leadership. Each of the three leaders who had a strong influence, did so in roles which seemed to relate to their own internalized cultural identity(ies). Luis F. may have been prematurely perceived as a good leadership choice because, as the most assimilated to White American culture, he embodied some of the qualities identified with the management of the conference. The unforeseen

down side of this, however, was his inability to actually represent the Latino group as a whole. The choice of Lena P. as number two may have represented an attempt to bridge cultures --that Luis could not-- in the person of strong ethnically identified Bronx born and bred Puerto Rican. Finally, the fact that Elsa P. took on leadership in the task of healing the split with the African American group was strongly related to her being the only member of the group to also check off the category "Afro-Caribbean" on the conference application.

In terms of basic assumption activities, the narrative description of the group shows that its first session contained a lot of dependency, even as it engaged the fight aspect of basic assumption fight-flight in its initial contacts with the African American group. Basic assumption dependency was manifested in several ways. At the outset, the group's first idea was to seek a consultation from the staff about how they should function. Immediately after this, the speed of its first leadership choice suggested an overriding concern to have any leader at all, as soon as possible. After the first encounter with the African American group, the group's response was: "look to the manual" for help, i.e. by re-reading the conference brochure. And finally, it chose to send the entire team of representatives responsible for the sense of crisis to the staff group for consultations.

Figure 2., below, reflects the contribution of basic assumption dependency to the process in the Latino group. Strikingly absent is the flight aspect of basic assumption fight-flight, reflecting an absence of ratings for fearful and avoidant emotional qualities in the group. On the other hand, the presence of basic assumption pairing ratings speaks to the importance of cohesiveness which was extensively noted in the narrative descriptions.

Figure 5. Latino Group B.A. activities



The attributional processes in the Latino group were mostly focused on the other two groups and expressed a strong sense of seeing the other two groups as fundamentally different from themselves. Also, discussions of other ethnic groups often began in a way that was not immediately connected to the actual groups in the intergroup event. The few attributions they had towards themselves were mostly positive in that they

described themselves as strong, united, and cohesive. The group evinced a sense of being proud of itself and this was specially apparent when the group discovered it was being seen in a favorable light by the White group. The only negative attributions expressed towards themselves were focused on the more general category of "Hispanics" in society, who were described as having been culturally deprived by Anglo dominated educational systems.

Attributions towards the African American group started off at the societal level, with the notion that African American culture was the one most devastated by historical oppression, leading to an impoverished cultural identity. After interacting with the African American group, the attributions towards them were always cast simultaneously in a positive and negative light. They were seen as dangerous and as a valuable group with whom it was crucial to establish a "common ground." The African American group is described as temperamental and unpredictable, while at the same time being important to have as "partners." They were defined as a membership "outgroup" while being perceived as an essential ally. The first attributions towards Whites also occurred in a societal context, that of "White" culture being a source for the educational oppression of Latinos. After making direct contact, the White group was subsequently characterized as polite but extremely naive and as being vaguely privileged.

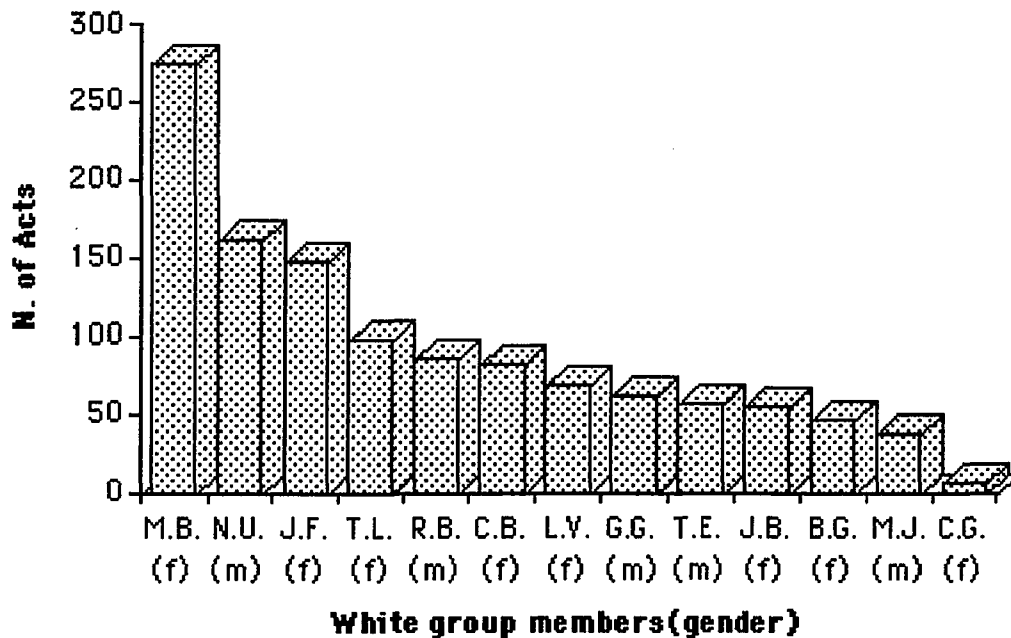
Leadership and Basic Assumptions in the White Group:

The development of leadership in the White group followed the clearest pattern among the three groups, in that one individual is by far the most influential member from the outset, as well as throughout the duration of the group. In the narrative text, Margaret B.'s leadership style was characterized by the volume and repetitiveness of her contributions. These were focused around a consistent and intellectualized denial of the importance --or even the existence-- of ethnic differences and stereotypes. She also brought to the role a strong character and good leadership abilities, both of which are harnessed by the group to provide a vehicle by which the anxieties present in the group could be diffused. The qualities which made her successful appeared in the way she often seemed comfortably in control of a highly ambiguous situation. She did this by structuring activities within the group, taking the lead in intergroup contacts, and banishing feelings of guilt which periodically came up within the group.

