

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

- 1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.**
- 2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.**
- 3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again – beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.**
- 4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.**
- 5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.**

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

75-18,712

GERTLER, Bernard Victor, 1944-
OPEN-SYSTEMS THEORY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
Psychology, clinical

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© COPYRIGHT BY

BERNARD VICTOR GERTLER

1975

OPEN-SYSTEMS THEORY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

by

BERNARD VICTOR GERTLER

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

1975

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

4/15/75

date

Laurence J. Gould
Chairman of Examining Committee

4-21-75

date

Florence L. Denmark
Executive Officer

Laurence Gould, Ph.D.

Edward Klein, Ph.D.

Morton Bard, Ph.D.

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

OPEN-SYSTEMS THEORY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

by

Bernard Victor Gertler

Adviser: Professor Laurence J. Gould

A. K. Rice and his colleagues at the Tavistock Institute of Applied Social Research in London, England, have developed a general systems theory of organizational behavior and intergroup relations which integrates structural, group, and individual factors (Rice, 1965; Miller and Rice, 1967). This theory is an open-systems theory in that it emphasizes that an organization can exist only by exchanging materials with its environment. This exchange process is accomplished through the organization's task system which is defined as the coordination of activities for task performance. However, any organization also has a sentient system (the group or groups to which the members of the organization "belong" in the sense of emotional ties based on need, fantasies, and patterns of identification). Most often, the task system and the sentient system do not coincide. In fact, they may

be competing systems since the task system may cut across important sentient ties. Therefore the intergroup relations of an organization are governed by the establishment, maintenance, and disruption of boundaries of the groups in the task and sentient systems (internal relations) as well as by the boundary relations between the organization and its environment (external relations). Examples of such boundaries between internal groups are task differences, role differences, and sentient group differences. In a factory groups differ according to whether they work on production or plant maintenance, whether they are foremen or assembly-line workers, and whether they are Christians or Jews (sentient groups). External relations of the organization also impinge on the internal groupings. For example, the effects of unionization will no doubt profoundly affect management-worker relationships.

For Rice, intergroup relations are the transactions across group boundaries. These transactions occur through the development of political machinery which permits representatives to communicate with other groups. To continue the previous example, a group of assembly-line workers can communicate with management only if they organize and delegate authority to a leader who can speak for them. Rice therefore understands that authority relations are crucial in intergroup life.

Rice and his colleagues have developed an experiential conference which people join as members to learn about these ideas of open-systems, boundaries, task and sentient systems, representation, and authority relations. The method of these conferences is to immerse the participant in group processes so that he can observe and experience first-hand the powerful latent dynamics of group life. Much of these dynamics are viewed by Rice as having powerful non-rational elements derived from early infantile experiences. Included in these conferences are exercises devoted to examining such dynamics in small group, large group, and intergroup settings. Sometimes however, each of these settings becomes the focal experiential event of a week-end conference which includes discussion and application events.

This study portrays and analyzes one such week-end group relations conference which focused on the intergroup event. This report then is a case study which utilizes Rice's open-systems theory to understand the intergroup relations conference's processes. Particular emphasis in this study is placed on understanding the developmental process of the conference through systems terms such as boundaries, tasks, and authority relations. The conference events are examined in light of the recent research on small group development. The findings demonstrate that the developmental process of the intergroup relations conference is under-

standable as the changing relationships between the two major groups in the conference over time (staff and membership).

Overall, the study demonstrates that social structure and process are interrelated and interactive in intergroup relations. The study therefore concludes that an open-systems, socio-psychological perspective is the most comprehensive framework for understanding intergroup relations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of a dissertation requires the assistance and cooperation of many people. In my case, a great many people supported me with their time, their knowledge, and their confidence. I cannot name them all here but I still wish to register my profound gratitude. Specifically, I would like to thank Laurence Gould for his faith, guidance and generativity. I would also like to thank Edward Klein for his incisive understanding which moved the work ahead at critical points. Morton Bard was very helpful in improving the readability of the study. I also wish to thank Pilar Gyorffy very much since this dissertation originated from discussions we had following our own experience in a group relations conference.

In addition, I want to thank my research observers who provided the descriptive data for the dissertation. I also want to thank the members of the conference who allowed me the privilege to record and investigate the process of their intergroup relations. Sue Gurock and Allan Fleischman were invaluable for their statistical consultation.

Finally and most of all, I want to thank my wife, Paula. Paula provided the stability, love, and freedom which enabled me to complete this arduous task. This work represents our joint effort.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	6
Sociological Research in Formal Organizations	8
The rational or goal model of formal organizations	8
The structural-functionalist model of formal organizations	9
An appraisal of the sociological research in formal organizations	11
Psychological Research in Formal Organizations	12
Rational-Economic Man and Social Man	13
Self-Actualizing Man	15
The contributions of academic psychology	17
Complex Man--Edgar Schein's appraisal of organizational psychology	22
Socio-Technical Research in Formal Organizations	23
The interdependence of technological, economic and social systems: The work of Eric Trist	24
The relationship between environment and organizational structure	26

Chapter	Page
The organizational theory of A. K. Rice.	27
A. K. Rice's open-systems perspective.	27
Boundaries and boundary control.	29
The individual, the group, and intergroup transactions in organizations.	31
The individual	31
The group and the concept of sentience.	32
Intergroup relations	38
Organizational model building and management	40
Concluding remarks on Rice's theory.	41
An appraisal of the socio-technical theorists.	41
Conclusion	42
III. THE INTERGROUP EXERCISE AND THE FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM	44
The Intergroup Relations Conference.	45
A description of the intergroup exercise	47
Research on the intergroup exercise.	50
Formulation of the Problem	52
IV. METHODS AND PROCEDURES	56
The Intergroup Relations Conference and its Membership	57
Conference membership.	57
The intergroup relations conference structure.	58
Sources of the Data.	59
Observations and recordings.	61
The Individual Reactions Questionnaire	62
The Research Observer Questionnaire.	64
Analysis of the Statistical Data	67
Problematic Factors in the Data Collection	70
Conclusion	72

Chapter	Page
V. A DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS CONFERENCE UNDER STUDY	73
Conference Opening and Session One	75
Session Two.	85
Review of the Conference Opening, Session One, and Session Two	93
The Discussion Groups.	96
Session Three.	97
Session Four	111
Plenary Meeting.	124
A Review of the Discussion Group, Session Three, Session Four, and the Plenary Meeting.	125
Session Five	127
Session Six.	139
Session Seven.	152
Final Plenary Meeting.	163
A Review of Session Five, Session Six, Session Seven, and the Final Plenary	167
The Final Discussion Group	172
VI. AN OPEN-SYSTEMS VIEW OF THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS CONFERENCE	177
Task System--Formal Structure and Process. . .	179
The intergroup relations conference as an open system.	179
Positions, tasks, and roles in the intergroup relations conference.	181
Sentient Systems--Informal Structure and Process.	185
Sentient groups in the intergroup relations conference	186
Mechanisms of the sentient system.	192
Projection-introjection and splitting in the intergroup conference	192
Basic assumption life in the intergroup relations conference. . .	195
Statistical results relating to the basic assumptions	197
Summary.	199
The Interrelationship of Task and Sentient Systems	199

Chapter	Page
VII. DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES IN THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS CONFERENCE--THE NODAL POINT PROCESS.	202
Developmental Theories of Small Groups	204
A Review of the Intergroup Relations Conference in Terms of the Nodal Point Process.	208
The conference opening and sessions one and two	209
Analysis	211
The discussion group and sessions three and four	213
Analysis	214
The plenary and sessions five and six.	216
Analysis	218
The fishbowl meeting and session seven	220
Analysis	222
Summary and Comment of the Nodal Point Process Analysis of the Intergroup Relations Conference	224
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	233
The Intergroup Relations Conference as an Open System.	234
Boundary definition in the task system	235
The relationship of the task system to the sentient system	236
Sentient systems and processes in organizational life.	238
The management of task and sentient system boundaries.	240
Collusion and responsibility	241
Final comments on the intergroup relations conference as an open system.	242
Learning in the Intergroup Relations Conference--the Nodal Point Process.	242
Beginning speculations on the content and process of learning in the intergroup relations conference.	244
Implications for Future Research	247

	Page
APPENDIX A. <u>THE INDIVIDUAL REACTIONS QUESTIONNAIRE</u> . . .	254
APPENDIX B. <u>THE RESEARCH OBSERVER QUESTIONNAIRE</u>	257
APPENDIX C. RELIABILITY OF THE <u>RESEARCH OBSERVER</u> <u>QUESTIONNAIRE</u> VARIABLES	271
APPENDIX D. STATISTICAL RESULTS.	277
APPENDIX E. SOURCE TABLES OF THE BASIC ASSUMPTION VARIABLES.	295
APPENDIX F. SOURCE TABLES OF THE PATTERN OF REPRESENTATION VARIABLES	300
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	305

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. The Weekend Schedule	60
2. Pearson Product Moment Correlations for the Inter-Judge Reliability of the "Observer Questionnaire" Variables	272
3. Pearson Product Moment Correlations between the "Within Group" Variables and the "Group Characteristic" Variables	280
4. Pearson Product Moment Correlations between the "Other Group" Set of Variables and the "Group Characteristic" Variables	282
5. Pearson Product Moment Correlations between the "Staff Group" Set of Variables and the "Group Characteristic" Variables	284
6. Pearson Product Moment Correlations between the "Projective Group" Set of Variables and the "Group Characteristic" Variables	286
7. "F" Values of the Analysis of Variance on the Basic Assumption Variables	290
8. "F" Values of the Analysis of Variance on the Pattern of Representation Variables.	292
9. Source Table of the Basic Assumption Variables.	295
10. Source Table of the Pattern of Representation Variables for Group Effects.	300
11. Source Table of the Pattern of Representation Variables for Session Effects.	302

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Floor Plan of the Psychological Center.	74
2. The Import-Conversion-Export System of the Conference.	180
3. Means of the Pattern of Representation Variables in Sessions 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, and 7.	228
4. Means of the Basic Assumption Variables for Sessions 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, and 7	230

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Investigations of intergroup relations have proceeded from two frames of reference, sociological and psychological. The sociological approach seeks to understand the systematized patterns of collectivities such as groups and organizations. Intergroup relations here refers to problems of class, hierarchical structures, and division of labor. In contrast, the psychological approach to intergroup relations has led to research on the personality of the individual as he participates as a member of one group in relating to another. Whether the research is theoretical or experimental, the psychological emphasis is on the individual's motives, attitudes and behavior. The difference between the sociological and the psychological approaches toward understanding intergroup relations is therefore one of focus. The sociologist sees a revolution in terms of class struggle while the psychologist sees a revolution in terms of the individual's sense of frustration and deprivation (Katz and Kahn, 1966).

Sociologists typically underplay the influence of

personality and psychologists typically underplay the importance of social structure. Although mutually interactive, theorists have only recently attempted a multi-disciplinary approach in their work. Several theorists have considered both personality and social structure in developing a comprehensive theory of intergroup relations. This study will focus on one such theory, the open-systems theory of A. K. Rice (1965, 1969).

A. K. Rice and his colleagues at the Tavistock Institute of Applied Social Research in London, England have developed a general systems theory of organizational behavior and intergroup relations which integrates structural, group, and individual factors (Rice, 1965; Miller and Rice, 1967). This theory is an open-systems theory in that it emphasizes that an organization can exist only by exchanging materials with its environment. This exchange process is accomplished through the organization's task system which is defined as the coordination of activities for task performance. However, any organization also has a sentient system (the group or groups to which the members of the organization "belong" in the sense of emotional ties based on need, fantasies, and patterns of identification). Most often, the task system and the sentient system do not coincide. In fact, they may be competing systems since the task system may cut across

important sentient ties. Therefore the intergroup relations of an organization are governed by the establishment, maintenance, and disruption of boundaries of the groups in the task and sentient systems (internal relations) as well as by the boundary relations between the organization and its environment (external relations). Examples of such boundaries between internal groups are task differences, role differences, and sentient group differences. In a factory groups differ according to whether they work on production or plant maintenance, whether they are foremen or assembly-line workers, and whether they are Christians or Jews (sentient groups). External relations of the organization also impinge on the internal groupings. For example, the effects of unionization will no doubt profoundly affect management-worker relations.

For Rice, intergroup relations are the transactions across group boundaries. These transactions occur through the development of political machinery which permits representatives to communicate with other groups. To continue the previous example, a group of assembly-line workers can communicate with management only if they organize and delegate authority to a leader who can speak for them. Rice therefore understands that authority relations are crucial

in intergroup life.¹

Rice and his colleagues have developed an experiential conference which people join as members to learn about these ideas of open-systems, boundaries, task and sentient systems, representation, and authority relations. The method of these conferences is to immerse the participant in group processes so that he can observe and experience first-hand the powerful latent dynamics of group life. Much of these dynamics are viewed by Rice as having powerful non-rational elements derived from early infantile experiences. Included in these conferences are exercises devoted to examining such dynamics in small group, large group, and intergroup settings. Sometimes however, each of these settings becomes the focal experiential event of a week-end conference which includes discussion and application events.

This study will portray and analyze one such week-end group relations conference which focused on the intergroup event. This report then will be a case study which utilizes Rice's open-systems theory to understand the intergroup relations conference's processes. Particular emphasis in this study will be placed on understanding the developmental process of the conference through systems terms such

¹A more thorough review of Rice's open-systems theory will be presented later.

as boundaries, tasks, and authority relations. The conference events will be examined in light of the recent research on small group development.

Overall, the intention of this study will be to articulate the structure and process of intergroup relations. The study will demonstrate that social structure and process are interrelated and interactive in intergroup relations. Because of this interrelationship and interaction of social structure and process, the study will emphasize that an open-systems, socio-psychological perspective is the most thorough and comprehensive framework for understanding intergroup relations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In surveying the literature on intergroup relations, a distinction between formal organizations and social organization is useful for a more critical discussion. Formal organizations are established to achieve specific goals. They possess a design to achieve these goals and a structure with designated lines of authority and divisions of labor. Formal organizations arise at an ascertainable point in time and their goals and structures are more open to change. Examples of formal organizations are armies, colleges, and business enterprises. In contrast, social organization does not have a framework of explicit goals or structure, does not arise at a specific point in time, and is not as open to change. Examples of social organization are the family, ethnic grouping, and class stratification (Silverman, 1971, p. 26). The distinction between formal organizations and social organization should be viewed as extreme points of a continuum rather than as a dichotomy. Even so, the distinction provides valuable categories for conceptualizing interactions in social life.

Intergroup relations refers to interactions in both formal organizations and in social organization. Weber's analysis of formal hierarchical structure in industry is an example of the former, while the Marxist theory of class struggle is an example of the latter. However, the attempts to integrate social structure and personality in intergroup relations were developed in the context of formal organizations. A. K. Rice's work evolved in consultation with business enterprises. Therefore the following review will focus on the sociological and psychological research as it applies to formal organizations.

The review is divided into three main sections. The first section is the sociological research which emphasizes social structure and understands the individual as a cog in the institution's apparatus. The second section is the psychological research which neglects organizational structure in favor of an emphasis on motivation and human relations. Finally, the socio-technical theorists and especially A. K. Rice are presented as the emerging synthesis of the sociological and psychological perspectives. Therefore this chapter is structured to present Rice's organizational theory as the leading representative of the developing integration of sociological and psychological theory in formal organizations. In addition, Rice's theory will be described in

detail in order to provide the necessary background for understanding the analysis of the intergroup relations conference to be presented later in this study.

Sociological Research in Formal Organizations

The two categories of sociological research to be discussed are the Rational or Goal Model of organizations and the Structural-Functional Model of organizations.

The rational or goal model of formal organizations

The earliest examiners of business enterprises considered efficiency and profit to be the central issues of organizational dynamics. The "Scientific Management" theory of F. W. Taylor concentrated on why an organization was or was not achieving its goals. Taylor discovered gross inefficiencies in the way in which work was organized and workers were motivated. To alter these conditions he proposed changes to simplify and standardize the work and felt that workers should be paid at a piece-rate. Taylor emphasized the technology of the organization with no consideration of the man who acts in the role of worker (Gross, 1964, p. 626).

Max Weber was studying organizations at the same time. He proposed an ideal bureaucracy which he conceptual-

ized as being the most effective form of organizational structure. This "rational" organization is guided by explicit and specific goals from which a system of rules and regulations is devised that governs the operations of its officials. The activities required to accomplish the purposes of the organization are distributed into offices. Further, these offices are arranged in a hierarchical authority structure and the officials are limited by and subject to the authority delegated in the organizational rules (Scott, 1964, p. 491). In their examination of organizations then, both Taylor and Weber concern themselves with structure and efficiency. This approach has been termed the Rational or Goal Model of organizations (Silverman, 1971, p. 26).

The structural-functionalist model
of formal organizations

The structural-functionalist approach emphasizes the similarities between biological and social structures. In the structural-functionalist view, social institutions are assumed to have "needs" to survive and adapt to their environment. This need to adapt is satisfied by a set of mutually interdependent elements which provide the necessary resources for survival. Each part of the organization contributes and receives something from the whole. In the same way, a deficiency in any part of the organization diminishes

the capacities of the whole. For example, if a steel factory manufactures and markets steel, a strike which shuts down steel delivery could eventually shut down the entire plant. Two theorists will be discussed in the structural-functional-ist approach to formal organizations: Phillip Selznick and Talcott Parsons.

Phillip Selznick recognizes Weber's model of rational structure within organizations. But Selznick also recognizes a non-rational aspect to organizations. He holds that the non-rational aspects of organizations constrain efficiency and are responsible for the major characteristics of the institution. The sources of these non-rational aspects are (1) that individuals act beyond their role requirements in the organization; and (2) that the organization must adjust to the pressures of the environment and that the environment must adjust to the organization. Organizations are thus viewed both as a formalized system of relationships which define authority and aim toward efficiency as well as an adaptive structure with needs for stability, security, and survival (Selznick, 1948).

Talcott Parsons has attempted a conceptual model to analyze all social systems and has applied this conceptual model to formal organizations. Parsons understands social systems to have four system needs: adaptation (obtaining

resources such as land, labor, and capital); goal attainment (making use of the resources in the service of goals); integration (keeping the norms of the individual's role in harmony with institutional goals); pattern-maintenance (keeping the organizational goals in the dominant value system of the larger society). Organizations meet these needs by importing resources from external systems, transforming them, and then exporting these changed resources to other systems. Parsons here proposes an open-systems theory--in order to survive, organizations need a supply of resources (an "input"), a conversion process (a "throughput"), and the production of objects (an "output").² This open-systems process is carried out between systems on the same level as well as between higher and lower level systems. He thus uses open-systems theory to describe the connections (boundary relations) between organizations and other parts of the social structure (Scott, 1964, p. 511; Silverman, 1971, p. 56).

An appraisal of the sociological research in formal organizations

The sociological research can be categorized into a typology consisting of closed-systems and open-systems theories. Taylor is concerned with technology, profit, and

²This is to be distinguished from a closed-systems theory which de-emphasizes extra-organizational factors.

efficiency and Weber focuses on hierarchical patterns of authority and the division of labor. They thus restrict themselves to describing organizations in terms of internal structural characteristics. Selznick and Parsons define their views as an alternative to Weber's closed-systems conception. They both consider the relationship of the organization to its environment and employ the organic analogy of adaptation and survival.

Yet all the sociological theorists consider the formal organization to be the primary frame of reference. They see individuals mainly as social actors--participants in a social field which requires the adoption of specified norms and roles. But the individual is more than an actor whose behavior is prescribed by a social context. Explanations of human behavior must understand not only social contexts but also the individual's orientation towards it. To understand individual orientation (in Selznick's terms, why individuals react non-rationally) requires a theory of personality. This psychologists are ready to supply.

Psychological Research in Formal Organizations

Psychologists have criticized the sociological approaches toward understanding formal organizations because of their failure to consider human needs. Criticizing the

"Scientific Management" view, psychologists have developed increasingly complex conceptions to explain the individual as he acts within the organization. Schein (1965) delineated the four views of man which predominate in the psychological literature on formal organizations: Rational-Economic Man; Social Man; Self-Actualizing Man; Complex Man. These four views will be reviewed as well as the contributions of academic psychology.

Rational-Economic Man and Social Man

Schein calls the "Scientific Management" view of man (that of F. W. Taylor) Rational-Economic Man. In this view worker motivation is determined by economic incentives so that a worker will do that which gives him the greatest economic gain. The rational-economic view holds that the worker is essentially a passive agent to be manipulated and controlled by the economic incentives provided by the organization. The primary emphasis is on efficiency and profit for the organization. The individual is not considered beyond his contribution to task accomplishment.

However, the Hawthorne research (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939) found that the peer group was a highly important source of worker motivation. In studying work-groups in a telephone manufacturing plant, the Hawthorne researchers found that the workers established a rate of production

which was understandable only in terms of group pressure and status. The total rate of production was less than maximum and was based on a figure considered "fair" by the group. The individual rates of production were bimodal and directly correlated with membership in a high or low status clique. The conclusion was drawn that the need to be accepted and liked by one's fellow workers is more important than economic incentive. This is the view of Social Man. This view of the workgroup is associated with Elton Mayo (1945).

The implications of the Social Man view for management are to organize work into small groups and to regard the thoughts and feelings of the workers as important considerations affecting the well-being of the organization. Human relations training was developed to help management encourage worker expression and participation. It was expected that good human relations would lead to increased production, harmony, and job satisfaction. This did not inevitably occur. So human relations training and the assumptions of Social Man on which it was based were criticized on two accounts: (1) The Social Man view did not consider organizational or extra-organizational factors; (2) Social Man was too narrow a view of man--man was motivated by other needs besides group acceptance.

Self-Actualizing Man

Some psychologists argue that the need for group acceptance is not the primary motive in determining an individual's behavior in organizations. Rather self-actualization, the realization of one's potential, becomes an increasingly important motive as other motives (e.g., hunger and thirst) are satisfied. The problem for management then is to organize work so as to make it meaningful to the workers. Presumably the worker will be more productive for the organization if he satisfies his need for self-actualization by doing meaningful work.

This understanding of human motivation is derived from A. H. Maslow's theory of personality (1954). Maslow holds that needs are arranged along a hierarchy of priority. When the needs that have the greatest priority are satisfied, then the next needs in the hierarchy emerge and press for satisfaction. When these are satisfied the next needs emerge and so on up the hierarchical scale. At the lowest level of the hierarchy are physiological needs such as hunger, thirst, and shelter. Next come safety needs such as economic security. Third are love needs, needs for intimacy, closeness, and belonging. Then follow needs for esteem, the need to be thought well of. Finally come needs for self-actualization or self-fulfillment. In Maslow's theory no place is

provided for hostile or anti-social needs. These arise only when society denies an individual the fulfillment of his in-born needs.

Douglas McGregor and Chris Argyris have been heavily influenced by Maslow's theory (Argyris, 1964; Silverman, 1971). McGregor argues that the conception of worker behavior being motivated by economic incentive is inadequate. He proposes that difficulties between workers and management arise because the organizational structure does not permit the satisfaction of self-realization needs through work accomplishment. McGregor therefore suggests that management permit the workers to assume more responsibility and to participate in decision-making. McGregor feels there is no inherent conflict between self-actualization and more effective organizational performance. If given a chance, man will voluntarily integrate his own goals with those of the organization.

Similarly, Chris Argyris feels that management must provide structures for the satisfaction of worker needs for a sense of competence, self-awareness, and self-esteem. Argyris argues strenuously for an "integration" of individual needs and organizational goals. When employees restrict output, compete destructively, or are apathetic, then changes are necessary to permit a better integration between the individual worker and his organization. Argyris believes that

an optimal position can be reached which maximizes the needs of individuals and the needs of organizations.

Both McGregor and Argyris argue for the satisfaction of "higher level" needs and realize that organizational structures can inhibit or promote this satisfaction. They downplay economic incentive and presume self-realization needs to be universally operative. On these assumptions they make recommendations for organizational reform. But these are assumptions and therefore highly questionable as the basis for solutions to organizational problems. Further, their unsophisticated conceptions of personality and social structure simply do not provide adequate tools for the analysis of worker behavior within organizations.

The contributions of academic psychology

Since the 1930's American academic research in intergroup relations has investigated the attitudes and behavior of individuals as they relate as members of one group to another group. Most of the early studies focused on existing intergroup attitudes and it was only later, notably in the work of Sherif (1965, 1966), that the development of intergroup attitudes and behavior was examined. These studies have centered on the problems of prejudice, stereotypes, and cooperative and competitive behavior.

An example of this research in intergroup attitudes

is the study in stereotyping by Katz and Braly (1935). One hundred Princeton students selected the traits they considered most characteristic of each of the following ten groups: Americans, Chinese, English, Germans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Negroes, and Turks. Even though many students had had little or no contact with some of the groups, a high degree of agreement was attained in ascribing traits to the various groups. The following is a list of the groups studied together with the traits most frequently assigned by the students:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Three traits most frequently assigned</u>
Germans	Scientifically minded, industrious, stolid
Jews	Shrewd, mercenary, industrious
Negroes	Superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky
Italians	Artistic, impulsive, passionate
English	Sportsmanlike, intelligent, conventional
Americans	Industrious, intelligent, materialistic
Irish	Pugnacious, quick-tempered, witty
Chinese	Superstitious, sly, conservative
Japanese	Intelligent, industrious, progressive
Turks	Cruel, very religious, treacherous

Many studies of stereotyping followed, validating and extending these findings (Harding, et al., 1954).

Muzafer Sherif has formulated generalizations about intergroup problems specifically related to the development of positive and negative intergroup attitudes and behavior (1966). Essentially Sherif states that when a group forms, one of the results of the formation is a delineation of "we" from "they," with the "we" being the members of the group,

and the "they" being persons outside the group. Associated with "we" comes a host of qualities and values to be upheld, defended, and cherished. Offenses from outside or deviations from inside are to be reacted to by corrective, defensive, and possibly offensive measures. A set of qualities, traits, and stereotypes are attributed to other groups which comprise the "they" from the point of view of the in-group (Sherif, 1965, p. 71). The characteristics ascribed to the other group depend upon the actual or perceived relations between the groups in question. These characteristics, therefore, can be positive or negative.

Sherif designed and executed a series of studies which took place in summer camps with a population of 11 and 12 year old boys. The boys were brought to the camp in separate buses and lived in cabins isolated from each other. Observation scales were developed which reported the interaction level of the boys and whether the resulting interaction was friendly or hostile. Through various games (e.g., bean toss and baseball) Sherif concluded that intergroup hostility develops when groups are competing for goals that only one group can attain. To indicate how cooperation could be developed by initially hostile groups, a series of urgent and natural situations were created (e.g., a breakdown in the water supply system). Sherif found that intergroup

hostility is reduced and cooperation induced when superordinate goals prevail, goals that appeal to both groups but cannot be achieved by either group alone.

Noting the striking examples of intergroup conflict between unions and management, Blake, Shepard, and Mouton (1964) applied and developed Sherif's work in formal organizations. In a series of summer workshops they validated his results with adults and conceptualized the sequence of events which characterize intergroup conflict. This sequence begins with the introduction of competition for a goal that only one group can achieve. The intergroup win-lose power struggle is as follows: each group becomes increasingly cohesive and conforming; leadership is consolidated; the differences between groups are highlighted; one's own group is rated favorably while the adversary groups are rated unfavorably; negative stereotypes are developed about the adversary; commonalities are minimized. Blake, Shepard, and Mouton propose that this win-lose orientation among groups can be solved by intergroup problem-solving. Problem-solving involves the following process: problem definition; full problem review; developing a range of alternatives; debate of the alternatives by all groups together; a search for solutions; exploration and evaluation of solutions by the groups; and the weighing and selection of a solution. In doing this, superordinate goals

emerge from the joint efforts of the various groups and thus a genuine and lasting resolution of differences is achieved. This resolution is possible when all groups have a vested interest in the outcome and are convinced they can develop final positions that represent their convictions. Blake, Shepard, and Mouton recommend this model for the analysis and solution of intergroup problems of all kinds but especially in formal organizations.

Sherif and his followers ignore organizational and extra-organizational factors which can delay or eliminate compromise. The outline of the process of intergroup conflict resolution does not in any way guarantee that all parties will subscribe to that process. Blake, Shepard, and Mouton's position seems unduly optimistic and naive--world history has shown that superordinate goals are not always found between groups in conflict and that "compromise" is more often determined by power than good will. The motives of power and domination are ignored by these theorists. Further, both Sherif and Blake, Shepard, and Mouton are concerned with manifest, molar behavior and ignore the possibility that irrational and unconscious competition and hostility can occur even when a superordinate goal exists. Finally, they fail to distinguish between social organization and formal organizations and generalize across all groups and

social contexts. Their conclusions are likely not to be universally valid.

Complex Man--Edgar Schein's appraisal
of organizational psychology

Edgar Schein (1965) argues that the previous views of man and organizations are too narrow and simple. Schein believes that man has needs not only for money, group acceptance, and self-fulfillment but also many other needs. He also believes that a man's motives change over time and social context and may differ from those of his neighbor. Thus Schein argues for a less rigid and more complex view of man. The implication of this view is that managers in organizations must become good diagnosticians in order to be sensitive to the different needs of individual workers. The successful manager must be ready to apply those techniques appropriate to the situation he confronts.

Schein criticizes the previously discussed organizational psychologists not only for adhering to overly-simple notions of personality and organizational functioning, but also for ignoring an open-systems point of view. For Schein organizations must develop an "adaptive-coping cycle." There are six stages to this cycle: (1) sensing a change in the internal or external environment; (2) importing the relevant information about the change; (3) changing production or

conversion processes in accordance with the information obtained; (4) stabilizing internal changes while reducing or managing undesired by-products; (5) exporting new products, services, and so on, which are more in line with the originally perceived changes in the environment; (6) obtaining feedback on the success of these changes through further sensing of the state of the environment. This open-systems view permits an evaluation of a system's effectiveness. Schein holds that organizational effectiveness is a multiple criterion involving adaptability, a sense of identity, a capacity to test reality, and internal integration.

Schein thus adopts a structural-functionalist view in his criticisms of the previous organizational psychologists. His present understanding of organizational dynamics has much in common with the systems approach developed by the largely British school of socio-technical theorists.

Socio-Technical Research in Formal Organizations

The socio-technical theorists take a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of formal organizations. Eschewing the strict frames of reference of abstract sociology and organizational psychology, they utilize concepts from sociology, economics, and psychoanalysis to analyze organizations and determine their effectiveness. Organizational effectiveness

is understood as how well the organization is achieving its goals and how long it is likely to survive in operation. The socio-technical theorists see technology, environment, structure, and human emotions as contributing in varying degrees to the effectiveness of a particular organization. These theorists take a relativist position toward organizational structure. They feel that the most efficient organizational structure is determined by whatever promotes a successful adaptation. This form would be different for different organizations. The following review surveys the socio-technical theoriest with the major emphasis on the open-systems theory of A. K. Rice.

The Interdependence of technological,
economic, and social systems: The
work of Eric Trist

Eric Trist (1963) studied the coal mines in England and found that organizational functioning is influenced by technological, economic, and social factors and that these factors are highly interdependent. The Trist researchers surveyed the effects of mechanization in the coal mines which, when introduced, lowered efficiency, created disharmony among the workers, and lowered job satisfaction. The traditional organizational form of coal mining was called "single-place working"--small teams of men worked their own section of the mine. Each team was totally responsible for

all tasks associated with the production of coal from that site including coal-cutting, loading, etc. Each team was self-selective, keeping individuals who were acceptable and rejecting workers unacceptable to the group. This autonomy and self-sufficiency promoted job satisfaction for workers within the group and harmony with other teams. This technological form was replaced by mechanical coal-cutting and the specialization of task on each shift: one shift cut the coal, the next shift loaded the coal onto a conveyor, and the third shift moved the conveyor and propped up the roof so that the next shift could again begin the coal-cutting in another place in the mine. This technology was called the "conventional longwall method" and, while efficient technically, the longwall method was highly disruptive socially and inefficient economically. The team was no longer self-selective. Supervision was closer to see that each group completed its part of the cycle. The resulting loss of autonomy and group cohesion lowered production and was therefore inefficient for the organizational goal of profit. The Trist researchers suggested a "composite longwall method": the three shift cycle should remain but the division of tasks between shifts should be eliminated. This lessened the need for supervision and the team regained its harmony and cohesion. The "composite longwall method" was created

to provide the best possible structure to balance the needs of technological, economic, and social systems of the organization.

The relationship between environment and organizational structure

Burns and Stalker (in Silverman, 1971, pp. 113-14) surveyed 20 British firms and found that organizational structures could be seen as two ideal types: Mechanistic and Organic. Mechanistic structures are similar to Weber's rational bureaucracy. Mechanistic structures are characterized by a hierarchy of positions with strictly defined role functions. Communication is vertical. In Organic structures, on the other hand, the hierarchy of positions is undefined and role functions are continually redefined. Coordination and communication is achieved by frequent meetings and individuals are guided in their work by the overall aims of the organization. Burns and Stalker go on to state that each type of structure is appropriate to a different type of market condition (environment). If the market condition is stable and the technology relatively unchanging, then a Mechanistic structure is more appropriate and efficient. If the market condition is unstable and the organization is continually experiencing new demands and problems then an Organic structure is appropriate. Standard Oil might be

an example of the former while a Rand Corporation think tank might exemplify the latter.

The organizational theory
of A. K. Rice

A. K. Rice's organizational theory will be reviewed by discussing his open-systems perspective, his concepts of boundary and boundary control, his adoption of Melanie Klein's object relations theory of the individual, his adoption of Bion's basic assumption theory for groups and the concept of sentience, his views on intergroup relations and representation, and his ideas of organizational model building and management.

A. K. Rice's open-systems perspective

Rice's most systematic and thorough presentation of his views is contained in Systems of Organization (1967) written in conjunction with E. J. Miller. The Introduction begins:

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 means of conversion processes, consumes some of the products of conversion for internal maintenance, and exports the rest. Directly or indirectly, it exchanges its outputs for further intakes, including further resources to maintain itself. These import-conversion-export processes are the work the enterprise has to do if it is to live (p. 3).

The critical processes of any enterprise then are the import-conversion-export processes. The import-conversion-export processes are critical for two reasons: (1) the nature of the imports, conversion process, and exports differentiates organizations from one another; and (2) the differences between the imports and the exports is the measure of the organization's work (Rice, 1969).

According to Rice these open-system processes are organized around a primary task--defined as the task the organization must perform if it is to survive (p. 25). The primary task determines the dominant import-conversion-export system. For example, in a dry cleaning establishment the primary task is the removal of dirt from clothes. If it fails to properly clean the clothes, the dry cleaning enterprise will not survive. The dominant import-conversion-export system of activities involves collecting clothes, cleaning them, pressing them, and returning the clothes to the customer. However, the recruitment of workers and the maintenance of machinery are other subsidiary import-conversion-export systems necessary for the organization's survival but they are not the primary task. Under unusual circumstances these other systems could temporarily become the primary task if they threatened the life of the organization (e.g., a machinery breakdown). Thus, many import-conversion-export systems comprise a total organization.

Boundaries and boundary control

In Rice's open-systems view, the organization is comprised of a set of mutually interdependent import-conversion-export processes which together make up the entire enterprise. The enterprise has a differentiated set of sub-systems each of which has its own task. These sub-systems are separated from one another as is the organization from its environment. These separations, or boundaries, serve to define and delimit the operations of the system or sub-system. Boundaries define what is in or out of the system. "A system boundary implies a discontinuity . . . a differentiation of technology, territory, or time, or of some combination of these" (Miller and Rice, 1967, p. 7). If an intake crosses the boundary of a system it is subject to the conversion processes within it. When it re-crosses the boundary, the intake has been exported to the environment. Examples of boundaries are task, time, space, and technology. Examples of task boundaries are the teaching of reading and writing. Examples of time boundaries are class hours and vacations. Examples of space boundaries are schoolyards and classrooms. Examples of technological boundaries are the use of lectures, discussions, and programmed learning machines. Together these boundaries serve to define the system of the school.