The quantitative data, summarized in Figure 6, shows that the next most frequent participant in this group was Nathan U.. The relative absence of descriptions of him as a leader in the narrative text points to a trend which seems to be true of most of the

males in the White group in that there is little information about their influence on the overall trend of events. The relatively few descriptions which appear in the narrative data indicate a near unanimous tendency to be quite honest in exploring prejudicial feelings and in their direct responses to contacts with the African American group. One thing which is unclear about this data is why these types of contributions, as well as Nathan's previous group relations conference experience, seemed to have so little impact on this group's activities.

Figure 6.

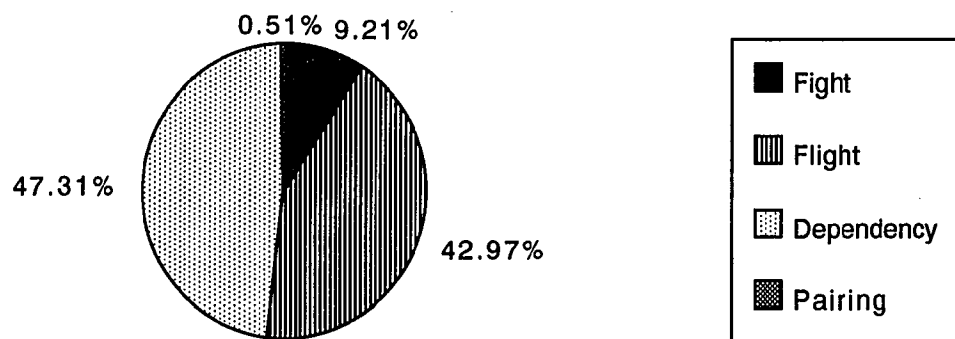


The other most active male in the group was Robert B., whose contributions consisted primarily of passively assisting his wife in her leadership role. This fact brings out a possibly significant role for of pairs in this group which does not appear to be reflected by ratings for basic assumption pairing. (see Figure 7.)

The second most frequently active woman in both the narrative and the quantitative data was Jean F.. She established a significant position for herself primarily by disagreeing with Margaret B., often insisting that the group pay attention to race and ethnicity. Her leadership role was also distinctive in being more suffused with feeling. She revealed her own past experiences around racial differences and expressed genuine concern and envy towards other groups. Jane B. joined with Jean F. in promoting genuine group self exploration and Lydia V. supported this as well as the active engagement of delegates from other groups. Although the later two women spoke more freely of the guilt which was present and about ethnic strife in general, they did so mostly in an intellectualized fashion and by avoiding their own prejudices. This is perhaps one of the reasons why, in spite of their numbers, they were unable to alter the effects of Margaret B's management style on the group.

The distribution of basic assumption activities for the White group is consistent with the narrative description of its approach cultural diversity. In fact, the group often appeared to be in flight from the painful issues around ethnicity that kept coming up. Interestingly, the group chose as its leader the only member of the conference to provide no ethnically related information on her conference application form at all. Also, the group overruled Margaret B.'s proposal to alter the structure from the outset in a way which would have forced them to really engage other conference members at the outset. This suggests that it chose her more as a flight leader than for any other purpose, and is consistent with the quantitative breakdown of basic assumption activities in the figure below. Here, the contribution of flight to the overall fight-flight activities is far greater than in the other two groups.

Figure 7. White group: B.A. group activities.



The prevalence of basic assumption dependency is also notable in the activities of this group. As mentioned above, in spite of some objections to the leader's style, the group as a whole held more closely to that style than any other. The ability of this group to avoid anxiety through intellectualization is suggested by the fact that in spite of extensive discussion of differences there was a remarkable capacity to diffuse their emotional significance. This was maintained in part by not initiating contact with other groups in the conference, but was perhaps most influenced by the prevailing basic assumption activities of dependency and flight within the group.

In spite of strong dependency characteristics, the most generalized group reaction to anxiety in the White group corresponded to flight. The group's flight was sustained by an attempted detachment from the other two groups, and hence, the learning task itself. The group's response to Margaret B.'s leadership is to rally around the priorities implicit in her constant denial of ethnic issues, and not around her suggested actions. Although it contained the greatest variety of ages, nationalities, and native tongues, none of these differences emerged in any significant way. The ingroup differentiation required by a work modality did not emerge either and competence in group relations conference work in the form of previous experiences by

several members was unavailable to the group. Through flight, the group cut itself off from the others, as well as from itself.

A remarkable aspect of the data on this group is the relative absence of basic assumption pairing in spite of the presence of at least two sets of individuals who were paired outside this conference. Apart from the married couple, Nathan U. had come to the conference with a close friend who was in the White group with him. There was no data gathered here to suggest that either of these pairs were even discussed.

The attributions that the White group had toward itself were varied and complex. Initially the group attributed to itself a sense of being safe and comfortable as a function of being a White group, in spite of conflicting points of view as to whether they were actually homogeneous or not. There soon developed a sense of themselves as too powerful and dominant in some vague and undefinable way. This continued to effect their attributions towards themselves throughout the rest of the event in a way that gave rise to feelings of guilt and self hatred. These feelings won out over periodic observations that they were not cohesive at all, and thus couldn't be powerful. Once the two other groups joined together at the very end, they saw themselves as oppressed, as hated, and as rejected.

The attributional processes within the White group towards the other two groups were very distinct in that, initially, all the attributions were directed at both of the other two member groups as if they were one. The very first attributions were expressed as a fear that the other two groups would punish or discriminate against them for being White. This was followed by stereotypical allusions to lateness among the African American and Latino members at other conference events. The attributions which followed this was the idea that the non-White members were happy to get rid of the White group, although one member suggesting that perhaps they were being missed. The homogenizing of the other groups continued into the second session with more attributions about the other groups being cohesive and being antagonistic to the White group. The staff group was seen as coercive in having set up the ethnic categories for grouping conference members.