Rice not only conceives of organizations as open-

systems but individuals and groups as well. Individuals and groups exist only through an exchange process with the environment. Rice describes each in terms of an internal world, an external environment and a boundary which separates the two. This boundary functions to control what is inside and what is outside so that the individual can successfully satisfy his needs. So the individual must manage the boundary between person and role, he must control his internal psychic life so as to be effective in task performance. Similarly the group must manage its emotional life in order to be effective in task performance and in negotiating with the environment (Bion, 1961; Rice, 1969).

In addition, individuals and groups act in multiple roles with multiple tasks. These individual and group roles can be formal or informal and the role boundaries often conflict or are inappropriately drawn. The physician and nurse who are co-members of a hospital evaluation committee is one example of potential role conflict since in this committee they should function as effective committee members. A department chairman who is also a therapy supervisor, teacher, and a member of a dissertation committee could also have difficulty defining his role in relation to his students.

In summary, boundaries define task systems by articulating the complex of activities together with the required

human and physical resources necessary to transform input to output. They define what tasks, time, space, technology, roles, and the like are appropriate for task accomplishment and what are not. As has been described, the problems of boundary maintenance and disruption are complex and multi-determined so that the confusion of boundaries in individuals, groups, and in institutions is understandable. However, it is the appropriate drawing and maintenance of boundaries which allows for effective task performance.

The individual, the group, and
intergroup transactions in
organizations

Rice delineates three levels of analysis in organizational functioning and each is understood in terms of open-systems and boundaries: the individual; the group; and intergroup relations.

The individual.--Rice relies on Melanie Klein's object relations theory to explain individual personality (Segal, 1964). In this theory the baby has no capacity to distinguish what is inside himself from what is outside. What he feels about an object (person) becomes an attribute of that object. If it gratifies and satisfies him it is a good object which the baby loves. If it frustrates him it is a bad object which he hates. The task of the mature

individual is to develop an ego which differentiates feelings from objects. The mature ego performs a boundary function to recognize the internal world of feelings and keep it separate from the real external world of objects. Furthermore, the ego operates to gratify these internal feelings through real objects.

The group and the concept of sentience.--To understand group functioning Rice adapts the theory of Wilfred Bion which is called "Basic Assumption Theory" (Bion, 1961; Rioch, 1970). Bion noticed that while groups generally aim toward the completion of some task they also contain certain emotional components in them which can advance or impede this completion. Bion thus postulates two main processes working in any group: the work process which is the set of activities of the group directed toward the completion of its task, and the basic assumption process which is the set of activities undertaken in response to the anxieties operating the group. The basic assumption process may either help or hinder the work process.

Bion refers to groups which are devoted to the work process as "work groups" and groups devoted to the basic assumption process as "basic assumption groups." The work group therefore is that aspect of group functioning which concerns itself with the real task of the group. The work

group understands its purpose and defines its task in terms of this understanding, developing the appropriate structures to accomplish the task. For example, the staff of an organization which meets to plan the future of the company has as its task the development of these plans. As its next step the staff would devise the structures necessary to make these plans realizable. For example, a survey of the market conditions might be undertaken.

The leader of the work group is not alone in possessing the skills necessary to the task. The members of the work group cooperate with the leader as discrete individuals who contribute to the task. They do so because their own interest is identified with the group's accomplishment of the task. The work group constantly tests its conclusions in the scientific spirit by seeking after knowledge and learning from experience.

While groups can maintain a high level of functioning as in a work group, at other times groups become inefficient, ineffective, and self-contradictory. Bion feels that this other aspect of group behavior develops out of the anxieties individuals feel when brought together in a group. To cope with these anxieties, members develop "basic assumption groups."

The basic assumptions are orientations which the

group members form to cope with the anxieties associated with leadership and the work task. The group acts on a basic assumption, that is, the group acts "as if" such and such were the case. Thus, specific behaviors arise which can be traced to the fantasied assumptions shared by the group members. Bion speaks of three basic assumptions operative in groups: dependence; fight-flight; and pairing.

When the basic assumption of dependence is operating, the group relies on some real or fantasied authority figure who will provide emotional security for the members and who will also undertake the responsibility for completion of the task. In this emotional state, the group maintains that the leader is omnipotent and omniscient and refuses to test the truth of this assumption. The leader is idealized as the one who understands and will solve all difficulties. If the original leader fails to fulfill this expectation, the group will attempt to find a substitute.

In failing to be omniscient and omnipotent, the leader arouses disappointment and hostility in the members. Furthermore, the members resent being dependent and are jealous of the leader's power. Nonetheless, they persist in this dependent state because of the necessity of their emotional investment.

The second basic assumption group is that of fight-

flight. While these groups act differently, the basic assumption is the same--the group has met to preserve itself as a group. This preservation can only be accomplished by fighting someone or something or by running away from someone or something. Fight is operating when the group aggressively resists those processes or persons which are leading the group toward its goal. Similarly, the flight group is operating when the group is running away from the anxieties associated with the work task. When in flight members either ignore the work task or do not develop the necessary processes to accomplish the work task.

When in fight or flight the groups are anti-intellectual and are not task oriented. Anyone who attempts to work is either hated or ignored. If the group is in fight, the group will find an enemy to direct their energies against. If in flight, the group will be avoidant to the task and engage in task-irrelevant conversation, be absent, or construct an alternate task. The emotion in a fight group is anger and in the flight group it is fear. Thus, the aim of the fight group is to attack and the aim of the flight group is to flee.

The basic assumption of pairing is operating when the group has met for the purposes of reproduction and creation. The group is living with the hope that a new

leader, a new thought, or something will bring about a new life and solve the problems at hand. Although the focus is on the future and on creation in the pairing group, the feeling of hope exists in the present. The group is optimistic; the feelings are warm and agreeable.

Turquet (1967) proposed another basic assumption, termed fusion. In this basic assumption, the group tries to fuse together in an overpowering, mindless oneness.

When in basic assumption life the group is not reality oriented, but instead is turned inward to fantasy. The fantasy life is acted out without consideration of consequences, little tolerance for self-inquiry, and great insistence on the expression of feelings. Basic assumption members are confused, have poor memories, and are disoriented about time. Basic assumption groups do not learn from experience and, in fact, actively resist change.

Bion's theory of groups provided Rice with a useful tool for understanding workgroup functioning in the formal organization. The workgroup consists of the contributions its members make to the group's purpose as well as the member's feelings and attitudes. Rice refers to the former as task and the latter as sentience. Rice's task-sentience distinction is a modification of Bion's work-basic assumption distinction. However, sentience is the whole range of human

emotion which affects task efficiency, so that Bion's basic assumptions form a part of Rice's concept of sentience. That is, sentience involves the loyalty that groups demand from its members. It can be derived from basic assumption life or from loyalties based on sex, role, philosophy, appearance, and so on. Sentient groupings may enhance or inhibit task performance. For example, in a brainstorming session, a dependent workgroup would elicit few ideas from its members because it would expect the ideas to come from the leader. Here the sentience interferes with the task.

Rice contends that the development of task definition and emotional investments by members creates the group's identity and thereby distinguishes it from other groups. Thus two important boundaries in any workgroup are: (1) the boundary of the group's identity which separates it from another group; and (2) the boundary between task and sentience. The maintenance of these external and internal boundaries is the responsibility of leadership.

Leadership in an organization means the directed effort by individuals and groups in support of task accomplishment. Leadership is directed toward controlling the task and sentient boundaries but does not necessarily have formal sanction. Management has the institutionally determined legitimacy or sanction to direct activity. Management has

the formal authority to further task accomplishment, to lead, but may not do so.

Intergroup relations.--In keeping with his emphasis on boundaries, Rice understands intergroup relations to be the transactions across group boundaries. Groups must transact across their boundaries to deal with the environment since no group can insulate itself completely and still survive. These transactions are accomplished through representation, the selection of one or a few members to cross other groups' boundaries and voice the home group's communications. In the simplest case where one group wishes to communicate with another group through a representative, new boundaries and new relationships are established: between the initiating group and its representative; between the representative and the receiving group; within the receiving group with the addition of the representative; within the initiating group with the loss of the representative. "The initiating group has to come to terms with what is being said or done in its behalf; and the representative has to reconcile his own views with the group policy he has to communicate. The receiving group's boundary is also crossed and the group has to come to terms with the intrusion from the environment and with the addition, however temporary, to its number" (Miller and Rice, 1967, pp. 22-23). In negotiations, the boundary relations become more

complex since a negotiating group has its own boundary which is different from the boundaries of the home groups of the representatives.

Rice speaks of three kinds of representation:

observer; delegate; plenipotentiary (Rice, 1965, pp. 91-92).

An observer is a representative sent from a group to find out information from other groups but he has no sanction to give out information. A delegate is a representative sent to carry out a specified action--he may deliver a message or express a point of view. He is not empowered to vary the action mandated by the group. The plenipotentiary has the power to be flexible with other groups. He is to act in accordance with the known policies of the group. These representatives are points on the continuum of a group's delegation of authority.

In summary, Rice views intergroup relations as being the manner in which groups transact their communications with one another. His concern therefore is with the process of representation, negotiation, and delegated authority. His conceptual model describes the configuration of intergroup relations in terms of the boundary relationships between groups and group members--that is, the effect of inclusion in and exclusion from a group on member feelings and task performance. In Rice's view, intergroup relations are only part

of the organizational totality, a totality which includes task and sentient systems, organizational boundaries, and the like.

Organizational model building and management

In building an organizational model, the starting point is the process flow of the dominant import-conversion-export operating system. This identifies the intake, the conversion process, the outputs, and the necessary human and physical resources (Rice, 1969). The boundaries of the systems of activity are determined by the discontinuities in the process. "Since the performance of any task is subject to complex constraints, the actual organization of the enterprise will inevitably be a compromise between the model and the constraints" (Rice, 1969, p. 569).

The sum total of Rice's theory clarifies the leadership role of management which entails the control of four kinds of boundaries:

1. regulation of task-system boundaries (i.e. regulation of the enterprise as a whole as an import-conversion-export system, and regulation of constituent systems of activity);
2. regulation of sentient group boundaries (i.e. the boundaries of the groupings to which people belong either directly through their roles in systems of activity, or indirectly through their role-sets);
3. regulation of organization boundaries;
4. regulation of the relations between task, sentient, and organizational boundaries (pp. 41-42, 1967).

Concluding remarks on Rice's theory

In contrast to the previous socio-technical theorists, Rice proposes a multi-levelled theory for organizational analysis. He draws heavily upon the structural-functionalist position and applies it both to sociological and psychological constructs. Rice also developed conceptual tools which allows for the creation of models to analyze the operation of organizations. These models can be contrasted with the reality of the organization and the difference becomes the information of consultation. Like Schein, A. K. Rice assembled and developed current theories in sociology and psychology and, by do doing, he provided a powerful method for organizational study.

An appraisal of the socio-technical theorists

The socio-technical theorists are characterized by their equal interest in the social system of the organization's workforce and technical aspects of its task. They relate the organization to its environment and try to understand specifically the impact each has on the other. In their reliance on open-systems theory they are in the structural-functionalist tradition. Further, the socio-technical theorists emphasize market conditions as significant variables and this economic emphasis leads to a focus

on the structure of production. To their credit is their close attention to the differences between organizations and environments. The socio-technical theorists rightfully argue for the inter-relationship of organizational variables and against the notion of one prescriptive solution for any organizational problem, a characteristic shared by so many earlier theorists.

Conclusion

The early theorists of formal organizations held a closed-systems viewpoint. However, not only are Weber and Taylor closed-systems theorists but so are the organizational psychologists before Edgar Schein. Recently the trend has been toward an open-systems perspective. Schein (1965) and Rice (1967, 1969) share this structural-functional view. Each is interested in the organization's capacity to survive, adapt, maintain itself and grow. Yet in contrast to other sociological and psychological theorists, Rice has emphasized the need to understand organizational functioning from an open-systems point of view which includes individual and group factors. Rice therefore uses structural terms such as primary task, boundaries, task systems as well as individual and group dynamics terms such as projection-introjection and basic assumptions. Together these form his

open-systems theory which is richer, more specific, and more developed than any other. Further, Rice's theory is readily applied to organizational life and allows for a comprehensive evaluation of organizational functioning.

As stated earlier, A. K. Rice developed a conference on group relations to teach the dynamics of organizational life. This conference provides an opportunity for the application and analysis of his theory. The next chapter will describe the conference and state the problem to be studied in this paper.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERGROUP EXERCISE AND THE FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

In the past 25 years theorists in the psychological and socio-technical traditions of scholarship in organizational behavior have developed an innovative method in education to teach people about group life (Bradford, Benne, and Gibb, 1964; Rice, 1965). The innovation consists of organizing temporary conferences for people wishing to learn about groups. By joining these conferences participants are given the opportunity to learn about themselves and how they act in groups by direct experience. The participants become members of groups in these conferences and the groups explore the issues of leadership, followership, anxiety, cooperation, sharing, and other issues as they appear. This temporary group is a microcosm of typical group life. The participant is given the opportunity to observe and examine the dynamics of group life as they happen to him and his group.

These conferences and groups have proliferated and take many forms. They are called T-groups, sensitivity

groups, laboratories for learning, group dynamics conferences and they differ in focus. Broadly speaking the difference in focus is a result of their having been developed from either the psychological or socio-technical viewpoint. The psychological conferences and their component groups (T-groups, sensitivity groups) focus on helping the individual discover his and others' needs for affiliation, esteem, and self-actualization, how to satisfy one's own needs and how to help others do the same, and how to cooperate effectively to realize goals. The socio-technical conferences and groups ("group process" groups) help the participant learn about role-taking, the need for boundaries and organization, and the relationship between the group's task and its emotional life. A. K. Rice has been instrumental in developing these group dynamics conferences and groups.

The Intergroup Relations Conference

A. K. Rice and his colleagues at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London, England have created a training exercise to examine intergroup relations (Rice, 1965; Astrachan and Flynn, unpublished). The intergroup exercise is often conducted as part of a week or two-week group dynamics conference together with other events (small group exercises and large group exercises) which are experiential. However the intergroup exercise is also conducted

as the focal experiential event of a weekend intergroup relations conference which includes other discussion and review events. This paper is concerned with this latter type of intergroup relations conference where the major experiential event is the intergroup exercise.

The intergroup relations conference may be viewed as a temporary organization with certain tasks, with its own history and development, and with its differentiated positions and roles of staff and membership. The staff of the conference functions as the management of this temporary organization. As management, the staff is responsible for dealing with the outside environment and monitoring the events taking place within the conference itself. The staff's primary task is to promote the learning opportunities of the conference members.

The membership is drawn from a wide variety of occupational backgrounds but is usually interested in understanding the responsibilities of leadership and in learning about intergroup behavior. In the conference, members are free to experience and act without the issues of real power and status impinging on them. In this way the covert processes of intergroup relations become more explicit in the conference than in "real" organizations.

The membership's primary task is to learn about intergroup relations as they unfold in the conference.

A description of the
intergroup exercise

Typically, the intergroup exercise begins with the members assembled in a large room facing the staff who are seated in a row in the front (Astrachan and Flynn, unpublished).³ The director reads a statement which defines the members' task in the exercise as the study of intergroup relations as they happen. He indicates the areas available for use by the membership and the time periods of the events. The director distinguishes between the two main groups of the exercise, staff and membership. He points out that the staff is already an organized group for its task of providing opportunities for learning about intergroup relations. He suggests that the membership may have to develop its own structure for its task. Furthermore, staff defines a continuum of member roles with regard to their authority:

(1) observers, who can obtain information from other groups but cannot act in behalf of their own group; (2) delegates, who are empowered to carry messages or act in behalf of

³This is a description of one version of the intergroup exercise. Other variations of the exercise are described in Astrachan and Flynn (unpublished) and in Higgen and Bridger (1964).

their group with certain specific instructions; and (3) plenipotentiaries, who are given much latitude in acting for their group. The director concludes by stating that these are the rules the staff will follow and he notes that the responsibility for learning rests with the members. The director asks for questions and, after answering them, the staff moves off to its designated room.

At this point members are faced with the responsibility of forming groups. The formation of groups is usually in response to the anxiety felt by the members at the departure of the staff. Members often quickly leave, follow others who have just left, or join with friends in order to form a group. Other members may not join a group but instead become observers for a while.

Members organize themselves in the available rooms. The groups set up an organizational structure with members being differentiated out to perform certain functions. Leaders are chosen, gatekeepers⁴ posted by the door, and representatives sent out. Conversely, none of this differentiation may occur in an effort to have a "democratic" group. The organizational structures which result are most often an effort to deal with anxiety and to bring order out

⁴A gatekeeper is the person designated by the group to speak first to people who enter the room from the outside.

of chaos. The development of organization in response to emotional needs rather than to task appropriateness is well illustrated to members.

The groups also must deal with the issue of authority in the person of the staff group. Member groups often either ignore or challenge staff. The consultants from staff are requested to satisfy emotional needs such as dependence rather than to assist in the work of learning.

The groups react to the competition of other groups. They hurriedly send out representatives in response to this competition, but the representatives may have no authority to speak for their group. The group may not be so organized as to give a representative anything to say. Because of these and other reasons, negotiations with other groups often break down. More successful groups overcome these obstacles by defining their leadership, their task, and their boundary relations with other groups. The event ends with a plenary session in which the staff and the membership discuss what occurred in the exercise.

Thus, the intergroup exercise is a microcosm of intergroup relations as they occur in the "real" world: members of the exercise have an assigned task; they form into groups; they set up organizational structure; they satisfy emotional needs. In this way the intergroup

exercise provides an excellent opportunity to study intergroup relations, for the participant and for the researcher as well.

Research on the intergroup exercise

Only one study of the intergroup exercise has been published--Higgen and Bridger's paper, The Psychodynamics of an Intergroup Experience (1964). The intergroup event they studied took place as part of a two-week residential conference. The members were assigned the specific task of developing a program of special interest sessions that were to take place in the second week of the conference.

The course of that intergroup exercise was heavily influenced by the opening moments of the event when staff moved to its room. Members were told to form into three groups which they did in 15 seconds. Two groups, X and Z, formed on either side of the large room leaving a third group, Y, standing in place. Y then moved off to another part of the room and all three proceeded to work on the task.

In analyzing the intergroup process, Higgen and Bridger used the work-basic assumption theory of Bion. Group members were infused with the fight-flight basic assumption arising in the problems of the exercise opening. Members acted to avoid the responsibility and difficulty of

rationally forming groups and the emotional burdens of guilt and aggression which followed had to be worked out in order for the task to be successfully completed. Y was central to this process since Y stood its ground, X and Z accepting the temptation of flight and the resultant guilt. X made reparation to Y by offering to start the exercise again and thus mitigated its guilt. X and Y then projected all of the guilt into Z which Z accepted since Z's leader first suggested the initial flight. X and Y competed with one another to gain acceptance of their respective plans with Y's plan eventually being accepted.

Thus the task and emotional work was carried out in all three groups. X and Y reduced their emotional burdens by using the fight basic assumption productively through competition and by projecting the flight basic assumption into Z. Z accepted most of the emotional work by avoiding the task throughout the exercise and absorbing the guilt and aggression. In this way, the development of the program succeeded only by the three groups cooperating to work out the task and the basic assumptions of the exercise. In understanding the intergroup exercise then, Higgen and Bridger focus on Bion's basic assumption theory and on the psychodynamic operations of projection-introjection as developed by Melanie Klein.

Formulation of the Problem

In considering the work on intergroup and organizational life, the research has been largely theoretical and derived from applied settings. The work of Rice, Emery and Trist, and the other socio-technical theorists, the work of Schein, Argyris, and other organizational psychologists, and the work of Parsons, Selznick and other sociologists all fall into this theoretical category. Only Sherif and Higgens and Bridger have attempted to study intergroup relations in a more rigorous manner. These intense investigations were permitted by the simulation of intergroup settings. Yet Sherif's work is narrow in focus and does not deal with the irrational, covert forces of intergroup behavior. Higgens and Bridger's work relies on Bion's theory and that of Melanie Klein. As such, both Sherif's and Higgens and Bridger's work are limited since they do not use an organizational, systems point of view in exploring intergroup relations. This study will seek to expand on their work by systematically examining one intergroup relations conference through the viewpoint of Rice's open-systems theory.

The intergroup relations conference is essentially a temporary organization which has as its primary task the learning of the issues of organizational life by the member

participants. As an organization, the intergroup relations conference is an open system where the members themselves are the input, the conversion process is the collective events of the exercise, and the export is the members who have increased their knowledge of organizational dynamics through the experience. The work of this temporary organization is measurable by the learning accomplished by the members between the time of import and export, although learning often continues for weeks and months afterward.

This paper will be an intensive case study of one such weekend intergroup relations conference from A. K. Rice's open-systems perspective. Descriptive and statistical observations will be made with the following purposes in mind:

- 1) Providing a theoretical framework to the intergroup relations conference through an open-systems perspective;
- 2) Providing an understanding of the developmental process of the intergroup relations conference (i.e., the exploration of the conversion process by which members learn);
- 3) Strengthening and developing open-systems theory itself.

By analyzing the conference from an open-systems viewpoint (e.g., primary tasks, roles, basic assumption life, boundaries, etc.) it is expected that the conference experience will be more understandable and its application and relevance to organizational settings in the "real world" will be more

readily apparent. Out of this application of the open-systems perspective, it is expected that a developmental process in the intergroup relations conference will be observable. Finally, it is also expected that the application of open-systems theory to the intergroup relations conference will provide new insights which will broaden the theory itself.

The author believes that the most novel contribution of this report will be the theoretical analysis of the developmental process in the intergroup relations conference. Having familiarity with small group theory, the author examined the account of the conference events (see Chapter V) with the developmental theories of small groups in mind. It became apparent to the author that a developmental process existed in the intergroup relations conference and that the process was understandable as the changing relationships between the staff and the membership over time. Changes in group tasks, boundaries, basic assumption life, roles, and representation will be used to give evidence for this developmental process. Questionnaire data gathered from the members will also be used to support the formulations presented.

The following chapter presents the methods and procedures by which the data for this study was collected.

Chapter V is a purely descriptive account of the intergroup relations conference with an emphasis on the experience itself. Chapter VI is the application of open-systems theory to the conference. Chapter VII is the account of the developmental theory of the intergroup relations conference together with the evidence supporting the formulations.

Finally, the last chapter will summarize the salient features of this research, apply the relevant conclusions of open-systems theory derived from the intergroup relations conference to other organizational settings, and review suggestions and implications for future research.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Over the course of time in which this study was written, the author's understanding of intergroup relations developed and changed in focus. At the outset, this study was intended to use a statistical approach in order to objectively validate the findings of Higgen and Bridger. Variables pertaining to the basic assumptions were developed to represent the Kleinian and Bionian aspects of Higgen and Bridger's paper. Essentially Higgen and Bridger's work was an application of Kleinian psychodynamics and Bionian group dynamics to the intergroup setting. As time proceeded, however, Higgen and Bridger's understanding of intergroup relations seemed incomplete. Increasingly the author realized the necessity for an open-systems approach in order to fully comprehend the intergroup relations conference phenomena.

Therefore the study reflects a developing understanding of intergroup relations by the author. It includes statistical results which were the outcome of the attempt to validate Higgen and Bridger's work. But these statistical

results are subsumed to the study's emphasis on the application of Rice's open-systems theory to the intergroup relations conference. Only through open-systems theory can the complexity, meaning, and richness of intergroup relations be thoroughly understood.

This chapter first describes the particular intergroup relations conference studied and then discusses the sources and method of the observational and statistical data. Finally, the problematic factors in the data collection are reviewed.

The Intergroup Relations Conference and its Membership

The intergroup relations conference studied was held over a two-day period on April 17 and 18, 1971, at the Psychological Center of the City University of New York. The conference was not different in form from that described earlier (pp. 45-50) and will be completely described for the reader in Chapter V.

Conference membership

The membership consisted of 51 people and was comprised of graduate students in the social sciences, teachers, and persons in positions of authority in government and business. The members were recruited by a brochure sent to

people on a mailing list developed from those who had attended previous group dynamics workshops. Only one of these workshops was an intergroup relations conference. The fee for membership was \$40 for professionals and \$20 for students. This amount was a reduction from the usual fee in exchange for the members' cooperation in the research component of the conference.

The intergroup relations
conference structure

The conference opened with an introduction in plenary session with all the members gathered in one room with the staff facing them at the front. It then moved on to the intergroup sessions. There was also a mid-conference discussion group, a mid-conference plenary, as well as a plenary and a discussion group at the end.

The intergroup sessions provided opportunities to study the relationships between and among groups as they interacted with one another. Members formed groups among themselves in separate rooms in the event. The staff, as consultants, was available to groups and to intergroup and plenary meetings upon request. Their task was to make observations about what was happening or to provide other interventions to facilitate the learning process. The staff of consultants also functioned as a group in their own room

within the event and members were permitted to observe the consultants at work.

The discussion groups consisted of about 12 members and each group met with a staff member. Their task differed on each day. On the first day, the discussion groups attempted to examine and understand the conference phenomena up to that point. On the second day, the discussion groups considered and applied the conference experience to members' own intergroup relations (job settings, political settings, social settings, etc.)

Plenary sessions offered an opportunity to discuss the conference as a whole and in its various parts with all staff and members participating.

Table 1 gives the schedule of events.

Sources of the Data

The data collected in the course of this weekend intergroup relations conference came from three sources: (1) observation and recording of the activities of the staff and member groups in the various events by research observers; (2) the Individual Reactions Questionnaire, designed by the author, which the members filled out at the end of each session; and (3) the Research Observer Questionnaire, also designed by the author, which was filled out by research observers during each session.

TABLE 1
THE WEEKEND SCHEDULE

Day and Time	Activity
Saturday 9:00-9:30	Registration
9:30-11:00	Workshop Opening and Session 1
11:00-11:30	Coffee
11:30-1:00	Session 2
1:00-2:30	Lunch
2:30-3:30	Discussion Group
3:30-4:00	Coffee
4:00-6:00	Session 3
6:00-7:30	Dinner
7:30-9:30	Session 4
9:30-10:30	Plenary
Sunday 9:30-11:00	Session 5
11:00-11:30	Coffee
11:30-1:00	Session 6
1:00-2:30	Lunch
2:30-4:00	Session 7
4:00-4:30	Coffee
4:30-5:30	Plenary
5:30-6:30	Discussion Group

The observation and questionnaire data will be used to support the application of open-systems theory to the conference and the formulations of the developmental process theory. In addition, the questionnaire data will also be used to statistically examine two expectations relating to the internal and external characteristics of the members' groups. The first expectation is that groups, when faced with an authority group and a task, will develop a basic assumption life which correlates with its pattern of representation, with its boundary permeability, with the internal

personal characteristics of the group members (number in the group, sex, etc.) and with the passage of time. The second expectation is that the distribution of basic assumption life and the patterns of representation of the groups will be influenced by group membership and time.

Observations and recordings

The observations and recordings of the activities of the staff and member groups in the intergroup relations conference were conducted by the author together with 10 research observers. These research observers were graduate students in psychology familiar with the intergroup exercise. They were stationed in each room where a group met, in the staff room, and in the area set aside for negotiations. In addition, two research observers were free to record events which occurred elsewhere. The research observers were responsible for passing out the Individual Reactions questionnaires at the end of each session and for recording each group's history. A synthesis of the research observers' reports on the conference history is presented in Chapter V. The research observers were information gatherers only. They did not communicate either with members or with the staff about the conference events during the course of the weekend. In order to provide for continuity of observation, the same research observer remained with each group during the

conference. A reliability check was conducted during the conference by a second research observer in the room.

The Individual Reactions
Questionnaire (see
Appendix A)

The author devised a questionnaire to examine the basic assumption life of the members in the intergroup conference. Originally, a large number of affects were to be assessed, but the analysis was limited in this study to those member affects which represented the basic assumptions. The concepts underlying the development of the questionnaire will now be reviewed.

Bion states that there is a corresponding emotional state for each basic assumption (Bion, 1961; Rioch, 1970). When in pairing, the group is feeling hopeful and optimistic. When in flight, the group is feeling anxious. When in fight, the group is feeling angry. When in the dependent basic assumption, the group is feeling dependent. Following the theory then, a group's emotional state characterizes its basic assumption.

Bion's basic assumption theory was developed for small groups--the basic assumptions are orientations which the small group members hold toward their leader and their work task. To apply this theory to the intergroup relations conference requires an enlargement of focus. Not only can

members hold basic assumptions toward their internal leaders and work task, but toward other groups and staff as well. In addition, they can hold basic assumptions in a projective manner (how they expect others to see them). For example, within the small group the members might feel dependent, but toward other groups and the staff group the particular group members might feel anxious and thereby be in flight. Therefore, in assessing the group's basic assumptions, the group members were asked to characterize their emotional states (hopeful and optimistic, anxious, angry, dependent) on a scale from one to nine from four vantage points: (1) how they feel toward their own group; (2) how they feel toward other groups; (3) how they feel toward the staff group; (4) how they think other groups see them. The four basic assumptions of hope and optimism, anxiety, anger, and dependence thus were assessed from a "Within Group" viewpoint, an "Other Group" viewpoint, a "Staff Group" viewpoint, and a "Projective Group" viewpoint.

The 15 variables pertaining to the group's basic assumption life are as follows:

The "Within Group" Variables

- 1) Toward my own group I feel hopeful and optimistic
- 2) Toward my own group I feel anxious
- 3) Toward my own group I feel angry

The "Other Group" Variables

- 4) Toward other groups I feel hopeful and optimistic
- 5) Toward other groups I feel anxious
- 6) Toward other groups I feel angry
- 7) Toward other groups I feel dependent

The "Staff Group" Variables

- 8) Toward staff I feel hopeful and optimistic
- 9) Toward staff I feel anxious
- 10) Toward staff I feel angry
- 11) Toward staff I feel dependent

The "Projective Group" Variables

- 12) I think that other groups see my group as hopeful and optimistic
- 13) I think that other groups see my group as anxious
- 14) I think that other groups see my group as angry
- 15) I think that other groups see my group as dependent

The relationship and distribution of basic assumption life in the intergroup relations conference was therefore studied through the examination of the emotional states of hope and optimism, anxiety, anger, and dependence in the several groups in the conference.

The Research Observer
Questionnaire (see
Appendix B)

The third source of information for this study of the intergroup relations conference was the recording that the research observers made on the Research Observer Questionnaire. This questionnaire includes many variables but only 15, termed the "group characteristic" variables, proved to be reliable (above .6). Appendix C provides the data for

the reliability of the variables in the Research Observer Questionnaire. Within the Research Observer Questionnaire, the 15 "group characteristic" variables are located in the sections Representatives to other Groups, Group Composition, and Leadership.

The "group characteristic" variables pertain to the patterns of representation of the group, its boundary permeability, and the internal characteristics of the group.

The pattern of representation variables are as follows:

- 1) time spent out of room by sets⁵ of representatives
- 2) number of sets of observers
- 3) number of sets of delegates
- 4) number of sets of plenipotentiaries
- 5) number of sets of representatives to staff
- 6) number of sets of representatives to negotiations
- 7) number of sets of representatives to other groups
- 8) number of sets of representatives in total
- 9) number in group sent to interface^{6/N}⁷

Variable 1 measures the amount of time spent out of the room by sets of representatives. Variables 2, 3 and 4 measure the degree of authority which the group invests in its

⁵The number of representatives was established by counting the number of times a member or a group of members was designated to represent the group. If one member or five members were sent to represent the group for a specific reason, only one occurrence was scored.

⁶An "interface" is a meeting of two or more groups (usually as a whole but sometimes in part) for discussion.

⁷"N" refers to the number of persons in the group.

representatives. Variables 5, 6, and 7 indicate where the representatives are sent. Variable 8 refers to the total number sent out as representatives. Variable 9 indicates the proportion of the group which interfaces with other groups.

The "permeability of boundary" variables are as follows:

- 10) existence of a gatekeeper
- 11) door position

Variable 10 refers to whether a person is assigned the role of gatekeeper for the group and maintains the role. Variable 11 refers to whether the door of the room is closed and locked, closed but unlocked, slightly open, or open.

The following variables comprise the internal personal characteristics measured:

- 12) total number in the group
- 13) proportion of men to women
- 14) number of blacks/N

The final variable refers to the passage of time:

- 15) session number

Since the conference was divided into seven sessions, numbered one to seven, the increase in session number represents the passage of time.

The statistical results which are included as Appendix D explored the expectations previously discussed. The basic assumption variables were correlated with the

"group characteristic" variables. In particular, the "Within Group" basic assumption variables, the "Other Group" basic assumption variables, the "Staff Group" basic assumption variables, and the "Projective Group" basic assumption variables were correlated with the groups' pattern of representation, boundary permeability, internal personal characteristics, and the passage of time. The second expectation examined the influence of group membership and time on the basic assumption and pattern of representation variables through the use of analysis of variance.

This observation and questionnaire data will be used to illuminate and explain the events of the intergroup relations conference in terms of open-systems theory. Primarily this data will be used descriptively--the statistical evidence gained from the correlation and the analysis of variance of the basic assumption and pattern of representation variables will be used mainly in support of the developmental process analysis.

Analysis of the Statistical Data

The first step in the analysis of the data was the computation of the total frequencies for each variable. For the 15 basic assumption variables, the scores were summed for each session and a group mean established. For the 15 "group characteristic" variables, the scores were also summed for

each session. Since the session times were unequal, the scores were multiplied so as to make them equivalent.

The relationship between the 15 basic assumption variables and the 15 "group characteristic" variables was examined using Pearson Product Moment Correlations. Since one of the "group characteristic" variables was dichotomous (existence of a gatekeeper) a point-biserial correlation was used here.

The differences between the means of the groups, of the sessions, and of each group session on the 15 basic assumption variables were examined by a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance. The differences between the means of the groups and of the sessions on the 15 "group characteristic" variables were examined by a one-way analysis of variance.

The results of these statistical analyses are discussed in Appendix D with the source tables of the analysis of variance data included as Appendices E and F. By and large, the statistical results were disappointing and this was so for several reasons.

First, the questionnaire data did not demonstrate a large number of significant correlations and significant differences between means. However, the failure of significant findings to be shown can be traced to problems in

methodology. For example, the means for each group session were used for the correlations. But the direction of a group is not determined by the average feeling of the group. In the conference, representatives were often sent because a leader of the group wanted a representative sent or because a sub-group wanted one sent or even because a single member seized the initiative himself. So many times the important basic assumption which was related to intergroup events was the basic assumption of an individual or a sub-group. In addition, the scores were gathered once per session, at the end. Members could have acted in terms of one basic assumption for the majority of the session, but then could have changed basic assumptions before the end. The members could then have responded to the questionnaire in terms of the basic assumption at the end, which would not reflect the true state of affairs in the session. Finally, the unreliability of the scores and the fact that these scores were the conscious responses of the members (when the determining factors of influence in the intergroup relations conference might have been unconscious) also contributed to the lowered number of significant results. In sum then, these methodological interferences served to depress the findings so that the statistical results are very conservative.

Second, the statistical results were disappointing because the questionnaire tapped only a minimum of the attitudinal and behavioral data of the intergroup relations conference. As will be seen, the history gained from the observers' recordings is rich in detail and allows for an analysis through open-systems theory which the questionnaire data do not. Moreover, since questionnaire data are rooted in the individual, only observation can fully describe the social structure of the conference. Because this report is primarily aimed at describing the impact and interaction of social structure and process in the intergroup relations conference, the data to be discussed are largely drawn from the observations reported by the author and the research observers.

Problematic Factors in the Data Collection

The effect of a separate and large research staff (11 people) on the events of the conference is difficult to assess. Clearly there was an effect. The research observers were occasionally addressed with hostility and anxiety as members expressed their displeasure over being watched ("Are you taking everything down?"). By and large, however, the experience of the research observers was that of being ignored by the conference members. The members did not directly

express their discomfort over the research until the last minutes of the conference and then only superficially. So hard data of the effect of the research component on the conference are not available.