There was initially one instance of differentiation of Latinos in that an inability to connect with two of the Latino men reported by a member of the White group was attributed to the assumption that they were of lower socio-economic class origins, rather than to their being Latinos. The first attribution addressed to a distinct group as a whole was that the African American group was angry following the visits of their plenipotentiaries. During a subsequent visit, the

idea arose that perhaps upper class African Americans loose their African American identities through the process of upward mobility. Also mentioned were the notion that African Americans can call each other "nigger" without being prejudiced, and childhood memories of being subjected to social ostracism by African American children.

Following its repeated visits, the African American group was first seen as very hostile, provocative, and intimidating. This image persisted throughout most of the event. However, after visits to the African American group by observers from the white group there developed other types of attributions. The African American group was described by these observers as refreshingly honest and feeling oriented. Later in the intergroup event the African American group was also seen as being alone and against all others.

The attributions towards the Latino group were notable in their initial absence. When they arose, they were that it was warm, accepting, and also envied for having used Spanish to become more cohesive than any other group. The final set of attributions lumped the two other groups together once again. It was suggested that minorities were alienated by Whites, in general. When it was known that the two other groups had joined together, the attribution of social dominance was immediately made towards them.

Types of Representation Among the Three Groups:

Table 1., below, summarizes the number of and types of representatives that were sent out from each group. Looking simply at the totals, there does not appear to any real difference between the three groups. However, if one considers the types of authorization, the differences between the African American group and the other two are more apparent.

**Table 1.
Representation:**

Groups:	Observer	Delegate	Plenipotent.	Total
African Am.	1	2	4	7
Latino	2	2	2	6
White	3	3	1	7

Recalling that a plenipotentiary has the highest possible degree of authorization, that of making decisions on behalf of their own group, it is possible to note how these results corroborate the data on leadership already presented. This general picture is consistent with the view that the African American group was the most active in engaging with other groups during the intergroup event, with the Latino group doing so to a lesser extent. Although the total number of representatives for the White group is identical to that of the African American group, the fact that only one of

their representatives was a plenipotentiary describes a far more cautious style of representation than was the case for the other two groups. This total also obscures the fact that six of the seven contacts made other groups took place only during the last actual intergroup session, in which they sent out observers and delegates simply to discover that the other two group rooms were empty!

Of the four variables mentioned at the outset of this study, the management of boundaries was the only one in which no measurable differences were perceived. This is because all three groups kept their doors open almost the entire time. Although more general inferences about boundary management could be made from the narrative data, lack of empirical data means that this particular variable will henceforth be dropped.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The final section of this dissertation will begin by looking back over the salient trends in the data presented which relate to cultural identity and intergroup relations, particularly in regards to the concept of sentience. Following this I will suggest that the attributional processes which took place among the groups may provide a way of understanding the projective processes which were operating during this particular intergroup event. Finally, I will explore a few of the unresolved issues, "roads not taken," and share some personal reflections.

The Role of Sentience:

A key contribution of open systems theory which provides a vehicle for understanding cultural identity is the relative impact of sentience versus task on the overall behavior of groups. The data presented speaks to the impact of sentience on group behaviors because these groups were arranged according to social categories which are assumed to mean that the members of these categories have some shared patterns of identification. In fact, the results presented here call into question the assumption that the social categories of African American, Latino and White correspond, in all three cases, to the same types of shared patterns of identification.

One of the ways to understand the operation of sentience in the three groups examined here is to consider the interplay of institutional authorization and the feelings of authorization that came from within each group. The events of this conference suggest that feelings of authorization which came from within each group were related to how they perceived their a cultural identity and how they believed others perceived it.

As seen in the last section, leadership developed differently in each group with the Latino and the White group exhibiting more hierarchical structures of authority than did the African American group. Explicitly, this occurred because a greater proportion of members of the African American group actively took up roles in the overall functioning of their group. Since these individuals must have felt authorized to take up these roles, it is worthwhile to examine some of the possible sources of this authorization. To begin with, all three groups were "institutionally authorized" simultaneously, and in the same manner, by the director of the conference to carry out the same tasks in the context of the intergroup event. Thus, institutional authorization would not seem to account for these differences. On the other hand, there remains the possibility that the different groups *felt* themselves to have been authorized differently because of the particular nature of their sentient ties.

I believe that ability of the African American group to take up its authorization to act came from within, as well as from the institution. Also, that the nature of this self authorization was different from that of other groups in the conference. I would suggest here that perhaps the experience of being African American, in and of itself, prepares one to think about and confront issues related to race. Countless authors and social scientists have pointed out that it is virtually impossible to grow up as an African American without having a special awareness of ones' own ethnicity and its impact on others. It is still a fact in 1992 that African Americans, regardless of socioeconomic class status, can find it difficult at times to catch a taxi cab in Manhattan.

So, one could present as valid, even if untested, the hypothesis that by virtue of growing up Black in a multi-racial society, African Americans may be more used to negotiating the significance of their ethnicity in social settings involving the presence of more than one race and would therefore feel more authorized to act during an intergroup event which is dedicated to precisely that. One could extend this idea to groups, i.e., African Americans may be socialized to deal with issues ethnic difference on a group level as well. Thus, the institutional authorization of this event would have a different meaning for this group than it

would have for the White group. I have more than once heard it said in academic forums on cross-cultural psychology that;"African Americans are, de facto, bi-cultural.

The leadership profiles for both the White and Latino groups were strikingly different from that of the African American group. In the case of the White group, the simple fact of leadership being hierarchical does not by itself tell the whole story. On closer inspection one notices that the leader who was endowed with the centralized leadership function in the White group was also someone who actively tried to dissuade this group from taking ethnic categories seriously at all. In fact, that person was the only individual in the conference who did not provide any of the information about ethnic identity which was required by the conference application form. This, along with the the predominance of basic assumptions flight and dependency suggests that the group did not feel very authorized to take up the intergroup task of this event. It is this feeling of relative de-authorization that constitutes the most significant contrast to the African American group.