The author surmises that the major effect of the research component on the data was an attenuation of the intensity and openness to the conference experience on the part of the members. Many members were graduate students who were aware either consciously or unconsciously that the research was a doctoral dissertation. They would thus be likely to be compliant, considerate of the author's anxieties, and feel that the oppression of observation was non-negotiable and non-discussable. In addition, the conference took place in an academic setting where thinking is prized over feeling. Also, the conference was non-residential so that the members could withdraw from the experience at meal times and at day's end. The overall effect of the research, the academic setting, the conference not being residential, as well as its short duration was to attenuate the members' experience and its behavioral expression. Therefore, what is described, both in the history and in the questionnaire data, is only the "tip of the iceberg" of what typically occurs at such intergroup relations conferences. Usually, far more aggression and "acting out" from the members takes place at these conferences.

Conclusion

This report then represents a conservative account, both descriptively and statistically, of the events in the intergroup relations conference. The report will focus on the observational data of the conference and intersperse the statistical data to support the formulations drawn from the observations. The author acknowledges the problems of reliability and validity in the observational method. However, he also strongly believes that the precision which was lost in his choice of method is more than made up for by the scope of the report. Indeed, since this is among the first reports on the intergroup relations conference, further refinement in methods and procedures should be forthcoming.

This report then is written in the spirit of a broad, initial exploration into a highly complex phenomenon. The author believes that such a broad exploration will allow for the significant elements of the intergroup relations conference to be addressed.

CHAPTER V

A DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS

CONFERENCE UNDER STUDY

The intergroup relations conference under study was held at the Psychological Center of the City University of New York (C.U.N.Y.) on April 17 and 18, 1971. The Psychological Center is normally used by the clinical psychology faculty of C.U.N.Y. and consists of small offices, large rooms used for "group dynamics" groups and group therapy, and larger rooms used for classes and meetings. On the occasion of the intergroup relations conference, the small offices were locked and the larger rooms were open for use by the staff and membership. Figure 1 shows the floor plan for the conference. Twelve chairs were placed in each group room and five in the staff room. Chairs were also placed in the conference opening area (plenary room) so that the staff could face the entire membership--seven chairs⁸ were at the front with 11 rows of six chairs each facing them.

⁸The extra two chairs were for the research director (myself) and for the conference administrator.

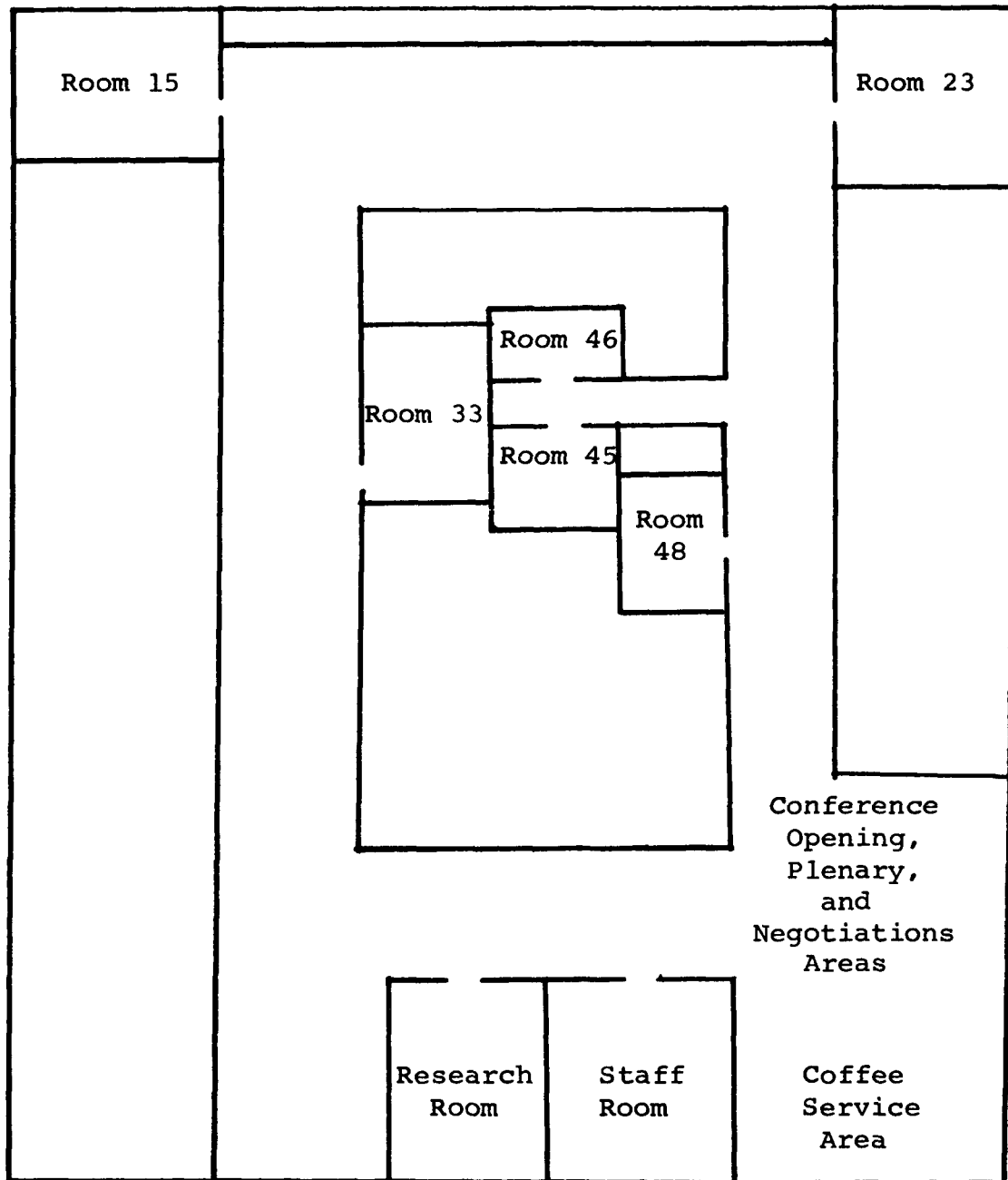


Fig. 1.--Floor Plan of the Psychological Center.

Conference Opening and Session One

The conference began at 9:30 A.M., Saturday morning, with the staff walking to their seats at the front of the plenary room. The director of the conference welcomed the members and introduced the staff, the research director, and the conference administrator.⁹ He then discussed the primary task of the conference, "the study of intergroup relations as they happen." He delineated the respective tasks for staff and members. Staff was to provide opportunities for learning about intergroup relations while members were to learn.¹⁰ He indicated that the staff was an organized group in the conference and was available for consultation. The director mentioned the rooms available for use by the members: room 15, room 23, room 33, room 45, and room 46. He indicated the staff and research rooms also. The director defined the continuum of members' authority in speaking for their group (observer, delegate, plenipotentiary). He then reviewed the research component of the conference and the author, as research director, spoke of the questionnaires and the research

⁹Staff members were David Singer, Ph.D. (Director), Laurence J. Gould, Ph.D. (Associate Director), Edward Klein, Ph.D., Rachel Robinson, R.N., and Kenn Rogers, Ph.D.

¹⁰The form of the conference was the same as that described on pp. 45-50; p. 51 contains the schedule and the specific description of the different events.

observers. The director concluded by stating that the responsibility for learning rested with the members and then he asked for questions. One member asked about how the discussion groups would be formed. The director stated that lists for the discussion groups would be posted. After waiting for more questions, the staff left the room.

Immediately several members stood up. People talked excitedly with one another asking what should be done now. One woman began to leave but she was called back. Members were laughing and moving about. The research observers felt a sense of urgency in the room and experienced the members as being very anxious about the chaos.

One man left saying that going into the rooms would be one way of forming groups. Several others followed. Someone suggested that delegates be sent to staff to find out their purpose in leaving. One man said that the 50 remaining people in the room need not split up. Others echoed this suggestion saying that the large group should stay together. A group of black members left. A woman responded that they are all friends and therefore want to stay together. Several other members left. These members went to room 15.

A flurry of suggestions followed concerning how the members should split up into rooms. One person suggested counting off by fives. Another suggested that everyone

should simply leave. A third suggested dividing into different groups on the basis of a purpose. Random formation was again suggested. A discussion began on how the groups could divide on the basis of interest and purpose. Finally one member said, "Let's form a group instead of sitting around bullshitting," and a large number of members left. They went to room 23 but found it too cold and moved to room 45. Finding that room too small they split into two groups; half went into room 45 and half into room 46. The remaining people slowly filtered out and entered rooms 23 and 33.

The entire process of leaving the plenary room after the staff left took approximately seven minutes.

Group 15¹¹ was made up of eight members, five men and three women. The group was further distinguished by having a sub-group from a drug rehabilitation agency. Five of the eight members came from this agency and the sub-group included three black males, one white male, and one white female. The dominant member in this opening session was the head of this drug agency.

The drug agency sub-group members were among the first to leave the plenary room after the staff left. They

¹¹The groups will be identified by their room number (e.g., group 15, group 23, group 33, etc.)

were soon joined by three other members. The question arose whether they should allow other members of the conference into the room to join their group. The drug agency sub-group did not want any other members while the other three members did. The reason that the sub-group wanted no more members was that they wanted to begin to relate to other groups in the conference and they felt that allowing other members in would slow down the group's progress. The other three members wished other members to join so that the group could turn into a larger sensitivity group. The predominant issue for the first 45 minutes was whether the group should work to establish internal cohesion by fostering trust and intimacy or whether the group should work toward establishing structures in order to relate to the rest of the conference. The dilemma for the group was how to decide upon what the group's task would be. The inability to resolve this led to much confusion and frustration.

At one point the group decided to create the role of gatekeeper, the gatekeeper being responsible for first speaking to representatives from other groups when they came to the room. With that decision the members committed themselves to limit the group's membership to those in the room. This seemed to relieve some of their frustration. However, even though they created the gatekeeper role, the group did not choose a member to be the gatekeeper.

The group was still stymied on the issue of whether they should focus on group cohesion or on relating to other groups. One member suggested calling in a consultant to help resolve the question. A vote was taken and the suggestion was voted down. Another suggestion was that an observer be sent to watch the consultants. No decision was reached and the session ended with no transactions taking place either with staff or with other groups.

Group 23 consisted of 12 members, six men and six women. This group was largely composed of members who had left the conference opening area last. The group was considered by the research observer to be very anxious, dependent, and confused. The conversation was very unfocused. The research observer reported that the group felt very helpless and did not know what to do. Periodically the question of what should be done was directly addressed, but more typically the group talked about leadership in an abstract, intellectual manner. Some members spoke for the need for leadership in the group, others opposed the idea that leadership was needed. This narrowed down to a male and female member--the male member speaking that structure needed to be established otherwise the group would remain in confusion. The female member spoke against this, fearing manipulation by and surrender to authority. The group ended on this abstract

discussion with no acting to organize or to differentiate having occurred.

Group 33 was composed of 14 members, eight men and six women. The members of group 15 and group 23 were mostly in their twenties but half of the members in group 33 were between 30 and 40. Like group 23, the members of group 33 were among the last to leave the conference opening area.

The group began by members asking one another their names and what they did for a living. Some members spoke about how they felt uncomfortable in the conference and in the group. A desire to get close to one another arose but with people looking in from the halls and with members leaving, the issue of stabilizing group membership took precedence. A member joined the group from outside and the others in the room took up the question of whether to allow him to remain. Another member proposed to close the door but his proposal was not dealt with. Instead the group began a general, theoretical discussion about how to decide whether someone is committed to the group. A member left to observe the staff but he had no group authority to do so. The group became frustrated by their inability to settle their differences. As a result the group tried to decide on a list of priorities to be discussed. This suggestion was opposed on the grounds that the group should talk "about people." The

research observer noted much anxiety and frustration in the room. Comments such as the following were made: "It's dangerous in here, frightening"; "We are dealing with anxiety at this point"; "We ought to be doing something." People interrupted one another. Subjects were rapidly changed. No resolution to the confusion was made by the end of the session.

Group 45 was composed of 10 members, four men and six women. Seven members were in their twenties, one between 30 and 40, and two between 50 and 60. The leader of this group was the man who proposed in the conference opening that the large group stop "bullshitting" and form groups. He was an encounter group leader and tried to develop group 45 into an encounter group.

At the beginning of the group the question of what they should do was the focus. The group quickly moved to a discussion about how people felt about the group, each other, staff, and the conference. The emphasis of their remarks was on their discomfort and the "coldness" in the conference. Other members objected to this focus on feelings and a confrontation developed between the encounter group leader and another male member. The male member walked over to the encounter group leader. His intentions were not clear and the group was quite frightened at this point. A woman stood

up to stop him and perhaps comfort him by putting her hand on his shoulder. At this the male member quickly turned around and slapped the woman on the arm. This so surprised her that she burst into tears and almost became hysterical. The members comforted her by putting their arms around her and by asking her to tell how she felt. This lasted several minutes until she decided to leave as did the member who had hit her. The rest of the group time in this session was spent talking about this incident. The members felt very guilty and thought about finding her and seeing whether she was angry with them.

Group 46 was composed of seven members, three men and four women. All were between 20 and 30. This group was the other half of the group that followed the encounter group leader from the plenary room in the conference opening. Since all members could not fit into room 45, some of the members were suddenly without a leader in room 46.

The group members first decided not to close the door. The members then spoke about not being with the leader who had led them from the plenary room. They talked of not knowing what to do at this point. They spoke of their backgrounds and how they found out about the conference. Again they spoke of not knowing what to do. They discussed whether they should speak of their feelings with group 45. However,

the group in room 45 had just closed their door. As a result, the research observer noted that the group seemed more insecure and rejected. A suggestion was made that they send an observer to group 45 which they did. Another suggestion was made that they sit in on the staff group. They decided to ask for a consultant to come to the room. While they sent for the consultant, the observer sent to group 45 returned. He reported that group 45 was comforting a woman who was upset and he conveyed to his fellow members that group 45 was a very destructive group.

The consultant arrived and he asked why they requested him. Group members did not know. The decision seemed almost arbitrary--"To find out what it's like to have one." The consultant spoke of the consultant role which was to help the members learn about intergroup relations. The members reviewed with the consultant their historical development, the split with group 45, and how they came to ask for a consultant. They asked him to remain in order to help them. The consultant stated that he was responsible to the whole conference and could not devote himself solely to one group. The session ended on this note.

After the staff left the conference opening area they went to their room and spoke of the characteristics of the membership. They reviewed the number of people in the

conference, the backgrounds of some of the members, and the number of males and females. After a general discussion of the nature of the intergroup exercise and the populations involved in group dynamics laboratories, the staff began to focus on this workshop. One consultant suggested that the various groups have turned into self-study groups since no member had yet come to the staff room. Some concern was expressed at the absence of data from the members. As a result the staff talked about past experiences in intergroup exercises. A general discussion about contracts, authority, and responsibility followed with the comment that the members had not fulfilled their responsibility as learners to use staff.

A member wished to gain admission to the staff room. The member did not represent any group but was admitted. The staff discussed the decision made by the boundary consultant¹² to admit the member as an "individual." Another consultant felt that the staff colluded in this decision by not defining the boundary role with enough clarity. The staff decided that in the future the boundary consultant would admit only observers, delegates, and plenipotentiaries from the various groups. The staff would not admit individuals representing only themselves. They also decided that if delegates came to

¹²One consultant was assigned the task of maintaining the staff room boundary.

staff when they were already talking to another delegate, the newly arrived delegate should wait outside.

A delegate from group 46 requested a consultation from the staff. A consultant left to go to room 46. After he left, the staff regretted that they did not ask the nature of the consultation request. They decided that they would do so in the future.

Session Two

Group 15 retained the same members as the previous session but added one additional female member. In the opening moments of this session, the new member arrived and the group could not decide whether they wanted to admit her or not. The drug agency members did not want her because they felt that the new member would detract from the group's interaction with other groups. The other members wanted her to join because they saw no reason why she should not. The group then focused on the drug agency members, asking why they came and why they stayed together. They replied that they came because the experience was recommended to them by their leader. A more general discussion followed on how relationships members had prior to the conference influenced their behavior in the conference. One member revealed that she purposely did not stay with a friend. This conversation was interrupted by a member who wished to leave the group

and observe other groups. Six members did not want him to go. The issue of the new member, home relationships, and the desire of this one member to leave led to an explosion of anger where every comment raised elicited an opposite response. The member said he wanted to leave, another told him he could not go, and a third demanded to know why he shouldn't.

The leader from the drug agency suggested that a moderator to make decisions should be chosen to deal with this confusion and frustration. The other half of the group objected. This was argued strenuously by the group and finally the suggestion was withdrawn with the issue not being resolved. The research observer noted that the group was very angry and tense. The group recognized that every issue raised was defeated. Some members felt this occurred because there was no trust among the members. The split within the group was discussed and it was felt that the two sub-groups were competitors. At this point the session ended.

Group 23 had the same members as in session one. The research observer considered the group to be aimless and without focus. The group talked about the roles of observer, delegate, and plenipotentiary and the power that went along with the roles. Various members talked about their boredom, frustration, and confusion about what they were supposed to

do and about what was going on. Members of the group left and came back at their own initiative. They went to observe in the staff room and in room 15. On their return the group discussed what these members had seen. The group noted that the other groups were no further along than they were.

Group 33 retained the same members that they had in session one. The research observer described the session as highly disorganized--members jumped from one topic to another. The suggestion was raised that they investigate what other groups were doing. This was countered by someone saying, "What for?" This quickly switched to what authority should those sent to other groups have--should they go as observers, delegates, or plenipotentiaries. Two members were sent as delegates to other groups. At this point a member suggested getting a consultant. Someone asked why a consultant was wanted or needed. This was answered by the comment that the group was not going anywhere and needed some help in finding direction. The group began to talk about the kind of help the consultants would supply, expecting that the consultants would just comment on what was going on. Others in the group were simply against a consultant coming at all, on any grounds.

The delegates returned and reported on the other groups, saying that one was a T-group and the others seemed

disorganized. A member at this point raised the fact that no one could control anyone else in the room and that was what was so frustrating. The session ended on the question of how could they manage the comings and goings of members, the order of speakers, and the subjects of conversation.

Group 45 continued as an encounter group in this session. Four members were involved at first with the three others becoming involved later. The group focused on one member who felt terrified and asked for reassurance from the others. The group comforted her by saying that she would soon feel better and by trying to draw out from her what she was feeling. Three of the members stood up and asked the frightened woman to stand up also. They hugged each other. The other members not included in this seemed increasingly uncomfortable. One of these members stared at the research observer; one older woman knitted.

One of the members not in the encounter group activity asked for a consultant. No one else was interested. Another member began to leave saying he was restless, that he wanted to see other groups. The group asked him to stay but he left anyway. The members expressed their regret over his departure. The discussion returned to the woman who felt frightened. They began to speak of the group as a womb with the older woman as a mother.

Group 46 began this session by asking one another the difference in feeling between the first session and this one. Members reported that they were more anxious in the first session but that they presently felt bored. Someone suggested that the present boredom was a result of not having any direction, of not knowing what to do. They decided that they should observe the staff group because "they are professional" and therefore a good model to learn from. The conversation returned to the report of the observer who visited group 45 in the last session. The female members of the group expressed their concern for the female member in group 45 who was hurt. They suggested that the group deal with room 45 on this problem. They were not supported by the rest of the group on this issue.

The group then began to talk about methods of interacting with other groups. The group members decided that they would like to interact with other groups and that the observer status was the most comfortable role since no speaking with other groups would be necessary. Someone mentioned that these distinctions in authority (observer, delegate, plenipotentiary) came from the director's comments at the opening and said, "Why are we using their language?" The group then spoke of the consultant's lack of helpfulness in the last session. A member suggested that the consultants

were not here to give information but rather to withhold it. Yet someone else pointed out that the group did not ask any questions of the consultant and in this way the members did not know if the consultants would or would not answer questions.

The group decided that they would like to have an intergroup meeting with group 45 in order to see what they were doing. The session ended at this point.

Session two for the staff group began with the report from the consultant who consulted with group 46. He stated that there were three males and four females in the room. He reported that the group had no specific reason to ask for a consultant but they thought it would be a good idea to have a consultant present all the time. The group members asked the consultant to stay with them. The consultant had responded that his responsibility was to the whole workshop and to the staff group. The consultant to group 46 went on to explain the formation of group 45 and group 46, that they were originally one group that split into the two rooms. In order to differentiate themselves from the "violent" group 45, group 46 wished to see themselves as reasonable and modest. If the primary task of group 46 was to be reasonable and maintain a collective high self-esteem, then the height of reasonableness and responsibility would be to have a

consultant come and assist them in the task. The staff agreed with this interpretation.

The director asked the consultant who was familiar with the Psychological Center to place a diagram of the floor plan on the blackboard. He then did so. At this point an observer who had come in a few minutes earlier attempted to make a comment. Another consultant blocked the comment saying that comments were not taken from observers. The staff looked at the diagram of room placement, especially at the proximity of room 45 and room 46. One consultant suggested that the two groups have to "compete" in order to achieve independence from one another. While a discussion on this need to differentiate continued, another staff member suggested that the staff was performing to "teach" the observer. Some staff members agreed with this but one member disagreed.

The staff then discussed the representatives who had come to the staff room. The representatives had all been male and students. A suggestion was made that a sense of powerlessness pervaded the conference. Another consultant responded that the staff may be overworking the data made available to it. A different consultant disagreed, but another suggested that the ideas put forward could be seen as hypotheses to be tested as the conference continued. All

the staff agreed that they had little data to work with. A silence lasting several minutes followed.

Staff returned to speak of the size of rooms as well as their placement in the Center. A suggestion was made that since group 15 and group 33 were furthest away and had not sent representatives to staff yet, they were involved in flight. The observer from group 45 left at this point and an observer from group 46 entered. The observer from group 45 returned several minutes later.

The director raised the question of how the discussion groups might go in the afternoon. Another consultant questioned whether it was necessary or appropriate to discuss this with an observer present. Staff commented that the observer from group 46 was taking notes. A discussion followed as to why a group sends an observer. These possibilities were mentioned: (1) an observer represents a group in a particular way through the person selected, and (2) the group sends people that they want to get rid of. Another silence for five minutes and the observer from group 46 left.

A consultant questioned whether the groups were into a "study group" culture, referring to the fact that they seemed to be involved in studying themselves. The staff was concerned that no representatives were coming to staff. The adequacy of the introduction in the conference opening was

questioned. Perhaps the staff did not give enough information about how learning was to take place in the intergroup exercise. Another consultant suggested that the groups could be avoiding staff because they needed to form close associations in their own groups first. The staff was concerned about groups that had not been heard from. One staff member stated that the staff was being protective and that there was no way to settle the various hypotheses without more data. The session ended at this point and the observer from group 45 left.

Review of the Conference Opening,
Session One, and Session Two

The course of the first two sessions was heavily influenced by the conference opening and the initial group formation. The members in room 45 and room 46 followed a member who made a strong suggestion to leave as a remedy for his and everyone else's impatience in the plenary room. These members banded together behind this determined leader but had to split in two because of the room size. This leader went into room 45 which left the members in room 46 without the leader that they thought belonged to them. The group in room 15 had five members who worked together in a drug rehabilitation agency and remained together throughout the conference. A near majority of the members in room 33 had all

come from the same section of the plenary room. These people left the plenary room quite late. Room 23 was largely composed of those members who remained in the plenary until the very end.

The sudden departure of the staff left the members feeling abandoned and anxious as a result of the loss of an expected emotional support and structure. The members formed groups on the basis of the personal strength of one leader, of associations prior to the conference, of associations developed in the opening moments of the conference, and of being the remainder in the plenary room after other members had left. The personal strength of one man dominated one group's task (the encounter group in room 45) and left another group further abandoned (group 46). The five from the drug agency polarized group 15. The other groups were those abandoned by the staff and the other members so that no cohesion existed at all in their groups.

The following problems were foremost among those faced by the groups during the first two sessions: (1) who was a group member and who was not; (2) what task they would undertake in the course of the conference; and (3) what mechanisms would be developed to maintain order, control discussion, and make decisions. The issue of group inclusion or exclusion of members was largely settled as members

sat in one room or another. The problem evolved into how a decision of acceptance of a new member was to be made. The task selected by each group was to isolate themselves from other groups and focus on either intragroup warmth, arguments, or confusion. No group made a decision to discuss how it could best learn about intergroup relations.

Each group developed a similar process involving strife, division, hostility, argumentativeness, competition, and passive-aggressive and obstructionist tactics. The chaos was functional to flee from the intergroup task. The members were acting as if they were not in an intergroup environment which necessitated group-level structures. The great difficulty in achieving a commitment to their particular group and the intergroup task was a result of the abandonment by staff, by their leaders, and by other conference members. With no stability apparent, members sought refuge in encounter groups or in intragroup arguments. Because of their anxiety, structure, differentiation, and agreement were seen by the members as devices of dominance, control, and exploitation rather than as the instruments by which the several groups could express themselves. Until the anxiety level lowered and the groups more clearly understood their intergroup task, group-level structures (e.g., representatives with tasks) could not be developed and the five groups were bound to remain in chaos and confusion.

The Discussion Groups

The discussion groups were formed by placing members with similar jobs in the same group with a single consultant. The discussion groups were very similar to one another. After they brought up the experiences in their respective groups, the consultants reminded the members of the task of the workshop, the study of intergroup relations. That members retreated into their rooms with few intergroup transactions was interpreted as an avoidance of the task, the consultants, or both. The consultants all commented that this was done for comfort and to lessen anxiety rather than for the learning task. The consultants were not used for the same reason, because they aroused anxiety. Members stated that they did not use the consultants because they felt incompetent enough, and to ask for help would have made them feel worse. In several of the discussion groups the boundary problems of the groups was discussed, for instance, whether the doors were open or closed and why. The consultants always emphasized that the events were interpreted in light of the task so that boundaries did need to be established, roles adopted, and tasks selected. The research observers felt that the members were quite interested and affected by the discussion groups.

Session Three

Group 15 retained the same members as in previous sessions. The suggestion was made by the leader of the non-drug agency faction to have a consultant come to the room to help heal the split between the two sub-groups. She felt that the polarization was interfering with the development of intergroup transactions. The drug agency sub-group spoke against the presence of a consultant saying, "It's just something to do." Nevertheless the consultant was asked to come. While the group presented him with their intragroup disharmony, the consultant stated that the group must develop internal structures in order to relate to other groups. The group chose a moderator and then the consultant left. The authority of the moderator was not clear and he was unable to control the conversations or the direction of the group.

Meanwhile, group 23 and group 33 were sending observers and delegates to the room which interrupted the group's discussion. The group became frustrated at this and the moderator appointed the leader of the non-drug agency faction to be the gatekeeper, a function she had taken upon herself prior to her official appointment. The group decided not to let in delegates with proposals. However, observers were admitted. Observers from group 23 and group 33 were allowed to stay but when a delegate from group 33 came with a proposal he was sent away.

At this time the group found out that another group considered them to be "fascists" and this characterization upset the group. A delegate was sent to find out which group felt this way as the group wished to change this image. While the delegate was gone, the group held a fragmented discussion--one person wanted to talk about feelings, another wanted to talk about the proposal from group 33 which they did not hear, another was trying to talk about sexual feelings in the group. Everybody was angry and frustrated again. The delegate returned saying that group 23 had referred to group 15 as "fascists."

Group 23 began the session with an agreement among the members that they should try to break out of their isolation. The group considered whether they should send out observers or bring a group in. The task would be to study intergroup communication. They decided to observe other groups. A suggestion was made that a consultant should be invited in to help with the task. The consultant was invited in by a majority vote.

When the consultant arrived the group stated that they would like him to help them find an exercise which would enable them to work with another group. They expressed their feeling of not wanting to split up to go to other groups. The consultant interpreted that their major

concern was a fear of dissolution but that learning in this intergroup exercise entailed risks.

After the consultant left, the group decided to work on alternative courses of action. The alternatives open to them were written on the blackboard: (1) sending individual observers out for information; (2) sending individual delegates out for information to share information with other groups; (3) sending a sub-group to interact with another group; (4) having the whole group meet with another group; (5) having a sub-group from another group interact with them. They decided to send out observers for information.

Two of these observers discussed the group's situation with a sub-group of group 33. The result of this discussion was that parts of both groups decided to meet together and share information. They met in neutral territory, the newly opened room 48. Three members of group 33 attended and seven members of group 23 attended.

As they all were walking in, they decided to present to one another the difficulties each was having in functioning as a group. Group 33 said that they were having difficulties with warring sub-groups, sex roles, seemingly unresolvable power struggles, and ever-present hostility. Group 23 stated they were having difficulties in risk-taking and being responsible members in the conference. Both groups

shared their experiences with their respective consultants and felt dubious about their contributions. The groups agreed that they each needed far more in-group solidarity in order to be effective in the conference. They also remarked on an apparent universal sense of timing in the conference--all groups were now interacting with one another far more and all groups had similar problems with the consultants. They thanked each other for sharing their experiences and left.

This sub-group of group 23 went back and discussed the meeting with group 33 with the rest of their group. They felt the meeting was profitable and everyone remarked that it was gratifying to see other groups experiencing the same problems. As this review of the interface with group 33 took place, a series of representatives came in. A delegate from group 15 came to ask whether group 23 had called them "fascists." While not explicitly saying that they had, the group stated that they saw group 15 as being non-negotiable and arrogant ("You let us in only under certain conditions"). The delegate from group 15 then left. A representative from group 33 then arrived and proposed a meeting at 8:00 P.M. to further discuss their problems. Group 46 requested a plenipotentiary for a meeting at 8:45. With these commitments made, the session ended.

Group 33 retained the same members that they had in the last session. The group began this session by reviewing the content of the discussion groups in an attempt to understand the intergroup task of the conference. They noted that they were not dealing with the task properly. They decided to request a consultant to help with defining the intergroup task as it applied to their particular group. The consultant came to the room and described the members as an undifferentiated mass and for that reason unable to enter the exercise. She described their task as survival, isolation, and staying out of the exercise.

After the consultant left, the group nominated a chairman (a member who had been largely silent to this point). They decided to communicate to other groups what their problems were. They decided that four issues existed in the group. The issues were sex differences and roles, cliques, hostility, and power struggles. They decided to split into four sub-groups, speak with other groups on these issues, and return.

At this point representatives from group 23 came and disrupted the plan for the group to leave. The representatives from group 23 asked one sub-group to stay. They did. The sex role differences in each group were then discussed, that females often did secretarial chores such as writing on

the blackboard. The representatives from group 23 suggested that groups 23 and 33 get together to discuss their respective problems. This they did.¹³

When they returned, the group discussed the meeting with group 23 as well as their observations of other groups. They felt good that they had left the room and begun working on the intergroup task. One member then made the suggestion that they continue to meet with group 23 to see if they could help each other out with their similar problems. The group decided to send a delegate to group 23 to ask the group if they wanted to meet again at 8:00. The delegate was sent and group 23 agreed.

Group 45 decided to plan an intergroup meeting with group 46. They thought that the groups would meet together in the plenary room with a consultant present to facilitate the discussion. They sent a representative to group 46 to see if they were interested. Group 46 sent three plenipotentiaries to meet with two plenipotentiaries from group 45. The plenipotentiaries went from each group with a mandate to develop a common task as well as satisfactory procedures to accomplish the task. The plenipotentiaries met for 10 minutes

¹³This interface between group 23 and group 33 was previously described.

and agreed that the two total groups should meet together and discuss how each group perceived the other. A time limit for this meeting was set at 30 minutes. The plenipotentiaries further decided that the groups could discuss whether they were interested in future activities with one another.

While the plenipotentiaries had been away, the group had met with a representative from group 33 who wanted to know about the sex role difficulties in the group. The representative stated that she was collecting information from all the groups in the conference. The members of group 45 responded that this was not a problem for them. They were more interested in recognizing each group member's needs and giving support.

At this point the plenipotentiaries returned and reported what had been accomplished with the plenipotentiaries from group 46. They stated that the task for the meeting would be how the two groups perceive each other with the hope that each group would then have a clearer perception of their own group. The group agreed to this and they all left to meet with group 46. Two delegates, one from group 45 and one from group 46, asked the staff for consultation for the meeting.

The two groups met in the plenary room. Each group sat together facing the other. While they were meeting,

observers from all the other groups came by to watch. A member from group 45 suggested that both groups participate in a non-verbal exercise. This was quickly vetoed by group 46 and by several members of group 45. A member from group 46 asked what group 45 had been doing all this time. The encounter group leader responded that they had been discussing one another's feelings about each other. A member from group 46 responded by saying, "You've been staying inside the room and haven't been meeting with other groups." The members of group 46 went on to suggest that group 45 had not been working on the task of the conference. Group 45 tried to defend their behavior and then began to ask how group 46 had been working. The accusation of not working on the task went back and forth until the consultant remarked that the reason for this meeting seemed to be to prove one group better than the other. The groups discussed this and agreed it was largely true. With this, the groups went back to their respective rooms.

Group 45 discussed the meeting with group 46 for the rest of the session. They felt that the meeting did not go well and were distressed by the amount of hostility generated by both groups. They decided that they would try to bring "love" to the conference. They did not know how they would accomplish this but thought that they had to involve everyone

in the conference in the problem of the hostility. They finally decided that they would accomplish this change in emotion by going to other groups as observers and win people over by example.

Group 46 began session three by discussing whether the group should stay together. They became aware that they had no specific task in mind as they worked in the first two sessions and felt that they had accomplished little, if anything. They decided to stay together until the end of the day.

At this point a representative from group 45 came to the room and suggested an intergroup meeting. The group debated the value of this. Finally someone asked if anyone had a better idea of what to do. No one responded, so the plenipotentiaries were sent to meet with representatives from group 45 to discuss the task and the procedures for the meeting.¹⁴

After the intergroup meeting with group 45, the group requested a consultant to help them sort their feelings about the meeting. The consultant listened to the group's description of the meeting and noted that if their motive for

¹⁴The plenipotentiary and intergroup meetings of group 45 and group 46 were discussed in the last section.

getting together was to talk of the perceptions of the other group, they could have appointed delegates to accomplish that work. He stated that the reason the entire group went to the meeting was that they felt at a loss as to what to do and they wanted to supply themselves with an experience. Requesting a consultant at this time was undertaken for the same reason. The consultant left soon after.

The group was dissatisfied with the consultant's remarks saying he was of no help at all. Meanwhile representatives from group 33 wanted to discuss male-female relationships and the hostility in the conference. The group indicated to the representatives that they did not want to discuss this now. Another delegate from group 15 came to ask if they were the group who called them the "fascist" group. The group answered that they were not.

One member of the group suggested at this point that the group send delegates to all the groups including staff and ask them to send plenipotentiaries to a meeting for all groups at 8:45. The purpose of the meeting would be to discuss an agenda for the plenary meeting at 9:30. The group questioned why this should be done and the member replied that if we have learned anything it is that learning experiences need to be structured. A planned agenda would accomplish this. The group thought this to be an excellent

idea and began to plan for the meeting and send out delegates when the session ended.

The staff opened their third session by checking what happened in each discussion group. Apparently each staff member was to emphasize the lack of intergroup transactions, that few groups were using the staff, and that little learning about intergroup relations seemed to be taking place. Each consultant stated that these topics were covered in their particular discussion group.

The staff then reviewed what they knew about each group. They spoke of the number of members in each room, what the particular group was doing, and the amount of intergroup activity each group had undertaken. They then labelled each group. Group 15 was called the "fascist" group because of its rigid boundaries, no one being let in and the door being locked. Group 45 was called the "sensitivity training" group. Group 33 was called the "laissez faire" group because the group emphasized the individual's right to do as he pleased and were not able to make a commitment to intergroup activity. Group 46 was called the "reasonable" group. Group 23 was not labelled.

At this point a delegate from group 15 entered and requested consultation. The director asked if she was authorized to say why the group wanted consultation. She

responded that she was not so authorized. A consultant was sent. The staff then discussed how difficult it was for members to communicate with them. An observer from group 33 entered the room and asked to remain.

With one staff member out of the room, the staff began to discuss their feelings toward one another. One consultant felt that another was undermining the director's authority. The director did not feel this was true. The director felt some antagonism with the consultant who had brought this up but he did not know why. Another consultant said this could be because the conference was taking place at the Psychological Center and the responsibility for the center itself was not clear. Was the responsibility that of the director or of the consultant toward whom he felt antagonistic?¹⁵ If the consultant was assuming this responsibility then the director would be undermined. The staff discussed this for a while and came to no conclusion since they could find no evidence for the director being undermined by this consultant.

Meanwhile, two new representatives from group 23 and from group 33 came to the room requesting consultants. Consultants were sent and when they returned they reported on

¹⁵This consultant was a staff member at the Psychological Center.

their consultation. The consultant to group 33 stated that the group had no structure. Each member had a different agenda: two males wanted to look at interpersonal relations, four women wanted to look at intergroup events, and another member wanted to talk solely about the staff. The group had been discussing the male-female issue. The consultant pointed out to the group that they were using this issue to avoid conflict and keep peace in the group. She hypothesized that the group would have far more conflict if they began to work on entering the exercise. The staff noted that the groups see the other groups "out there" as dangerous.

Two representatives, one from group 45 and one from group 46, came to request consultation for their upcoming intergroup meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the perceptions each group had of the other. They wanted outside consultation to help explore and conceptualize the covert processes that would be occurring. The staff replied that they would discuss the request which they then did. They informed the representatives that they would send the consultant but that he would not necessarily be bound by what the group wanted him to do. This was agreed to by the representatives.

Another consultant returned from group 23. He stated that the group did not know how to contact other groups, that

the group was afraid of moving out. He reported that he told them that they needed to decide what they wanted to learn. The group seemed very brittle to him, any subject could split them into factions.

The consultant from group 15 reported on his consultation. He reported that he told the group that they needed internal mechanisms to keep the group going and that they needed a way of relating to other groups. The consultant stated that this group had a "five-four" split which they had difficulty healing into a cohesive group. After his intervention, the group did elect a moderator and the consultant left. The director questioned the consultant as to whether this was an attempt to please the consultant or an act of organization. The director felt the election was an attempt to please, while the consultant disagreed.

The director asked how this particular workshop culture came about, that is, the sense of a brutal, rejecting world outside (other groups) and a hostile, angry world inside the group. One consultant suggested that it was easier to project the anger on other groups rather than onto staff. The director asked whether the research observers accounted for this unique anger. Another consultant said that the anger came from the anxiety of the workshop.

The consultant to the intergroup meeting of group 45

and group 46 returned and reported that the two groups discussed how each was handling the task of learning about intergroup relations. She said that each group was highly competitive with the other. She felt that each group was working out its sense of failure about task accomplishment. A delegate from group 46 entered and requested a consultant.

Another consultant addressed the director saying that "directorship" had been exercised, not leadership. The director asked this consultant not to remind him of this since it made functioning more difficult. Another consultant then said that he felt constrained with the rest of the staff, that he felt unable to express everything he felt. He commented that the staff was playing a game of mutual respect.

The consultant sent to group 46 returned and reported that the group's task was to have experiences and that they had not differentiated themselves very much for the task of learning. He stated that they felt superior to group 45. With this report, session three ended for the staff.

Session Four

The members of group 15 returned to the room gradually from dinner with all members finally appearing after 15 minutes. Several minutes after the session began two

delegates from group 46 and one delegate from group 23 came to make proposals. The delegates from 46 proposed that a plenipotentiary from group 15 be sent to a meeting of representatives at 8:45. The meeting would discuss a plan for the plenary meeting at 9:30. The delegate from group 23 proposed that the two groups meet together to overcome their differences. The group disagreed over what to do. The alternatives were to stay together, send delegates, or meet with group 23 but not group 46. The group decided that half of the group would meet with group 23.

The meeting with group 23 began with group 15 explaining that only half of the members could come because there was another subject to discuss. Group 15 continued by saying that not all of their members had to come in order for the meeting to take place. Group 23 responded by saying that all of its members had wanted to come. Group 15 then accused group 23 of not differentiating according to group priorities. Group 23 justified itself as free and open as compared to the "closed" group 15. One member of group 23 said that no one could get in to see what was happening with group 15. Group 15 responded that they were involved in resolving group differences and making decisions. One member of group 15 said, "We are working, what are you doing?" Group 15 then said that it had to go. The groups returned to their rooms saying that perhaps they should meet again.

Meanwhile, the sub-group remaining in the room discussed that they felt like a separate group. They considered keeping the part of the group meeting with group 23 out of the room by locking the door. However, when the other half returned they were allowed in. The question of splitting into two groups was raised and the group returned to the question of whether they should work on healing the split or whether they should meet with other groups. The session ended with great anger being expressed by each faction toward the other.

Group 23 also began the fourth session slowly with the members trickling in after dinner. They discussed group 15's concern over being called "fascists." Two members spoke about wanting to talk with group 15.¹⁶ They decided to send a delegate to arrange a meeting with group 15. The group then began to discuss their difficulty in ordering who speaks after whom. They were frustrated at the interruptions and the rapid changes in topics. They then decided to elect a procedural moderator who would control the order of speakers and topics. They then left because they had to meet with group 33 and with group 15.

¹⁶Actually, group 15 was first called "fascist" in one of the discussion groups.

Group 23 then met with group 33 in the plenary room. All members of both groups were there. The opening moments of the meeting were concerned with deciding their mutual task. The groups agreed to discuss their respective experiences in the conference and to understand what the present status of each group was at this point. Group 23 questioned group 33 about how they made decisions. Group 33 responded by commenting about their moderator and their secretary. Group 23 asked whether the emotional tone of group 33 was harmonious. Group 33 responded that they often found themselves angry at one another, that competition for the acceptance of one's position by the rest of the group seemed to be a norm. Group 23 commented that they all trusted one another and that the group worked well together. Then a female member said this was not entirely true and another member then disagreed with her. A member from group 33 then asked impatiently whether the group was harmonious or not. A different member of group 23 then admitted that conflict between members did take place. The groups finally agreed that competition was a problem for both groups. Group 23 then said it had to leave because of the meeting with group 15. Group 23 then met with group 15.¹⁷

¹⁷This was already discussed.

Meanwhile, a negotiation session was being held between plenipotentiaries from group 23, group 33, group 45, and group 46 as well as with a consultant. Group 46's plenipotentiary began the meeting by saying that his group was concerned that the plenary would be disorganized and that if the groups agreed on a plan, the plenary meeting could be more productive. The other plenipotentiaries agreed that planning for the plenary would be a good idea. The plenipotentiary from group 46 suggested that the seating plan should be changed to concentric circles. In addition the discussion should focus on the male and female roles in the conference. Group 23 proposed that the plenary focus on decision-making in the conference and group 33 proposed that the plenary discuss how interaction could be facilitated in the conference. The plenipotentiary from group 46 proposed that since the consultants seemed to be an issue for all conference members, the groups should focus the plenary on them and their behavior. The plenipotentiaries agreed that the consultants had been a negative force (unhelpful and disruptive) in the conference. They decided that the plenipotentiary from group 46 should be the chairman for the plenary session in order to focus the discussion on the consultants. In addition the plenipotentiaries decided that the agenda should include a discussion of sex roles and decision-making if there was

time. They then disbanded agreeing to generate support for this decision from their home groups.

When group 23 returned from its meetings with group 33 and group 15, they talked of their feeling of superiority to the other groups. They were laughing and feeling very good. They then spoke of themselves as a family and that family problems should not be aired in public. Group members agreed that no major dissension existed in the group anyway. But one member said that no one trusted anyone else enough to allow one person to speak for the rest. He said that the notion of the group being harmonious and united was ridiculous and that "we are a bunch of individual egos." Others argued with him.

The plenipotentiary from the meeting with group 33, group 45, and group 46 returned and the group discussed the plan for the plenary. The group supported the plan for focusing on the consultants. At this point the session ended.

Group 33 began the fourth session by focusing on a new member who joined them from group 45. They asked her why she left, what was happening there, and why she chose group 33. She responded that group 45 spent all of its time thinking about itself and that she had become tired of hearing about everyone's feelings. She felt bored and frustrated by the group and decided to leave. She said she had no

particular reason for coming to group 33. Following this the group became aware of the pressure of the 8:00 and 8:45 meetings. One member suggested that an agenda should be developed for the meeting with group 23. Another member said, "Why not simply share some information about ourselves and listen to what they have been doing?" This was agreed to but another member suggested sending only several members since the whole group did not have to go. A member then stated that the group should move on to discussing what they wanted the plenipotentiary to say at the upcoming meeting. The group picked a plenipotentiary and then asked him to present the following items for the plenary agenda: (1) to distill and summarize the learning in the conference; (2) to discuss the reactions to the technique used for the work by the consultants; (3) to discuss the capacity for trust in the conference. The plenipotentiary left and the group went to meet with group 23.¹⁸

Upon their return from the meeting with group 23, one member spoke about how disrespectful the members of group 23 were to one another. The group then reviewed their own competition and hostility and sensed a growth of trust among the members since the morning. They began to attack

¹⁸This has been discussed.

the interpersonal styles of two important members at that point. Several members agreed that these two leaders had good ideas but were condescending and alienating when they talked. The members then recognized that they were constructing an encounter group but at the same time they said that negative feelings were inhibiting good working relations. One person then went around the room telling each person about how he felt about them. The group then questioned the usefulness of this by asking whether an encounter group was necessary to work with other people.

At this point the plenipotentiary returned and reviewed what had happened at the plenipotentiary meeting. After some discussion, the group agreed to support the decision made for the plenary. The session ended and the group went to the plenary.

The members of group 45 were very slow in coming back from dinner. At the opening of the session only two members were there and the rest of the members arrived after 30 minutes. One member did not return at all. The members discussed their feelings about the conference. One member said that the conference seemed like a waste of time. Another member agreed. A third member said that the group had not worked on the task very much.

The encounter group leader reminded the group that

before dinner they had decided to observe the other groups and speak to them about the conference. He suggested that the group disperse and observe the other groups. As they were about to leave, the delegate from group 46 entered and suggested his plan for the plenipotentiary meeting to discuss the plenary. The members agreed to send a plenipotentiary and then they left.

Various members returned to the room at different times during the session. When they saw no one else there, they left again. The group had no sustained discussion in the room until 15 minutes before the session was over. At this time they gathered again and listened to the report of the representative to the plenipotentiary meeting. They agreed to the plan and went off to the plenary session.

Group 46 spent much of the fourth session contacting other groups through delegates. Only one or two people remained in the room during a large portion of the session. In addition to inviting the other groups to send plenipotentiaries to plan the plenary agenda, group 46 sent representatives to the staff asking them to send a plenipotentiary also. The staff replied that they would come to the planning meeting as consultants but not as plenipotentiaries. This rejection of their proposal was received with much anger. They felt that the staff had misunderstood their intentions.

Some members wanted to go back to the staff to explain themselves. Others said that this would look like an apology and wanted no part of that. Three observers were sent to observe staff.

They returned to a discussion of the intergroup session with group 45. The research observer noted that the group members felt very superior to group 45. The group commented that they had not organized a plan as yet nor had they organized themselves in any way (referring to group 45). The group turned to discuss the plenipotentiary meeting that was going on elsewhere at the time. Some members saw this effort as pointless, feeling that nothing of worth had been accomplished all day. With the return of their plenipotentiary the group listened to the results of the meeting. Before the plenary, the group returned to discussing its failure and inadequacy.

In the beginning of session four the staff remarked on the increasing intergroup activity. One consultant felt that the groups were beginning to address themselves to the intergroup task. A representative from group 46 arrived and stated that their group has asked each group to send a plenipotentiary to a general meeting at 8:45 to plan an agenda for the plenary session. He continued that the staff was invited to attend this meeting but not as consultants. The

group did not want to leave the consultants out of the meeting if they wanted to come. The director remarked that the consultants were to solely help with the learning task and that the staff would have to decide whether the task would be served by their appearance at this meeting. He then said that the staff would discuss this issue and the representative left.

The director stated that he saw this invitation as an announcement from group 46 since group 46 did not have the permission of the other groups to invite the consultants. Another consultant believed that group 46 had made an unconscious decision to fail since the time limit set for organizing an agenda was so short. Another consultant remarked that this request was asking staff to give up its role. Opinions were mixed as to whether to send a staff member but eventually the staff concluded that they would have to be invited to consult in order to attend. The staff then felt that it was unlikely that they would get any more requests for consultation until the plenary session.

Three observers from group 46 arrived. The staff discussed the possible reasons for there being three observers from group 46 which included wanting to see how staff reacted to their invitation as well as to plan further interactions with them. One consultant remarked that perhaps

group 46 wanted to establish an equal partnership with the staff group. Another consultant wondered how group 46 was functioning since with three observers in the staff room, only four members were left. The observers left at this point.

Two members from group 45 came to the staff room. They reported to the boundary consultant that they were looking for their fellow group members. They asked if they could join the staff group. While the boundary consultant reported their request to staff, the members left to look for the rest of their group. The director became angry at this, feeling that the members were "dillying" with them and not taking the task seriously.

The staff became silent for several minutes and listened to what was occurring in the plenary room outside. One consultant suggested sending a message to the collective membership. Another responded that they would have an opportunity to do this at the plenary meeting. A consultant remarked that the groups wanted to keep staff in the dark. Another said that this keeps the staff incompetent referring to the fact that no information was coming to them. Two observers from group 45 entered followed soon thereafter by one from group 15.

The consultant who previously suggested a message be sent raised the idea again, saying that the message should

question why the members have not used the resources of staff. While this was being discussed, a plenipotentiary from the group planning an agenda for the plenary session entered. He requested consultation for that group. A consultant was sent. The observer from group 15 and one from group 45 left.

The staff began to discuss the way in which they were invited to the plenipotentiary meeting. One consultant stated that it reflected a "brittle" relationship with staff. Another said that the meeting reflected an attitude of defiance toward staff. The other observer from group 45 left.

The staff continued to discuss why members seemed so resistant to them. The image of staff seemed to be that they were dangerous and could destroy the plans of a group. The staff saw the members as first trying to please staff and when they found that the staff was not open to being pleased and would consult in their own way, the members became angry.

The consultant sent to the plenipotentiary meeting returned. She reported that the agenda item for the plenary was going to be the consultants. The covert purpose of asking a consultant was to give some kind of message. The message was either an invitation to a lynching or to "straighten yourselves out." The staff felt that the members were fear-ridden because of their inability to control the blacks (group 15) and the staff.

As the session ended, the director told the staff to participate freely in the plenary meeting.

Plenary Meeting

The seating arrangement of the plenary had the five consultants at the front of the plenary room with all the members facing them. At the opening, the plenipotentiary from group 46 stood up and declared that the groups in the conference had decided on an agenda for the plenary. The first item on the agenda consisted of addressing the role of the consultants in the conference. The director defined the role of the consultants as helping the members learn about intergroup relations. The member responded that staff behavior was cold and distant. A member from group 15 stood up and said that group 15 did not participate in this decision. This member said that the important issue is that group 15 did not appear at the meeting and that the conference refused to recognize its existence. A member of another group said that members should focus on staff. Several members of group 15 declared that their group would not be ignored at the plenary. Others said that they were disrupting the agenda as well as the meeting. The speakers were all very angry.

The consultants focused on the staff-member conflict saying that the members had not addressed them on their

behavior which was the members' declared intention. Members again focused on the lack of warmth from staff, saying that they were inhuman. The staff responded saying that their humanity was obvious and that verification was further obtainable from members who knew the staff personally. A member said that the staff was totally unhelpful and the conference was a waste of time. With that he left. A staff member responded saying that no one discussed whether their behavior was appropriate or task-related. Another staff member said that the group was more interested in their style of relating and was not focusing on what was learned that day. Several members then spoke about the difficulty of working with the staff. One member said that the staff does what it wants, "We have no say in it." At 10:30 the staff left. At their abrupt departure, a member cried, "Not again."

With this, everyone went home for the evening.

A Review of the Discussion Group, Session Three, Session Four, and the Plenary Meeting

The discussion groups had a large impact on the sessions following. With the consultants, the groups discussed their isolation. The consultants pointed to the members acting to reduce anxiety rather than addressing the task of learning about intergroup relations. As evidence for this, the consultants noted that the groups were not interacting

with one another and were not using the resources available to them, namely, the staff group.

The third session saw a dramatic increase in inter-group activity. The members sent out representatives. Each group requested and received consultation. Groups met with one another. The groups' purpose was to find out what was going on in other groups and to see how each group was handling the task of learning. When the representatives came back to report and when the groups met en masse (group 15 with group 23, group 33 with group 23, group 45 with group 46), the members were highly competitive, driven to prove their group was "working" better than other groups. A predominant emotion of each group after meeting with other groups was relief that they were "good" and the other group was "bad." In short, the discussion groups developed in the membership a great concern about approval and their possible failure in accomplishing the task. Of major importance also was that the members were very distressed by their hostility and destructive potential.

In the midst of this concern, group 46 advanced the proposal for an ordered learning experience in the plenary meeting. This proposal was the answer to the problems which the groups were facing. They would be directly addressing the learning task and they would not have to face the latent

rage. The groups hoped that the plenary would restore order to the chaos, involve the entire conference in a unifying effort, and force the consultants to give more nurturance to them. Group 15 and the consultants were unwilling to be a party to this unity and dedifferentiation of function. As such, the effort to act in concert failed and the plenary meeting became further testimony to the pain of learning about the disharmony of intergroup life.

Session Five

As session five was the first session on Sunday, not all members of group 15 were present at 9:30 A.M. The session opened with the five members of the drug rehabilitation agency there and no one else. Two more members entered but the two others never returned. The group became depressed while discussing the two members who did not return. They felt that they did not return because of the bitterness and strife in the group.

The older woman member of group 45 entered and asked if she could join. The group members asked why and she replied that only one other member returned to their room. Since the group no longer existed, she wanted to join another group. The group wanted to know why she wanted to join their group and she said that she was intrigued by their actions at the plenary the night before. The group

considered whether they wanted her in the group and, although opposed by the drug agency sub-group, she was allowed in. Another ex-member from group 45 wanted to join but was not admitted.

The members began to discuss their role in the plenary meeting. They agreed that their position was stated strongly. One member felt proud that the conference focused on them and said that the issues of the conference were between the consultants, group 15, and the rest of the members. Another member agreed saying that group 15 occupied a central position in the conference which it did not know it had. Another member proposed that group 15 lead a rebellion against the consultants.

While considering the form such a rebellion would take, a delegate from group 33 came in and asked group 15 to participate in a group of plenipotentiaries that would devise "intergroup exercise learning mechanisms." The group split again. The drug agency faction did not want to participate, while the others did. The leader of the drug agency sub-group stated that he wanted to deal with "real workshop issues" such as the demise of group 45.

With this split surfacing again, the group decided to elect a moderator and the person chosen was the new member from group 45. The group discussed whether to go to the

plenipotentiary meeting and they decided to send a representative. The group hoped that they would be able to capitalize on the power that other groups had given them at the plenary. The plenipotentiary left and the group then discussed whether to meet with group 23. They decided they would but no formal time was established by the end of the session.

In session five group 23 gained two new members from group 45 which had broken up. In addition, one member did not return. Members were slow to come to the group so that the full 15 members were not all there until 10:00 A.M. In the beginning of the session the group held an intellectual discussion about the delegation of authority. One member said that group 23 could not delegate authority to anyone. Another said that in the plenary meeting other groups seemed to be able to. He went on to say that if someone is given the authority to do something, the other members of the group will scapegoat him or sabotage the project. The members asked why, while expressing much frustration. No one could answer this. Then the suggestion was made that they watch other groups and try to figure out how they were able to delegate authority.

The research observer noted that at this point the group was again very frustrated. Members were very angry at

the consultants' role in the plenary. One member said that the consultants "were worse in the plenary than they usually were." Another member said the group was feeling guilty about their performance in the plenary and should stop. Another member said that group 15 was more at fault in the plenary.

The group then began to discuss their sense of feeling manipulated by the consultants. Two representatives from group 33 entered and asked for participation in a meeting of plenipotentiaries from all groups. The purpose of the meeting would be to discuss how the groups could learn better in the conference and make the time remaining more useful. The group considered this a good idea and selected a representative. The group then returned to the discussion of their sense of manipulation by the consultants. Others in the group said that the consultants were not manipulating but that the purpose of staff must be understood. "We have our own responsibility to learn."

The group then said that group 15 was both difficult to understand and to work with. One member spoke for establishing contact with group 15. Another agreed saying that he wanted to know what they were doing. He said that the group ought to meet with group 15 because "we have similar feelings to group 15 as we do to staff." The group wondered

why they were so concerned with group 15. Two members then left to speak with group 15. A member proposed that the whole group have an activity with group 15 but this was voted down. It was then suggested that they split into subgroups to observe other groups but others in the group said that no purpose would be served by observing. When the representatives to group 15 returned, the group again discussed group 15 and the staff. A member said that neither group would allow communication with them. Another member said that each group drew firm limits as to how to deal with them and that this was what made it so difficult. A member said that this difficulty in dealing with them was what made everybody so mad. Another member said that all the talking was a way to avoid intergroup activity. The delegate to the meeting planning how the groups could learn better returned but was not spoken to about what had happened there. The session was over.

Group 33 also had a difficult time beginning the fifth session since not all the members arrived at 9:30 A.M. The group first discussed the plenary meeting. They spoke of the guilt implicit in the staff's comments about how they were not involved in the learning task. The way the comments were phrased, the members felt accused. The members also discussed their inability to stick to the

agenda and the disruptive tactics of group 15. They also discussed that the consultants' behavior was designed to provoke feelings of deprivation, "like in psychoanalysis." It was felt that the consultants were more impersonal than necessary. A member said that this was "pure authority"--no expertise. "We all have a desire for nurturance not only from the consultants but also from each other." The members were becoming angrier at the consultants. As they were discussing this, the feeling arose that the consultants were developing a struggle between conference members and the staff. They decided that they wanted to form an alliance among the members to revolt against the consultants. A member proposed that a delegate be sent to group 15 to see if they would be interested. Another member said that the group should work to create an alliance with all groups. Others in the group spoke for dealing with the walls between the people and advocated an encounter group. The group then recognized that it was divided again and was frustrated in its attempt at unity. They decided that they wanted to see what other groups were doing.

The group decided that they wanted to work on the larger problem of the inability of all the groups in the conference in getting together. They decided that the "fish-bowl" format would enable the groups to meet and discuss

their common problems.¹⁹ The group thought this a good idea and that the agenda should be that each group would discuss their lines of communication within their group as well as their lines of communication with other groups. One member feared that group 15 would not participate and be disruptive in some way. The group then decided to organize a meeting of representatives from all the groups to see if the other groups would cooperate. Members left at this point to speak to other groups. The other groups agreed and sent representatives to a meeting to discuss the plan.²⁰ When the representative of group 33 returned, the group spoke of feeling that they were now pursuing the task. They felt that the "fishbowl" plan would enable everyone to get out of their isolation and still preserve the original structure. Some members spoke for an encounter group but this was again voted down.

At 9:30 A.M. no members from group 45 were present in the room. One member had already joined another group. Two members came in and sat for a few minutes discussing the

¹⁹The "fishbowl" format has two or more groups meeting together with the representatives delegated to speak for the group meeting in a circle. The rest of each group sits behind their respective representatives.

²⁰This will be discussed in the section on group 46 in session five.

fact that no one else had returned. They left. Two other members came later and each looked in the room, saw no one there, and left. Several others never returned to the conference at all. Therefore, as a group, group 45 ceased to exist.

The members of group 46 slowly trickled in after the opening of the session. Two people from group 45 asked to join because no one else from group 45 had yet come. The members there at the time said that they could come in. These members then expressed their anger at those who had not yet appeared.

Several other members arrived and the group focused on the two new members from group 45. They asked whether these two members were committed to the group. Both new members replied that they could not be sure of staying. The group decided that they would have to decide whether they were going to commit themselves or not. One of the new members said that he could but the other said she could not. She also said that she was afraid that this group, being small, might dissolve like group 45. After she left the members asked themselves if they were firmly committed to the group. One member said he was not sure that he was going to stay, that he would like to experiment and be in other groups. Others said that they had thought of joining different groups also.

The members then discussed the plenary meeting of the night before. They expressed their resentment at the consultants for not controlling the meeting. Members questioned whether the role of the consultants was the most conducive for learning. One member expressed curiosity as to what the consultants thought about the plenary and the group agreed to send this and one other member to the staff room to observe and report back. These members then left.

The representatives from group 33 arrived and proposed that the group send a plenipotentiary to a meeting of representatives from all groups. The purpose was to improve the communication of all groups in the conference. The group agreed and sent a representative with the authority of a delegate.

The plenipotentiary meeting had representatives from group 23, group 33, and group 46. They all met in the plenary room area. These representatives first discussed how they could get group 15 involved and then turned to discuss what would be an issue which the staff would agree to consult. The representative from group 15 arrived at this point and he said that he wanted information to see if his group wanted to attend. They invited him to sit down and participate, which he did. The representative from group 33 said that basically, his group's intention was to devise a

task so that the groups could get together. He said that he had some ideas which he would put forward. Since the purpose was to get the groups together, the precise method was not so important. He then said that after he finished describing his ideas, other representatives should suggest their own.

The method for getting the groups together suggested by group 33's representative was that the groups come to a "fishbowl" meeting to discuss the ways that they communicate within their groups as well as how they communicate with other groups. He also suggested that a consultant be invited to participate. Group 46's representative suggested that the representatives go back to their rooms and ask their members what topics they would like to discuss. Then each group would send representatives to a group whose purpose would be to discuss one of the topics. The representative from group 23 suggested that group 15 meet with each other group or that other groups pair with another group to discuss the power structure within each group. The representative from group 15 said that he had no suggestions and that he wanted to return to his group. The plenipotentiary meeting ended with the suggestion that each representative discuss what happened in the plenipotentiary meeting with his home group and return

at 11:45 following the coffee break. This was agreed to. At this point the session was over.

In the beginning of session five, the staff discussed the plenary meeting of the night before. They realized that there were three separate groups within the conference, at least that operated in the plenary. These were the staff, group 15, and the remaining membership. The staff agreed that the members wanted to confront the staff but that group 15's action interfered. They also considered that the members were angry at group 15 for similar reasons that they were angry at staff, specifically for being depriving and non-negotiable. The staff thought that the members were furious and enraged at the plenary meeting.

One consultant suggested sending a message to the members, feeling that the message might enable the conference members to learn better. That is, the staff felt that the rage of the members was interfering with the learning and that the message might make the members more accessible to the staff and the task. The director was reluctant to send the message because he felt that the public message of the plenary was that the membership had the responsibility of providing data to the staff and developing their own mechanisms for learning. The membership had not yet had the chance of acting on this since the fifth session had

just started. He suggested that the staff wait until they had a sense of the members' feelings at this present point in the conference.

However, all the members of the staff favored the sending of the message except the director. The director felt that the staff was reacting to a sense of failure about their performance at the plenary and the conference. This was discussed but it was decided that the message would still be helpful. They felt that a summary of the events of the plenary which led to the present avoidance of staff should be the substance of the message. Much of the rest of the session was spent reviewing the events of the plenary and the wording of the message. When completed the message stated that

the members felt very deprived, impotent, enraged, and envious of staff because the staff was a more cohesive organization than the membership. These feelings created the conflict in the member groups. Last night at the plenary there was an attempt to impose order on the plenary to avoid these painful feelings. The members wanted harmony and warmth which they did not receive. This morning, the membership continues to avoid the staff and the task. Those who have come to the staff room, have done so on their own behalf or not for consultation. There still is a sacrifice of the learning task in favor of comfort.

During the session unauthorized representatives from group 23 and group 46 came to the room. The representative from group 23 came with a personal message for the staff. The director asked one consultant to speak with him so that

the staff could have the data without giving over total staff time to hearing unauthorized representatives. The consultant reported that the delegate from room 23 wanted the staff to know that the agenda was used last night to avoid a "rumble" between group 15 and the rest of the members which could still occur. With this the session ended. The message was to be delivered during the next session.

Session Six

At the beginning of this session group 15 discussed the meeting of plenipotentiaries, particularly the suggestion of a meeting with all groups in the "fishbowl" format. The group supported this plan but decided that the subject for discussion ought to be how the groups formed. In addition, a consultant should be invited. Through the plenipotentiary as well as by observing other groups, group 15 became more aware of its central impact on the conference. The group felt that all the other groups were requesting meetings in a desire to get to know how they worked and what made them so cohesive. The research observer stated that "the entire meeting was a high pitch of harmony in planning the fishbowl and a meeting with group 23. . . . They loved the power and attention that other groups were giving to them."

While they were sharing their good feelings about

what had happened in the plenary meeting, the director came in with his message and read it.²¹ After he finished, the group laughed and stated that the announcement did not apply to them. They certainly did not feel envious, enraged, or impotent. One member suggested that the staff felt envious about them. The group roared at this. Another member said that at the least the staff felt impotent about the conference if it had to come out of its room. Other members agreed. At this they thought of all going to the staff room to observe but just at that moment, their plenipotentiary returned and invited them all to attend the "fishbowl" meeting.

At the 11:45 plenipotentiary meeting prior to the meeting of all the groups, the plenipotentiary from group 15 suggested that the fishbowl meeting with all the groups take place. Two plenipotentiaries from each group would represent their group and be the only ones to speak. The rest of the groups would observe and a consultant would be invited to make his observations. The subject for the meeting would be a discussion of the formation of the groups and the relationship of the formation to the difficulties in communicating. The plenipotentiaries discussed this idea in terms of all the groups becoming united and it was felt that this

²¹The message was discussed previously.

meeting would help. The plenipotentiary from group 15 suggested that they all return to their groups and see if this idea was agreeable. They would then return and set up a time. The plenipotentiaries returned soon thereafter and since the idea was agreeable to all the groups, the "fish-bowl" meeting began in the plenary room at 12:30. The plenipotentiary from group 46 requested a consultant from staff and the staff agreed to send the director.²²

Group 23 opened session six by discussing the comradeship of group 15. The members stated that the members of group 15 all seemed to get along well. Group 23 thought that group 15 always agreed with each other and actively supported one another. One member said that this certainly was not true of us. At this point the plenipotentiary from group 15 came to ask that the group send its plenipotentiary to the meeting planning the "fishbowl" meeting. One member was sent.

Two members of the group wanted to go to staff as delegates to find out more about the staff group, their backgrounds and purpose in the conference. They wanted the group to authorize their leaving but several members said that

²²The fishbowl meeting will be discussed at the end of this section.

there was no reason to go and that they should not leave. This led to an abstract discussion about what should prevail in the group, "group interest or self interest." the members who wished to leave asked what right the group had to tell them what to do. Another member said, "Your leaving disrupts the group." The two members who wished to go simply got up and left. Another member became furious saying that he felt his rights were abridged by their leaving. The research observer reported that the group became very frustrated and depressed following this. Several members voiced their sense that the group was falling apart. Other members stated that they felt like leaving the room also. One member asked what could be done now to save the group. Another member suggested that the group could fall apart in a bloody way. At this point the director came in and read his announcement.²³ After he left, the group was livid with rage. One member suggested a revolution. Another agreed saying that the staff should be overthrown.

The plenipotentiary to the planning group returned and reported the results of the meeting. He stated that all the groups were to get together to discuss the formation of groups in the beginning of the conference and how that

²³The message was discussed earlier.

related to the present difficulty the groups were having in communicating with one another. The structure of the meeting was to have three people from each group review the dynamics of the communication problems with the rest of the members sitting behind their representatives. The group agreed to do this but the members were not sure which of them could represent them accurately. After choosing their representatives they discussed what they should say. One member said that the meeting should emphasize the original formation. He said that group 23 was composed of the leftovers from the plenary. Another member agreed, saying, "We didn't want to be close, so we took the largest room." Another asked if everyone agreed with this perception. He said that he did not. Someone else said that "it looks like we cannot agree on what we want the representative to say." The original plenipotentiary said that the meeting was ready to begin. The group agreed that the representatives were to act as individuals (not as representatives) and with that decision the group went to the meeting.

Group 33 opened the sixth session with the plenipotentiary to the planning meeting announcing that he had to leave in 15 minutes. He asked the group what kind of statement did they want him to make. He stated that the other groups wanted to meet separately with one another but that a

final decision had not been reached. They agreed to press for a meeting of the whole conference in the "fishbowl" format. One member asked if their plenipotentiary was the leader of the meeting. He responded that he was the one speaking for getting the conference members together for the "fishbowl" meeting. Another member wanted to make sure that group 15 was included. The plenipotentiary said that they would try to include everyone. He then said that he had to leave for the meeting and that he would try to have the "fishbowl" meeting take place with the task being how to increase communication.

After he left, the group spoke about hoping that their idea would be accepted. One member said group 15 would be a major obstacle to this. At this point the director came and read his statement. After the director left the group discussed his comments. One member said that his remarks were not appropriate at this time since everyone was involved in the intergroup exercise. Another person said that this was true but asked what place the consultants occupied in the plan for the "fishbowl." He said that we have ignored their impact on the conference. A different member said that they had not been ignored. Another member said that he was more concerned with the upcoming meeting than with the consultants. Another member said that a consultant should be

invited to the group now to help the group sort out what was going on. Others in the group thought this was a good idea and a consultant was requested.

The consultant came and asked why the request was made. One member said that the group was presently involved in promoting a meeting of all groups. The consultant asked why they were doing this. The group responded saying that they wanted to facilitate intergroup communication. The consultant said that the group had taken the task of getting all the groups in the conference together and that as yet he did not understand how this meeting would promote intergroup communication. At this point the plenipotentiary returned with the news that the meeting was going to take place. The "fishbowl" format was adopted and he returned to confirm that the group was ready to attend. One member said that he did not want to go right now. Another member supported him saying that the group would profit more by knowing its motives more clearly. The plenipotentiary said that our group initiated the meeting and that he had swung the other groups to their position. He could not understand the group's backing out of their commitment. The group decided to go to the "fishbowl" meeting because of their obligation even though at this point they would have preferred talking with the consultant.

The members of group 46 entered the room late following the coffee hour. A new member wanted to join the group. She was from group 45 and had spent the previous hour observing other groups and staff. The group did not want to admit her demanding to know what advantage it would be for them to admit her. However, the delegate to the planning meeting interrupted this confrontation and said that he had to go to the meeting. He asked the group if they wanted to participate in the "fishbowl" meeting proposed by group 33. The group assented without further discussion. The delegate left.

At this point the director came to the door and asked the gatekeeper if he could read his message to the group. His request was announced to the group and the group became confused. They were confused at his very appearance at their door and about what they should do in response to his request. They decided that the gatekeeper should copy the message and that they would discuss the message later. The gatekeeper then went out to write the message down. However, when the gatekeeper returned, the group asked her to read the message which she then did. The group responded angrily, saying that it was ridiculous and not true. One member asked if the message was part of the contract with the consultants. The members decided that a delegate should be sent to the staff to find out if the director's action

was "legitimate." This member came back several minutes later and said that the staff said it was legitimate.

Meanwhile, one member expressed that he wanted to leave. Another member asked him not to leave, saying that it would bother her if he left. Another said maybe we could delegate him to do something if he went. A third member said that if he wanted to leave, let him go. The first member said that his leaving would create an important gap in the group. The member who wanted to leave asked why it should matter so much if he left or stayed. Members began to be angry, sarcastically calling one another "mommy" and "daddy." These names referred to those members expressing the need for a cohesive, need-satisfying group.

One member walked out and returned one minute later. He was furious at the group for becoming an encounter group by discussing intragroup relations. Several other members were also angry and blamed the change of focus on the new member from group 45. They spoke about whether to ask her to leave. The delegate to the "fishbowl" planning meeting returned at this point and asked the group to come to the "fishbowl" meeting.

The staff group began session six by discussing how they should present the message to the groups. The staff group debated who should go to read the message as well as

whether he should enter into extended conversations. They decided that the director should read the message to all the groups and not be engaged in conversation. Three delegates from group 23 arrived saying that they were authorized to ask the staff their backgrounds so that the group could work better with the consultants.²⁴ The director replied that the staff could be helpful to group 23 by sending a consultant. The delegates replied that they did not want that but would go back to their group. The director then left to deliver the message.

The staff discussed the difficulty they felt they had in saying "no" to groups. One staff member said that they were not definitive in the positions they took with the representatives who came to staff. The staff agreed that a lack of trust existed between them and this was related to the lack of support.