Where does this come from? In spite of the White group's initial self attributions of being safe and comfortable, the group struggled at the outset with the disturbing realization that they were all the same "White." This occurred, in part, because there was no

pre-existing consensus within the group as to what being the same "color" was supposed to mean. That they had no available internalized image of what it meant to be White is another way of saying that the levels of sentience within this group were particularly low. Although they had fantasies about what their being White would mean to the other two groups, but they had little sense of what it meant to themselves.

Not only was sentience around ethnicity very low, but the significance of that sentience was largely imagined to come from the outside. In fact, some of these individuals were so disappointed at finding themselves in a White group that their first response was to consider rebelling against the structure which placed them there and they accepted as leader the woman who voiced this point of view most clearly. This suggests not only that the group's self authorization to take up the task very low, but that they also sought to undermine the institutional authorization for the task as well. The hierarchical leadership profile of this group is also striking in view of the presence of the only two conference participants who had been in previous Tavistock conferences and who could have brought into play a great deal more leadership, based on their past experiences.

The interaction of sentient group ties and task is much less clear in the Latino group. They seemed to share many of the strong sentient characteristics of the African American group. On the other, the leadership profile for this group was virtually identical to that of the White group, suggesting a general reluctance on the part of most group members to take a more active role. Their initial response to the institutional authorization seemed ambiguous and thus they sought confirmation or affirmation of their capacity to work by consulting the conference brochure in detail. At the same time there was some ambivalence within the group about their sentient ties as Latinos, although an early resolution of this lead to clear sense of self authorization to take up the task of understanding their relationships to the other groups.

One characteristic of this group was that it lent itself quickly and repeatedly to the leadership of one individual. First they rallied very quickly around the male who got them into trouble with the African American group and later elevated a female who provided strong leadership throughout the rest of the event by working simultaneously on the resolution of that dilemma and on affirming their common identity as Latinos. In each case the individual leader who was chosen seemed at that particular moment to best represent the institutionally authorized task, even though each one

took up that authorization in a very different way. Interestingly, it was the female, more conciliatory, leadership which took precedence over the male, provocative, one. This points to the effects of a totally different set of identity group dynamics, however, and that is the impact of different gender groups which will be further elaborated on below.

To summarize this discussion of sentience thus far, the data from the conference suggests that the impact of those shared patterns of identification operated very differently in each one of the groups represented there. While the African American group experienced a strong sense of what their own group identity was within this intergroup context, the White group experienced a discrepancy between a vague internal sense of their own group identity and a sharp sense of the attributions which they believed were being placed on them from the outside. The Latino group, on the other hand, developed a strong sense of shared identity from within, but had no consistent theory as to how others would perceive them. This led to an overreliance on an ambiguous institutional authorization which allowed individual leaders to act in accordance with his or her own interpretation of the institutional authorization at any given moment.

Looking at the identity group effects of gender provides a different scenario, one which worth considering because sentience around gender is one of the most ubiquitous shared patterns of identity in any social system. Indeed, its effects were hinted at in the leadership changes of the Latino group mentioned above.

It is interesting to note that women took on the primary leadership position in all three groups of the intergroup event. This suggests the possibility that either there was something about the way in which women were perceived to take on leadership roles in this particular context that was considered favorable, or that there was something about the way in which men take on these roles that was considered unfavorable. Given the predominance of basic assumptions fight and flight throughout all three groups, it is worth considering why women were seen as more acceptable fight-flight leaders in this particular context than were men.

One possibility that comes to mind is that the prevalence of fight and flight in this particular context may actually promote female leadership as each group collusively prevents male leadership out of fears associated with what would happen if men actually took up the fight leadership mode. This suggests that one way of reducing the expected conflict is to promote women who are believed to be less likely to get shot down by hostile others. Race relations in American society can

certainly bear out this trend who's most recent manifestation is the "endangered Black male." This phenomena could be seen as the result of a process where males are not allowed to stand out for fear of escalating existing levels of conflict. Historically, lynching was a way of physically eliminating individual African American males as a lesson to an entire group of people. It is notable in this context that there were few, if any, mob lynching of African American females.

If one considers fight and flight simply at the group level, it is understood as an attempt by a group to defend against its own anxiety. Taken to the intergroup level, however, the fight flight mode can easily have the opposite effect of promoting the potential for an actual fight. This possibility then must be defended against by choosing leaders who are least likely to actually engage in fighting behaviors; those who belonged to the group whose shared patterns of affiliation were perceived to contain more conciliation than confrontation.

Attributions and Projective Processes:

One of the richest aspects of the data collected for this dissertation was not rated live, yet it formed a significant part of the narrative text which described the ongoing events in each one of the groups under observation. The presence of attributional processes which indicate stereotypical attitudes, both towards

other groups and towards ones own group, was discernable via a qualitative textual analysis and has already been described(see Group Profiles and Differences). Taken together with basic assumption activities, the operation of these stereotypes are seen here as a useful way to get a handle on projective processes taking place on an intergroup level.

The first thing that must be noted about the presence of stereotypical attitudes in groups is the ubiquity of positive ingroup and negative outgroup stereotyping that is described in the social psychological literature.(Tajfel, 1978) Thus all three of the groups described here are presumed to contain positive attitudes towards themselves and potentially negative, or at least ambivalent, attitudes towards other groups. What is significant about the data accumulated here is what types of basic assumption activities accompanied these stereotypical attitudes and how these related to the actual behaviors of the groups. Stereotypes do not exist in a vacuum. They are a particular way of interpreting an ambiguous information set which is being contextualized within a given emotional climate.

In summarizing the distribution of emotional qualities among the three different groups within this intergroup field, the following is apparent: Anger was disproportionately represented in the Latino and African

American groups, fear in the White and African American groups, and helplessness in the Latino and White groups.

Looking back at the quantitative results, one can see that none of the three groups were even remotely similar in terms of basic assumption fight-flight. The African American group loaded high on both factors, the Latino group loaded high on fight but low on flight, and the White group was low on fight but high on flight. With this in mind, it makes the most sense to look at the categories of fight/anger and flight/fear separately. In terms of basic assumption dependency, the Latino and the White groups loaded relatively high, but in the African American group its appearance was insignificant. Basic assumption pairing was similar in the African American and Latino groups, but at quantities so low as to render it useless for further discussion. In the White group it was virtually non-existent.

Thus, in a group comparison, we can see that the anger(fight) and helplessness(dependency) predominated in the Latino group, fear(flight) and helplessness (dependency) in the White group, and anger(fight) and fear(flight) in the African American group.

Least the reader jump to conclusions about the meaning of this for groups outside of this conference, it is important to point out here that this outcome is precisely what was predicted by Harold and Bridger(1965) in their paper on the first intergroup exercise at a

Tavistock conference. There they made the point that any set of groups involved in an intergroup exercise will become engaged in projective processes whereby the emotional climate will be differentially or disproportionately distributed between them. What is notable about the data presented here is that it provides the opportunity to seek out links between these projective processes and the operation of stereotyping behaviors between groups defined as culturally different.

The White group's initial positive ingroup stereotyping which took the form of attributions of power and safety contrasted sharply with the emotional climate of fear and helplessness which prevailed within it. The fantasy of power and safety suggests an identification with both the White director of the conference and with the stereotypes of White dominance being projected into them on the part of the other two groups.

The group's willingness to take on this identity appears to be a defense against the actual feelings of fear and helplessness, which in themselves were due to the absence of any internalized sense of their own identity as a white group. In other words, lacking an internally generated sense of its own identity, this group was particularly susceptible to identifying with the projections being placed upon it by others. The inherent problem with the set of identifications that this group adopted however, was that it found itself

paralyzed when its feelings of power were balanced by its feelings of guilt and of being hated. This state of paralysis is born out by the data which shows the group had the least actual influence on the events which unfolded.

In terms of out-group stereotyping, the White group did not initially differentiate between the other two groups at all. This perhaps enable the category of "other " to become a repository for projected feelings of anger and of dedication to the task which were so notably absent in view of the predominance of fear and helplessness. The phrase which best describes the qualities attributed to the not-White others in this conference is "hatred of Whites." Apart from this, cohesiveness and efficiency was also seen as residing in the others. The hatred was differentially attributed to the African American group only after contact was made. On the other hand, once the Latino group was perceived differentially, it received the attribution of cohesiveness.

The positive in-group attributions which were present in the African American group coincided with basic assumptions fight and flight. Feelings of being cohesive, proud, self sufficient, fearsome, and reliable in defending their own interests were suffused with an anger that seemed to empower them in their approaches to the White group. At the same time, however, it inhibited

others from approaching them and left them initially with no context in which to dialogue with the Latino group. The operation of fear in the group was seen in its intense internal conflicts and defensive reaction to the initial approaches of the Latino group. Most of the evidence suggests, however, that this group was singularly effective in taking up the task of interacting with other groups and that the predominance of anger and fear not only did not hamper, but may have greatly facilitated this process.

There also appears to have been a projective process of perceiving these strong emotions as belonging to Whites rather than to themselves. By far the most frequent attribution toward the White group was one of Whites being racist as manifested by their perceived anger and fear towards African Americans in general. In other words, the perceived existence of anger and fear toward African Americans was seen as the evidence for racism. The perception of fear, in particular, on the part of Whites was seen to as proving the existence of racism. The recurrent argument was: "If White people aren't racist, then how come they are afraid of Black people?"

In the Latino group the self attributions of being strong, united and cohesive coincided with basic assumptions dependency and fight, or helplessness and anger. It is my belief that these seemingly contradictory

emotions were projected into the other two groups so that this group could sustain a remarkable degree of equanimity. To follow this argument one should keep in mind that the Latino group was the only group that manifested no negative attributions towards itself at all, and that following the replacement of their first leader, it manifested a degree of cohesion which was a source of great envy on the part of the other two groups.

The attributions the Latino group made onto the other two groups were clearly differentiated from the outset. Anger was attributed to Whites who were seen as the source of cultural oppression of Latinos and helplessness was attributed to African Americans who were seen as victims of cultural depredations. That the Latino group was projecting helplessness away from itself and onto the African American group is supported by two events. The first is that the Latino group was fully unconscious of what was going on until it actually aroused outrage in the African American group and experienced first hand the anger which had been displaced onto the White group. The second is that following that explosion, they started to actually feel some of their own vulnerability, and subsequently their relationship to the African American group became sophisticated and collaborative. Also, White group was eventually seen as containing feelings of helplessness in that it was perceived as being naive, polite, and non-threatening.

To conclude this part of my discussion, my purpose has been to outline a proposed set of relationships between the projective processes that occur between groups and the operation of cultural stereotypes. In order to fully explore the operation of projective processes, one must look with binocular vision both to the attributions which groups make toward each other, and at the emotional and task climate within each group. The operation of cultural stereotypes can only provide clues about what aspects of a group is being projected into another, or introjected from another. A more complete understanding requires looking to the intra-group as well as the intergroup level.

Methodological Issues and Roads Not Taken:

Shifting to to some of the unresolved issues which arose in this study, perhaps the most significant ones are relating to the measurement of boundaries and to the absence of basic assumption pairing. Though the hypotheses informing this study included an examination of boundary management by each group, in actuality this was unsuccessful because all three groups behaved identically in terms of the measure chosen, i.e., they all kept their doors open the whole time. The only exception to this was a brief period in the Latino group. Only future studies in this area would be able to resolve the question of whether the problem was in the measure

chosen, or whether boundary management is simply not as significant a variable in the cross-cultural study of groups as it is in indigenous psychologies of individualism.

Another curious aspect of this data is the relative absence of basic assumption pairing. The almost total absence of pairing in the White group is particularly striking because group as a whole theory would suggest that the presence of a married couple as well as another pre-existing pair, in the form of two friends, would probably promote basic assumption activities surrounding pairing. One possibility is that the research observer simply failed to pick up information about pairing that was actually present, and that the very low ratings for the other groups suggest that the method developed for identifying this particular variable was not effective enough.