The director returned and stated that he was greeted with mixed reactions. Group 15 would not let him in immediately and he thought that there was much laughter after he left. The other groups were largely surprised by his appearance at their door but they soon became angered by the content of the message. Group 46 had asked him to give the message to a member so that it could be copied down. The staff

²⁴They were not so authorized. See page 142.

then reviewed the status of all the groups and learned of the demise of group 45 for the first time. One consultant said that this group wanted to fuse with one another inside the room and now had fused with the rest of the conference. Meanwhile, a delegate from group 33 had entered and asked for a consultant.

Four delegates from the planning group for the "fishbowl" meeting arrived and the delegate from group 46 spoke. He stated that he represented four groups and that a "fishbowl" conference of the groups had been arranged. He reported that each group would send three plenipotentiaries to discuss the problems the groups had in communicating with each other in the workshop so far. He then asked for a consultant to work with the group of 12 plenipotentiaries. The director asked the delegate if the task of this meeting was a historical review of the conference. The delegate indicated that the groups would look at current problems also. The director asked the delegate what the plenipotentiaries were exactly empowered to do. The delegate responded that the plenipotentiaries could speak for their group. The director replied that he would attend but that he would not collude with a historical review. The director then left.

A consultant then observed that a "fishbowl" meeting was an exercise from the National Training Laboratories model.

He added that the members were not able to trust one another since they had to send four plenipotentiaries to the staff group. A delegate came from group 46 and asked the consultants whether the director's going to the groups with a message was within the limits of the contract. A consultant answered yes.

The consultant to group 33 returned and reported on his meeting. He stated that group 33 initiated this "fishbowl" event. He interpreted that the workshop members want to "get together," not necessarily to study anything. The consultant said this "fishbowl" meeting was an antidote to dissolution. Another consultant said that this meeting was a perversion of democracy, a way of avoiding differentiation of roles within the group and a way of ignoring the internal issues of each group. This meeting represented a desire to get together with the hope that this would improve communication. One consultant remarked that for the sake of learning they could have explored the nature of their current communication.

At the opening of the "fishbowl" meeting at 12:40, all the members of the conference were assembled in the plenary area. Three plenipotentiaries from each of the four groups (making a total of 12) were gathered in a circle with the rest of their particular group gathered behind them.

The director of the conference sat on the edge of the center circle of plenipotentiaries. The director made the first comment of the meeting, saying that the authority of the various representatives was unclear. He asked whether the plenipotentiaries knew what they were there to accomplish. A plenipotentiary from group 15 responded that the contract agreed to by the plenipotentiaries included a discussion of the conference and the difficulty in communicating among the groups. The plenipotentiary from group 15 then stated that he assumed the director agreed to that. The director responded that he agreed to consult. The plenipotentiary from group 46 said that there was a lack of clarity in the purpose of this meeting. The director then commented that all the observers were there to be in on the "goodies" and watch their representatives. A plenipotentiary from group 46 suggested that the groups focus on group dynamics. A plenipotentiary from group 15 supported this saying that we should look at the "here and now." While this was occurring, group 23 replaced a plenipotentiary with another member from the group. Group 46 said that they could not do that. An argument ensued as to whether this was legitimate. Without a formal resolution, the new plenipotentiary stayed. One plenipotentiary from group 33 suggested that discussion topics should be chosen. Others disagreed saying that the meeting

should discuss what they were there for, that is, the difficulty in communicating. Another plenipotentiary suggested that they discuss what was happening at the moment. These different proposals were then discussed. At 1:00 P.M. the director left and the meeting lasted several minutes into the lunch hour.

Session Seven

At the opening of session seven, group 15 was suffused with feelings of optimism and excitement. Members spoke about feeling very positive about the group and about what they had accomplished in the conference. One member said that the group should take over the conference and control it. Another member said that they should get the conference together. A different member said that "these ideas are half-assed." Another member said, "Let's figure out something to do with our power." A suggestion of one member was that they should be the consultants since they could do a better job.

They had arranged a meeting with group 23 in the previous session. They sent a representative to see if group 23 was still interested in meeting with them. While he was gone, the group discussed whether they should take over group 23. A member asked how it could be done. A different member asked why they would want to. Before these

questions could be answered, their representative came back and announced that group 23 was ready to meet with them. The entire group then left.

Group 15 arrived early and was angry at group 23 for making them wait. Group 23 then came and said that they elected a moderator. He began the meeting by praising group 15 for having a structure and saying that his group had done poorly in the conference because they were unable to structure themselves. Another member of group 23 said that they always were fighting within the group. A different member of group 23 said that he admired group 15 for not allowing "intruders" from the outside to disrupt their group. Group 15 answered that they did not allow representatives from other groups to enter when they were in conflict inside the room. A member from group 23 said that group 15 seemed very united and asked how it was able to agree on decisions. A member from group 15 responded saying, "You're feeding our power trip" but said that he could not really explain how this happened. A member from group 23 started to speak but the members of group 15 abruptly stood up and left without saying anything (like staff). Group 23 sat for a few seconds and then walked quietly back to their room.

Group 15 returned to their room and were laughing and joking. One member said that he felt terrific. Another

said he felt "drunk with power." A third said that he "wanted to go on for five days." Someone suggested that they do something at the final plenary. One member said that the group should focus the conference on themselves. He continued saying that all of us should simply direct the discussion to group 15 and their power in the conference. Another member said, "Why shouldn't we sit up with the consultants?" After some discussion it was decided that one member should occupy a consultant's chair and that the rest of the group should sit up in the front row facing the consultants. Flushed with excitement and sensing an impending triumph, the group continued meeting into the coffee hour.

Group 23 began with someone suggesting that "a Hitler" should be elected in the group. A member responded saying that that would be a cop-out, an admission of our incompetence. Several other members said that this group had been pretty incompetent in the conference. These members were angrily questioned by others who asked why they felt that way since it was not true. One member said that no trust existed in the room--"We can't trust a single person here to represent us." Another member asked why no one in the group could give up his or her power in order to have a representative. Someone answered that everyone in the group felt powerless. A different member said that she

wanted a representative that would have her "qualities." Others said that a representative should be responsive to the group's needs and feelings. The representative should also be competent in task performance.

Group 15's delegate arrived and asked whether they wanted to meet with them. Group 23 responded by saying it did not know. They voted and decided that they would go. The delegate from group 15 left. Before they went, the group decided that they needed a moderator. After arguing about who it should be for several minutes, they selected one person and left.²⁵

When they returned to their room, group 23 discussed the meeting with group 15. One member asked what they had learned in the meeting with group 15. Another member responded saying that "we were being competitive with them and tried to make them into parents." Another member said that the group members viewed themselves as failures. Someone suggested getting a consultant but no one followed up on this. A member said that maybe the group could continue into the coffee hour. Someone else responded by saying that nothing more would be accomplished--"We haven't used the time available to us so well, have we?" The group returned

²⁵This meeting was already reviewed.

to a discussion of their strong need for sympathy and approval from group 15. One member asked whether "anyone can learn if our primary motive is approval." With this comment, the group adjourned.

Group 33 began the seventh session with one member commenting that this was the final session. Another member said that before the group discussed that, they should talk about the "fishbowl" meeting that occurred before lunch. The group agreed that the director dominated the meeting and did not allow the group to accomplish its aim. Several members said that they were angry at his behavior and did not understand why he persisted in being so disruptive.

One member said that only an hour and 15 minutes was left and the group should think about what it wants to do in the time remaining. Another member said that maybe all the groups should be disbanded so that we can all "become conference members." A different person suggested that a consultant be asked to come to the group to find out what the next step was. He went on to say that perhaps they should try to find a new way to learn about intergroup processes. The consultant could watch and comment on their working out a better way to learn. The group sent a plenipotentiary to get a consultant. Someone asked the research observer to leave.

When the consultant arrived, the group said that it

felt there was no more purpose for its existence. One member said that he felt no more was to be learned with the group in its present structure. The consultant said that the group attempted to bring the groups of the conference together. Since it was frustrated in that task, the group no longer had a purpose. The consultant continued by saying that the group does have a task which is to learn about what is going on.

One member suggested that the group meet with group 15. Another member supported this and the first member got up to leave the room. Other members said that he should not go. An observer came in and the group asked where he was from and what he wanted. He said he was from group 23 and that he wanted to observe. The consultant remarked on the inability of the group to deal with internal or external matters. The reason for wanting to meet with other groups "is in the room--it gives the group something to do." The consultant asked the group to consider what it wanted to learn about now. A member asked the group for permission to leave and observe other groups. The consultant said this group would exist so long as he was there. Two members walked out as the consultant was speaking. The consultant said that he kept the group going by representing the inter-group task. The two members who walked out came back. The

consultant commented that the group was dropping out of the intergroup exercise since it seemed to have no interest in meeting at this point. One member said that the group had to get back on its feet and to learn by examining what was going on. Another member said that the group had a hard time dealing with the coldness of the staff. The consultant replied that the staff does care about the members but the care is expressed through helping the members learn.

One member said that the consultant should leave and after discussing how the group used him to stay together, he left. The same member who asked the consultant to leave announced that she was leaving. She left barely controlling tears. Other group members then discussed how the group failed: "We're fucked up." "We got mad because we didn't accomplish what we set out to do." "We're doing nothing." The member who left with tears returned. Two members left to observe staff.

One member said that finishing was very hard. The members then spoke of what they had learned. Several members spoke of their dependency on staff, the hostility and competition, and their fear of a strong leader. "We preferred a laissez-faire way of doing things and couldn't organize." One member said that we all learned a great deal about ourselves and we each learned in our own way. With this, the session ended.

Group 46 began the seventh session with the several members who had argued in the previous session apologizing to one another. The group then discussed the consultants and wondered how they could be used more effectively. They decided to invite a consultant and discuss the problem with him. When he arrived the group addressed the question to him directly. He responded by saying that he could only give them comments while they discuss things. His task was to help their learning process. The group raised the point that their consultant request was vague. One member said that this vagueness was also true the last time a consultant was asked to come. The consultant raised the possibility that the group asked for consultants at certain times so that the consultant request served a function for the group. The group members said this was certainly possible but they could not answer what the function was. The consultant left.

After the consultant left two members immediately asked the group for authorization to go to the staff room to hear what the consultants were saying about their group. These members left. One member said that the group obviously was dependent on the consultants. Another member said that people seem to feel that they have more to learn from hearing the consultants than from working on the problems within the group. A third member said that the staff seemed different

today. Another member agreed saying that "yesterday they were more cold, today they are more friendly."

The group then talked about who were leaders in the room. The group named several members who were dominant in the group. Another said that leadership was desperately avoided. He was asked why. He responded that leadership was avoided because a leader would have to take responsibility for the group's failure and "no one wants to do that."

The group members then discussed whether they were more interested in "learning" or in "feeling good." A member said that the group was making an assumption that learning meant not "feeling good" and being uncomfortable. A second member said the consultants seemed to be saying that. The first member said, "We are equating pain with learning." Another group member said that perhaps "we don't like what the consultants are trying to teach." Someone said that "it isn't clear what they are trying to teach. Mostly they seem to be teaching the effects of deprivation." The group then recognized that it was angry with the consultants. One member said that maybe the group could make the consultants act differently. Someone else said that they were in a power struggle with them. At this point, the session was over and one member said, "Well, it hasn't been nice."

The staff group opened the seventh session by talking about previous intergroup conferences. One consultant spoke of future conferences that he planned to attend as a member. A delegate from group 46 entered and asked for consultation on how to deal with the consultant role. A consultant was sent. A request for a consultant was also made by group 33. They wished a consultant because they could not find a purpose for the group any more. A consultant was sent there as well.

The director reported on the "fishbowl" meeting. He reported that neither the authority of the representatives nor the task was clear. The staff characterized the membership as undifferentiated and unstructured and still avoiding intergroup contact with each other and staff.

The consultant returned from group 46 and reported that the group wanted to explore how to use the consultants more effectively. The consultant helped them by pointing to the task of the workshop, the study of intergroup relations as they happen. He said that the group was inwardly directed.

The staff then discussed the strong sense of deprivation in the conference. They felt that the "neediness" was felt by all the groups. They remarked that the membership did not see the implication of the staff giving up their work orientation and adopting the "loving and caring" mode.

If that were done, the task would be subverted.

Observers from group 23 and group 46 entered the room. The research observer reported that the staff activity appeared aimless. There were many periods of silence, shifts in topics, and joke telling. The consultant returned from group 33 and one consultant said that "we are suspicious of a consultant that stays out so long (40 minutes)." The consultant reported that group 33 was using him to keep the group intact until the time ran out. They still were not willing to differentiate. Observers from group 33 entered the room and left five minutes later.

One consultant questioned whether it would be possible and reasonable to consult with the groups and suggest that they disband. The staff agreed that it was possible. At this point an observer began to speak to the staff group and the staff ignored the comment. A consultant remarked that the staff group was again not acting definitively in dealing with its reality. They confronted one another on their responsibility to act and not to simply interpret what was happening. The observer was then addressed directly and told that, as an observer, he did not have the authority to speak to the staff.

The staff ended the session by remarking that the staff's sense of the members' deprivation was in part a

projection of the deprivation they (the staff) experienced in their relationship with one another and between themselves and the membership. The observers then left.

Final Plenary Meeting

The seating format for the final plenary meeting was to be the same as that of the conference opening. The consultants, the research director, and the conference administrator were to be seated at the front with the membership facing them. However, one black member from group 15 was sitting in one of the seven chairs at the front. The rest of group 15 was sitting in the front row facing him. When the conference staff walked in, they took the remaining seats and one of the consultants pulled over an extra chair.

The director announced the opening of the plenary session. One member stood up and said she would like the group to formulate questions about this experience. She continued saying that given psychic needs hamper learning, how can this be handled? A short silence followed and then several small, inaudible conversations started. One member said to the member sitting at the front, "Are you for real? You are really absurd." Someone else angrily asked, "What do you want from us?" Another member said, "You are abusing power." A different member said, "Maybe you would like to be a consultant?" At this the rest of the membership laughed.

Someone said, "Will you please tell us what you're up to up there, member in the staff line." The member sitting at the front finally responded saying that he was furious because the conference would not deal with group 15. Someone said that group 15 wields power by making people deal with them. Another said that "the guy up front is providing the focus for our feelings toward the consultants." One consultant asked if the conference members weren't also feeling some pleasure with as well as anger at the member since he was expressing the membership's anger at the consultants. A member then shouted that "this issue is subverting the meeting--I give a shit if you're up there."

A member repeated her comment that the membership had allowed group 15 to be a scapegoat for the consultants. Others said this was true. "We are using group 15 because we want to be led. If the consultants won't do it, we will take anything we can get." Members laughed at this. Someone said that we need to be led, fed, and nurtured by them. Another person said that we need to be controlled by them also. A consultant said that "it is painful to realize that you haven't been able to control yourselves." Another short silence followed this. Someone asked the members how they felt about the members who had left the conference. No one responded. Another member said that he would like to change

the focus. Looking at the consultants he said that he would like to learn something from them. A consultant responded that members felt that they didn't have any answers or the same data that the staff had. A member pointed out that only the consultant comments were given validity. A member said that one impediment to our learning was that most of the people here were professionals or aiming to become professionals. "So we wanted to be consultants rather than use them." Another member said that we (as members) were punishing them. She said that we punished them for not providing comfort for us. A different member said that we would rather be safe than learn.

A member said that the manner in which the membership reacted to the black guy sitting with the consultants was a function of his being black--"We wouldn't tolerate this from a white member." A female member of group 15 took a chair and sat up next to the black member. A consultant asked, "If the fear is of violence and if that is being put into the black members?" Another consultant said that group 15 was taking what was intended for the consultants. A member pointed out one consultant who was black. This black consultant then said that the membership found safety in not seeing many differences in the staff: race, sex, personal style. The group 15 members brought up the unfair labelling

of their group as "fascists." A consultant said that the staff deflected the hostility from group 15 and group 15 deflected the hostility from the staff. He said he felt like he was watching a ping pong match. A silence of approximately a minute followed.

A member brought up the fact that the members came with their own priorities and images. Another member said that the consultants did not give us the nurturance needed. A consultant said that the members signed a contract with the consultants to learn about intergroup relations. A member responded, "We didn't really sign a contract because we didn't read the fine print." Another member said, "We're not confronting the issue that we don't want to learn, to take responsibility." Someone asked whether anyone resented the disruption of the research. A member responded that they were frustrating, but nothing could be done. "They were part of the contract also." The director said that the influence of the research on the conference could have been examined. A short silence followed. The director then said that the plenary session was over and the research director announced that a statement regarding the intention of the research would be mailed in a few months time.

A Review of Session Five, Session Six, Session
Seven, and the Final Plenary

The rebellion led by group 46 in the first plenary was the culmination of the members' experience of deprivation and abandonment by staff throughout the events of Saturday. The members attempted to unite in anger in order to force the staff to forsake their role and the task of learning about intergroup relations. With the disruption of group 15 and staff's steadfast maintenance of their role, the members failed in this attempt. The staff again made clear that the primary task of the workshop was learning not comfort, that the staff had a responsibility to their role in providing the opportunity for member learning, and that the members had the responsibility to learn as best they could. The events of Sunday are directly traceable to the members' failure to change staff's behavior in the Saturday night plenary.

Each group was slow to start session five but when all the members of each group finally arrived the major topic of discussion was the Saturday night plenary. Every group was angry at the consultants but each reacted differently. Group 15 was excited by its newly perceived powerful role in the conference and discussed a revolt. Group 23 reviewed its sense of impotence, manipulation, guilt, envy, and chaos. Group 33 decided to unite all groups to rebel

against the consultants. Group 46 focused its discussion on the issues of group commitment and group dissolution. During much of session five the groups did not take part in intergroup activity but instead tried to master their anger at the staff.

However, after considering a revolt against the consultants, group 33 organized a group of plenipotentiaries from all groups to discuss lines of communication within and between groups. This plenipotentiary group worked in sessions five and six so that what had begun as an attempt to unite the members in a second revolt against the staff became a "fishbowl" meeting whose purpose was to explore group formation and the difficulties in communicating. So the members' need for nurturance and the consequent anger were no longer the sole issues of the workshop--the members began to formulate their own mechanisms for learning about intergroup relations, at least in the plenipotentiary group. The members had delegated the work of learning about intergroup relations to this plenipotentiary group thereby enabling them to preserve their groups and avoid direct contact with the staff and the task.

The planning of the "fishbowl" meeting was the predominant subject for group 15 and group 33 in session six. The "fishbowl" meeting was a chance for group 15 to exhibit

its power while group 33 felt proud that they had set the process of its creation. Group 23 and group 46 were still involved in intragroup matters--group 23 was still not able to escape its anger and this was also true for group 46. When the director came to deliver his message of avoidance and neediness, the groups reacted in keeping with their then present characteristics. Group 15 laughed, group 23 and group 46 became furious, and group 33 became reflective. This trend toward thoughtfulness about themselves and the work increased through session six for all groups except group 15. Group 33 began to wonder about the "fishbowl's" usefulness for learning, while group 23 wondered about how the original group formation contributed to its problems and group 46 became aware that its intragroup focus was at the expense of intergroup learning. So while they were still involved in their deprivation and anger, in session six more of the members began to work toward understanding their own process and its relation to the task of intergroup learning. The groups were very different in their particular process at this time (e.g., feeling powerful, chaotic, angry, proud, etc.) but increasing at the same time was their capacity for insight and learning.

The "fishbowl" meeting was an attempt to unite the membership in a common learning task but the underlying task

was simply to have the members come together. This underlying task was accomplished but with the director aggressively pursuing the learning task, the several groups disagreed about what they were meeting for and the meeting degenerated into bickering. However, the "fishbowl" meeting was another signal of the members' increasing initiatives for learning in the conference.

In session seven, group 15 continued to enjoy its power. However, the other groups examined their own process in the conference. Group 23 examined why it could not represent itself to other groups and also examined its competition with and need for approval from other groups. Group 33 examined its dependency, roles, competition, and fears of a strong leader. Group 46 discussed its dependency, its avoidance of leadership and the dilemma of "feeling good" vs. "learning." The final session saw all the groups except group 15 become reflective, insightful, and more responsible. The plenary also had group 15 exercising its power with the rest of the members protesting the interference with their learning. Overall, in the final plenary the members spoke with insight and indicated that much learning had been accomplished and consolidated in the conference.

So the overriding problem for the members on Sunday was coping with the anger from the Saturday night plenary

(by implication, the members were coping with the anger that began at staff's original departure and the manner in which they exercised their role throughout the conference). The members were very angry but yet had become increasingly knowledgeable about the structure and process of the workshop. To accommodate both their anger and their investment in intergroup learning, the members kept the groups suffused with anger and created a new group, the group of plenipotentiaries, to formulate a new structure for learning. The plenipotentiary group devised the "fishbowl" meeting as a device to further the learning task and at the same time preserve the anger in the already existing group formation. The "fishbowl" meeting failed because the anger of the existing groups overwhelmed the structure and the learning. That is, the "fishbowl" could not accommodate the disorganizing influence of the anger in all the groups.

But the creation of the "fishbowl" meeting represented the beginning of the groups themselves becoming more responsible for their learning. The process and issues of the groups were different from one another but as time went on the members in groups 23, 33, and 46 came to understand their role responsibility for accomplishing the primary task of learning. Indeed, they put this understanding to work in the final plenary.

The Final Discussion Group

In contrast to the first discussion group which focused on the intergroup exercise itself, the final discussion group was to apply the conference learning to the members' "back-home" situations. The members, with the aid of the consultants, examined their organizational problems according to the concepts learned in the conference (authority, power, primary task, boundaries, role, etc.). Rather than generally describe all five discussion groups, a detailed depiction of one of the discussion groups follows.

This discussion group was composed of mental health professionals. The consultant opened the session by saying that the purpose here was to explore how the learning of the conference could be applied to their back-home, everyday situations. A member responded by saying that it was interesting that the dynamics of the groups were parallel. The consultant replied that this was not relevant here. Another member said that learning can be counter-productive, especially when you learn with people that you are involved with all the time. The consultant said that it was difficult to discipline ourselves to do the present work. "Perhaps members are feeling hopeless." A third member said that the power arguments that locked us into groups here, it's the same at the agency where I work. The consultant asked for

an example. This third member continued by saying that he worked in a psychiatric clinic that dealt with addicts. There were weekly staff meetings where nothing was done. The director of the agency wanted them. The consultant asked what the task of these meetings was and the member replied that he did not know. "We have them because the director wants us to." The consultant asked if anyone in the institution bothered to find out what his purpose was. The member said no. The consultant said that some overt agenda had been taken over by a hidden one. He asked who came to the meetings. The member replied that 20 counselors came, the director, the assistant director, the office manager, and the psychiatric consultant. The director chaired the meeting and if he was not there the assistant director did. The member said that when the director was not there the meeting was used to express resentment. The consultant said then that the meeting was used to control the anger in the institution.

The consultant went on to ask why people joined the institution. The member said to do certain work, helping addicts. The consultant asked if they could do this elsewhere. The member said that in this institution the workers had a lot of freedom in their work. There also was administrative freedom. The consultant said that the institution

did not examine the way it functioned which certainly was not helpful to the addicts. Another member then spoke up to say that the absence of a strictly defined task and sanctions at the drug agency kept them from becoming a group. The consultant said that there was a group and a task, but the task was controlling the anger in the organization.

The consultant asked what mechanisms existed for evaluation. The member said that the staff was not evaluated in the agency. The consultant said that he did not agree. The agency staff was evaluated but it was arbitrary and unsystematic. The consultant then said that evaluations of staff were carried out by the counselors, but with each other and not with those above them. He said, "Some of you are looking with disbelief--you have the data too although I have been making the inferences. I repeated what the member said in other language but you all act as if what you've heard is new. I wonder if you did not arbitrarily deprive yourselves of information in your groups in the same way."

Another member said that he would like to present his situation. "I work with a staff and in staff meetings, if they don't do what they are supposed to do then there is a reluctance to hold someone accountable for failure." The consultant said that how to make people behave is interesting but that he had no answers for that. He continued

saying that he could only explicate the dynamics. He asked what the institution was. The member replied that it was a youth center. The consultant asked what the task was. The member replied that it was to help the youngsters grow up. The consultant said that the task was not helping with all of growing up but rather with "psychological growing up"-- to help the youths to develop the capacity to assume responsibility. He asked for the structure. The member said that he was the director but that a board of directors was above him. As director, the member had an assistant director, an adult staff of 40 and a youth staff of 14. The clients were 400 in number and ranged in age from 9 to 19. The clients used the facilities of the center such as the gym and the snack bar. The consultant asked the staff-client ratio. The member responded that it varied, maybe 20 staff and the clients could range from 2 to 100. The consultant asked what the criteria were for selecting the staff. The member said that they should be black or Puerto Rican and good at sports. The consultant said that this was peripherally related to the task. Another member asked how they dealt with rule-breakers. The director of this youth center replied that they were talked to by the staff. The consultant asked how this skill was developed. The member said that there was supervision. A different member said

that what went on in the center seemed different from the present experience. The consultant replied that it was not different but difficult to understand. He went on to ask what motivated the youngsters to join the organization as staff. The member replied that they were paid. The consultant said that there was status also. The consultant asked if group work was done. The member said that group work was done only with the adults. The consultant asked how youngsters were selected to join the youth staff. The member replied that the clients were selected if they looked like they could benefit by the experience.

The consultant then said that the time was up. One member said that the conference was difficult but that he was glad he came.

This final discussion group marked the end of the conference.

CHAPTER VI

AN OPEN-SYSTEMS VIEW OF THE INTERGROUP
RELATIONS CONFERENCE

The description of the intergroup relations conference in the last chapter was presented with minimal conceptual explanation in order to portray the intensity and complexity of the conference experience. Events in the conference occurred rapidly and simultaneously. The groups were continually involved in multiple activities. The members took multiple roles and had multiple sentient ties. In the intergroup relations conference, groups and members coped with an always changing reality.

Recognizing this complexity, this chapter will seek to describe and understand the intergroup relations conference from an open-systems perspective, particularly that developed by A. K. Rice. Hopefully the introduction of such a conceptual view will not reduce the conference to dry and simplistic abstractions. Rather the open-systems perspective of the conference will be presented in order to clarify and highlight the dominant issues of organizational life. Moreover, the delineation of the organizational issues in the

conference will allow for a fuller discussion of the developmental process theory of the intergroup relations conference to be presented in the next chapter.

The following analysis of the intergroup relations conference will examine the conference from an open-systems viewpoint by focusing on its task and sentient systems and their interrelationships. The task system refers to the formal structure and process of the conference, the coordination of activities for task performance. The concepts employed here are open-systems, process flow, task boundaries, and the like. The sentient system refers to the informal structure and process, the "person-centered" system based on member needs and fantasies (Miller and Rice, 1967). The sentient system defines the groups or groupings which demand loyalty from their members and which each possess distinct emotional identities. The concepts to be employed here are social roles, splitting, basic assumptions, etc.

Since these two systems are always interrelated and, in fact, since it is the purpose of the intergroup relations conference to study their interrelationships, this division of the conference into task and sentient systems for discussion is somewhat artificial. So the mutual interaction of the task and sentient systems will also be explored as the analysis proceeds. In addition, since the developmental

process theory of the intergroup relations conference involves the interaction of the task and sentient systems, some of the discussion of this interaction will be reserved for the next chapter.

So the intention of this chapter is to identify and conceptualize the organizational dynamics which operated in the conference. The changes of these dynamics over time will follow in Chapter VII.

Task System--Formal Structure and Process

The intergroup relations conference as an open system

The intergroup relations conference was an open system in that it existed as a temporary organization which exchanged materials with its environment. The primary task--providing opportunities for members to learn about intergroup and organizational life--was accomplished through an import-conversion-export process which transformed the materials. Here the task system to accomplish the dominant conversion process was the events of the conference while the material to be transformed was the members themselves. That is, the members were the import, the collective learning process in the events of the conference was the conversion, and the individual learning and what was done with it later was the

export (Klein and Marcus, unpublished). This can be represented diagrammatically:

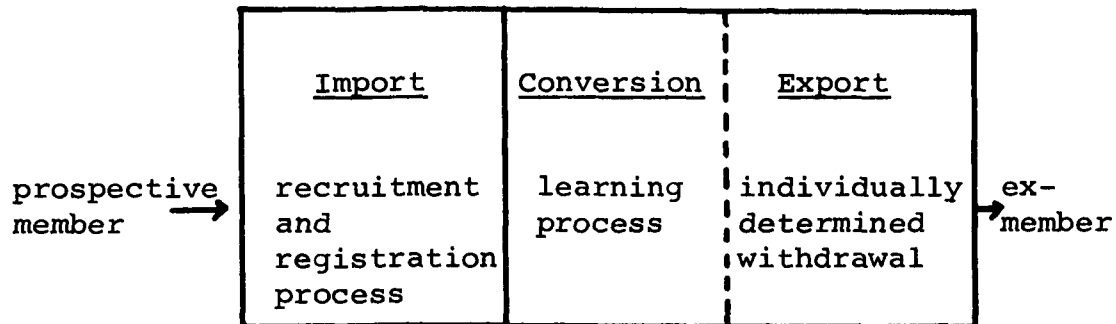


Fig. 2.--The import-conversion-export system of the conference.

As Rice says, the conference, as a temporary organization consisted of two major sub-systems: the import process of pre-conference recruitment which had as its primary task the production of members; the conversion-export process which consisted of the learning in the conference (Rice, 1965, pp. 28-29). A clearly defined boundary between the conversion and export process is difficult to draw since the boundary was drawn individually by each member. That is, the time when a member actually withdrew either temporarily or permanently from the conference was an individual decision.

Essentially the temporary organization of this intergroup relations conference began when the import process for membership began. The task of producing members was

accomplished through the mailing of brochures and applications, registering members, collecting fees, etc. This import (recruitment) process had its boundary drawn after registration at 9:30 on Saturday morning at the Psychological Center when the conversion process of learning began in the conference opening. The conversion boundary in the conference opening was determined by primary task (the learning about organizational dynamics), by time (Saturday at 9:30 until Sunday at 6:30), role (consultant, discussion leader, application group leader, application group member, etc.) and technology (the learning by experience and discussion methods used). Again, the export process boundary is difficult to draw since some members withdrew on Saturday night and did not return while the majority of members remained until Sunday evening.

The members and the staff entered into a social contract authorizing the creation of this temporary organization with the previously described characteristics to its boundaries. The organization existed so long as members and staff agreed to uphold these boundaries which served to distinguish the organization from its environment.

Positions, tasks, and roles
in the intergroup relations
conference

Within the intergroup relations conference, two

formalized positions existed, that of staff and membership.²⁶ These positions defined a division of authority and labor in that the staff was to provide opportunities for learning while the members were to learn through participation in the exercise. These positions were authorized by the contract of the conference (Newton and Levinson, 1973).

The staff and the members passed through four different events in the conference, each with a different task. Each of the events themselves was an open system where the members were the import, the conversion was a different kind of learning opportunity made available to the members through a specified primary task, and the processed members were the export. The boundaries in these events were also defined by task, time, space, role, and teaching method. The major and most important event was the intergroup relations sessions where the primary task was to study intergroup relations as they happened. The first discussion group had the primary task of reviewing the conference as did the two plenaries (although in a different format). The final discussion group had the primary task of applying the conference experience to outside settings.

²⁶Actually, the positions of director and associate director were also defined but what distinction in authority, labor, and responsibility was inherent in the associate director position as opposed to the other staff positions is not clear to the author.

In keeping with both the primary tasks of the various events as well as with their authorized positions, the staff and the members took on several formal roles during the conference. In the intergroup sessions, where the task was to study intergroup relations as they happened, the staff acted in the role of consultants while the members were in the role of learner-participants. Members learned through experiencing intergroup life and chose their own groups and rooms. In the discussion group and plenaries, where the task was to review and examine the conference, the role of the staff was to be review leaders while the members were in the role of learner-by-review. Members were to learn by discussing the events and had groups and rooms assigned. Similarly, in the application-discussion group, the staff acted as application group leaders while the members were in the role of learner-by-application. Here too the members were to learn by discussion and had groups and rooms assigned. While these boundaries are seemingly obvious since they are so clearly tied to the primary task of the particular event, staff and members had tremendous difficulty maintaining the several events' task and role boundaries. For example, in the Saturday night plenary, which was intended as a review, the members confronted staff in the "here and now." In this case the members were still

in the role of learner-participant appropriate to the intergroup sessions rather than in the role of learner-by-review. Also, in the final discussion group, the primary task was application but a member wished to discuss the parallel development of the groups which was a review task.

A major reason for this task and role confusion is that both staff and members were a resource pool for the several events. That is, the same people had to perform multiple tasks and multiple roles in successive sessions, and feelings generated by one event spilled over to influence other events. In addition, many members simply did not understand the different boundaries of task and roles in the conference events. They therefore were not able to mobilize their personal resources for work because of a lack of cognitive clarity. So boundary confusion in the task system occurred for both emotional and cognitive reasons.

The confusion of boundaries in the task system led to some of the complexity of the intergroup relations conference. Tasks, roles, and teaching methods intended for one event became the substance of others. The responsibility for task system boundary maintenance belonged jointly to staff and membership since it was part of the conference organization contract. Nevertheless, the clarity and confusion of boundaries was promoted by both staff and members. In the

final plenary, group 15 continued the intergroup sessions by having one member sit up with the staff rather than review the experience. When one consultant interpreted the "here and now" intergroup experience by stating that group 15 was taking what was intended for the consultants, he was colluding with group 15 into making the plenary into an intergroup session. The other members' objection to group 15's action was in the service of promoting a discussion of conference events and they were thus trying to maintain the plenary boundary.

So, task system boundary maintenance is a complex problem, especially difficult when the primary task is to explore the task and sentient systems themselves. But it is the maintenance of task system boundaries, whether tasks, roles, or others which promote maximal task accomplishment. Nevertheless, that boundaries become confused in the intergroup relations conference is to be expected and provides an opportunity for learning.

Sentient Systems--Informal Structure and Process

A sentient system in an enterprise consists of the informal organization of relationships between the persons and groups that carry out the activities of task performance. Specifically, in the intergroup relations conference, this

refers to the organization of relationships among the members and staff, relationships formed because of the needs and fantasies of the people involved. This section will first describe the various sentient boundaries among the groupings in the conference and then describe some of the mechanisms by which these groupings operated. As shall be seen, it is extremely difficult to describe the sentient relationships without reference to the task system.

Sentient groups in the intergroup relations conference

A number of different sentient groups were formed in the intergroup relations conference and their formation was largely determined by the task boundaries internal to the organization. That is, the most important sentient ties were developed by the members to cope with the task system of the conference, namely, the primary task, the position differences of staff and membership, the formal roles, and the rooms. Yet at the same time, the formation of these sentient groups was grounded in very real, very human needs. The sentient groupings which seemed most important in the conference were between staff and membership, between the groups (including staff), between staff, group 15 and other groups (this occurred late in the conference), between the several negotiation groups and their home groups, and

between the representatives and their home and visiting groups. To repeat for emphasis, the sentience established in the conference was derived from the structure and process of the task system and sentient boundaries were established which distinguished groupings from one another to cope with the task system.

The single, most important sentient relationship in the conference was that between the membership and staff. This relationship was derived from their different tasks, positions, and roles, that is, from their real, contracted authority relationship within the conference: the staff was to provide opportunities for learning while members were to learn. By adhering to their task, staff's resulting sentient relationship to the members consisted of primitive, regressive, and powerful emotions related to the staff-member fantasied authority relationship. Staff was seen as cohesive, cold, distant, always working, never anxious, unhelpful, hostile, and as deliberately withholding emotional and intellectual gratification. Members, correspondingly, felt weak, helpless, anxious, needy, stupid, foolish, incompetent, potentially violent, jealous, and felt as if they were rarely working. The Saturday discussion groups and plenary clearly illustrated these distinct identities for staff and membership. This changed through time but this was the fundamental

social role each played during the conference. The boundary around the authority relationship of the complementary tasks, positions, and formal roles of staff and membership then, determined a special sentient relationship between them whose basic purpose was to cope with the members' rage over the deprivation of their emotional needs. In addition, to a large extent, the other sentient relationships in the conference were derived from the staff-membership sentient relationship.

The initial group formation and later group identities were related to the task and sentient boundaries between staff and membership. The groups formed in response to the chaos and anxiety following the staff's departure in the conference opening. The groups were involved in intra-group problems in the first two sessions with feelings of helplessness, anxiety, frustration, anger, and a lack of gratification. For example, in group 15 in session one and two this was expressed between the sub-groups and in group 23 in sessions one and two this was expressed between individuals. These sub-groups and individuals took on social roles of being "work-oriented" or of being "emotion-oriented." Later on the groups repeated these issues between themselves as a whole. The groups were extremely angry with one another and worked this out through competition, trying to determine

who was the good group and who was the bad group. In sessions three and four, each group was superior to the other groups--group 23 was better than group 33 because group 23 was more unified than group 33; group 33 was better than group 23 because group 23 was hostile and disrespectful while they were not (this from the same meeting); group 46 was better than group 45 since group 46 was more "work-oriented"; group 45 was better than group 46 because group 46 was hostile while group 45 would be loving (this also from the same meeting); and so on. In short, the groups took on social roles for one another which were specific to each group. That is, to use Sherif's terms, each group took on a specific "we" which was distinguished from a complementary definition of "they." Group 45 took on a "love" role while others were hostile, group 46 was a good "work" group while others were self-indulgent and anxious, etc. The staff assisted this process by naming the social roles of each group in session three, especially assisting group 15's development into an angry, disruptive force ("fascist group").

Nonetheless, the issues within and between groups which evolved into these mutually complementary social roles were essentially derived from the social roles which accompanied the position relationship of staff and membership (e.g., "warm" versus "cold," "hostile" versus "kind," "unified" versus "chaotic").

Similarly the development of the sentient boundary between staff, group 15, and the rest of the membership was a way of re-working the issues within and between groups. This boundary gave group 15 the social role of being powerful, working, competent, warm and close within and depriving toward other groups--in essence, like the social role of staff. This left other groups free to take on roles of impotence, inadequacy, or else to work (see group 23 which went through all these roles and more in sessions six and seven).

In addition, the sentient boundaries of the negotiations and representatives took place out of needs to be better, to rebel, to communicate and be close with other groups, to praise other groups, to work, as well as other needs. The representation throughout the conference was done for these reasons. For example, in session three observers were sent to see what other groups were doing and the feeling they came back with was one of relief that other groups were "in the same place as we are." The negotiation meetings in sessions three and four met and organized the rebellious protest in the plenary while in sessions five and six they met to rebel but evolved a project where all groups would communicate and get together in a "fishbowl." Again, the issues of these social roles, boundaries, and boundary transactions were derived from those between staff and membership.

This is why the fundamental sentient boundary of the intergroup relations conference was the sentience related to the task boundary authorized by the contract between the staff and the membership. The real authority in the task system gave rise to the fantasied authority in the sentient system and powerfully influenced the issues and identities of the members' groups.

This view of the intergroup relations conference which understands the sentience of the groups as being the sentience accompanying the staff-membership task boundary is similar to the recent trend in Tavistock thinking on the intergroup conference (Miller, 1974; Gould, 1974). In fact, the intergroup event is now often called the institutional event which is defined as having the "task of studying relationships between the two groups, members and staff, which form the conference institution" (A. K. Rice Institute, Group Relations Conference Announcement, 1974). Here the member groups are each seen as embodying an authority relationship which together form a totality of the authority relationships between staff and membership of the particular conference. The data and formulations presented in this report were developed semi-independently from this recent Tavistock trend. At the same time, the views presented here seem stronger and more defined in that the sentience of the

conference groupings is seen as derived from the staff-membership authority boundary and is not seen as being simply related to it.

Further evidence for this emphasis on the staff-membership boundary in determining the conference dynamics will be presented in the next chapter.

Mechanisms of the sentient system

The mechanisms of the sentient groups are related to the construction of the sentient boundaries. That is, the mechanisms operate by declaring certain characteristics to be true of the internal region within a boundary and certain complementary characteristics to be true of the external region outside the boundary. The regions which have boundaries between them can be persons, sub-groups, groups or any of the other groupings reviewed in the previous section (staff-membership, group 15-group 23, etc.). The mechanisms to be discussed are projection-introjection, splitting, and basic assumptions.

Projection-introjection and splitting in the inter- group conference

The theories of Melanie Klein which emphasize the very early relationship between the baby and its mother have been applied to social systems by Higgen and Bridger (1964),

Jacques (1960), and others. Klein's theory emphasizes the two related terms, projection and introjection. The baby's ego strives to introject (take inside) the good (satisfying) object since it is seen as life-giving and protective while projecting (put outside) the bad (frustrating) object since it is seen as destructive and persecutory. Alternately, the good is projected in order to keep it safe from what is felt to be the badness inside. In doing this the aim is to control the objects and to keep the bad from destroying the good. That is, the good and the bad aspects of the object are split to preserve their existence.

The individuals, sub-groups, and other groupings in the intergroup relations conference made great use of these mechanisms, projection-introjection and splitting. The social roles adopted by the sentient groupings consisted of an elaborate system of these mechanisms as they related to positive and negative characteristics and feelings. For example, the endowment of group 15 with such extreme cohesiveness, trust, and power by group 23 in session seven is an example of splitting by projection and introjection. That is, group 15 took on the good characteristics of power and cohesion which left group 23 with the bad characteristics of impotence and division. Group 15 was a bitterly divided group in the first four sessions but because their boundary

was closed, others saw them differently. Their behavior at the Saturday plenary and the impression brought in by the woman from group 45 in session five enabled group 15 to fit into the power-cohesion role increasingly as Sunday's events proceeded. It seems as if other groups emptied (projected) their power, anger, and wish to rebel into group 15 which group 15 introjected and acted upon. In turn, group 15 projected their weakness and division into other groups which they introjected. Clearly all groups had power and impotence feelings, and trust and division as well. However the groups were unable to keep these characteristics compatible with one another and so projection, introjection, and splitting occurred.

Splitting of good and bad characteristics and emotions and their projection and introjection into external regions then, involves a denial of the characteristic or emotion within the region and ascribing it over the boundary to the outside, whether the outside region is another person, sub-group, or other group. Many examples of this can be cited. On an individual basis, in session five group 46 wanted to know if one new female member was committed to the group. When she said she was not sure, she was driven from the group. After she left some of the members who attacked her admitted to wanting to leave themselves. The wish to be

disloyal to the group was denied by the members, projected into the female member, she introjected this disloyalty, and was then forced to leave. As for an example of this phenomenon on the group level, group 23 denied its internal division in speaking to group 33 in session three and saw itself as unified. Also group 23 denied its unity with group 15 in session seven and saw itself as divided. Thus, the characteristic of division was denied and projected into group 33 by group 23 in session three and was introjected by group 23 in session seven. What seemed extremely difficult to tolerate, as in Klein's understanding of infantile ego development, was the fact of strong and weak feelings, cohesion and division, loyalty and disloyalty, love and hatred, as well as other opposites. Integration of these opposites was very difficult for conference members to achieve (as it is for everyone).²⁷

Basic assumption life in
the intergroup relations
conference

Bion's basic assumption theory defines two processes of group functioning: the work process and the basic

²⁷Mention should be made that splitting is closely related to Sherif's intergroup theory involving the division of "we" from "they" (see pp. 15-17). The differences of course involve the language and meaning of Kleinian object relations theory (e.g., denial, projection, etc.).

assumption process (see pp. 32-38). When in basic assumption life the groups act as if their survival depends upon entering dependence, fight-flight, pairing, or fusion. The basic assumptions are therefore specific patterns of mechanisms, affects, and behavior which the group undertakes in reaction to the work or the leader. Bion then is essentially defining a boundary between the task or the leader of the group and aspects of its sentience. Therefore the expansion of his concepts into the intergroup setting simply requires the identification of two regions with a boundary between them where a relationship between the work (or leader) and the basic assumption process can be divided. For example, in the conference the staff-membership boundary could at times be seen as a division between work (staff) and basic assumption life (members). The members went through periods of wishing to fuse with staff (always trying to break staff's role), dependence (cold and distant staff), fight (anger at staff in the first plenary), flight (avoidance from staff in first two sessions), and pairing (group 15's wish to join staff late in the conference).

Similarly, groups set up basic assumption relationships with one another. They tried to fuse with one another (part of the background of the fishbowl), were dependent (group 23 asking how group 15 made decisions), were in fight

(the competition in sessions three and four), and were in flight (from each other in sessions one and two). Pairing between groups is not so clear except that the rest of the groups colluded to set up group 15 to pair with staff. So the basic assumption relationships did occur between all patterns of the bounded groupings in the conference.

Statistical results relating to the basic assumptions.--The statistical results of the correlations between the basic assumption variables and the pattern of representation variables gives specific, objective evidence of the existence and influence of basic assumption life in the intergroup relations conference.²⁸ These results demonstrated that the more anxious (flight) the group felt about itself, the fewer representatives were authorized, particularly observers going to staff. The more angry (fight) the group was toward other groups, the more representatives were sent out. These representatives had greater authority and were sent to all places. The more dependent (dependent) the group was on other groups, the more representatives were sent out, but they were sent with limited authority and only to negotiate. These relationships applied only to groups on the same hierarchical level. The basic assumption affects as they applied to the staff group showed only that the more

²⁸Appendix D is a full discussion of the statistical results.

angry the group felt toward the staff, the more representatives were sent out.

With regard to the other "group characteristic" variables, feeling more dependent on other groups and on the staff was related to more permeable boundaries (the door being more open). Feeling more dependent toward other groups and toward staff was also related to larger group size and to having more women in the group. Finally as time proceeded in the conference, anger and dependency toward other groups increased.

These statistical results indicate that the basic assumption affects play a large role in the intergroup relations conference. They influence the amount, kind, and destination of representatives. These results are what one would expect in that, of those correlations which reached significance, the flight groups avoided, the fight groups encountered other groups and gave greater authority to undertake the representation, and dependent groups sought information from other groups. Similarly, in looking for direction dependent groups were more permeable, larger, and had more women. So, dependency, fight, and flight basic assumptions had an objectively demonstrable influence on the conference while pairing did not. Finally, it was found that changes in basic assumption life and patterns of representation were

related more to temporal aspects of the conference than to group membership. These changes over time will be more fully explored in the next chapter.

Summary

The basic assumption states in the intergroup exercise were formed by the occurrence across various sub-group and group boundaries of projection-introjection and splitting. For example, a basic assumption relationship of dependence only existed between staff and membership if certain characteristics of power, knowledge, and competence were split off from the membership and projected into staff. So the basic assumptions are states that characterize groups and these states are created by means of projection-introjection and splitting.

The Interrelationship of Task and Sentient Systems

Events in the intergroup relations conference cannot be understood without considering the interrelationship of the task and sentient systems. Primarily the task system, the formal structure and process, was devised by the staff to give the membership the opportunity of learning about the dynamics of the sentient system, the informal structure and process. So the deliberate intention of the task system

(the tasks, the positions, the roles, the process flow, and the rest) was to make the powerful feelings about authority in this conference's sentient system overt and studiable.

The formal task of each member then was to explore his own, his group's, and other groups' task and sentience and to discover his own reactions to authority, representation, and the drawing and crossing of boundaries. This required a capacity within the individuals to reach a state analogous to "regression in the service of the ego" (Kris, 1952), that is, to activate and explore the sentience of the conference while maintaining the capacity to examine and learn from what occurred. The difficulty was to maintain this balance between the learning task and exploring the sentience.

So both a task system and a sentient system existed in the intergroup relations conference examined in this report. One cannot discuss one without the other.²⁹ The task system evoked a sentience related to feelings toward authority. In the conference this revealed itself as rage, envy, jealousy, helplessness, a wish for control and guidance, and the like. The influence of these powerful emotions on the

²⁹Many people often neglect or do not sufficiently consider the concept of a task system in that they blur the task-sentient boundary (e.g., psychotherapists).

conference was great. Often, the members were subjected to learning and sentient tasks and had to choose among them, most often choosing a sentient task (e.g., becoming a "love" group). As a result, task and sentient boundaries were disrupted and confused, both across and within events. The problem of confused boundaries between tasks, roles, technologies, space, and time has already been reviewed. The confusion usually arose from the pressure of sentience.

The conference therefore demonstrated the invasion of the task system by the sentient system, especially the sentient system related to feelings about authority. In particular, the social contract authorized the real authority relationship between staff and members with regard to the formal task of learning. At the same time this real authority relationship gave rise to a fantasied authority relationship. The exploration of real and fantasied authority was the task of the intergroup relations conference. The fact of an interaction between real and fantasied authority, between task and sentient systems, is why an open-systems, socio-psychological framework is necessary for understanding the intergroup relations conference.

CHAPTER VII

DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES IN THE INTERGROUP

RELATIONS CONFERENCE--THE NODAL

POINT PROCESS

The most striking finding that emerged from the descriptive observation of the intergroup relations conference was that the events of the conference were ordered around four nodal points. These nodal points represented the shifts in phase of the predominant emotional issues and sentient boundaries of the conference as well as a shift in the increase of insight and responsibility for learning about intergroup relations by the members. In between the nodal points the members were involved in intergroup activities which reflected their current phase of emotional development and boundary exploration. These activities then continued until the next nodal point which indicated another shift and so on until the end of the conference.

Typically these four nodal points occurred when the entire membership and staff (or the director) were gathered together. This implies that the dominant issues involved in the developmental process through time were between the

collective membership and the staff rather than within or between groups. In this way then, the conference can be viewed as a series of movements comprised of the following: a membership-staff confrontation which resulted in intergroup activities that continued until another membership-staff confrontation which led to new intergroup activities and so on throughout the time of the conference. These movements in activities were based on a progressive development of emotional states and boundary investigations by the conference members.

This perspective of the intergroup relations conference which understands the staff-membership relations to be central was derived by the author from the developmental process theories of small groups (Mann, 1967; Klein and Marcus, unpublished; and others). These theories emphasize the member-leader relationship in understanding the changes the small groups undergo through time. Because the author's understanding of the developmental process in the intergroup relations conference is derived from small group theory, a brief review of the relevant small group theories will be presented. Following this review, the developmental process of the intergroup relations conference will be examined, both descriptively and from the system's framework of the previous chapter.

Developmental Theories of Small Groups

A large number of authors have proposed developmental theories of small groups. Three shall be emphasized here: Tuckman (1965); Mann (1967); and Klein and Marcus (unpublished). Tuckman (1965) synthesized over 50 articles on the developmental sequences in small groups from such sources as the group therapy and T-group literature. He found that four stages typically took place: (1) forming, in which the group member tests out what is acceptable to the leader and other members and also tests out what the relevant task parameters are; (2) storming, in which the group members become hostile to one another or to the leader and are resistant to the interpersonal task; (3) norming, in which harmony and cohesion is created in the group and members become more open to one another, and (4) performing, in which the group becomes a problem-solving instrument and completes the task at hand.

Mann (1967) summarized a number of authors' findings in this way. The early sessions in small groups are characterized by a sense of loss and depression which arouses dependency needs that are not satisfied (Slater, 1966; Bion, 1961; Whitman, 1964). Heightened anxiety is manifested in these sessions. Following this early period, Mann cites a period of premature productivity (termed enactment) which

leads to a confrontation with the leader and his role. This "revolt" is viewed as an attack on the depriving, frustrating leader (Slater, 1966) in order to destroy him. Bion (1961), Bennis and Shepard (1956) and Whitman (1964) also point to the rebellion period. Following this rebellion period, some authors propose an increase in openness and intimacy between members (Bennis and Shepard, 1956; Tuckman, 1965) which they say is not possible until the authority issue is resolved. Others see a more direct movement into work after the rebellion. This work period is characterized by an increased expression of insights and analysis of what has occurred (Mann, 1967; Slater, 1966). Finally a termination and review phase occurs in which the members become depressed and/or manic, a reactivation of loss and deprivation issues occurs, and feelings of failure and incompetence about the work accomplished are expressed. Naturally, these phases overlap and regression to earlier phases takes place. In addition, the issues of each phase are never fully resolved. Mann himself terms these phases Initial Complaining, Premature Enactment, Phase Confrontation, Internalization, and Separation and Terminal Review (Mann, 1967).

Klein and Marcus (unpublished) develop a systems view of the developmental phases of small groups. They use such terms as open system, boundaries, splitting, roles,

basic assumptions, and the like. They use basic assumptions and boundaries to define the phases of small groups in a modal order: becoming a member of the group (leaving traditional roles), fusion, dependency, fight-flight, pairing, and divesting one's self of group membership (reclaiming individuality of more traditional roles). Emphasizing the transference manifestations to the leader, Klein and Marcus propose that in the opening session, the boundary of the group is experienced as permeable so that the individual responses to the leader predominate. Roles, splitting, and basic assumption processes are not yet operative. In the middle sessions, the group boundary is more firmly set so that the roles of members become defined, splitting occurs, and group cohesion develops. Common fantasies derived from the basic assumptions take place as members are in a similar state of regression. As time goes on, the leader becomes less important. In the last session of the group, members prepare to leave so that the boundary to the outside world is experienced as permeable again. Roles, splitting, and basic assumption life as well as task performance decrease. Members again develop individual, idiosyncratic responses to the leader.

To summarize the relevant aspects to the intergroup relations conference, the small group theories reviewed here emphasize the member-leader relationship and understand

the relations between members to be linked to their feelings about the leader. The theories also propose a sequence of changes in the member-leader sentience relationship over time. This sequence roughly proceeds from a state of dependency, anxiety, and chaos to a preliminary attempt at work to a confrontation with the leader. This in turn leads to a greater ability to work on understanding the group's process issues and then the group ends in a period of separation and review characterized by depression, a sense of failure, and reflection. Klein and Marcus also propose an order based on changes in boundaries from individual to group and back to individual again. All these developmental theories are directly, if generally, applicable to the intergroup relations conference.

In the intergroup relations conference, the nodal points are places in time where the member-staff relations are shown to shift (member-leader in small group terms). Changes in relation to other groups takes place also (member-member in small group terms). Accompanying these changes is an emotional shift roughly similar to the order proposed by Mann (1967) and Klein and Marcus (unpublished) with the same qualifications of repetition, regression, overlap, and partial resolution. While he does not see the intergroup relations conference as precisely following Klein

and Marcus' systems outline of phases, the author does see the use of a systems framework, especially shifting sentient boundaries, as extremely helpful in understanding the process through time in the intergroup relations conference.

A review of the intergroup relations conference using the nodal point developmental phases theory follows. Each of the phases of the conference will be explored, both descriptively and from an open-systems viewpoint.

A Review of the Intergroup Relations
Conference in Terms of the
Nodal Point Process

As has already been noted, the intergroup relations conference under study had a pattern punctuated by four nodal points. These four nodal points were the conference opening, the discussion group on Saturday, the Saturday plenary, and the fishbowl meeting and impending termination on Sunday. As nodal points, the conference opening influenced the process of sessions one and two, the discussion groups influenced the process of sessions three and four, the Saturday plenary influenced the process of session five and six, and the fishbowl and the impending termination influenced session seven. The following open-systems analysis will explore each of these four phases in turn through the use of the concepts of boundaries, representation, social roles, basic assumption and work processes, as well as projection-

introjection and splitting processes. These open-systems characteristics changed in each phase in that new characteristics were added and acted upon as time passed. What is most interesting is that although many of these characteristics were not observable in action until late in the conference, their influence was unconscious yet undeniable from the very beginning. That is, the open-systems characteristics which unfold into consciousness and behavior as time proceeds in the conference are actually in operation from the start.

The conference opening and sessions one and two

In the beginning of the conference, the members listened to the director's words without fully comprehending their meaning. One can assume that the members expected a learning experience in a traditional form where the staff would actively structure the experience for members to receive. This dependence and attachment of the members to the staff was swiftly ruptured. The first nodal point was the abrupt departure of the staff following the introductory remarks of the director. In this one dramatic action, the staff asserted the primacy of the task, their singular manner of working, and the degree to which the members were responsible for structuring themselves and their experience.

The members reacted to the loss of the expected emotional support and structure by becoming confused, by requesting guidance, by wanting to randomly form groups, and by trying to impose order on the chaos. Ultimately they simply broke up into the separate rooms under the pressure of their anxiety. The conference opening and the initial group formation then, was based on a staff-collective membership issue: the members' experience of abandonment by staff and the resultant anxiety.

In sessions one and two, the members were preoccupied with the internal process of their groups. Groups 15, 23, 33, and 46 were polarized for much of the time in these sessions. The groups were chaotic, strife-ridden, and extremely frustrating for the members. In a sense these groups were acting out in a subtle form the issues that group 45 was experiencing more dramatically. By becoming an encounter group, group 45 enacted the issues of abandonment and its emotional results of rage and fear in the most pure form of all five groups. The members of group 45 directly complained of staff distance and the conference coldness. They undertook to supply themselves with nurturance and care for their "helpless and sick" members. Further, in all the groups there was little contact with staff, little contact

with other groups, and little ability to work on learning about intergroup relations.

Analysis

In the conference opening, the members had just arrived. While they had crossed the time and space boundaries to physically enter the workshop, they had not had time to psychologically join the workshop by assuming their position as members and their role in relation to the primary task. Therefore the individual boundaries of the members were fluid in that they did not know what personal resources were appropriate to the role and what were not. To cope with this insecurity the members formed a basic assumption dependency on the staff since the most prominent boundary in the conference opening was the position boundary of staff-membership. That is, members felt that all knowledge and competence in the workshop was located in the staff and if they waited long enough the staff would pour this knowledge and competence back into them. The members thus projected the good qualities of knowledge, competence, warmth, and benevolence into staff which left themselves bereft of these qualities. This relationship would exist so long as staff supported this dependence basic assumption by their behavior. When staff did not, the members were left weak, vulnerable, and very

alone. They felt abandoned and became enraged. On the basis of these feelings, the members formed groups.

With the dependency basic assumption ruptured, the membership was in flight from staff in sessions one and two. That is, staff was to be avoided because the members felt them to be dangerous. Emotional energy directed outside the group toward staff and other groups was denied and re-directed within the group. Anger was aimed at individuals or sub-groups. Splitting processes with their accompanying projections and introjections were inside the groups as members attacked one another. The basic assumption of fight operated within the group and flight operated without. Little intergroup activity took place except as groups attempted to re-enact the dependence with staff and as members sought to solidify the group boundary.

So the membership-staff boundary of the initial nodal point in the conference opening was based on a dependent basic assumption and led to an intense intragroup focus in sessions one and two. This was characterized by intragroup splitting processes and basic assumptions. Little intergroup work was done and the groups did not differ greatly. Members were almost unconscious of other groups and staff as well as of their intergroup task, roles, and boundaries. They were mainly concerned in securing safety from an

unconsciously projected view of the outside world as malevolent. Members experienced strong feelings of deprivation, anger, and fear. In small group terms the groups moved into an Initial Complaining, Dependence (toward staff)-Fight (within group)-Flight (other groups) stance.

The discussion group and sessions three and four

The second nodal point in the conference was the discussion group event. Here the staff reminded the membership that they were avoiding the task and the use of the staff as a resource. The staff said that the members were acting to lessen their anxiety rather than acting in the service of learning. The members were encouraged to establish tasks, roles, and group boundaries.

The discussion groups had a significant impact on sessions three and four. Almost immediately every group increased its intergroup activity. Intergroup tasks were established (e.g., how the groups perceived one another, sharing experiences, etc.), representatives were sent out, groups interfaced with one another, consultants were requested, and roles were adopted by the groups in relation to other groups. The increased contact with other groups brought with it a polarization of issues: warmth vs. coldness, trust vs. distrust, competitiveness vs. cooperation,

and learning vs. avoidance. Issues that were formerly within the group were now being expressed between the groups but with relatively little insight. In the midst of this, group 46 proposed the solution of ordering the learning experience in the plenary to lessen the confusion and competition. The plenipotentiaries met and decided with their respective groups to confront the staff at the plenary on their behavior. In essence, the groups attempted to unify as a collective membership to confront the staff on their abandonment of the members.

Analysis

The discussion group had the effect of adding the intergroup boundary to the various groups. While intergroup processes were affecting the individual groups in sessions one and two, each group was consciously acting as if they existed in an isolated environment. In sessions three and four the groups acknowledged and worked with the other groups. They also used the staff as consultants to their work. The members made an important shift from passive to active in their intergroup activity and in their attempts to learn.

So added to the intragroup issues in the first two sessions were intergroup issues. Primarily these involved a fight basic assumption with other groups. Splitting was

less intragroup and more intergroup. This led to more cohesion within the groups as the "enemies" became externalized. Other groups assumed bad characteristics while home groups were good (e.g., "we are warm, they are hostile"). Perhaps this rapid and easy shift to intergroup activity was in the service of eliminating the strife of the intragroup issues in the first two sessions. In addition, with an enemy or competitor, the external boundary to the groups became more defined.

Gradually the plenipotentiary group raised again the boundary between members and staff which had not been overt since the conference began except occasionally. While staff was seen as helpful and kind in the discussion groups (because they actively led and fulfilled the dependency needs to some extent), they again became cold and distant for the members as session four continued. And so the staff confrontation arose in the plenary because of the members' frustrated dependency needs.

The boundaries within the groups, between the groups, and between members and staff were being increasingly activated into consciousness. Furthermore, in these sessions the basic assumption processes were changed within and between groups and splitting processes were being directly applied outside the group for the first time. Dependence-Fight-Flight

as an emotional dynamic continued in a different manner. Where the frustration of dependency needs along the staff-membership boundary led to fighting within the group and flight without the group in the first two sessions, in sessions three and four the frustration of dependency needs by staff led to flight within the group and fight with other groups. So, the Premature Enactment phase which saw a rise in intergroup tasks in sessions three and four grew to the Phase Confrontation of the plenary rebellion.

The plenary and sessions
five and six

The third nodal point of the conference was the plenary on Saturday night. On behalf of groups 23, 33, 45, and 46 the representative from group 46 wanted to confront staff on the manner in which staff was exercising its role, namely its cold and distant behavior. Group 15 disrupted the proceedings but nevertheless the dominant theme of the plenary was staff's lack of warmth and help. In order to force staff to bend to their will and be nurturant the members attempted to unite as a collective.³⁰ Because of group 15's and staff's determination to remain separate

³⁰Perhaps this is an attempt to recreate a member-held fantasy of fusion which existed prior to staff's rude definition of its boundaries in the conference opening.

entities the members failed to organize as a collective and control staff. As a result, the members became even more enraged because of their still unmet needs and impotence.

In the beginning of session five the groups focused on the previous night's plenary. All were very angry at the consultants' behavior and, in fact, groups 15, 23, and 33 consciously stated their desire to rebel and overthrow the staff. Group 33 decided that an alliance among the members should be formed to revolt against the consultants. In the course of discussion this was modified to developing a meeting of all groups where they could speak of their difficulties in communicating, in learning, and in uniting together for a common purpose. Group 33 organized a plenipotentiary group to plan the meeting.

During sessions five and six the plenipotentiary group met and developed the fishbowl plan. The task developed by the plenipotentiaries with much consultation with their home groups (far more than the day before when the plenipotentiary group planned the plenary confrontation) was to discuss the formation of groups and the relationship of this to the difficulty in communicating among groups. Another purpose, consciously stated, was to enable the groups to "get together." So again the groups wished to organize themselves into a collective membership. But while on

Saturday the learning task was turned into a rebellion by the plenipotentiaries' negotiating group, on Sunday the negotiating group turned the task of rebellion into developing a program for learning about intergroup relations. So now the members were working to actively create their learning experience.

Meanwhile the home groups were dealing with the message delivered by the director. This message as well as the events of the Saturday plenary brought the staff-membership relationship into the members' direct awareness. In sessions five and six, members became very conscious of their anger at staff but at the same time wished to more actively participate in their learning experience.

Analysis

The third nodal point of the plenary rebellion stimulated a diversification of sentient boundaries and roles in sessions five and six where active attempts at learning occurred in the plenipotentiaries' negotiating group and in group 33, rebellion was contained in group 15, and intragroup disorganization and regression was contained in groups 23 and 46. The plenary rebellion therefore had a progressive and regressive effect. The progressive effect involved the development of the fishbowl where the members explored new methods of learning as well as the newly conscious experience

of the position-role boundary between staff and membership. The regressive effects concerned the retreat into the intra-group focus of sessions one and two with issues similar to those earlier sessions arising again. In addition, the fishbowl was an attempt to reunite the members but the underlying motivating reason for its organization was never clear--whether to fight staff, to show staff it could do without them, or to create a fusion of comfort among the members. In this way, the fishbowl itself had a possible regressive aspect to its development. The reason for this overall regressive development of flight into groups and the delegation of intergroup activity to the fishbowl was the fury of the members at staff, a fury rekindled and made conscious in the plenary, in the director's message, and in the fishbowl meeting itself.

So in sessions five and six, intergroup competition receded because of the increased consciousness of the fight basic assumption across the membership-staff boundary (as opposed to the exploration of the group boundaries in sessions three and four and the exploration of the individual and sub-group boundaries in sessions one and two). Members took flight into their groups or decided to fight staff. The active attempts to learn and create new learning situations was delegated to the plenipotentiaries' negotiating group

while the home groups were suffused with angry feelings. Splitting processes occurred across the staff-membership boundary and within the groups. As the staff message stated, the members projected a cohesion, harmony, and warmth into staff which in turn left members deprived and impotent. The resulting feelings were envy and rage. The boundaries around the groups became rigid again (with the exception of the plenipotentiary group) since the fear of and rage at staff were the paramount issues. Intergroup activity was high only because all the members left to attend the fishbowl meeting.

At the same time a growth of work processes was occurring as members increasingly reflected on what they were doing and why (e.g., group 23 discussed how and why their group formed in the first session). Sessions five and six then continued the Phase Confrontation with staff with a gradual overlay of Internalization as time went on. Dependence-Fight-Flight was still in operation but was at this point consciously occurring both within the groups and across the staff-membership boundary.

The fishbowl meeting and session seven

The fourth nodal point of the conference was the fishbowl meeting at the end of session six. The members organized themselves to speak of their difficulty in

communicating and to discuss the conference. The fishbowl was organized with the work group in the center and the basic assumptions in the various groups behind. The fishbowl was too weak a structure to contain the sentience of the separate sectors. In addition the activation of large group anxieties led to the quick collapse of the fishbowl under the probing questions of the director's consultation. Furthermore, the members did not agree as to what the task actually was (e.g., a review, a revolt, a fusion) nor on the procedures by which this unclarified task was to be accomplished. The membership tried to organize a learning experience for themselves but failed.

In the aftermath of the fishbowl meeting in session seven, all the groups were angry at the director's behavior. Group 15 wanted to take over the conference and planned its invasion of the staff in the final plenary. It denied the end of the conference and became very manic. The other three groups reviewed what had happened in the conference and felt hopeless and depressed, sensing there was nothing more to do. They felt themselves to be failures and incompetents. The members felt that the groups had no more reason to exist. Discussed again were staff's coldness and the membership's inability to deal with this deprivation and to use staff as a learning resource. Session seven marked a decline in

intergroup activity as members reflected on and experienced their responsibility for the events in the conference. Members felt themselves to be failures because they sensed that they had not accomplished the learning task.

In the final plenary group 15 reversed the circumstances of the first plenary. In the first plenary all of the groups except group 15 joined together to confront the staff. Group 15 complained bitterly of this decision being made without them. In the final plenary group 15 made a unilateral decision to confront staff, ignoring the wishes of the other groups. Like the first plenary, this final plenary became absorbed in the conflict between the staff, group 15, and the other groups. Unlike the first plenary, the members were annoyed at the interference with their learning and they utilized the final plenary as an opportunity to examine the intergroup relations process. In the final plenary the members demonstrated their insight into the intergroup process and their awareness of responsibility for what occurred.

Analysis

The final nodal point of the fishbowl meeting with the director brought about another shift in the direction of the conference. However this shift was also under the influence of the members' sense of the impending end of the

conference. It was as if the time for intergroup activity had run out at the fishbowl meeting and no time was left in session seven and the plenary except for an analysis and review of the conference events or else a manic denial of the conference's end. Groups 23, 33, and 46 represented the former in session seven while group 15 represented the latter.

So the last session was largely under the influence of the conference organization's external time boundary. Members were aware that they would re-enter the outside world and they began to prepare to leave. Splitting processes within and between groups decreased. Intergroup activity decreased. Fighting and competition decreased (except for group 15) as members reflected on and considered their behavior in the conference. Staff was asked to help with this separation and review process. Staff's role and the task of the workshop began to be accepted. So in session seven and in the closing plenary, the members reacted to the impending separation by becoming manic or depressed and by learning, reflecting on, and understanding their participation in and responsibility for what occurred. Session seven and the plenary showed characteristics of both the Internalization and Separation and Review Phases. With the impending end of the conference, group 15 was set up by the rest of the groups to represent the membership's wish to pair with staff

(indicated by its manic wish to continue the conference and its wish to join the staff).

Summary and Comment of the Nodal Point
Process Analysis of the Intergroup
Relations Conference

The nodal points in the intergroup relations conference were markers which signified shifts in the phases of the predominant emotional issues and boundaries of the conference. The order of these phases was similar to the small group phases proposed by Mann (1967).³¹ The nodal points demonstrated the times at which the issues of each phase were most dramatic and when they most clearly shifted.

The first nodal point of the conference opening influenced the sentience and boundaries of sessions one and two. Using Mann's terms, this period could be called the Initial Complaining phase where the emotional issues were dependence, nurturance, abandonment, anxiety, and adaptation to loss. The members were in flight from staff and other groups, in fight with each other, and sent out few representatives to staff. The consciousness of the groups was focused within their groups and the outside world was unconsciously avoided and ignored because it was viewed as dangerous.

³¹It should be noted that Mann's theory is more complex than represented here and that only its broad outline is used in this study.

The second nodal point of the discussion groups led to a phase of Premature Enactment where the members began to work on developing intergroup learning tasks in sessions three and four. The "helpfulness" of staff was demonstrated in the discussion groups (members did not understand that the staff acted differently because the task was different). The discussion group event led to much intergroup activity. Many representatives were sent out and many interface meetings took place. Groups became internally more cohesive as they did battle with one another. In this way, added to the awareness and examination of their own small group was the awareness and examination of other groups. Essentially a widening of consciousness occurred in the members in that the groups explored the boundaries between individuals and subgroups inside the group in sessions one and two but moved on to explore the boundaries between groups in sessions three and four. However, this led to the third nodal point, the revolt in the Saturday plenary.

The Saturday plenary highlighted the Phase Confrontation where the members attacked the staff for being depriving and frustrating. The boundary shift here was to an exploration of the emotional accompaniments of the position and role boundaries between staff and members. So, added to member consciousness of the "within group" boundaries and the

"between group" boundaries was the beginning exploration of the "staff-member" boundary. This exploration continued in sessions five and six with the members beginning to internalize a conception of work. This Internalization phase began as a more active stance by the members in determining their learning in the conference through the generation of their own intergroup situations (e.g., the fishbowl meeting). Gradually an analytic stance toward what occurred began to take hold at the end of session six (see group 33 where a consultant's remarks were really listened to) and increased in session seven.

The fourth nodal point of the fishbowl meeting marked the beginning of the end of the conference. Intergroup activity of all kinds declined. Members withdrew into their groups and considered what had occurred. The members became manic or depressed and discussed their failure and incompetence. The boundaries within groups, between groups, and between staff and membership were all examined in a contemplative manner. The entire tone of the session was less emotional and less active. In this manner and with a powerful wish for pairing between the membership and staff, the Separation and Terminal Review phase was completed.

The fundamental temporal phases which comprise the nodal point process then involved shifts in emotional concerns

and in the consciousness and action of the sentient boundaries. The emotional issues proceeded through Mann's five phases while the boundary concerns proceeded from "within group" to "between group" to "staff-member" back to "within group" boundaries. Figure 3 illustrates the intergroup activity (pattern of representation) of the conference and shows the increase in activity through session six with the continuing increase of interest in the staff but the otherwise decline in intergroup activity in session seven. So the conference moved from "within group" to "between group" to "staff-member" and "within-group" boundary encounters. The various splitting, projection-introjection, and basic assumption mechanisms were worked out in accompaniment to these boundary patterns. For example, fight within the group and flight outside the group were reversed from sessions one and two to sessions three and four.