In the White group, Robert B's role seemed quite akin to pairing in that it was mostly confined to supporting his wife's style of leadership, and the relative passivity of the group was in fact very reminiscent of that basic assumption. On the other hand, the prevalence of flight and dependency in the group may have been antithetical to the passive hopefulness that characterizes pairing. This dilemma will have to remain unresolved because there were so few pairing ratings in any of the groups that it that it turned out to be an

insignificant variable in this particular study. The question as to whether this was a methodological problem, or the more depressing possibility that basic assumption pairing is simply not a characteristic feature of cross-cultural intergroup relations may only be resolved through continuing research in this area.

On a more hopeful note, there were a couple of surprising findings in this study which provide some validation to the way in which some of the other issues examined here were approached. In terms of basic assumption groups for instance, although there was a prevalence of fight-flight among all three groups, the powerful differences in the relative contributions of flight aspects versus fight aspects to each group's fight-flight activities supports Thelen's (1957) breakdown of basic assumption fight-flight into its two components.

A more novel finding arose around the measurement of basic assumption dependency. Recall that both the Latino and the White group loaded relatively high in dependency, but in the African American group its appearance was relatively infrequent. This provides an interesting parallel with the leadership profiles which revealed relatively low levels of authorization among "followers" in the Latino and White groups and very high levels in most of the African American group.

In fact, the levels of authorization among the five most active members of the African American group are probably statistically undistinguishable.

Using the theories that underpin this study, one would indeed expect a more hierarchically structured group to exhibit higher basic assumption dependency ratings, but I am not aware of any study having ever demonstrated this in the past. Given that was not one of the things which this study set out to explore, this "finding" provides an unexpected source of support Bion's theory and for the validity of the rating system which the author developed for identifying basic assumption activities, by providing cross validation with a widely accepted measure of leadership. (McGraph, 1984)

Final Reflections:

I would like to end this dissertation on a more speculative and personal note. The experience of conducting this research has been immeasurably rewarding in the insights it has offered me and in the irreplaceable opportunities provided for collaboration with others. Among the many insights provided there are two I believe are particularly valuable which arose within the context of discussions with colleagues about the significance of this work.

The first relates to the projective processes mentioned above and derives from an argument in the the conference which for a moment seemed to crystalize the dilemma of American race relations. This was:" If White people aren't racist, then how come they are afraid of Black people?" This statement brought to mind the interesting possibility that racism itself may involve a social process akin to psychological splitting whereby anger and fear are seen as psychologically incompatible with each other and are therefore split off and differentially assigned to the subject and the object.

In the phenomena of racism, perhaps the experience in the self of fear is accompanied by the perception of anger in the other, or on the other hand, the experience in the self of anger is accompanied by the perception of fear in the other. In either case, if this were true then fight-flight, this very basic fact of group and human life, is continuously being harnessed in the service of one of the most pernicious and destructive forces in human society. It is my hope that any clarity given to this phenomena could ease its destructive effects.

The second insight came about as a result of the experience of working in the multi-ethnic staff group which managed and researched this conference. The work group collaboration around these tasks was excruciatingly difficult and fraught with interpersonal conflict.

I was particularly astounded by my own inability to control my acting out around issues of authority, in spite of my conscious attempts to do so. I also observed this among all the staff members present. It soon became clear that intellectual insight was inadequate for the task of sustaining collaborative work in this setting. Rather, the key issue became identifying the cost of personal boundary mismanagement through social feedback processes. This was based on the assumption that one can accept the deformations of one's own character unless the social costs are too high. Since these costs are relational, they must be observable and communicable. In a nutshell, this points to the dilemma of interpersonal collaboration in a culturally pluralistic setting.

In order to respond to social feedback processes one must be surrounded by people who tell you the truth. The problem in a multi-ethnic work group is one of being able to speak the truth to an individual person when their ethnic group identification is their most salient interpersonal feature. The subsequent existence of relative truths does not provide the social feedback which is essential to managing the self in role. In conclusion, the requirement for interpersonal collaboration in any system must therefore be the constant negotiation of truth. If not the truth, then at least the diverse "truths" which are present.

There must exist a personal commitment to know, make known, and to hear the "truths" which are being negotiated at all times. This requires a conscious acknowledgement, and working through, of individual, ethnic, and cultural differences at all times. It was not clear to us at that point, and has become increasingly less clear as I have proceeded on this path, that this is humanly possible!

Appendix A
(Conference Brochure, page 1)

**AUTHORITY, LEADERSHIP, AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN
ORGANIZATIONS**

A TAVISTOCK GROUP RELATIONS CONFERENCE

October 13th, 14th and 15th, 1989

SPONSORED BY THE FINLEY STUDENT CENTER,
CITY COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK.

"The student body of the City University of New York reflects perhaps the broadest ethnic, racial, and generational diversity in the United States.... We rejoice in the richness of the student mix. We realize that in order truly to benefit from this diversity we must first ensure sensitivity to and respect for our students and the cultures that nurtured them. But we firmly believe that our commitment of pluralism must extend far beyond these responses. We must be proactive in evolving both principles and programs that not only avoid racism, ageism, and other biases but also build on the strengths that our multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and multi-generational student body offers...."

"Our co-curricular activities should involve students not only in groups with common ethnic or racial backgrounds but also in activities which transcend differences, build bridges between cultures, and help our students understand one another."

(excerpted from: PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY IN THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, report prepared by the COUNCIL OF PRESIDENTS ad-hoc COMMITTEE ON PLURALISM AND THE CITY UNIVERSITY, January 20, 1988.)

BACKGROUND

The Finley Student Center presents the first group relations conference focusing on cultural diversity and its effects on leadership and organizational processes. Sometimes referred to as the Tavistock model, the group relations method has been used in training offered in the U.S. by the A.K. Rice Institute, in the U.K. by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, and in many other countries. This approach explores group processes and their effects on the ability of groups and organizations to foster collaboration and to function effectively. This working conference also provides an opportunity to conduct a research project on culture, leadership, and organizational processes, the results of which may be used to plan future conferences and in other ways improve the quality of student life at the City University of New York.

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THE PRIMARY TASK

To provide opportunities to study, through direct experience and analysis, the effects of ethnicity and cultural identity on the exercise of authority and leadership in interpersonal, intergroup, and organizational settings.

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

The aim of this conference is to provide opportunities to learn about authority and responsibility, particularly as they are influenced by cultural diversity in contemporary urban institutions. Attitudes arising from the presence of diverse racial and cultural groups in institutions pose challenges by both creating conflicts and providing enriched opportunities for cooperation. Traditional ways of interacting in institutions are being changed by the people who work in them and by the impact of society's shifting demographic characteristics. These changes pose unforeseen problems and also highlight interdependence, providing the occasion for or preventing increased creativity and more meaningful work relations. The concepts of authority and leadership provide useful vehicles for examining these issues in terms of institutional and social power structures, as well as in terms of individuals' capacities for mobilizing resources at their disposal.

This conference is designed to provide an opportunity to learn by direct experience and analysis about the effects of cultural identity on the exercise of authority within and between groups. Even individual definitions of cultural affiliation which are held upon entering the conference will be open to examination. The press of decisions and problems of the workday world are temporarily set aside so that members can study the group processes which affect their own and others' productivity. A special focus on authority, responsibility, tasks, and boundaries is provided by a conference structure which emphasizes interpersonal experiences within small groups, intergroup relations, and the experience of the individual in various roles within an institution.

The practice of group relations conferences highlights the following essential aspects of social and organizational functioning. Whenever people work together on a task in an institution, two different tendencies are present. One facilitates the stated task, the other hinders it. This principle of life in groups becomes apparent in contemporary institutions subject to rapid changes both from within and from without. Resistance to real changes in contemporary social institutions is sometimes labeled traditionalism, chauvinism, racism, sexism, and other "isms"; but these labels alone do not enable one to fully understand the covert forces in organizations.

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(Conference Brochure, page 3)

While political and structural changes have sometimes been partially successful in bringing institutions more in line with contemporary ethnic and racial demographics, these changes alone are not enough to alleviate, much less to comprehend, the covert forces that continue to oppose optimal task performance.

Using the temporary educational institution of the conference as a laboratory, members have the opportunity to understand the impact of these forces on themselves, to explore their own personal responsibility for the state of affairs existing in the institution and to alter institutional processes. Throughout the conference, special attention is paid to the study of the covert social forces that sometimes facilitate and sometimes impede the accomplishment of productive tasks. For this reason, the overall emphasis is on the study of groups as a whole, not on the personalities of the individuals involved. Each member is fully responsible for the nature and the extent of his or her own learning.

The accomplishment of any task requires not only leadership, but also the authority to exercise it. Thus, authority and leadership are inseparable concepts, and it is not possible to exercise one without the other. For example, while an individual may have a leadership role in terms of the formal organization, the authority to exercise it can be compromised by hidden forces acting on individuals as well as on groups as a whole. While much can be learned from theories about authority, responsibility, and power, the forces directly affecting the ways in which they are exercised can best be studied while they are occurring. It is fundamental to this approach that the work of learning take place in the reality of current experience.

A central concept of organizational life is that leaders regulate and control transactions across group and organizational boundaries. To this principle, the conference format adds the exploration of the nature of boundaries between person and role, between one group and another, and between an institution and its constantly changing environment. The impact of cultural diversity on these and other boundaries is highlighted by the conference structure. In order to facilitate learning about the exercise of leadership in boundary management, the behavior of the staff is always explicitly available as an object of study.

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(Conference Brochure, page 4)

CONFERENCE STRUCTURE AND METHOD

Plenary Sessions: These are the opening and closing events of the conference, as well as the opening and closing sessions of the intergroup event. During the opening plenary, the purpose and method of the conference are described and the members have an opportunity to ask questions. The entry phase of joining a temporary institution can be examined. The opening intergroup plenary serves as an introduction to the structure and operation of the intergroup event. The closing intergroup plenary is an opportunity for members and staff to discuss the entire event. The closing conference plenary is an opportunity for discussion between the staff and the members about the conference experience and about the application of what the members have learned to living and working together outside the conference.

Study Groups: These are culturally heterogeneous groups of 7 to 14 members with the task of examining small group processes as they occur, with special consideration of the effects of cultural identity. They are designed to facilitate the group's task of studying its own behavior; each group has the services of a consultant who offers observations when she or he believes that these will facilitate the learning task of the group. The study group highlights issues of personal authority and the functioning of time boundaries, role boundaries, personal boundaries, and boundaries created or implied by attitudes toward cultural differences.

Intergroup Event : This event provides opportunities to examine the relationships between and among member groups as they interact with one another and with the staff group. Following an introductory plenary, members will convene in groups according to the cultural affiliations with which they entered the conference. The task of the Intergroup event is to study the relationships among and between different groups, which are culturally, ethnically, or racially homogeneous, and between these and the staff group. An important aspect of this task will be the examination of the nature and organizational manifestations of ethnic reference groups, as well as other diverse group identifications that each member brings to the conference. Opportunities will be provided for meetings between and among the different member groups and between these and the staff group. Consultation is provided upon request for any activities that take place in a room designated for meetings between groups. And consultants are available on request to individual groups to facilitate the examination of representation and the problems inherent in drawing and crossing boundaries. During the entire event, the staff constitutes one of the groups participating in the event and works as a group in the staff room in open session. The intergroup event will end with a plenary discussion.

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Application Groups: Towards the end of the conference, members meet with a consultant in small groups to review the conference and to discuss the application of their learning to their reference groups, to their institutions as a whole, and to other social settings.