However, all these temporal processes seemed to exist from the very beginning of the conference and influenced the dynamics of the members. Despite the fact that the conference had an unfolding process of emotions and boundary changes, actually what occurred was an unfolding of events from an unconscious existence and potential into conscious experience and action. For example, anger toward staff existed from the beginning but did not become overtly

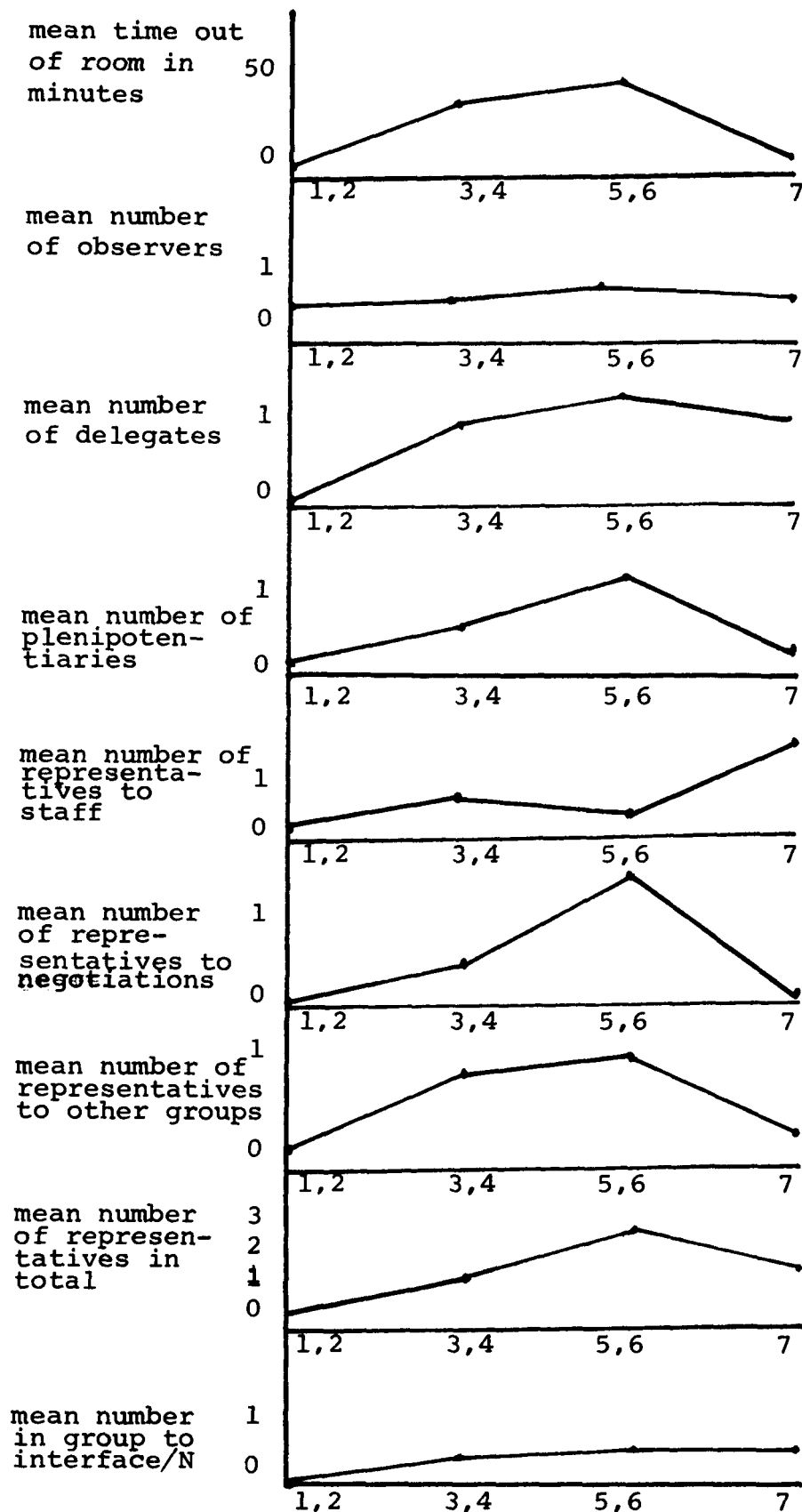


Fig. 3.--Means of the Pattern of Representation Variables in Sessions 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, and 7.

explored until late in the conference. Similarly anxiety within the groups did not disappear in sessions three and four but temporarily lost its focus. The conference events consisted of a series of displacements and elaborations of affects which appeared in the order of emotional and boundary development already described as the nodal point process. The author terms this phenomenon layering, by which is meant that the multiple emotional and boundary processes were in existence from the very beginning of the conference--when these processes unfolded in the conference, they unfolded in an order which added each successive layer to the previous one. In this way, dependence, fight, and flight basic assumptions existed from the beginning but were subjected to an ordered series of transformations as the boundaries changed through time. Similarly, splitting processes existed within groups, between groups, and between staff and members from the beginning but their appearance and examination unfolded in the order described as the nodal point process.

Some empirical evidence for the nodal point and layering processes is available from Figure 4 which represents the means of the basic assumption variables for the sessions following the nodal points. The "within group" scores are correspondingly higher than the "between group" and "staff group" scores following the first nodal point (sessions 1 and

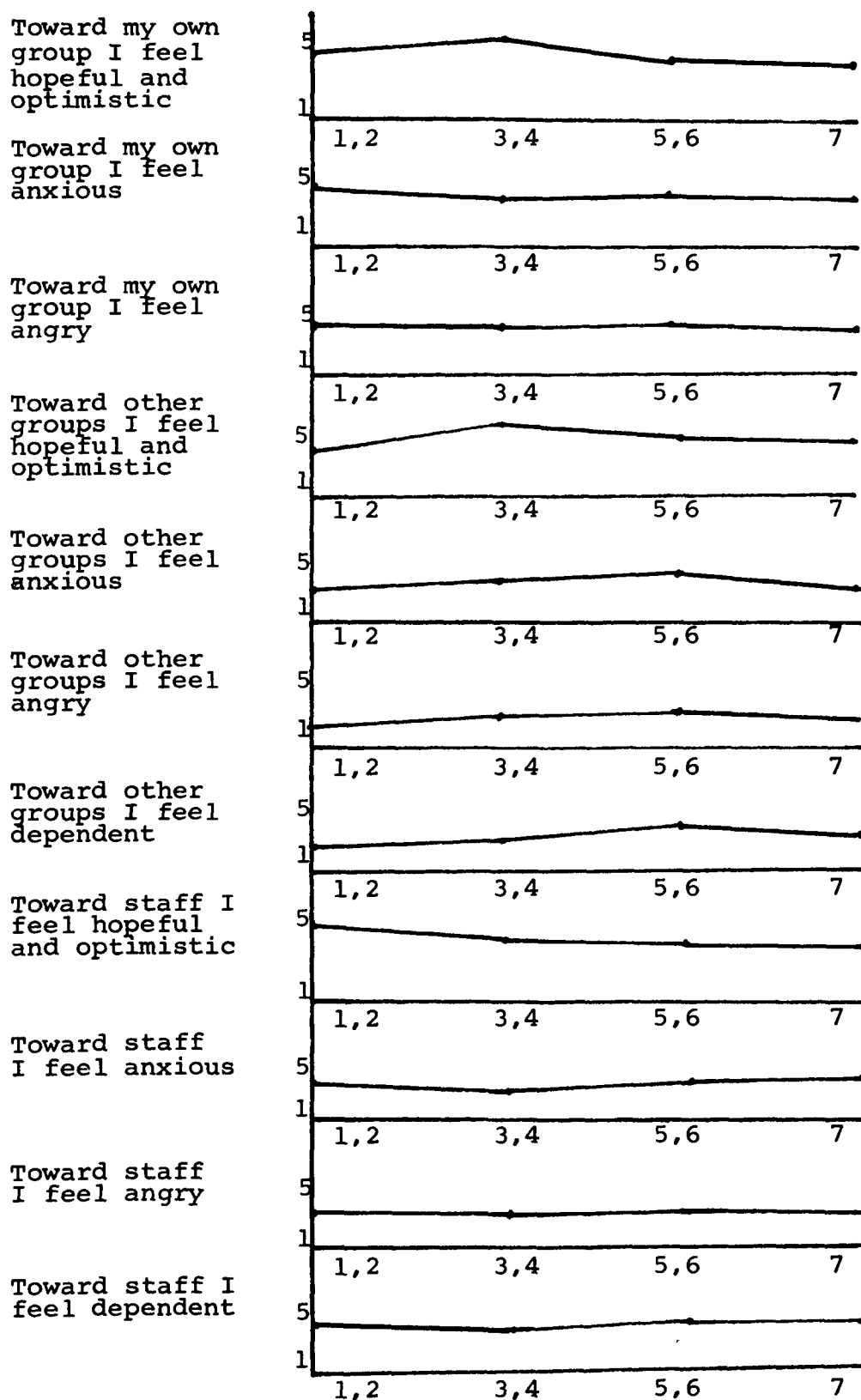


Fig. 4.--Means of the Basic Assumption Variables for Sessions 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, and 7.

2). Following the discussion group event, the "between group" scores show a rise while the "within group" and "staff group" scores show only slight rises or declines. Following the last two nodal points the "staff group" scores rise or only slightly decline, the "within group" scores slightly decline, but the "between group" scores decrease even more. So a movement into consciousness for the member emotions from "within group" basic assumptions to "between group" basic assumptions to "staff group" and "within group" basic assumptions is suggested over time although the differences are not significant. At the same time, the absolute differences between all the means throughout the conference, both over time and over the groups (e.g., "within," "between," and "staff"), is really very slight. For example, in sessions 1 and 2, even though consciousness of staff's influence and behavior was hardly discussed by the members, the mean scores toward staff are almost equal to the scores within the group and to the scores toward other groups. This equality in mean value is maintained throughout the conference and testifies to a consistency and equality of feeling directed by the members toward their own groups, toward other groups, and toward the staff over time. Put more simply, the feelings toward these three bounded groups were almost the same throughout the conference and only their appearance into consciousness and action changed.

To conclude, the nodal point process was an unfolding of latent dynamics which existed from the beginning of the conference. The nodal point process involved the transformation of specific emotions and boundaries through encounters with staff as time proceeded in the conference. As emphasized in Chapter VI, the various emotions and boundaries which developed through encounters with staff over time in the conference were a result of the fantasied authority relationship which accompanied the real authority relationship between the staff and the membership. So the nodal point process is the development through time of the fantasied authority relationship between the staff and the membership. This process led to an increase in insight and responsibility in the members and moved through time irrespective of the task designed for the particular session.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The intergroup relations conference was created as a training exercise to provide learner-participants with an increase in their knowledge and understanding of organizational dynamics. The method of the conference is to immerse the participant in the processes of this temporary organization so that he can observe and experience first hand the powerful latent dynamics of institutional life. However the participants of these conferences are often overwhelmed by the emotions generated and usually find it difficult to verbalize what happened, why it happened, what they learned from the experience, and how the experience applies to their daily work. The problem for the participant is to articulate his experience, not only in the conference organization but in his home organization as well. The author strongly believes that the constructs of open-systems theory provide such a method of articulating organizational structure and process. As a result of this articulation, more effective managerial and consultative intervention can be made.

The purpose of this case study was to analyze one such intergroup relations conference using the constructs of A. K. Rice's open-systems theory. The author hopes that this study will provide the reader with a better understanding of the conference's structure and process, and, by extrapolation, of organizational life in general. The following is a summary of the major points of the study together with some further conclusions, applications, and implications.

The Intergroup Relations Conference
as an Open System

The intergroup relations conference was an open system in that it exchanged materials with its environment. Materials which entered the conference system from the environment were subject to its conversion and left the system having changed. Here the materials were persons interested in acquiring insight into organizational dynamics. These persons were recruited for the conference, were transformed by its internal learning system, and were exported back to the environment. A major requirement for management then is to separate and define the organization from the environment by articulating an organizational system which produces work. With adequate definition, materials which enter the organization are operated upon and leave the organization having changed. Management accomplishes this definition by creating external boundaries which state the conditions that place the

materials inside the organization (and therefore subject to conversion) and the conditions which place the material outside the organization. In the conference, members were inside the conference organization when they signed the contract for membership and their application was accepted. They were outside the organization after the final discussion event closed the conference.

Boundary Definition in the Task System

Not only must management set the external boundary of the organization, management must also articulate the task system through which the organization is to do its work. This system design is derived from the primary task and is the dominant import-conversion-export system for the organization. The primary task in the intergroup relations conference was for the staff to offer the members the opportunity of learning about organizational dynamics by passing through an interrelated series of events. The primary task not only determined the boundaries of events but also the nature of materials and resources (e.g., members, staff, the Psychological Center) as well as the member and staff roles and positions. The primary task system was subject to many constraints such as time, money, and human tolerance for such intense learning.

Therefore the placement of boundaries to create the task system of roles, positions, authority, and the flow of events is derived from the primary task. Management has the responsibility of clarifying and articulating the primary task and creating and maintaining the boundaries which maximally promote task accomplishment. In the intergroup relations conference, the staff as management had the responsibility of creating the structure of events (e.g., intergroup event, discussion event, plenary event), defining the contractual authority between staff and membership, defining roles, and articulating the division of labor. The development of this task system was derived from the staff's understanding of the primary task.

The relationship of the task system to the sentient system

A major finding of the study is that the sentient system is inextricably linked to and derived from the task system. The author's understanding of the sentient system has emphasized the developing authority relations between staff and members over the time of the conference. Specifically, the movement of events in the conference was largely determined by the differences in task, role, and position between staff and members. These differences were defined by the task system but they led to intense emotional

dynamics in the members. As stated earlier, the movement of emotions in the members proceeded along a developmental line from initial complaining, loss, and dependence, to premature enactment, to rebellion, to internalization and work, to a final separation and review stage. The movement of these phases was influenced not only by the authorized contract between staff and members but by factors in the flow of events such as the discussion group, the Saturday night plenary, as well as the time and space boundaries of the conference. These factors were social factors which combined with the individual and group factors to produce the total conference dynamics. Therefore, organizational dynamics consists of the task and sentient systems, their mutual interaction, and the relation of these systems to the environment. Two crucial components of the task system which powerfully influence the sentient system are the system of authority relations and the system of the flow of events.

The consequence of drawing task boundaries then are immense for the organization. Not only must the boundaries be reasonably drawn so as to enable task accomplishment but accompanying the drawing of boundaries (whether task, role, position, time, technology, or other) are emotional processes which can be highly disruptive to task efficiency. Clearly the potential for task subversion was very high in the

conference due to staff's manner of enacting their role and the resultant rage in the members. So management must always consider the sentient system in organizing the task system. An accommodation between task and sentient systems must always be made. The deliberate sabotage of automobiles by bored workers in assembly lines gives evidence for this.

Sentient systems and processes
in organizational life

In the previous section it was stated that the sentient system of an organization is inextricably linked to and derived from the task system. A more general statement of this is the proposition that the creation of group boundaries brings into existence a conscious or unconscious sentient identity characteristic of the region on each side of the boundary. These identities of regions can have powerful conscious and unconscious emotional dynamics which define the region to itself and to others. In the conference boundaries were created between groups which led to such regional identities with accompanying emotional dynamics. An example of this was the boundary between group 15 and group 23 in session seven where group 15 was "hard-working and cohesive" while group 23 was "disorganized and helpless." Group 15 met with group 23 to reaffirm its identity as powerful while group 23 worked to create a dependency relationship with

group 15. Each group created an identity across the "group-room" boundary which attributed a set of characteristics and dynamics to the other and accepted a set of characteristics and dynamics for themselves. They related to each other on this basis. The mechanics by which this was accomplished and operated have already been detailed, namely, basic assumptions, splitting, projection and introjection, and layering.

The ultimate effect of these identities on the regions on either side of the boundaries is to facilitate or hinder interaction. Whether interaction is facilitated or hindered depends upon the nature of the identities of the region and the relationship of the identities to the task being accomplished. For example, if two groups within an organization would benefit the primary task by meeting and one views the other as competent but self-righteous and cohesive, the first group may not seek out the second even though the second does offer needed resources for the first. On the other hand if the first group has a dependent and masochistic identity, it may rush to allow the second group to help even though it may have the necessary resources within itself.

So boundaries create a whole set of conscious and unconscious emotional identities and relationships among groups. Representation, its presence or absence can occur

because of one group's identity and relation to other groups rather than because of its task appropriateness. The nature of a group's identity can lead to highly permeable or highly impermeable group boundaries each of which could impair task performance. Therefore, groups and their representatives must be aware of their identities and boundary permeability and how these interfere or help their work. The necessity for and hazards of group sentient boundaries are another factor in the complexities of organizational life.

The management of task and sentient system boundaries

In the intergroup relations conference, the members had the opportunity to learn about sentient systems and processes which facilitate or hinder effective task performance. In essence, the task system of the conference was designed so that members could explore their sentience. In the life of the conference then members could experience their fear of authority, their rage at authority, their need to retreat into groupings for emotional support, their competitiveness, the emotional reasons for undertaking representation, the effects of structure on process. In short, the members could experience the necessity of managing the sentient system boundaries so as not to sabotage task performance.

Collusion and responsibility

Both members and staff had the responsibility to accomplish the task of learning. Each had the responsibility of not colluding with the other to impede the task. Staff could have broken their role and succumbed to the needs of the members more often than they did in the conference but instead the staff continually asserted the members' responsibility for their role as learners. For members to learn of the powerful emotions which accompany the exercise of authority, staff had to refrain from breaking role.

Collusion to avoid responsibility for task performance is demonstrable in many organizations. Very often workers are angry at and blame management for organizational failure while at the same time doing little to help. Management colludes with this dynamic by accepting worker dependency and anger and then creating strict rules of accountability which relate less to productivity than to pseudo-issues such as punctuality. The necessity for management then is to assert the responsibility of employees lower in the organizational hierarchy for task performance so as not to collude in the invasion of the task system by the sentient system. The delegation of responsibility with sufficient real authority is necessary to avoid this collusion. However, the conference gives an adequate portrayal of the potential

consequences involved in doing this so that the delegation of responsibility and authority downward must be done thoughtfully.

Final comments on the intergroup relations conference as an open system

The intergroup relations conference demonstrates the need for clarity of boundaries. The boundaries of task, of authority, of role, of responsibility, of sentience, all need to be clear and understood in order for effective work performance to occur. Boundaries need to be drawn with the primary task foremost in mind or else the likely result is inefficiency, disruption, or even chaos.

But more than this, the intergroup relations conference and the findings of this study speak to the need for an open-systems point of view--that is, a point of view which emphasizes the interrelationship of social structure and group and individual dynamics. Only through an analysis which utilizes and integrates social and psychological factors can an accurate representation of organizational life be drawn.

Learning in the Intergroup Relations Conference--the Nodal Point Process

The nodal point process was the unfolding of the developmental phases in the intergroup relations conference. Members proceeded through emotional stages of loss and

dependence, to an attempt to work, to rebellion, to internalization and work, and to a final separation and review phase. At the same time the boundary relationships of the member groups changed from a focus on encounters within the group to encounters between groups to encounters between the members and staff and back to encounters within the group. The nodal point process was complex since many of the emotions and boundaries were in existence from the beginning of the conference but their influence was unconscious (e.g., anger at staff and the member-staff boundary). Nonetheless, the members underwent these emotions and boundaries in a prescribed order which was cumulative over time in the conference.

The nodal point process was a product of the organizational, task, and sentient systems in that the external organizational boundaries and the internal boundaries of tasks, flow of events, and authority relations combined with the individual and group dynamics to shape its occurrence.

Culminating as it did in an internalization, work, and review phase, the nodal point process represents the manner in which the conversion process of learning in the members took place. It should be emphasized therefore that the learning which did take place in the conference was a product of the organization, task, and sentient systems.

Beginning speculations on the content and process of learning in the intergroup relations conference

A beginning speculation of the manner of learning which comprises the nodal point process in the intergroup relations conference can be divided, somewhat simplistically, into the content of the learning acquisition and the process of learning acquisition. The content of the learning acquisition in the conference involves the gradual assimilation of an intergroup and social systems perspective by the members. For example, the impact of the discussion group moved the members to the understanding that they were operating in an intergroup context with a task to study intergroup relations. The content of the learning in the intergroup relations conference then proceeded from a more narrow focus on the individual and interpersonal dynamics within the group to a wider focus on the "between group" dynamics to a focus on the authority relations between staff and membership. The content of the learning therefore involved a continuing exploration of different, wider, and more sophisticated boundary relationships by the members as time proceeded in the conference. The learning consisted of an experiential examination of the task and sentient systems in the conference and was conducted by a developing exploration of the system boundaries.

As for the process of learning acquisition, this is an exceedingly complex question the adequate answers to which would require a separate study. In an effort to draw limits around the present report, only the author's very rough and initial speculations on the process of learning acquisition will be reviewed.

The intergroup relations conference and its learning techniques are partly derived from the traditions of English psychoanalysis. The conference is very psychoanalytic in its technique in that the task emphasizes understanding, the staff role emphasizes abstinence, the method emphasizes learning by experience, and the examination of real and fantasied authority relations are stressed. In keeping with this psychoanalytic view then, it should be no surprise that the process of learning acquisition in the conference can be understood in psychoanalytic terms. Specifically, the assimilation of the analytical viewpoint by the members can be seen as an internalization which resulted from the separation experience from staff at the beginning and at the end of the conference.

Psychoanalytic theorists such as Freud (1917) and Leowald (1962) emphasize that separation from love objects constitutes a loss and is experienced as deprivation. Mourning and anger are the results of deprivation both of which

set into motion processes of internalizing elements of the object relinquished. This has the effect of restitution of the external lost object and it becomes part of the ego, part of the self. The process of internalization in the members of staff's social systems viewpoint seems very similar. In effect, the events which followed the abrupt departure of staff in the opening moments of the conference were attempts to cope with a severe and sudden loss. The deprivation, premature enactment, and the rebellion were all a result of this sudden separation from staff. They were necessary processes for members to undergo in order that they could internalize the analytical, systems point of view which staff represented. Therefore the members' learning process consisted of an internalization of part of the staff's identity in order to cope with the separation. The members brought part of staff into themselves. The difficulties of learning by the members of the conference can be understood in terms of the difficulty each member had in coping with the processes preliminary to internalization. That is, each member learned in his own way according to his capacity for rapid internalization.

To summarize, the learning processes of the conference members involved an increasingly wide examination through experiential encounters of the boundary systems in the

intergroup relations conference. This wider examination was made possible by the gradual internalization by the members of staff's major characteristic, their preoccupation with the task of examining the intergroup relations process. Internalization occurred in the members to cope with their emotional loss. Member learning became most apparent when the members sensed the end of the conference since that was the point where the loss of their object ties to staff became most real.

Implications for Future Research

The intention of this case study was to portray and analyze a weekend intergroup relations conference through the use of open-systems theory. The case study understood the conference as an organization and the analysis emphasized boundaries, the interaction between task and sentient systems, and showed that the developing authority relations in the conference could be ordered into a pattern the author has termed the nodal point process.

As such, the study was not expected to be a rigorous hypothesis-testing study but it was hoped that the objective data would provide more support and input for the findings. However, the difficulties of the statistical method (the averaging problems, the tabulation of scores at the end of

the sessions, and the reliance on conscious expression) served to limit the contribution of the statistical results. So a finding of this study is the limited uses of the statistical method in open-systems analysis. This is especially true because open-systems theory utilizes constructs which are not expressions of individuals but are rather expressions of relationships that exist between and among individuals and groups, such as task and task systems, hierarchical structure, etc. The statistical method, rooted as it is in the individual, can serve only a limited function when events are viewed from a systems and structural perspective.

The limitations of statistically oriented research in the field of intergroup relations is illustrated by the findings of Sherif (1965). His results are very much the same as those of this report, as far as his results go. He speaks of the delineation of a "we" from "they" in group formation with positive or negative qualities and traits being ascribed to each of the two groups. He sees intergroup hostility developing when groups are competing for goals that only one group can attain. In the present study, groups underwent this same process when boundaries between groups were formed. However, the author views intergroup life as so much more complex because of the powerful influence of unconscious processes and because of the reality of system

factors such as tasks and authority. In the author's view it is impossible to truly speak of organizations and intergroup relations without the sociological perspective.

What then of future research into organizational life? In the author's opinion, the future of research into organizations does not lie in refined applications of the statistical and experimental method. Rather, the emphasis of future research should be on careful description and analysis of organizational functioning using open-systems theory so that open-systems theory can be expanded and made more precise. The present study was intended as such an analysis of open-systems theory but it clearly had its methodological problems. The report was very broad and many of its conclusions were devised after the conference occurred, especially the conclusions of the nodal point process analysis. There is also a large element of bias since the analysis of the conference is really that of one person, the author. Clearly other intergroup relations conferences need to be examined and the validity of the findings confirmed (especially the nodal point process). Other studies of the conference would anticipate the emerging issues and could then capture the essence of the conference in a more systematic and thorough fashion. Additional studies of the conference would be able to more

carefully evaluate and refine the broad generalizations proposed here and suggest alternative explanations.

The intergroup relations conference is a model from which ideas about organizational life can be generated, examined, and tested. In this way the structure of the conference allows for the creation of a theory of intergroup relations. Open-systems theory marks the beginning of such a theory. The author views the nodal point process analysis as an addition to an open-systems theory of intergroup relations in that it suggests that a generalizable and coherent order exists in intergroup development.

What is needed at this time then is more rigorous research of the ideas already put forth in open-systems theory and explored in the intergroup relations conference. Action-research projects of the kind conducted by Rice and his colleagues at the Tavistock Institute should be created which examine the open-systems theory in the "real world." For example, the specific vicissitudes of the consultant-client relationship over time could be thoroughly described in open systems terms using the concepts of authority, boundaries, and the like. In addition, the relevance of open-systems theory to historical and national movements could also be explored. The overall intention of this research would be the continuing development of an open-systems

theory of intergroup and organizational analysis and intervention. Rice's work is a promising beginning to this end.

Finally, a word on the personal meaning of this study and open-systems theory to the author. The implications of the systems viewpoint on the author's daily work as a trainer of the staff in a psychiatric hospital has been enormous. Of particular impact has been the structural view of authority and the need for a clearly articulated task system. What has become clear to the author is the legitimacy of authority that management possesses to determine what the primary task and task system of an organization is to be. No amount of work, training, or persuasion of lower level employees will lead to real organizational change unless the nature of the primary task and its accompanying task system are re-defined by high-level management.

The result of this for the author has been an awareness of the limitations of organizational training and consultation. Change cannot come about except by the exercise of authority by management and even then the influence on those below can be limited. Systems and people are very slow and reluctant to change. The ultimate emotional impact of this study on the author then has been a strange combination of profound pessimism and reassurance. But

perhaps the appearance of these feelings in the author has more to do with the author's own ambivalence toward the stability provided by formal authority.

APPENDIX A

THE INDIVIDUAL REACTIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____

Room number of group _____ Session # _____

Formal Position in Group (i.e., chairman, negotiator,
observer, etc.): _____Individual Reactions

The line immediately below shows the meaning of the numbers. Writing 1 means that you have not at all had the reaction described. Writing 9 means that you had very much of that reaction. You may also use any number in between in order to choose the one number that comes closest to expressing your response during the period. Please answer as honestly as you can.

Not at all									Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

1. Toward my own group I feel:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. hopeful and optimistic _____ | f. reflective _____ |
| b. angry _____ | g. loyal _____ |
| c. anxious _____ | h. pleased _____ |
| d. calm _____ | i. concern _____ |
| e. disinterested _____ | |

2. Toward other groups I feel:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| a. hopeful and optimistic _____ | f. pleased _____ |
| b. angry _____ | g. concern _____ |
| c. anxious _____ | h. calm _____ |
| d. disinterested _____ | i. dependent _____ |
| e. reflective _____ | |

Individual Reactions, continued:

3. I think that other groups see my group as:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| a. hopeful and optimistic_____ | f. pleased_____ |
| b. angry_____ | g. concerned_____ |
| c. anxious_____ | h. calm_____ |
| d. uninteresting_____ | i. dependent_____ |
| e. reflective_____ | |

4. Towards staff I feel:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| a. hopeful and optimistic_____ | f. pleased_____ |
| b. angry_____ | g. concern_____ |
| c. anxious_____ | h. calm_____ |
| d. disinterested_____ | i. dependent_____ |
| e. reflective_____ | |

APPENDIX B

THE RESEARCH OBSERVER QUESTIONNAIRE

Observer's name:

Session number:

Room number of group:

Observer Questionnaire

1. Group Emotion

1A Place the letter appropriate to the occurrence of each emotion of the group.

- a. predominant emotion
- b. occurs often
- d. occurs seldom
- e. does not appear

Confusion_____

Disappointment_____

Anxiety and Fear_____

Distrust_____

Calm_____

Hope and Optimism_____

Good Feeling (love, warmth)

Jealousy_____

Dependence and
Helplessness_____

Anger_____

Other (specify)_____

1B Does the group have emotional sub-groups? If yes, identify them and indicate the number, sex, age and race of the sub-group members.

1. Group Emotion continued

1C. Does the group have an emotional relationship or feelings with any other group (give room number or name) including staff. Place the letter appropriate to the occurrence of each emotion of the group.

- a. a great deal of evidence
- b. some evidence
- c. no evidence

Group Room #	Emotional Relationship	
	Dependency _____ Aggression toward _____ Aggression from _____ Guilt given _____ Guilt received _____ Affection _____ Admiration _____	Anxiety _____ Sexual _____ Identification with _____ Other (specify) _____ No relationship can be seen _____
	Dependency _____ Aggression toward _____ Aggression from _____ Guilt given _____ Guilt received _____ Affection _____ Admiration _____ Competition _____	Anxiety _____ Sexual _____ Identification with _____ Other (specify) _____ No relationship can be seen _____
	Dependency _____ Aggression toward _____ Aggression from _____ Guilt given _____ Guilt received _____ Affection _____ Admiration _____ Competition _____	Anxiety _____ Sexual _____ Identification with _____ Other (specify) _____ No relationship can be seen _____
	Dependency _____ Aggression toward _____ Aggression from _____ Guilt given _____ Guilt received _____ Affection _____ Admiration _____ Competition _____	Anxiety _____ Sexual _____ Identification with _____ Other (specify) _____ No relationship can be seen _____

2. Leadership

2A. Describe the dominant members of the group by name, age, race and sex.

1. Indicate which person is designated chairman by the group or if several members hold authority positions. Check off whether the leader is a. elected _____ or b. informal consensus _____.

2. Does leadership change (i.e. different from previous session?), reason for change.

2B. On the categories below, place the letter appropriate to how the leader maintains his influence:

- a. always
- b. often
- c. seldom
- d. rarely or never

- 1. Negative emotions such as power, fear, anxiety, etc. _____
- 2. Positive emotions such as love, concern, warmth, etc. _____
- 3. Rationality (what should be done for the learning) _____
- 4. Other (specify) _____

2C. Place the letter appropriate to the way decisions are made by the group.

- a. always
- b. often
- c. seldom
- d. rarely or never

Decisions are:

- 1. made on a sort of haphazard consensus _____
- 2. made by the leader _____
- 3. made by majority vote _____
- 4. avoided by the group _____

3. Boundary relations

3A. Indicate the time when the group first posts gatekeepers.

3B. In the following, indicate whether: a) always, b) often, c) occasionally, or d) rarely or never.

When members of other groups wish to join the group, they are:

1. allowed to come in without question _____
2. Asked why they want to join and then let in _____
3. asked why they want to join and not allowed in_____
4. not allowed in _____

4. Relationship to staff

4A. Do they request a consultant (number of times) _____
 What is the content of the reason for their request?
 Also indicate whether consultant is invited to leave or
 leaves by himself.

First request:

Second request:

Third request:

Fourth request:

4B. Number of times a consultant comes to the room _____

4C. Indicate amount of time consultant is spoken to.

#1

#2

#3

#4

4D. Emotional reaction to consultant when he comes to the
 room. Indicate whether always (4), often (3), seldom (2),
 or never (1).

a. dependent _____

e. silent _____

b. hostile _____

f. confused _____

c. anxious _____

g. reflective _____

d. optimistic _____

h. other (specify) _____

4. Relationship to staff continued

4E. Do they make a proposal to staff (yes or no)?

a. Content of proposal

b. Accepted or rejected and for what reason

c. Reaction to the acceptance or rejection

4F. Do they kidnap a consultant or invade staff?

1. Why do they kidnap a consultant and who is it?

2. Why do they invade staff?

5. Group Composition

5A. Description of group after 20 minutes into the session.
(include representatives who may be out of room)

a. total number in group _____

b. number of men _____

c. number of women _____

d. age (estimate)

20-30 _____

31-40 _____

41-50 _____

51-60 _____

e. How many male blacks? _____

How many female blacks? _____

f. Is there one predominant characteristic to the group?
(i.e. all black, all professionals, all students, etc.)

6. Task

- 6A. What is it that the members discuss doing during the time of the intergroup. Indicate whether each task occupied 10, 20, 30,100% of the group's time in the session.
- a. Deciding what to do _____
 - b. Setting up structures and procedures _____
 - c. Attempts to work with the learning task _____
 - d. Gathering information from other groups _____
 - e. Challenging staff _____
 - f. Create a new conference _____
 - g. Negotiate with other groups _____
 - h. Other (specify) _____

Describe briefly the substance of what they are doing if the above does not adequately convey the situation.

7. Representatives to other groups

7A. Each time a set of representatives is sent out, fill in one of the columns, and indicate the purpose using the following letters:

- a. to deliver a decision made in response to another group
- b. to inform and request a decision from another group
- c. to observe only
- d. to inform only
- e. to request negotiations
- f. Other (specify on back of page)

7B. When the representative returns indicate the amount of time he is talked to by the group in minutes.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
time the representative left and purpose							
number of observers to other groups (which room number)							
number of observers to negotiations							
number of observers to staff							
number of delegates to other groups (which rooms)							
number of delegates to negotiations							
number of delegates to staff							
number of plenipotentiaries to other groups (#)							
number of plenipotentiaries to negotiations							
number of plenipotentiaries to staff							
Time returned and how long talked to							

8. Representatives from other groups

Do not start this section until 20 minutes after the break-up into groups, that is, until groups are formed.

Each time a person comes in, indicate the room number where he comes from, the time he comes and goes (if appropriate). Also indicate the strength of their reaction to people from the outside. Indicate how long he's kept waiting in minutes.

	A	B	C	D	E
1. <u>New member:</u>					
room #	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
comes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
goes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
waiting	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Indicate how members feel about the entrance of a new member by placing a letter next to the appropriate feeling.

- a. very much
- b. somewhat
- c. a little
- d. not at all

Persecuted _____ Reflective and Interested _____
 Angry _____ Disinterested _____
 Dependent (provides structure) _____
 Confused _____ Other (specify) _____

	F	G	H	I	J
2. <u>Observers:</u>					
room#	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
comes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
goes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
waiting	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Indicate how members feel about the entrance of an observer by placing a letter next to the appropriate feeling.

- a. very much
- b. somewhat
- c. a little
- d. not at all

Persecuted _____ Reflective & Interested _____
 Angry _____ Disinterested _____
 Dependent (provides structure) _____
 Confused _____ Other (specify) _____

8. Representatives from other groups continued

3. <u>Delegates:</u>	K	L	M	N	O
room #	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
comes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
goes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
waiting	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Indicate how members feel about the entrance of a delegate by placing a letter next to the appropriate feeling.

- a. very much
- b. somewhat
- c. a little
- d. not at all

Persecuted _____ Reflective & Interested _____
 Angry _____ Disinterested _____
 Dependent (provides structure) _____
 Confused _____ Other (specify) _____

4. <u>Plenipotentiaries:</u>	P	Q	R	S	T
room #	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
comes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
goes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
waiting	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Indicate how members feel about the entrance of a plenipotentiary by placing a letter next to the appropriate feeling.

- a. very much
- b. somewhat
- c. a little
- d. not at all

Persecuted _____ Reflective & Interested _____
 Angry _____ Disinterested _____
 Dependent (provides structure) _____
 Confused _____ Other (specify) _____

8. Representatives from other groups continued

8B. Does the new member or representative change the focus of discussion (criterion is whether he changes the discussion for more than five minutes). For each new member of representative take his alphabetical letter and indicate what the group was discussing and what the group is now discussing. Do this as you have time.

9. Relationship to research observers

9A. Note how members treat you within the group and outside.
Check off predominant mood.

- a. friendly_____
- b. hostile_____
- c. ignore_____
- d. request information_____
- e. other (specify)_____

9B. Note here any exchange between you and members of your group.

9C. Plenary spillover - each group observer should note what their group or group members say or do in plenary sessions.

APPENDIX C

RELIABILITY OF THE
RESEARCH OBSERVER QUESTIONNAIRE VARIABLES

Reliability of the
Research Observer Questionnaire Variables

As can be seen from Appendix B, the observers were asked to score a large number of variables which were thought to be important in the intergroup exercise. A reliability check for these variables was undertaken by having two groups each scored by a pair of observers through all seven sessions. A variable was considered reliable if it equalled or exceeded 0.6 on a Pearson Product Moment Correlation conducted on the pair of observer scores. The variables which have been labelled the "group characteristic" variables all had an inter-judge reliability equal to or exceeding 0.6. Several other variables were reliable at this level but were not included in the study. These variables were eliminated because they were so isolated within their conceptual category that it was felt that they would not provide meaningful data.

Table 2 illustrates the Pearson Product Moment Correlations for the inter-judge reliability of the "observer questionnaire" variables.

TABLE 2

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS FOR THE INTER-JUDGE
RELIABILITY OF THE "OBSERVER QUESTIONNAIRE" VARIABLES

Variable	R
1. <u>Group Emotion</u>	
1A. Within group emotion	
a. Confusion	.2744
b. Anxiety and fear	.3013
c. Calm	.0421
d. Good feeling	.3361
e. Anger	.0000
f. Disappointment	.0000
g. Distrust	.3540
h. Hope and optimism	.5643
i. Jealousy	.0000
j. Dependence and helplessness	.4094
1B. Between group emotion	
a. Dependence	.4277
b. Aggression toward	.7180*
c. Aggression from	.4985
d. Guilt given	.6331*
e. Guilt received	.5409
f. Affection	-.1448
g. Admiration	.3000
h. Competition	.1630
i. Anxiety	.0445
j. Sexual	99.0000†
k. Identification	.5223
2. <u>Leadership</u>	
2A. Description	
a. Age of leader	.2744
b. Sex of leader	.4167
c. How leader is elected	.2727
2B. How leader controls	
a. Negative emotion	.1752
b. Positive emotion	.1467
c. Rationality	-.1957
2C. How decisions are made	
a. Haphazard consensus	-.0643
b. Leader	-.1135
c. Majority	.0573
d. Avoided	.2320

TABLE 2--Continued

Variable	R
3. <u>Boundary Relations</u>	
3A. Existence of a gatekeeper	.8607*
3B. Ease of Joining	
a. Allowed in without question	.4558
b. Asked and let in	.3330
c. Asked and not let in	-.0827
d. Not let in	99.0000†
3C. Door position	.8960*
4. <u>Relationship to Staff</u>	
4A. Number of times consultant is requested	.3203
4B. Number of times consultant comes	-.2402
4C. Amount of time spoken to	-.1259
4D. Emotional reaction to staff	
a. dependent	-.1586
b. hostile	99.0000†
c. anxious	99.0000†
d. optimistic	99.0000†
e. silent	99.0000†
f. confusion	99.0000†
g. reflective	99.0000†
4E. Number of times made proposal	99.0000†
5. <u>Group Composition</u>	
5A. Total number in group	.9089*
5B. Total men	.9575*
5C. Total women	.5886
5D. Age	
a. Age 20-30	.5479
b. Age 31-40	.4800
c. Age 41-50	.4404
d. Age 51-60	.7466*
5E. Number of blacks	.8424*
6. <u>Task</u>	
6A. Deciding what to do	.3845
6B. Setting up structures and procedures	.5094
6C. Attempts to work with learning task	-.2411
6D. Gathering information from other groups	.3542
6E. Challenging staff	.6794*
6F. Setting up a new conference	99.0000†
6G. Negotiating with other groups	.6805*

TABLE 2--Continued

Variable	R
7. <u>Representatives to Other Groups</u>	
7A. Time spent out of room	.9939*
7B. Number of observers	.9901*
7C. Number of delegates	.7858*
7D. Number of plenipotentiaries	.7226*
7E. Number of repres. to staff	.8071*
7F. Number of repres. to negotiations	.9954*
7G. Number of repres. to other groups	.9889*
7H. Total number of repres.	.9934*
7I. Purpose	
a. to deliver a decision	-.0769
b. to inform and request a decision	.9463*
c. to observe only	.9972*
d. to inform only	99.0000†
e. to request negotiations	99.0000†
f. negotiations attendance	.9954*
7J. How long talk to	.2116
8. <u>Representatives from Other Groups</u>	
8A. New members	
a. Total number of new members	.8549*
b. Total time kept waiting	.9767*
c. Emotional reaction	
<u>1.</u> Persecution	.5538
<u>2.</u> Angry	.4082
<u>3.</u> Dependent	-.2041
<u>4.</u> Confusion	.0863
<u>5.</u> Interested and reflective	.0912
<u>6.</u> Disinterested	-.0631
8B. Observers	
a. Total number of observers	-.6054
b. Total time spent by observers	-.0461
c. Total time kept waiting	.0736
d. Emotional reaction	
<u>1.</u> Persecution	-.2282
<u>2.</u> Angry	-.2428
<u>3.</u> Dependent	99.0000†
<u>4.</u> Confusion	-.2915
<u>5.</u> Interested and reflective	.6183*
<u>6.</u> Disinterested	99.0000†

TABLE 2--Continued

8C.	Delegates	
	a. Total number of delegates	-.1623
	b. Total time spent by delegates	99.0000†
	c. Total time kept waiting	.0174
	d. Emotional reaction	
	<u>1.</u> Persecution	99.0000†
	<u>2.</u> Angry	99.0000†
	<u>3.</u> Dependent	99.0000†
	<u>4.</u> Confusion	99.0000†
	<u>5.</u> Interested and reflective	-.2132
	<u>6.</u> Disinterested	99.0000†
8D.	Plenipotentiaries	
	a. Total number of plenipo.	99.0000†
	b. Total time spent by plenipo.	-.0143
	c. Total time kept waiting	.4834
	d. Emotional reaction	
	<u>1.</u> Persecution	99.0000†
	<u>2.</u> Angry	.3203
	<u>3.</u> Dependent	99.0000†
	<u>4.</u> Confusion	-.0637
	<u>5.</u> Interested and reflective	.4425
	<u>6.</u> Disinterested	.3203
9.	Relation to Research Observers	99.0000†

*This variable equals or exceeds the 0.6 reliability.

†This variable had no variation in scores.

APPENDIX D

STATISTICAL RESULTS

Statistical Results

Introduction

The statistical results explore two expectations. The first expectation is that the basic assumption life of a group will be related to its pattern of representation, to its boundary permeability, to its internal personal characteristics of the group members, and to the passage of time. This was statistically examined by a correlational matrix of the basic assumption variables with the "group characteristic" variables. Each of the "Within Group" variables, the "Between Group" variables, the "Staff Group" variables, and the "Projective Group" variables was correlated with the "group characteristic" variables of pattern of representation, boundary permeability, internal personal characteristics, and the passage of time. For example, "Toward my own group I feel hopeful and optimistic" (a "Within Group" variable) was correlated with time out of room by sets of representatives, with the number of observers, with the number of delegates, with the number of plenipotentiaries, with the number of representatives to staff, with the number of representatives to negotiations, with the number of representatives to other groups, with the number of representatives in total, with the number in group to interface/N, with the existence of a gatekeeper, with the door position, with the total number in

the group, with the proportion of men to women, with the number of blacks/N, and with the session number. This first expectation is examined in the correlational results which follow.

The second expectation is that the distribution of basic assumption life and patterns of representation of the groups will be influenced by group membership and time. This was examined for the basic assumption variables by a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance on each basic assumption variable. The pattern of representation variables were examined through a one-way analysis of variance on each variable. The second expectation is reviewed in the analysis of variance results.

Many of the correlations between the basic assumption variables and the "group characteristic" variables were not significant. However, four of the variables, "Toward my own group I feel anxious," "Toward other groups I feel angry," "Toward other groups I feel dependent," and "I think that other groups see my group as dependent," had a large number of significant correlations with the "group characteristic" variables.

The differences between the groups on the basic assumption variables and the pattern of representation variables were generally not significant. The differences

between the sessions were shown on a large number of basic assumption and pattern of representation variables. In addition, many basic assumption variables showed significant differences between each group session.

Correlations

The group mean for each session of the basic assumption variables was correlated with the scores of the "group characteristic" variables of each session. Four groups met for seven sessions and one group met for four sessions so that the number of cases was equal to 32. The results of the correlations follow.

The "Within Group" Correlations.--Table 3 illustrates the results of the "Within Group" set of correlations. Only the variable "Toward my own group I feel anxious" showed significant correlations with the "group characteristic" variables. The more anxious the group members felt toward their own group, the fewer observers were sent out, the fewer representatives were sent out, the less time was spent out of the room, and the fewer representatives were sent to the staff. In a general sense then, the more anxious the group members felt about their own group, the less inter-group activity was undertaken.

TABLE 3

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE
 "WITHIN GROUP" VARIABLES AND THE
 "GROUP CHARACTERISTIC" VARIABLES

Group Characteristic Variables	Hopeful and Optimistic	Anxious	Angry
a. time out of room by repres.	0.1718	-0.3840*	-0.1274
b. number of observers	0.1681	-0.4504*	-0.2715
c. number of delegates	-0.0772	-0.2070	0.0943
d. number of plenipotentiaries	0.3648*	-0.2024	-0.2142
e. number of repres. to staff	0.0080	-0.4040*	-0.1081
f. number of repres. to negotiations	0.1128	-0.1475	-0.0096
g. number of repres. to other groups	0.2848	-0.3125	-0.1859
h. number of repres. in total	0.2099	-0.4024*	-0.1399
i. number in group to interface/N	-0.0250	-0.0634	0.0545
j. existence of gatekeeper	-0.230	-0.226	-0.063
k. door position	-0.0814	-0.2279	-0.0854
l. total in group	-0.2232	0.0039	0.1818
m. proportion of men to women	0.2193	-0.1489	-0.1692
n. number of blacks/N	0.2810	0.2726	0.0975
o. session number	-0.0141	-0.1179	0.0698

*p < .05

The "Other Group" Correlations.--Table 4 provides the results of the "Other Group" set of correlations. The variables "Toward other groups I feel hopeful and optimistic" and "Toward other groups I feel anxious" did not significantly correlate with the "group characteristic" variables. However, the variable "Toward other groups I feel angry" had a significant positive relationship to all but two of the variables which comprise a group's pattern of representation and also had a significant positive relationship to the passage of time. An increase in anger toward other groups was related to increased inter-group activity of all kinds and increased through time in the intergroup exercise. This variable was not related to boundary permeability or to the group's internal personal characteristics.

In addition, the variable "Toward other groups I feel dependent" was significantly correlated with a number of the "group characteristic" variables. Feeling more dependent toward other groups was related to a higher number of sets of delegates, a higher number of representatives in total, to the door being more open, to a larger number of members in the group, to a lower proportion of men to women, and also increased through time. Feeling more dependent toward other groups is largely independent of the pattern of

TABLE 4
 PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE
 "OTHER GROUP" SET OF VARIABLES AND THE
 "GROUP CHARACTERISTIC" VARIABLES

Group Characteristic Variables	Hopeful and Optimistic	Anxious	Angry	Depen- dent
a. time out of room by repres.	0.2640	0.1412	0.5114*	0.3035
b. number of observers	0.0644	0.1018	0.3107	0.2336
c. number of delegates	-0.0001	0.2493	0.4599*	0.5842*
d. number of pleni- potentiaries	0.3333	0.1699	0.4544*	0.0624
e. number of repres. to staff	-0.1385	-0.1422	0.1164	0.2740
f. number of repres. to negotiations	0.3513*	0.2460	0.5946*	0.3144
g. number of repres. to other groups	0.1909	0.3776*	0.5360*	0.3000
h. number of repres. in total	0.1995	0.2952	0.5988*	0.4084*
i. number in group to interface/N	0.2400	0.2929	0.3619*	0.3217
j. existence of gatekeeper	-0.159	-0.051	-0.230	0.268
k. door position	0.1092	0.1396	0.0305	0.3552*
l. total in group	0.0616	0.0805	0.0250	0.4496*
m. proportion of men to women	0.0767	-0.1562	0.0562	-0.3577*
n. number of blacks/N	0.2015	0.0164	0.1262	0.0363
o. session number	0.1737	-0.0279	0.5035*	0.5585*

* $p \leq .05$

representation but does bear some relation to the boundary permeability, to the characteristics of the group members, and to the passage of time. Thus, the variables of anger and dependence toward other groups were very important basic assumption affects in the intergroup exercise since they were related to a large number of "group characteristic" variables.

The "Staff Group" Correlations.--Table 5 indicates the findings for the "Staff Group" set of correlations. In large measure the "Staff Group" correlations were not significant and did not reveal a pattern of relationships with the "group characteristic" variables. The variable "Toward staff I feel hopeful and optimistic" was negatively correlated and reached significance with the variables "number in group to interface/N," "total number in the group," and with the increase in sessions. The variable "Toward staff I feel anxious" did not significantly correlate with any "group characteristic" variables. "Toward staff I feel angry" correlated with only one pattern of representation variable, the number of sets of representatives in total. The variable "Toward staff I feel dependent" correlated positively with the number of sets of delegates, the door position variable, and the proportion of men to women. In this set of correlations then, no one basic assumption variable related to a large number of "group

TABLE 5
 PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE
 "STAFF GROUP" SET OF VARIABLES AND THE
 "GROUP CHARACTERISTIC" VARIABLES

Group Characteristic Variables	Hopeful and Optimistic	Anxious	Angry	Depen- dent
a. time out of room by repres.	-0.2370	-0.0271	0.3003	0.1508
b. number of observers	0.1334	0.0303	0.2376	0.1865
c. number of delegates	-0.0864	0.1451	0.2427	0.4632*
d. number of pleni- potentiaries	-0.3342	-0.0904	0.2363	-0.0403
e. number of repres. to staff	0.2457	0.0860	0.0470	0.2381
f. number of repres. to negotiations	-0.2431	-0.1315	0.2567	0.2237
g. number of repres. to other groups	-0.2307	0.0985	0.3442	0.2143
h. number of repres. in total	-0.1517	0.0695	0.3632*	0.3096
i. number in group to interface/N	-0.3949*	-0.0834	0.3202	0.1474
j. existence of gatekeeper	-0.263	0.012	-0.104	0.049
k. door position	-0.0473	-0.0916	0.1396	0.3575*
l. total in group	-0.4645*	0.0447	0.0805	0.1793
m. proportion of men to women	-0.1274	-0.1652	-0.1562	-0.3912*
n. number of blacks/N	-0.1647	-0.0177	0.0164	-0.2461
o. session number	-0.4100*	-0.0263	0.3333	0.2030

* $p \leq .05$

characteristics" and the number of correlations was in fact small.

The "Projective Group" Correlations.--Table 6 indicates the findings for the "projective group" set of correlations. The "Projective Group" set had few significant correlations. The variable "I think that other groups see my group as hopeful and optimistic" and "I think that other groups see my group as anxious" correlated with none of the "group characteristic" variables. The variable "I think that other groups see my group as angry" correlated only with a larger proportion of blacks in the group. But the variable "I think that other groups see my group as dependent" correlated positively with the amount of time spent out of the room by sets of representatives, with the number of sets of observers, the number of sets of representatives to negotiations, the number of sets of representatives in total, the door position being more open, and to the passage of time. So this last variable does provide a pattern of significant correlations and is important in the intergroup exercise.

Concluding Remarks on the Correlational Results.--

Of the 225 possible significant correlations between the basic assumption variables and the "group characteristic" variables, 35 were actually found to be significant.

TABLE 6
 PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE
 "PROJECTIVE GROUP" SET OF VARIABLES AND THE
 "GROUP CHARACTERISTIC" VARIABLES

Group Characteristic Variables	Hopeful and Optimistic	Anxious	Angry	Depen- dent
a. time out of room by repres.	0.1252	-0.3075	-0.2249	0.4150*
b. number of observers	-0.0791	-0.1955	-0.3077	0.3894*
c. number of delegates	-0.0504	-0.1776	-0.0536	0.2022
d. number of pleni- potentiaries	0.3173	-0.0166	0.0525	0.2264
e. number of repres. to staff	-0.1702	-0.3007	-0.0405	-0.0103
f. number of repres. to negotiations	0.1214	-0.1187	-0.0583	0.4511*
g. number of repres. to other groups	0.2024	-0.0509	-0.0981	0.2983
h. number of repres. in total	0.1075	-0.1831	-0.0974	0.3503*
i. number in group to interface/N	0.1562	0.0910	-0.1651	0.2982
j. existence of gatekeeper	0.217	-0.175	-0.288	-0.066
k. door position	-0.1018	-0.1782	-0.2939	0.4855*
l. total in group	0.0463	0.0157	-0.1362	0.1216
m. proportion of men to women	0.0298	-0.1853	-0.1441	0.0003
n. number of blacks/N	0.2434	0.2571	0.5239*	-0.2511
o. session number	0.0839	0.0108	-0.0233	0.3552*

*p \leq .05

This is equal to 16 percent, greater than the 5 percent expected by chance. However, 24 of these 36 significant correlations were clustered in 4 basic assumption variables. These variables were "Toward my own group I feel anxious" (4 significant negative correlations), "Toward other groups I feel angry" (8 significant positive correlations), "Toward other groups I feel dependent" (5 significant positive correlations and 1 significant negative correlation), and "I think that other groups see my group as dependent" (6 significant positive correlations). These four variables accounted for 69 percent of the significant correlations, which demonstrates that these basic assumption affects play a large role in the intergroup exercise while the others do not.

These four basic assumption variables showed a differentiated pattern of results in correlating with the pattern of representation variables. With regard to representation, the more anxious the group felt about itself, the fewer representatives were authorized, particularly observers going to staff. The more angry the group was toward other groups, the more representatives were sent out. These representatives had greater authority and were sent to all places. The more dependent the group was on other groups, the more representatives were sent out, but they were sent

with limited authority and only to negotiate.¹ These relationships apply only to groups which are on the same hierarchical level. The basic assumption affects as they pertained to the staff group showed only that the more angry the groups felt toward staff, the more representatives were sent out. Overall, these results demonstrate that the basic assumption affects influence patterns of representation.

With regard to the other "group characteristic" variables, feeling more dependent on other groups and on the staff was related to more permeable boundaries (the door being more open). Feeling more dependent toward other groups and toward staff was also related to a larger group size and to having more women in the group. Finally as time proceeded in the conference, anger and dependency toward other groups increased. Surprisingly, this increase in anger and dependency over time was unrelated to the basic assumption affects directed to staff although, not surprisingly, a decline in hope and optimism toward staff was shown as time went on.

¹In this review of the results, the "Projective Group" set of variables are understood as referring to one's own view of other groups. These results therefore are combined with the results of the "Other Group" set of variables. For example, the data of the variable "I think that other groups see my group as dependent" are combined with the data of the variable "Toward other groups I feel dependent."

Analysis of Variance of the
Basic Assumption Variables

The means of each group were examined using a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance. In order to reduce the error term, only those members who remained in the same group throughout the conference were included (38 of the 51 members in the conference). Examining only the four groups which lasted through the seven sessions was done for the same reason. The analysis of variance then was conducted on the four groups (group 15, group 23, group 33, and group 46) over the seven sessions using the scores of those members who remained in the same group in the conference. The results are shown in Table 7. The source tables are included as Appendix E.

Table 7 indicates that the number of significant differences among the means is not evenly distributed. The significant group means numbered three, the significant session means numbered ten, and the significant interaction means numbered nine. These results show that time and the interaction of time and groups had a larger influence on the changing basic assumption affects of the conference members than the groups by themselves.

In addition, feelings toward one's own group were influenced by the particular group one was in, by time, and

TABLE 7

"F" VALUES OF THE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
ON THE BASIC ASSUMPTION VARIABLES

Variable	Groups ("F")	Sessions ("F")	Interaction ("F")
<u>"Within Group" Variables</u>			
a. hopeful and optimistic	3.511*	4.918*	6.490*
b. anxious	4.056*	2.488*	2.191*
c. angry	0.947	3.882*	5.673*
<u>"Other Group" Variables</u>			
d. hopeful and optimistic	1.077	8.737*	1.578
e. anxious	1.411	1.491	0.868
f. angry	0.492	8.173*	1.344
g. dependent	1.312	5.031*	1.102
<u>"Staff Group" Variables</u>			
h. hopeful and optimistic	1.863	0.861	1.695*
i. anxious	0.102	1.807	1.185
j. angry	0.378	1.864	1.977*
k. dependent	0.963	5.059*	2.546*
<u>"Projective Group" Variables</u>			
l. hopeful and optimistic	1.332	3.575*	9.843*
m. anxious	1.654	4.316*	3.103*
n. angry	5.743*	0.814	3.243*
o. dependent	1.750	3.765*	1.505

* $p \leq .05$

by the interaction of time and group. Feelings toward other groups were primarily influenced by time while feelings toward the staff were influenced mainly by the interaction of time and groups. Finally, the sense of how other groups perceived one's own group was influenced by both time and the interaction of time and group.

In sum, the results of the analysis of variance of the basic assumption variables show that time and the situational determinants of time and group membership bring more changes in the basic assumption affects than group membership alone. These results further show that changes in basic assumption affects of the "Within Group," the "Other Group," the "Staff Group," and the "Projective Group" sets of variables were differentially influenced by group membership, time, and situation. However, these results must be interpreted with caution since the significant findings were usually due to only one or two means being different from the rest.

Analysis of Variance of the Pattern of Representation Variables

The scores of the pattern of representation variables were examined using a one-way analysis of variance on the five groups and a one-way analysis of variance on the seven sessions. Significant differences among the groups and among the sessions on the pattern of representation variables

were expected. The results are shown in Table 8. The source tables for the results in Table 8 are included as Appendix F.

TABLE 8

"F" VALUES OF THE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON
THE PATTERN OF REPRESENTATION VARIABLES

Variable	Groups ("F")	Sessions ("F")
a. time out of room by repres.	0.3438	7.9320*
b. number of observers	3.1158*	0.3019
c. number of delegates	2.1021	1.3715
d. number of plenipo- tentiaries	0.8412	3.7634*
e. number of repres. to staff	6.0683*	0.0950
f. number of repres. to negotiations	0.0971	17.1621*
g. number of repres. to other groups	0.2783	1.7135
h. number of repres. in total	1.3134	3.1203*
i. number in group to interface/N	0.4967	5.2007*

*p ≤ .05

As can be seen from Table 8, two variables had significantly different group means while five variables had significantly different session means. From these results it can be concluded that group membership determined changes

in the use of limited authority and in using staff while time determined changes in the amount of representation, the use of greater authority in representation, as well as whether negotiations and interface meetings took place.

A comparison of the number of significant differences among the means shows that there were more differences among the session means than among the group means. Time is the more crucial factor in determining the patterns of representation of the various groups in the conference than is the particular group. Here again, however, the results should be interpreted with caution since usually only one or two means differed from the rest.

Summary

These statistical results indicate that the basic assumption affects play a large role in the intergroup exercise. They influence the amount, kind, and destination of representatives. They influence boundary permeability and are related to group composition. Several affects increased through time. Further, time in general was seen as a crucial factor in the affective and representational life of the various groups in the intergroup exercise.

APPENDIX E

**SOURCE TABLES OF THE
BASIC ASSUMPTION VARIABLES**

Source Table of the
Basic Assumption Variables

The following presents the source tables of the basic assumption variables.

TABLE 9

SOURCE TABLES OF THE
BASIC ASSUMPTION VARIABLES

Within Group

1. Toward my own group I feel hopeful and optimistic

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	91.054	3	30.3515	3.511*
Error	293.912	34		
Within Ss				
Sessions	73.782	6	12.2970	4.918*
Groups X Sessions	292.106	18	16.2281	6.490*
Error	510.112	204	2.5005	

2. Toward my own group I feel anxious

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	126.413	3	42.1375	4.056*
Error	353.241	34	10.3895	
Within Ss				
Sessions	48.353	6	8.0589	2.488*
Groups X Sessions	127.745	18	7.0969	2.191*
Error	660.759	204	3.2390	

3. Toward my own group I feel angry

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	28.607	3	9.5357	0.947
Error	342.374	34	10.0698	
Within Ss				
Sessions	74.022	6	12.3371	3.882*
Groups X Sessions	324.518	18	18.0288	5.673*
Error	648.316	204	3.1780	

TABLE 9--Continued

<u>Other Group</u>				
4. Toward other groups I feel hopeful and optimistic				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	44.869	3	14.9564	1.077
Error	471.973			
Within Ss				
Sessions	135.940	6	22.6566	8.737*
Groups X Sessions	73.653	18	4.691	1.578
Error	528.980	204	2.5930	
5. Toward other groups I feel anxious				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	38.112	3	12.7040	1.411
Error	306.027	34	9.0008	
Within Ss				
Sessions	30.8271	6	5.1378	1.491
Groups X Sessions	53.8192	18	2.9899	0.868
Error	703.0680	204	3.4464	
6. Toward other groups I feel angry				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	12.7630	3	4.2543	0.492
Error	293.748	34	8.6396	
Within Ss				
Sessions	107.195	6	17.8659	8.173*
Groups X Sessions	52.8861	18	2.9381	1.344
Error	445.918	204	2.1858	
7. Toward other groups I feel dependent				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	68.127	3	22.7090	1.312
Error	588.493	34	17.3086	
Within Ss				
Sessions	76.0902	6	12.6817	5.031*
Groups X Sessions	49.9982	18	2.7776	1.102
Error	514.197	204	2.5205	

TABLE 9--Continued

<u>Staff Group</u>				
8. Toward staff I feel hopeful and optimistic				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	77.4177	3	25.8659	1.863
Error	471.022	34	13.8536	
Within Ss				
Sessions	18.0226	6	3.0038	0.861
Groups X Sessions	106.392	18	5.9107	1.695*
Error	711.299	204	3.48676	
9. Toward staff I feel anxious				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	5.642	3	1.8808	0.102
Error	624.478	34	18.3670	
Within Ss				
Sessions	26.8872	6	4.4812	1.807
Groups X Sessions	52.8883	18	2.93824	1.185
Error	505.939	204	2.4800	
10. Toward staff I feel angry				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	20.023	3	6.675	0.378
Error	599.614	34	17.6357	
Within Ss				
Sessions	28.0902	6	4.6817	1.864
Groups X Sessions	89.3690	18	4.96494	1.977*
Error	512.255	204	2.51105	
11. Toward staff I feel dependent				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Group	52.1762	3	17.3921	0.963
Error	614.649	34	18.0603	
Within Ss				
Sessions	60.6015	6	10.1003	5.059*
Groups X Sessions	91.507	18	5.0837	2.546*
Error	407.320	204	1.9966	

TABLE 9--Continued

<u>Projective Group</u>				
12. I think that other groups see mine as hopeful and optimistic				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	33.514	3	11.171	1.332
Error	285.267	34	8.3902	
Within Ss				
Sessions	59.676	6	9.946	3.575*
Groups X Sessions	492.840	18	27.3800	9.843*
Error	567.483	204	2.781	
13. I think that other groups see mine as anxious				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	46.312	3	15.437	1.654
Error	317.388	34	9.333	
Within Ss				
Sessions	84.233	6	14.038	4.316*
Groups X Sessions	181.655	18	10.0919	3.103*
Error	663.541	204	3.252	
14. I think that other groups see mine as angry				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	186.909	3	62.3030	5.743*
Error	368.850	34	10.8485	
Within Ss				
Sessions	13.2030	6	2.2005	0.814
Groups X Sessions	157.743	18	8.7634	3.243*
Error	551.340	204	2.762	
15. I think that other groups see mine as dependent				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Ss				
Groups	70.582	3	23.5275	1.750
Error	457.105	34	13.4443	
Within Ss				
Sessions	99.9474	6	16.6579	3.765*
Groups X Sessions	119.849	18	6.6582	1.505
Error	902.490	204	4.42397	

*significant at $p < .05$

APPENDIX F

**SOURCE TABLES OF THE
PATTERN OF REPRESENTATION VARIABLES**

Source Tables of the
Pattern of Representation Variables

The following presents the source tables of the pattern of representation variables. Table 10 presents the source tables for the 1-way analysis of variance for the "groups." Table 11 presents the source tables for the 1-way analysis of variance for the "sessions."

TABLE 10

SOURCE TABLE OF THE PATTERN OF REPRESENTATION
VARIABLES FOR GROUP EFFECTS

a. Time spent out of the room by sets of representatives				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	1356.55	4	339.137	0.3438
Error	26634.90	27	986.476	
Total	28183.80	31		
b. Number of sets of observers				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	2.8844	4	0.7211	3.1158*
Error	6.2486	27	0.2314	
Total	9.3122	31		
c. Number of sets of delegates				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	5.6466	4	1.4116	2.1021
Error	18.1312	27	0.6715	
Total	23.4587	31		
d. Number of sets of plenipotentiaries				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	2.3622	4	0.5906	0.8412
Error	18.9554	27	0.7021	
Total	21.6250	31		

TABLE 10--Continued

e. Number of sets of representatives to staff				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	5.3867	4	1.3467	6.0683*
Error	5.9919	27	0.2219	
Total	11.9774	31		
f. Number of sets of representatives to negotiations				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	0.1514	4	0.0379	0.0971
Error	10.5268	27	0.3899	
Total	10.6699	31		
g. Number of sets of representatives to other groups				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	1.2456	4	0.3114	0.2783
Error	30.2093	27	1.1189	
Total	31.5837	31		
h. Number of sets of representatives in total				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	12.7462	4	3.1866	1.3134
Error	65.5090	27	2.4263	
Total	79.4031	31		
i. Number in group sent to interface/N				
<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	0.4665	4	0.1166	0.4967
Error	6.3400	27	0.2348	
Total	6.8172	31		

*significant at $p < .05$

TABLE 11

SOURCE TABLE OF THE PATTERN OF REPRESENTATION
VARIABLES FOR SESSION EFFECTS

a. Time spent out of the room by sets of representatives

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	18592.80	6	3098.80	7.9320*
Error	9766.82	25	390.67	
Total	28183.80	31		

b. Number of sets of observers

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	0.6304	6	0.1051	0.3019
Error	8.7020	25	0.3481	
Total	9.3122	31		

c. Number of sets of delegates

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	5.7608	6	0.9601	1.3715
Error	17.5020	25	0.7001	
Total	23.4587	31		

d. Number of sets of plenipotentiaries

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	10.5000	6	1.7500	3.7634*
Error	11.6250	25	0.4650	
Total	21.6250	31		

e. Number of sets of representatives to staff

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	2.1399	6	0.3567	0.8959
Error	9.9520	25	0.3981	
Total	11.9774	31		

TABLE 11--Continued

f. Number of sets of representatives to negotiations

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	8.9586	6	1.4931	17.162*
Error	2.1750	25	0.0870	
Total	10.6699	31		

g. Number of sets of representatives to other groups

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	9.2847	6	1.5475	1.7135
Error	22.5770	25	0.9031	
Total	31.5837	31		

h. Number of sets of representatives in total

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	34.1172	6	5.6862	3.1203*
Error	45.5580	25	1.8223	
Total	79.4031	31		

i. Number in group sent to interface/N

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Sessions	3.8743	6	0.6457	5.2007*
Error	3.1040	25	0.1242	
Total	6.8172	31		

*significant at $p < .05$

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. K. Rice Institute. Group Relations Conference Announcement. Washington, D.C., 1974
- Argyris, C. Integrating the Individual and the Organization. New York: Wiley, 1964.
- _____. Intervention Theory and Method. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1971.
- Astrachan, B. M., and Flynn, H. R. "A Paradigm for Learning about the Development of Organizational Structure." Unpublished manuscript.
- Bennis, W. G., and Shepard, H. A. "A Theory of Group Development." Human Relations, IV (1956), 415-37.
- Blake, R. R.; Shepard, H. A.; and Mouton, J. Managing Intergroup Conflict in Industry. Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Co., 1964.
- Bion, W. R. Experiences in Groups. London: Tavistock Publications, 1961.
- Bradford, L. P.; Benne, K. D.; and Gibb, J. R. T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method. New York: Wiley, 1964.
- Emery, F. E., and Trist, E. L. "The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments." Human Relations, XVIII (1965), 21-32.
- Freud, S. "Mourning and Melancholia." Standard Edition, XIV (1917), 237-60.
- Gould, L. Personal communication, 1974.
- Gross, E. "Industrial Relations." Handbook of Modern Sociology. Edited by R. E. Faris. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964.

- Harding, J. et al. "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations." Handbook of Social Psychology. Edited by G. Lindzey. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954.
- Higgen, G., and Bridger, H. "The Psychodynamics of an Inter-group Experience." Human Relations, XVII (1964), 391-446.
- Jacques, E. "Social Systems as a Defence Against Persecutory and Depressive Anxiety." New Directions in Psychoanalysis. London: Tavistock Publications, 1955.
- Katz, D., and Braly, K. W. "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXX (1935), 175-93.
- Katz, D., and Kahn, R. L. The Social Psychology of Organizations. New York: Wiley, 1966.
- Klein, E. B., and Marcus, M. A. "Transference in Training Groups." Unpublished manuscript.
- Kris, E. Explorations in Art. New York: International Universities Press, 1952.
- Leowald, H. "Internalization, Separation, Mourning, and the Superego." Psychoanalytic Quarterly, XXXI (1962), 483-504.
- Mann, R. D. Interpersonal Styles and Group Development: An Analysis of the Member-Leader Relationship. New York: Wiley, 1967.
- Maslow, A. H. Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper, 1954.
- Mayo, Elton. The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945.
- Miller, E. Personal communication, 1974.
- Miller, E. J., and Rice, A. K. Systems of Organization. London: Tavistock Publications, 1967.

- Newton, P., and Levinson, D. "The Workgroup within the Organization: A Sociopsychological Approach." Psychiatry, XXXVI (1973), 115-42.
- Rice, A. K. Learning for Leadership. London: Tavistock Publications, 1965.
- _____. "Individual, Group, and Intergroup Processes." Human Relations, XXII (1969), 565-84.
- Rioch, M. J. "The Work of Wilfred Bion on Groups." Psychiatry, XXXIII (1970), 56-66.
- Roethlisberger, F. J., and Dickson, W. J. Management and the Worker. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939.
- Scott, W. R. "Theory of Organizations." Handbook of Modern Sociology. Edited by R. E. Faris. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964.
- Schein, E. H. Organizational Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.
- Segal, Hanna. Introduction to the Work of Melanie Klein. London: The Hogarth Press, 1964.
- Selznick, P. T.V.A. and the Grass Roots. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.
- Sherif, M. In Common Predicament. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1966.
- _____, and Sherif, C. W. "Research on Intergroup Relations." Perspectives in Social Psychology. Edited by O. Klineberg and R. Christie. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1965.
- Silverman, D. The Theory of Organizations. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971.
- Slater, P. F. Microcosm. New York: Wiley, 1966.
- Trist, E. L. et al. Organizational Choice. London: Tavistock Publications, 1963.

- Tuckman, B. W. "Developmental Sequence in Small Groups."
Psychological Bulletin, LXIII (1965), 384-99.
- Turquet, P. Lecture at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley,
Mass. June, 1967. Unpublished.
- Whitman, R. M. "Psychodynamic Principles Underlying T-Group
Processes." T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method.
New York: Wiley, 1964.