THE ROLE OF THE STAFF

The primary function of the staff is to provide the members with opportunities for learning. In order to be effective, the staff seeks to be as clear as possible about the nature of their work and of their respective roles in facilitating learning. The staff has two roles. First, collectively, they are the management of the conference and provide appropriate boundary conditions of task, time and territory. Staff members also have roles as consultants, administrators, and research observers. The Administrators' primary task is to manage the boundary between staff and members and between the conference and the external environment. In the consulting role, staff may behave differently in different events, depending on the requirements of the task. Their primary task is to offer working hypotheses, based on their own experience and observations, about what is happening, in order to provide members with opportunities to learn about group and organizational processes as they occur. The primary task of the director is to manage the conference as a whole. In whatever capacity, whether managerial, consultative, or administrative, staff's behavior and exercise of authority are always explicitly available for study.

In keeping with the aim of conducting a research program on basic group processes, a team of research observers are present to record observations during most phases of the conference. Research observers are silent observers. Confidentiality is strictly protected and individual members are not identified by name in any research reports. Research activities will be explained during the opening plenary and, following the conference, reprints of any published findings are available upon request. A form indicating member consent to participate in the research program must be signed and returned with the application.

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CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Friday, October 13th, 1989.

7:00-7:30 P.M. Registration
7:35 Conference Opening Plenary
8:15-9:30 Study Group 1

Saturday, October 14th, 1989.

8:45-10:00 A.M. Study Group 2
10:00-10:30 Coffee Break
10:30-11:45 Study Group 3
11:45-12:45 P.M. Lunch
12:45-2:00 Intergroup Opening Plenary and Event 1
2:00-2:30 Coffee Break
2:30-3:45 Intergroup Event 2
3:45-4:15 Coffee Break
4:15-5:30 Intergroup Event 3
5:30-6:45 Dinner
6:45-8:00 Intergroup Event 4
8:00-8:30 Coffee Break
8:30-9:45 Study Group 4

Sunday, October 15th, 1989.

8:45-10:00 A.M. Intergroup Event 5
10:00-10:30 Coffee Break
10:30-11:45 Intergroup Discussion
11:45-12:45 P.M. Lunch
12:45-2:00 Conference Discussion
2:00-2:30 Coffee Break
2:30-3:45 Application Group
3:45 Conference Ends

The staff reserves the right to make minor schedule changes. However, there will be no changes in the beginning or ending times of the conference.

**REGISTRATION INFORMATION
LOCATION AND TIME**

The conference will begin on Friday evening, October 13th, and end on the following Sunday afternoon, October 15th, 1989. It will be held at the Finley Student Center of City College.

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MEMBERSHIP

Membership is open to individuals with a serious interest in learning about the theme of this conference. Students from student organizations with a cultural or ethnic focus are encouraged to apply. Such organizations may choose to send one or more representatives to this conference. To facilitate the study of the conference theme, ethnically homogeneous groups of members will be formed by the staff during some of the conference events.

As the demands of this type of here-and-now learning are sometimes experienced as stressful, those who are undergoing stressful experiences in their life at this time are encouraged to evaluate the appropriateness of their attendance. The conference is not offered as therapeutic experience or as a substitute for psychotherapy.

APPLICATION

Applicants must fill out the application form and the accompanying research consent form, and return them with the registration fee to:

Ms. Sylvia S. Monell; Tavistock Conference Administrator, 219 Betts Avenue, Bronx, New York, 10473. Make checks payable to S. Monell. The last date for receipt of a completed application form is October 2nd, 1989.

REGISTRATION FEE

\$20. Includes all expenses except meals.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

Mr. Roy Davenport (212) (nights)
Ms. Sylvia Monell (212) (nights)
Mr. Edward Evans, Director: Finley Student Center (212)

Appendix B
APPLICATION FORM
(PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

*NAME(First) _____ (Last) _____
*(Check one) Mr. ___ Mrs. ___ Ms. ___ Miss ___
Other(specify) _____
STREET ADDRESS _____
City/State _____ Zip _____ TEL. _____

*STUDENT GROUP AFFILIATION
(IFANY) _____

*POSITION IN GROUP _____

*This information will be distributed during the conference.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION:(This information will be used for the purpose of establishing heterogeneous Study Groups, homogeneous Intergroups, and Application Groups of those with similar professional and academic aspirations.)

Sex ___ Age ___ Marital status ___ Nationality _____
Religion _____

Birthplace _____ # Years have you lived in the U.S.A.? _____

Languages(primary/other) _____ / _____ Major field of study _____

Please check off the category which best applies to you and specify the particular ethnic or national group with which you are most closely identified.

African-American) _____ Afro-Caribbean _____

Asian _____ Latino _____

White _____ Other _____

I have read and understood the brochure for this conference and hereby apply for membership. I understand that this brochure constitutes the contract between me and the conference organizers and I hereby authorize the staff to conduct the conference in the manner described. My registration fee accompanies this application and I understand that there will be no refunds made after October 2nd, 1989. I have also read and signed the accompanying research consent form.

Signature

Date

Appendix C.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

Group Relations Conference on:
 Authority, Leadership, and Cultural Diversity in
 Organizations.
 October 13th, 14 & 15, 1989.

Sponsored By the Finley Student Center
 of the City College of the University of New York.

With the aim of conducting a program of research on basic group and organizational processes as these are affected by cultural diversity, a team of research observers will be present to record observations during all phases of the conference. Research observers will use specially designed forms to record such processes as leadership, boundaries, and a variety of other group and intergroup activities within the conference. Observers will perform their task as unobtrusively as possible; all research will be reported only in group form. Confidentiality will be protected: individual members will not be identified by name in the reporting of research protocols. Following selected group events, members may be asked to fill out brief, anonymous questionnaires indicating their observations as well. These research activities will be explained during the opening plenary .

Upon request, participants in this conference, both staff and members, will receive reprints of published findings.

If you have any questions or would like additional information about any aspect of these research activities, please contact Mr. Martin Walker, Director of the Research Team, at (212) 219-1397 or ask the Conference Director during the opening plenary.

CONSENT:

I understand the general purposes of the proposed research , and agree to the confidentiality arrangements. I hereby consent to participate in this study under the conditions stated.

 Signature of participant

 Date

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